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# IMMIGRANT ADAPTATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

## THESIS

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MICHAEL PATRICK COUPER

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## ABSTRACT

Although the immigrant flow to South Africa has been relatively small compared to that of other immigrant receiving countries, when considered in terms of the size of South Africa's population and the fact that immigrants are restricted to the White population group, the role of immigrants in this society is considerable. Despite this, few comprehensive studies of the experiences of immigrants in South Africa have been attempted. The aim of this study is to examine the adaptation of immigrants from various countries according to a number of dimensions. Adaptation is conceived of as a dynamic and multidimensional process.

A mail survey of seven immigrant groups in South Africa was undertaken during 1985. A total of 3,520 completed questionnaires were obtained from respondents representing British, German, Dutch, Italian, Portuguese, British African and Portuguese African immigrants. The relationships among dimensions of subjective adaptation (satisfaction, identification and acceptance) and objective adaptation (social, cultural, economic, religious and political adaptation) are examined. The role of settlement and citizenship intentions are also investigated, as are various factors (country of origin, length of residence, etc.) that affect immigrant adaptation in South Africa.

Multivariate analyses are undertaken to explore the nature of the relationships among these variables. Following these analyses a model of immigrant adaptation in South Africa is proposed. This model is intended to serve as a framework to guide future research on the adaptation of immigrants in South Africa.

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CHAPTER 1  
INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

Although immigration to South Africa has not equalled that to other countries (most notably the United States, Canada and Australia) in terms of sheer numbers, the impact of immigration on South African society has been substantial. Especially if the deeply segmented nature of South African society, in which immigrants join only a small section of the population, is considered, the impact on the White community is even greater.

Data from the 1985 census reveals that 619 775 members of South Africa's White population were foreign-born, representing 13,6% of the White population of this country. When considered in these terms, the potential impact of immigration on this group is even greater. It is no wonder, then, that immigration has been of major concern to policy makers, academics, and the public alike. Unfortunately, much of what is presumed about immigrants to South Africa and their adaptation in this country is based on conjecture and popular misconceptions.

The need for research on immigrant adaptation in South Africa has been felt for many years. In 1974 it was suggested in Parliament that the (then) Department of Immigration

... could encourage some of our universities to render a useful service to this country by having a post-graduate study-inquiry, for the purpose of a doctoral thesis, made into the social-economic political adjustment of the present-day immigrant in our country. In this way we would collect very valuable information. We would then be able to find out how the present-day immigrant in South Africa feels, how he adapts, how he develops further and whether he wants to become a citizen of the country and, if he does not want to become a citizen, why not. (Hansard 1974: 5235).

Following his review of efforts to integrate immigrants in Israel, Mr J.H. Hattingh, the Director of the Maatskappy vir Europese Immigrasie concluded:

Die vraag ontstaan of dit nie oorweeg moet word om 'n diepgaande

ondersoek na die metodiek en beginsels van immigrante inburgering in Suid-Afrika te onderneem nie met die doel om 'n breed opgesette en behoorlik verantwoorde inburgeringsbeleid geformuleer te kry. So 'n ondersoek kan onderneem word deur die RGN. (Hattingh, 1983: 78).

The Maatskappy vir Europese Immigrasie, the Department of Home Affairs (incorporating the functions of the former Department of Immigration) and the 1820 Settlers Association all approached the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) at about the same time in 1984 with similar requests for research on immigrant adaptation in South Africa. In response to these initiatives, a programme of research on immigration in South Africa was proposed by the present author, with this study as one part of the programme.

The first step in any such research undertaking is a review of existing research to determine what gaps (if any) in knowledge regarding the process of immigrant adaptation in South Africa exist, and to establish priorities for future research on this issue. Prior research on immigrants in South Africa is briefly reviewed in the next section.

## 1.2 PRIOR RESEARCH ON IMMIGRANTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Although a number of studies have been undertaken on the subject of immigrant adaptation in South Africa, such research has been very limited in its scope. For the most part, such studies have focussed on a single national group (such as the Portuguese or British), a specific geographical area (Pretoria, Cape Town, etc.) and/or a specific area of functioning (religious, social, economic). These studies will be briefly reviewed in chronological order.

The first known study of immigrants in South Africa was that of Loedolff (1960). Using passenger lists, he obtained the names and addresses of 225 immigrants who had arrived in South Africa in the previous five years (45 from each year) and who were living in Pretoria at the time. As both husband and wife were interviewed (where appropriate), this produced a total of 423 interviews.

Although restricted in terms of geographical location and country of origin, Loedolff did cover a number of aspects of adaptation in his survey, including problems experienced, language proficiency, identification and settlement intentions.

In 1966 In den Bosch reported the findings of a study he had conducted of Dutch immigrants. He distributed a total of 10 000 questionnaires, by including copies in an edition of the *Nederlandse Post*, a monthly newspaper read by many Dutch in South Africa, and by mailing questionnaires to members of different Dutch associations around the country. From these he received a total of 800 responses. He also obtained lists of addresses from Department of Immigration officials in Cape Town, which produced a further 206 respondents from that city. In den Bosch focused primarily on the economic, social and cultural adaptation of this group of immigrants.

In 1967 Johnston (1968, 1970) conducted a study of British immigrants upon their arrival in Durban. Names were obtained from the 1820 Settlers Association and a total of 323 adult immigrants were interviewed. The focus of this study was mainly on the social-psychological experiences in the first few months after arrival.

Lever's (1968) study was the first to compare various immigrant groups, but was not designed as such. In 1964, he conducted a study of the ethnic preferences of White high school pupils in Johannesburg. From this large sample, he was able to isolate six groups of foreign-born respondents and examine their ethnic preferences. These six groups were the British (201 respondents), Germans (52), Italians (21), Hollanders (25), Greeks (13) and Portuguese (16).

The study by Van Rensburg in 1968 represents one of only two known attempts to focus intentionally on immigrants from more than one national group, and

explicitly compare patterns of adaptation. Nevertheless, his sample is limited in a number of ways. He compared British and Portuguese immigrants who had arrived in South Africa over the previous five years and were residing in Bloemfontein. His final sample consisted on only 50 members of each group, thus limiting the generalisability of his findings. However, he did report substantial differences between the two groups on a number of different dimensions of adaptation.

Portuguese immigrants were the subject of another study in 1971, this time by Botha (1971). Again, this study focussed on a limited geographical area (the Witwatersrand), and his sample of 100 respondents included those from Portugal, Madeira and Mocambique.

Also in 1971, Quail conducted a study of Portuguese immigrant pupils in Johannesburg high schools. He approached all foreign-born Portuguese pupils in 22 English-medium high schools, and obtained responses from a total of 413 pupils born in Portugal, Madeira, Angola, Mocambique and elsewhere. His focus was particularly on educational and career issues, although questions on language and culture were included.

By far the most comprehensive study of immigrants in South Africa undertaken up to that time was Stone's (1973) investigation of British immigrants. He interviewed a total of 514 adult British immigrants in "the four major urban-industrial areas" (Stone, 1973: 149) of South Africa, namely Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban and Port Elizabeth-East London. He used the files of the 1820 Settlers Association as the basic frame, noting that the Association "comes into contact with some 70 per cent of total British immigration" (1973: 257). Stone does not elaborate further on the selection of the sample or the response rate achieved. As far as subject matter is concerned, Stone's study covered a wide range of issues, organising them into the economic, social and

political-cultural dimensions.

In 1971 another study of more limited scope was undertaken, this one of Czechoslovakian refugees in Pretoria, by Rip (1973). Using municipal address lists and searching for Czechoslovakian surnames, 190 such refugees in Pretoria were interviewed. This study was replicated in 1976 by Smedley (1977, 1979), who used a similar sampling scheme. In both cases questionnaires were translated into Czech. This second study produced completed questionnaires for 111 men and 81 women, with separate questionnaires for each gender.

In 1973 Steinberg (1978a) was responsible for the second study to look at more than one immigrant group. He first used participant observation and loosely-structured interviews and group discussions to obtain information on the Greek and Portuguese immigrant communities in Port Elizabeth. Following this, he administered standardised questionnaires to 50 members of each group, selected from address lists obtained from consular officials. Although in his subsequent writings Steinberg (1976, 1978b) focused primarily on religious factors, he covered many other aspects of immigrant adaptation in his study.

Greek immigrants in Cape Town and Johannesburg were the focus of a study by Mantzaris in 1978. Using convenience sampling, he conducted in-depth interviews with a total of 150 Greek immigrants in the two cities. Economic and political issues were of particular interest to Mantzaris.

The first half of the 1980s produced few large-scale studies of immigrant adaptation. Probably as a result of the political and economic circumstances following the Soweto uprisings in 1976, the net migration flow to South Africa was reversed for the first time in many years, with more persons leaving than arriving. This change appears to have been accompanied by a waning of interest in research on immigrant adaptation. With the resurgence of immigration to South

Africa in the 1980s, interest in the problems faced by immigrants was again awakened, but the studies conducted in this time were even more limited in scope than those conducted in the heyday of immigration in the 1960s and early 1970s. For example, Simon's (1983) study of immigrants from Zimbabwe used snowball sampling techniques that produced less than 50 interviews, and was concerned as much with their attitudes to their former homeland as with their adaptation in South Africa. Similarly, Bryant (1983) studied a group of 20 immigrant employees of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research in Pretoria. Leclezio, Louw-Potgieter and Souchon (1986) examined the social identity of Mauritian immigrants in Durban, focussing on a group of 82 respondents identified with the aid of local cultural organisations and the principal author's parents.

The rekindling of interest in immigrant adaptation led to the approach to the HSRC for a comprehensive programme of research that would cover all aspects of immigrant adaptation in South Africa. The present study forms part of that broader programme of research initiated by the HSRC. Other studies conducted under this program include a study of immigrant wives by Bryant and Strydom (1988), and the more recent study by Schutte (1989). This latter study made use of address lists obtained from the Department of Internal Affairs, and produced over 1 000 completed questionnaires from Portuguese respondents in Cape Town and the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging (PWV) area. The particular focus of this study was on the political adaptation of this immigrant group.

In addition to the studies of immigrant adaptation mentioned above, a number of reports focussing on the demographic characteristics of immigrants and migration flows to and from this country have been published. These include studies by Brownell (1977), Chapin, Vedder and Gallaway (1970), Du Plessis (1969), D.C. Groenewald (1975), H.J. Groenewald (1975), Gurzynski (1967), Jooste (1967), Katzen (1963), and Van Zyl (1985). Other related studies include Du Pisanie's (1975) review of the policy implications of immigration to South Africa, and the

theoretical writings of Du Plessis (1967) and Maritz and Rip (1971) on the processes of immigrant integration, assimilation and related concepts. Fruman (1966) studied the effectiveness of service delivery to immigrants in the Johannesburg area. A series of studies have also focused on the attitudes of White South Africans to immigrants (Pretorius, 1971a, 1971b; Groenewald and Smedley, 1977), and to South Africa's immigration policy (Lotz, 1971a, 1971b). A recent analysis by Steyn, Meintjies and Haasbroek (1986) focused on a cost-benefit analysis of immigration to South Africa.

From a methodological standpoint, the studies of immigrant adaptation reviewed above all share a number of shortcomings. Firstly, with the exception of the studies by Van Rensburg (1968) and Lever (1968), all of these investigations focussed on a single immigrant group. Comparative data on various immigrant groups in South Africa is virtually nonexistent. Secondly, these studies were limited to particular geographical areas, usually only a single urban centre. Again this reduces the generalisability of the findings to all immigrants (even all those of a particular group) in South Africa, and restricting comparative analyses of the effect of various situational factors in adaptation. Thirdly, most of the studies focussed on recent immigrants only, particularly those who had arrived less than five years previously. This again limits the examination of more long-term adaptation processes and the effects of length of residence on immigrant adaptation. Fourthly, the samples on which these studies are based are for the most part non-probability samples. Sampling from incomplete lists, or the use of convenience or snowball sampling is popular. Again, the generalisability of such findings are severely limited. Finally, the sample sizes from these studies are generally modest, mitigating against the use of multivariate statistical techniques for analysis.

These shortcomings are not unique to South Africa. Much of the research on immigrants in other countries is similarly restricted to particular cities (e.g.

Kuo and Lin, 1977; Richmond, 1979), to certain national groups (Crispino, 1980), or to specific aspects of adaptation (Black, 1982; Millett, 1979). Nevertheless, South Africa lags behind other immigrant-receiving countries in the breadth and depth of research on immigrants and their adaptation.

### 1.3 AIMS OF THE PRESENT STUDY

It was clear from a review of these past studies that for a programme of research to be launched, a sound platform was needed. Before research could begin to focus on specific groups or issues, it was necessary to obtain an overview of the process of immigrant adaptation in South Africa. Such a comprehensive study would need to focus on a number of different immigrant groups, not be restricted to a particular geographical area, include both recent immigrants and those who have been in South Africa for many years, and cover a wide range of issues with respect to the adaptation of such immigrants in South Africa. The present study was designed with these general aims in mind.

More specifically, the present study was designed to work towards the development of a theoretical framework within which to study the process of immigrant adaptation in South Africa. Using this framework, the relationships among a number of independent and dependent variables will be examined. Formal hypotheses will not be generated, as this is essentially a descriptive and exploratory study. The state of knowledge of the process of immigrant adaptation in South Africa is still too limited to propose and test formal theories. Rather, this work is aimed at the generation of hypotheses and ideas for further investigation. It is hoped that the findings of this study will encourage others to undertake this task.

#### 1.4 LIMITATIONS

The broadness of these study aims are also the major limiting factor in this work. This study is deliberately diffuse in its focus and superficial in its coverage. In an attempt to deal with general relationships among a large number of concepts and associated variables, much of the detail is lost. In fact, a number of the issues addressed in the questionnaire are not discussed at all in this thesis. Secondly, despite attempts to be comprehensive in its coverage of all immigrants in South Africa, many groups of particular interest could not be included. Thus, specific national groups such as the Greeks and other smaller groups with unique circumstances (such as the Poles) are excluded from this study. In addition, those who have remigrated and those who have become South African citizens are also omitted.

On a more methodological note, despite the criticisms of other such studies, it was found necessary to select a sample from a list which was later found to contain many imperfections. The success or otherwise of the data collection endeavour can be judged later. However, it should be emphasised that the findings reported here cannot be considered representative of all immigrants in South Africa, or any subset thereof. Generalisations from these findings should thus be made with extreme caution.

Primarily for the reasons outlined above, the focus of this thesis is on an examination of the relationships among variables, rather than on the extrapolation of results to any group or population. This is done on two levels. Firstly, the relationships among various dimensions of immigrant adaptation are explored. Secondly, an investigation of the effects of various factors on these dimensions of immigrant adaptation is undertaken.

## 1.5 ORGANISATION OF THE THESIS

Given the broad aims of this study as outlined above, a brief description of the organisation of this thesis will clarify how these aims will be met here, and provide an overview of the issues covered.

The first task to be undertaken is an examination of theories and definitions of immigrant adaptation. This is done in Chapter 2. Having defined the concept of adaptation, Chapter 3 proceeds with a discussion of its constituent parts. Various dimensions of objective and subjective adaptation are identified. Two concepts closely related to immigrant adaptation (settlement intentions and citizenship intentions) are also discussed in Chapter 3. Following this, a number of factors that are expected to affect the adaptation of immigrants in South Africa are briefly elucidated. Finally, a model of immigrant adaptation is proposed, illustrating the way in which these concepts may relate to each other.

The next three chapters deal with the society within which such adaptation takes place. It is considered important that the process of immigrant adaptation should be studied within the context of the surrounding society. Chapter 4 focuses on the stratified and plural nature of South African society, and the impact such structure may have on immigrant adaptation. In Chapter 5, the policies of the National Party Government and the attitudes of White South Africans towards immigrants are examined. Then in Chapter 6, the demographics of migration to and from South Africa are discussed, as are the size and character of various immigrant communities in South Africa.

In Chapter 7 the design and implementation of the data collection effort for the present study are discussed. Chapters 8 and 9 deal with the development of measures of the concepts analysed in this thesis. Chapter 8 focuses on measures

of subjective and objective adaptation, and of settlement and citizenship intentions. Chapter 9 identifies measures for the factors that are expected to affect immigrant adaptation.

The remaining chapters are devoted to the analysis of the data and to a discussion of the findings. In Chapter 10 the structure of immigrant adaptation is examined. The relationships among the various dimensions of subjective and objective adaptation are explored, as are the relationships between subjective and objective adaptation. Chapter 11 focuses on the two related concepts of settlement intentions and citizenship intentions and their relationship to subjective and objective adaptation.

In Chapters 12 to 14 the role of various factors in immigrant adaptation are analysed. Firstly, in Chapter 12, the effects of such factors on subjective adaptation, settlement and citizenship are examined. Then in Chapter 13, the effects of these factors on selected aspects of objective adaptation are analysed. Finally, Chapter 14 looks at each of the specific factors in turn, in an attempt to determine what effect, if any, each has on immigrant adaptation.

Some of the key findings are brought together in the final chapter (Chapter 15). The nature of immigrant adaptation within the context of White South African society is discussed. The efficacy of the multivariate model of immigrant adaptation is evaluated, and implications of such an approach discussed. Finally, some implications of these findings are mentioned.

CHAPTER 2  
THEORETICAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF  
IMMIGRANT ADAPTATION

A vast body of social-scientific literature (both theoretical and empirical) on immigrant adaptation has accumulated since the beginning of this century. Scholars from numerous disciplines (sociology, psychology, anthropology, history and economics, to name but a few) have made important contributions to this field of study. Because of the widely diverse perspectives from which the process of immigrant adaptation has been approached, it is almost impossible to synthesise these contributions into one coherent and comprehensive theory or model. Nor is this desirable, considering the almost infinite facets embodied in this process and the unique situation found in every immigrant-receiving country.

For this reason, no attempt will be made here to review every contribution to the study of immigrants in society. Rather, with the unique nature of the South African receiving society in mind (as well as the particular nature of immigration to this country), certain more salient theoretical contributions with relevance to the South African context will be examined in an attempt to gain greater understanding of the dynamics of immigrant adaptation in this country.

### 2.1 IDEOLOGIES OF IMMIGRANT ADAPTATION

The early approaches to the study of immigrant adaptation could better be described as ideologies rather than theories. Newman (1973: 52) elucidates the distinction between ideology and theory succinctly:

... a theory is a descriptive statement about what "is". It is an attempt to predict on the basis of available descriptive information. In contrast, ideologies or doctrines attempt to say what "ought" to be and contain a distinguishable evaluative, judgmental element.

It can thus be said that ideologies are prescriptive rather than descriptive.

Early (pre-World War II) American ideological approaches to the question of immigrants can be divided into two major groups, each representing opposite ends of a continuum. These two ideological groups or streams have been referred to as assimilationist and cultural pluralist perspectives (see Cole and Cole, 1954; Crispino, 1980; Gordon, 1964; Kolm, 1971; Metzger, 1971; Newman, 1973; Wacker, 1979). Each of these ideological approaches will be briefly examined.

#### 2.1.1 The ideology of assimilation

At one end of the spectrum, assimilationists (see Bash, 1979) saw the eventual disappearance of immigrant groups as distinct and identifiable entities. The process of assimilation was regarded as complete when the immigrant was no longer recognisable as such, and was absorbed into the host society to such an extent that he became indistinguishable from members of that society.

Two major forms of the assimilationist perspective can be identified, namely "Anglo-conformity" and the "melting pot". Popular in America in the late 19th century, the Anglo-conformity<sup>1</sup> approach was intent on preserving the Anglo-Saxon nature of American society. It was expected that immigrants should abandon their cultural heritage and conform to the dominant culture in as short a time as possible. Although immigrants were accepted as necessary for economic development, their strange ways were seen as a threat to the "American way of life". Newcomers were regarded as "inferior" and with little to contribute to the superior ways of the host society. The Anglo-conformity approach was translated into practice in the Americanisation movement in the United States (see Fairchild, 1933; Hill, 1919; Reid, 1956). Gordon (1964: 89) notes that

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<sup>1</sup>Yetman and Steele (1971: 256) propose the use of the more general term "transmuting pot" instead of the culture-specific term "Anglo-conformity". However, because of its popularity, the latter term will be used in the present study.

Anglo-conformity has been "the most prevalent ideology of assimilation in America throughout the nation's history". This can also be said of many other immigrant-receiving countries.

The "melting pot" ideology (see Gleason, 1964, 1979; Gordon, 1964: Chapter 5; McKenna, 1969; Vecoli, 1985; Woolston, 1945) obtained its name from the title of a drama written by Israel Zangwill in 1908 in which he described the various nations as entering "God's crucible" or melting pot which was America, and being melted down to form a unique national whole containing the best of all groups. Adherents of this approach still believed that immigrants would become indistinguishable from the host culture but, unlike Anglo-conformists, felt that the process of assimilation would also change the host culture in some way. In other words, immigrant cultures were not seen as entirely inferior to that of the host society, and could contribute positively to the mainstream culture.

A more recent theoretical refinement of this approach is Kennedy's (1944, 1952) notion of a "triple melting pot" (for a critique and alternative explanation of Kennedy's data, see Peach, 1980). Kennedy postulated that immigrants in America were assimilated into one or other of the three main religious groupings in that country (Protestants, Catholics, Jews) rather than a single melting pot of mainstream American society. The interesting thing about this approach is the recognition of an existing plural structure in the host society. Central to all variations of the melting pot ideology is the expectation of large-scale intermarriage between the various groups, representing some sort of "physical mixing of the various stocks".

#### 2.1.2 The ideology of cultural pluralism

The pluralist approach developed out of the realisation that large-scale assimilation was not taking place as expected. Crispino points out that the

cultural pluralist position "was a concrete reality before it developed into a recognizable ideology in the early decades of the twentieth century." (1980: 6). Pluralist ideology has gone much further than providing a description of American society. Adherents of this approach argue that not only is pluralism a reality in many countries with a large immigrant stock, but that pluralism is a desirable state of affairs and should be encouraged and promoted.

Cultural pluralism was first formally articulated by Horace Kallen in 1915 (see also Kallen, 1956) For Kallen, membership of an ethnic group was involuntary and unalterable: "Men can change their clothes, their politics, their wives, their religions, their philosophies to a greater or lesser extent: they cannot change their grandfathers" (Kallen, 1915b). Regarding cultural pluralism as a given, Kallen "called for a federation of cultures rather than assimilation as a societal goal." (Young, 1976: 16) (see Berkson, 1920, for a critique of what he calls Kallen's "federation of nationalities theory"). Whereas assimilationist approaches could be regarded as ideologies of the host (dominant) culture, cultural pluralism has tended to find most of its support from within immigrant or minority groups themselves. The goal of assimilation into the host culture is certainly not universally accepted by immigrants themselves. London (1967: 341) writes:

The presumed goal of the cultural pluralist is to maintain enough separation to guarantee the continuance of the ethnic cultural tradition and the existence of the group, without interfering with the standard of responsibility to the national life.

The desire to maintain their cultural identity and preserve their unique heritage led many immigrant groups in America to promote the ideology of cultural pluralism. In effect this represented an ideological counter-attack against the Anglo-conformity and melting pot approaches.

The ideology of cultural pluralism has more recently found expression in multiculturalism, adopted as official policy by the Canadian Government in 1971 (see Berry, Kalin and Taylor, 1976; Birrell, 1978; Canadian Consultative Council

on Multiculturalism, 1976; Kovacs and Cropley, 1975; Moodley, 1983; Palmer, 1975). Berry, Kalin and Taylor (1976: 4), discussing the differences between multiculturalism and cultural pluralism, note that the former concept as used in Canada,

... appears to refer to the maintenance of many cultural groups with distinctive life styles cooperating within a larger national framework, rather than to the persistence of ethnic groups with a few residual and distinguishing cultural features.

The difference between cultural pluralism and multiculturalism thus appears to be one of degree (the degree of pluralism tolerated) rather than of kind.

The ideological approaches discussed above were seen as inevitable (and desirable) outcomes of the process of immigration. Bash (1979: 159) writes:

"Anglo-Conformity", "The Melting Pot" and "Cultural Pluralism" simply do not constitute legitimate sociological theories, but represent, at best, coherently articulated "models" of alternative pragmatic options that remain socially unreconstructed.

However, the importance of these early approaches should not be ignored. They played a significant role in fostering debate on the issue of immigration and its consequences, and encouraged serious theoretical and empirical study of the problem. Most recent theories of immigrant adaptation can trace their roots to one or more of these early approaches. In addition, the ideologies of assimilation and cultural pluralism continue to permeate and influence immigration policies in immigrant-receiving countries, both in terms of official legislation and in terms of the policies and actions of immigrant-assisting organisations. Furthermore, these ideologies are often reflected in the attitudes of members of the host country towards immigration and immigrants from different countries (see, for example, Berry, Kalin and Taylor, 1976; Callan, 1983; Hoskin and Mishler, 1983; Lambert and Curtis, 1983; Richardson and Taft, 1968; Trlin, 1971). In other words, such ideologies as may be present in an immigrant-receiving country (whether formally articulated as state policy or not) will have a profound effect on the experience of immigrants in that country.

Keeping in mind the ubiquitousness of such ideologies, some of the more salient theoretical contributions to the study of immigrant adaptation will be examined. These theories will not be examined in great detail, nor will an attempt be made to cover all of the relevant theoretical approaches. What is undertaken is a consideration of those aspects of some of the more influential theories which provide a basis for an understanding of the process of immigrant adaptation in South Africa.

## 2.2 THEORIES OF IMMIGRANT ADAPTATION

Early sociological theories of immigrant adaptation could generally be characterised as macro-societal analyses of the interaction between immigrant group and host society. Such theories were often aimed at the development of immutable "laws" to describe the various social processes resulting from such contacts. The primary focus was on immigrant groups, a term which was regarded as synonymous with ethnic groups, minority groups, and sometimes even racial groups. This section examines some of the more important theoretical contributions to the study of immigrant adaptation.

### 2.2.1 Robert Park

Probably the best-known of the early theorists and one of the first to attempt a formal theory of immigrant adaptation, Park elaborated a "race relations cycle" (Park and Burgess, 1921; Park, 1950). He proposed that whenever any two social groups came into contact, the following cycle inevitably occurred: contact, competition, conflict, accommodation, assimilation. Park (1950: 150) later stated that this cycle was "apparently progressive and irreversible". The race relations cycle has since been criticised for a number of reasons, among others for being unidimensional and deterministic (see Price, 1969: 213-217).

Although the cycle is now regarded as outmoded and inadequate, in the words of Price (1969: 217), the cycle "has been very influential, has produced a crop of followers, and has stimulated much valuable research and discussion" (see also Metzger, 1971).

### 2.2.2 S.N. Eisenstadt

Eisenstadt, an Israeli sociologist working in the early 1950s, departed from these early deterministic approaches. He set out to provide a "systematic framework for the analysis of migration and the absorption of immigrants in modern society" (1954: ix). He identified three stages of migration, each of which he analysed in detail. These three stages are (Eisenstadt, 1954: 3-6):

- (a) the motivation to migrate;
- (b) the social structure of the migratory process; and
- (c) the process of absorption.

The primary concern of the present study is with the third of these stages. It should be pointed out that Eisenstadt used different terminology to describe this process at various times in his writings. In his earlier works (e.g. Eisenstadt, 1951) he used the concept adaptation, whereas later (Eisenstadt, 1954) he preferred the term absorption. As far as can be ascertained he regarded the two concepts as coterminous. For the purpose of this discussion the same will be done here.

Eisenstadt analysed the third migration stage in terms of the institutionalisation of role behaviours. He defined adaptation as the "effective capacity to perform successfully those social roles inherent in the social structure of the new country which circumstances require of them (immigrants)" (1951: 258). The key words in this definition are effective capacity, indicating what Eisenstadt considered to be the two main determinants of adaptation, namely

the immigrants' willingness to learn new roles and the opportunities allowed by the social structure of the host society for the performance of these roles.

Without describing his theory of absorption/adaptation in detail, Eisenstadt makes a number of points that are of particular relevance to the present study. These will be briefly mentioned here.

The first point that Eisenstadt (1954: 7-9) stresses is the importance of both primary and secondary group membership in immigrant adaptation. In fact, he regards the extension of participation beyond the primary group and into the main institutional spheres of society (primarily the family, economic, political and religious spheres) as one of the central indices of absorption.

A second important point Eisenstadt makes is that the development of plural structures should not be regarded as a negative index of adaptation (1953: 170). Adaptation refers rather to the successful or unsuccessful resolution of various tensions generated as a result of immigration. He distinguishes three main types of tension that may arise, namely:

- (a) the lack of performance of stable roles by immigrants in various fields of social relations;
- (b) the inability to achieve status positions within the new country recognised as such by both immigrants and members of that society;
- (c) the development of identifications incompatible with the new country (Eisenstadt, 1953: 170).

Thus, for Eisenstadt, it is not the plurality of groups which is of crucial importance but the extent and effect of the above tensions. The development of ethnic groups is thus not incompatible with "successful" adaptation.

The final point of importance is the recognition that "no concrete index of acculturation ... can serve as a universal criterion of adaptation."

(Eisenstadt, 1953: 180). The numerous criteria or indices of immigrant adaptation in the literature are not universally applicable. The usefulness of any index of adaptation is dependent on the nature of the social setting in which such adaptation takes place (Eisenstadt, 1954: 16). Taking this point one step further means that any model of immigrant adaptation based on the relationship between various indices of adaptation developed in another country is not (necessarily) applicable and appropriate in the South African context. Thus, on the basis of previous contributions in other countries, a unique model of immigrant adaptation needs to be developed for this country.

### 2.2.3 Milton Gordon

Milton Gordon's book, Assimilation in American Life, published in 1964, is probably the most influential contribution to this field of study to date. Few studies of immigrant adaptation since that time do not refer to Gordon's model, whether in agreement or criticism. Gordon's central theme is that assimilation is not a single social process, but rather a number of different sub-processes, each of which can be regarded as constituting a particular stage of the process of assimilation. Gordon (1964: 71) identifies the following seven subprocesses with their corresponding stages of assimilation:

Subprocess or condition	Type or stage of assimilation
Change of cultural patterns to those of host society	Cultural or behavioral assimilation (acculturation)
Large-scale entrance into cliques, clubs, and institutions of host society, on primary group level	Structural assimilation
Large-scale intermarriage	Marital assimilation (amalgamation)
Development of sense of peoplehood based exclusively on host society	Identificational assimilation
Absence of prejudice	Attitude receptional assimilation
Absence of discrimination	Behaviour receptional assimilation
Absence of value and power conflict	Civic assimilation

Gordon points out that not only is the overall assimilation process a matter of degree, but that each subprocess or stage can be present to varying degrees. Gordon places most emphasis on the first two stages. He argues that cultural assimilation is likely to be the first type of assimilation to occur (1964: 77), and may occur without any of the remaining six subprocesses occurring, resulting in what he calls a condition of "acculturation only". However, he writes: "Once structural assimilation has occurred, either simultaneously with or subsequent to acculturation, all other types of assimilation will naturally follow." (Gordon 1964: 81).

According to Gordon (1978: 71), each type of assimilation can be thought of as quantifiable along a single scale or dimension ranging from complete assimilation at one end to complete pluralism at the other. Thus the notion of ethnic groups is essential to Gordon's discussion of the assimilation continuum or process. The price of structural assimilation is the disappearance of the ethnic group as a separate entity (1964: 81).

#### 2.2.4 Alan Richardson

Richardson, an Australian psychologist, has made substantial contributions to the study of immigrant adaptation. The assimilation process, for Richardson, involves "the study of the way in which an individual immigrant gradually becomes indistinguishable from the native born residents of his adopted country." (1974: 6). He identifies three stages through which immigrants pass on the way to assimilation. However, he points out that these stages take into account the fact that many individuals make a stable adjustment to their new society at levels below that of immigrant assimilation. The three stages of immigrant assimilation proposed by Richardson are satisfaction, identification and acculturation (1967: 5-16). Each of these stages will be examined in turn.

Richardson (1967: 6) identifies three typical patterns of reaction in the initial satisfaction stage of assimilation which occur in a temporal sequence. The first is the elation pattern, which results in a relatively high level of immediate satisfaction. Three factors help to create this sense of elation, namely the novelty of the situation, the social freedom implicit in the newcomer's role and the need for self-justification (Richardson, 1974: 28). About six months to one year later, the depression pattern sets in, and this is characterised by culture shock, sensory shock, nostalgia and reactive non-acceptance (Richardson, 1974: 32-36). Finally, the immigrant enters the recovery pattern, in which the level of satisfaction becomes stabilised. This may take anything from one to three years, depending on the adaptive ability of the immigrant.

Richardson saw a reasonable level of satisfaction as a necessary condition for the second assimilation stage, namely identification. As McEwan (1964: 120) points out, "Since no immigrant identifies himself with a new country until he is satisfied with it, satisfaction is a necessary precursor to complete

assimilation." (see Richardson, 1974: 39) This does not, however, mean that all satisfied immigrants will necessarily identify with the new country. Immigrants may reach a relatively stable stage of satisfaction without any further significant psychological changes (Richardson, 1974: 39).

Whereas identification is a subjective feeling, involving coming to feel more like a typical member of the host society, acculturation, the final stage of assimilation, involves some more objective and outwardly recognisable changes (Richardson, 1974: 42). Basically, acculturation refers to the adoption of the host society's attitudes, beliefs and behaviours.

Richardson distinguishes three sub-varieties of acculturation. The first, obligatory acculturation, refers to the changes necessary for survival in the new country. "Obligatory acculturation", writes Richardson (1974: 43), "is largely a matter of learning new means to satisfy old goals." The second sub-variety, advantageous acculturation, occurs through increased interaction with the various primary groups of the new community. If the immigrant is able to gain from these interactions, he is likely to incorporate certain advantageous aspects of the attitudes and behaviours of the people he interacts with. Optional acculturation, the final sub-variety identified by Richardson, indicates the adoption of expressive (as opposed to adaptive) behaviours (most notably speech and gesture) of native-born members of the host society that are in no way required of a newcomer. Optional acculturation is regarded by Richardson as the ultimate stage of assimilation. Richardson (1974: 48) concludes:

Assimilation ends when the immigrant has come to resemble the typical host group members of his community to such an extent that he is no longer recognisable as a foreigner.

The stages an immigrant goes through on the way to complete identification as elucidated by Richardson can be summarised as follows:

- (a) Satisfaction
  - (i) elation
  - (ii) depression
  - (iii) recovery
- (b) Identification
- (c) Acculturation
  - (i) obligatory
  - (ii) advantageous
  - (iii) optional

At any time the immigrant can be classified according to the particular stage of assimilation he has reached. On this basis Richardson distinguished five types of immigrants which he calls dissatisfied settlers, satisfied settlers, identified settlers, quasi-acculturated settlers and acculturated settlers.

#### 2.2.5 Other contributions

In recent years few attempts have been made to develop comprehensive and universal theories of immigrant adaptation. It seems that the field of study has become somewhat fragmented, with some aspects of adaptation being emphasised at the expense of others by most authors. The theories of Park, Gordon, Eisenstadt, Richardson and others are still in circulation, but sometimes in such modified form as to be almost unrecognisable. However, they continue to have an enormous influence on current approaches to the study of immigrant adaptation.

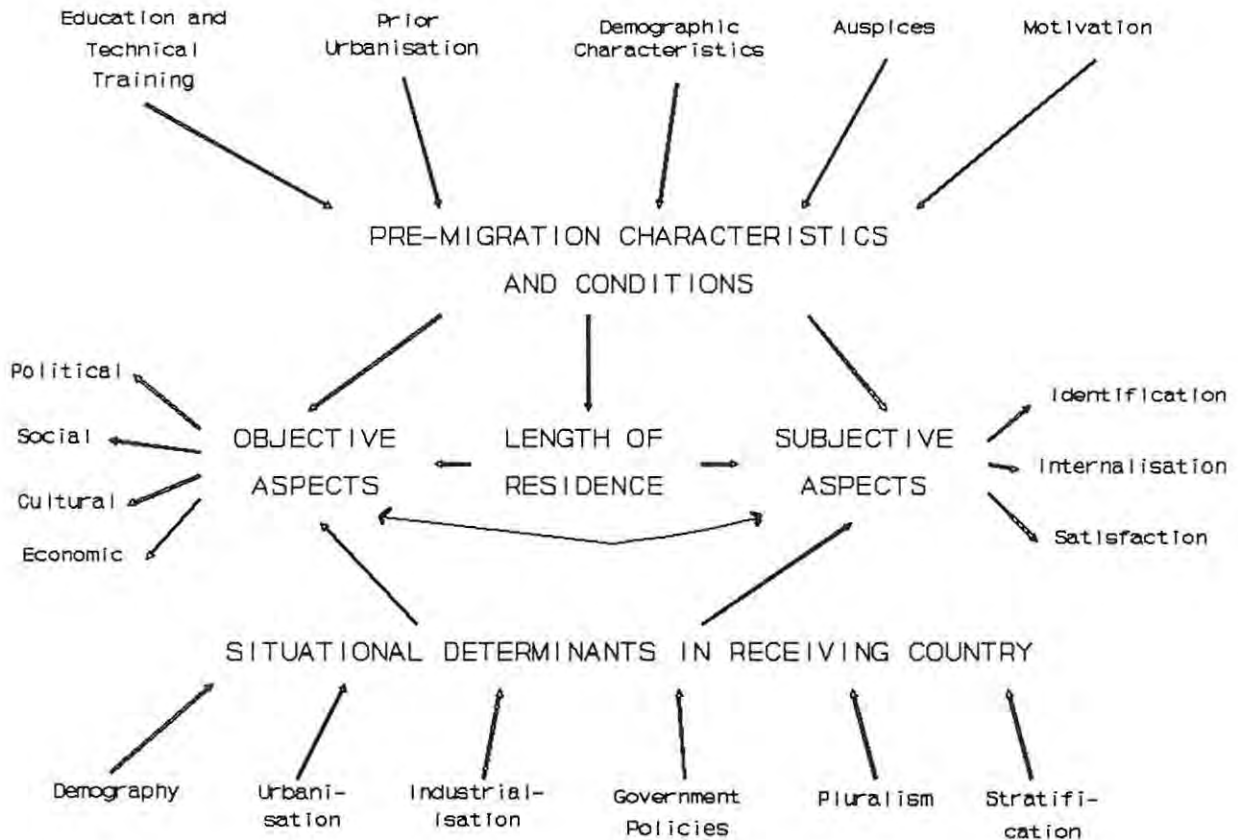
Before attempting a summary of these theoretical approaches, a last important contribution needs to be mentioned. Although not a formal theory of immigrant adaptation as such, the contribution of Anthony Richmond and his colleagues at York University in Toronto (most notably John Goldlust) to the study of immigrant adaptation has been substantial. Their work reflects the most contemporary view of the process of immigrant adaptation. The multivariate model

of immigrant adaptation proposed by Goldlust and Richmond represents an attempt to systematise and identify the numerous factors that play a role in immigrant adaptation, as well as the possible relationships between them. In their own words:

... the multivariate approach provides a more realistic and sophisticated basis of explanation for any aspect of human behaviour, and for immigrant adaptation particularly, than one which considers the effect of only one variable at a time, or which endeavours to reduce all aspects of the immigrant experience to a single dimension of 'assimilation'. (Goldlust and Richmond, 1974: 195).

Their model provides a most useful framework with which this complex phenomenon can be studied. The present discussion is based in large part on their model. Their multivariate model of immigrant adaptation is reproduced in Figure 2.1 (from Goldlust and Richmond, 1974: 198).

FIGURE 2.1  
MULTIVARIATE MODEL OF THE IMMIGRANT ADAPTATION PROCESS



This model forms the basis for further discussion of immigrant adaptation in this and subsequent chapters.

Aside from the contributions discussed here, few authors in recent times have attempted a comprehensive and coherent theoretical analysis of the process of immigrant adaptation. Aside from modifications of the above theories and models, most authors have confined their efforts to studying one or more aspects of this process. The writings on immigrant adaptation in the last decade or so have been so detailed and prolific that a comprehensive and fair review of recent contributions is beyond the scope of the present study.

An attempt will be made to summarise some of the more relevant issues arising from these theoretical contributions. Many of these issues remain unresolved today. This will therefore not be an attempt to present an objective overview of all arguments on these issues, but will be subjective and selective in bringing certain issues and arguments to the fore that are of particular relevance to the South African situation. The aim is to elucidate significant issues that still need to be clarified before a model of immigrant adaptation in South Africa can be developed.

The first issue concerns the question of terminology. After almost a century of study there is still little agreement on the meaning of the concepts used. Because of the divergent academic disciplines and theoretical perspectives from which the phenomenon is studied, it is doubtful whether such agreement will ever be reached. This point will be dealt with in more detail later in this chapter.

The second issue of relevance is that the study of immigrant adaptation has progressed from a more deterministic and static view to a realisation of the complex and dynamic nature of the process. Most writers today agree on the multidimensional nature of immigrant adaptation, and concur that it can no longer be reduced to a single concept or process (see for example Maykovich, 1976; Marrett, 1982). The possibility that adaptation may be uneven over different dimensions (see Greeley (1969), Li (1982) and Rosenthal (1960) for examples of acculturation without assimilation) and may even reverse direction is also widely accepted today.

Although there is growing consensus over the multidimensional nature of immigrant adaptation, there is still disagreement over the precise nature and number of facets that make up the process. Following Gordon, for example, a number of authors distinguish between two primary aspects of adaptation, namely cultural adaptation and structural adaptation (see for example Alba, 1976; Fitzpatrick,

1966). Johnston (1963, 1969b) and others make a distinction between external and internal (or subjective) adaptation, or primary and secondary adaptation (Taft 1965: 10). The various dimensions of the concept of adaptation will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

Thirdly, because of the complexity of the phenomenon under study, it appears that a universal "theory" of immigrant adaptation may be unattainable. Recent studies have recognised that the particular situation in each country (and indeed for each immigrant group) is unique, and also that each individual's unique experiences cannot simply be reduced to a set of immutable global "laws" of immigrant adaptation. What is emerging is a realisation of the need for frameworks or models for the analysis of specific situations rather than comprehensive theories with wide applicability.

Fourthly, classification is a popular form of reducing the many variables concerning the process of adaptation to manageable proportions. Two popular classificatory approaches are sequential classifications (Gordon, 1964; Hurh, Kim and Kim, 1979; Jonassen, 1981; Richardson, 1974) and typological classification (Eisenstadt, 1954; Greeley, 1969; Stone, 1973; Taft, 1965). In spite of their popularity, these classificatory approaches are not without problems. The major problem with typological classification is that it presents too static a picture of immigrant adaptation. In trying to describe or classify an immigrant at a particular point in time, it ignores the vital temporal nature of immigrant adaptation. The category an immigrant is placed in depends in large part on his length of residence in the new country. The problem with sequential classification, on the other hand, is that it must necessarily presume a single outcome (usually complete assimilation), and cannot take into account the rich variety of possible outcomes available to the individual immigrant. Short of possibly using multiple sequences, this approach does not avoid the linear and deterministic views of early theories of immigrant adaptation.

To be useful, any theory or model of immigrant adaptation must avoid describing the process in terms of inevitable outcomes. It is now generally agreed that "straight-line" approaches or those implying inevitable or desirable outcomes are inadequate for understanding the complex and dynamic nature of the process of immigrant adaptation. This may account for the demise of attempts at developing a widely-applicable and general theory of adaptation, and for the popularity of more loose frameworks and models (such as those of Van Amersfoort (1982) and Goldlust and Richmond (1974)) within which the process of adaptation can be studied.

One final point regarding theoretical contributions needs to be addressed: the question of individual versus group analysis of immigrant adaptation. Possibly because of the multidisciplinary nature of immigrant studies, a distinction is often made between those for whom the unit of analysis is the group (for example Gordon, 1964; Greeley, 1969) and those for whom it is the individual (such as Richardson, 1974). However, the distinction is not as straightforward as it may seem. Eisenstadt, for example, is criticised by Stone (1973: 13) for being biased towards group analysis, and by Ryan (1974: 23) and Jones (1956: 42) for concentrating on the individual rather than the group. Although it is important to make a conceptual distinction between the individual and the group as levels of analysis (Abramson, 1979; Yinger, 1981), the two cannot be separated completely. To focus on the immigrant group to the exclusion of the individual immigrant ignores the fact that modern voluntary migration is essentially an individual act, and that members of an immigrant or ethnic group are not a homogenous entity of equally-assimilated and like-minded persons. To focus only on the individual immigrant, on the other hand, does not take sufficient account of the complex interplay between various groups in a society and the effect that such group interaction has on the adaptive opportunities and needs of individual group members (see Darroch, 1981; Lieberman, 1963). In the present study,

immigrant adaptation is treated essentially as an individual process, but one that takes place within the context of the group(s) of which the immigrant is a member as well as within the context of the broader society.

Having reviewed selected theories, the question remains: is a compact yet comprehensive model of this process possible? Caution has already been voiced against the importation of theories applicable elsewhere to South Africa. Furthermore, some of the drawbacks of available theories have been discussed. Existing knowledge of the immigrant situation in South Africa from previous research in this country is at this stage too fragmented and limited for the development of formal theories. What is necessary at this stage is a thorough empirical investigation of the more important variables in the process of immigrant adaptation in order to uncover the interplay between various factors affecting immigrant adaptation in South Africa. In other words, what is needed is to work towards a descriptive model of the present situation, rather than an attempt to propose an abstract theoretical perspective. To develop a theory with explanatory and predictive powers requires that a descriptive model be evolved specifying variables of particular significance to the South African situation.

Two tasks still remain with regard to the theoretical and empirical contributions from abroad. The first is to define the central concept used in this study, namely adaptation. The second task is to extract from the literature the variables (both dependent and independent) that need to be considered in developing a model of immigrant adaptation unique to this country. The first of these two tasks will be dealt with in the remainder of this chapter. Chapter 3 will focus on the variables and concepts used in a multivariate model of immigrant adaptation.

### 2.3 DEFINITIONS OF IMMIGRANT ADAPTATION

The disagreements regarding terminology mentioned above are in large part due to the multidisciplinary nature of immigrant studies. Sociology, anthropology, demography, psychology, economics, history and linguistics are but a few of the disciplines that have contributed to our understanding of the immigration process. Many of the concepts used to describe the process have their source in a particular discipline, but it is an error to assume that the use of these concepts is restricted to these disciplines. Concepts such as "assimilation", "acculturation" and "adjustment" may have originated in the respective disciplines of sociology, anthropology and psychology, but these concepts have become so universally adopted that such disciplines can no longer claim exclusive use of these terms. In fact, in many cases the various concepts are used interchangeably. A few of the more important concepts will be discussed here, and some examples of the myriad definitions of each of these concepts will be given.

It will be useful to evaluate the more popular concepts in use today in terms of what has already been discussed in this chapter. The review of various theoretical contributions identified the following crucial aspects that should be taken into account in a definition of the process of immigrant adaptation:

- (a) It must refer to a dynamic process and not a static state of affairs. Change (and not necessarily constant and/or irreversible change) is at the core of this process.
- (b) It must be multidimensional. Not only does change take place on many different levels, but it does not necessarily proceed at the same pace on each level.
- (c) It must not imply a specific outcome. Probable outcomes can be identified for specific situations, but a general definition of the process itself should not make such judgements.

- (d) It must refer to mutual change, that is, change not only on the part of the immigrants themselves, but on the part of the host society and its members as well.
- (e) It must accommodate change on both the individual and group level. Not only should such a definition acknowledge the interaction of the immigrant group (ethnic group) with other groups in the host society, but also individual interaction both within that group and within the broader society. The process of change at the individual and group levels operate interactively and cannot be isolated from one another.

The second and third criteria are probably the most important, and it will be seen that few of the concepts as defined meet with both these criteria.

A number of different concepts have been used to describe the process that begins when immigrants enter a new society. Assimilation, accommodation, adjustment, absorption, amalgamation, fusion and integration are some of the terms that have been used to describe this process (see Bagley, 1971: 18; Cronin, 1970: 6; Kavass, 1962: 54). Assimilation has arguably been (and probably still is) the most popular of these concepts. However, its very popularity is perhaps its downfall. Cronin (1970: 8) writes that "... assimilation has been so misused that any agreement on its meaning is virtually impossible" (see also Kavass, 1962: 54). In addition, justifiably or not, the concept assimilation has become synonymous with a particular ideological commitment implying certain inevitable outcomes (see Bash, 1979; Newman, 1973).

A few definitions of assimilation will illustrate this point. The first use of the concept in its sociological sense was by Park and Burgess (1921: 735). They define the concept as follows:

Assimilation is a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons or groups, and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life.

Later sociologists like Rose (1956: 557-8) define assimilation as

... the adoption by a person or group of the culture of another social group to such a complete extent that the person or group no longer has any characteristics identifying him with his former culture and no longer has any particular loyalties to his former culture.

Taft (1965: 4) defines assimilation as " the process whereby immigrants and the native population become more alike as a result of interaction" (see also Taft, 1962). In a more recent definition, Berry and Tischler (1978: 260) write: "By assimilation we mean the process whereby groups with different cultures come to have a common culture." Later in the same work they write: "In short, the process of assimilation seems to operate invariably when people live side by side." After reviewing a number of definitions of assimilation, Lieberman (1963: 7) aptly concludes:

... It appears safe to say that the term assimilation is applied to a wide range of ethnic changes and generally with implied direction towards greater "homogeneity".

It is this implied direction that is the greatest drawback of the concept assimilation, and the main reason for the decision not to use it in this study.

Many of the other concepts used focus only on one particular aspect of the adaptation process. Acculturation refers almost exclusively to the cultural aspect (having become synonymous with the concept culture change), whereas integration primarily focusses on the social aspects of immigrant adaptation. Cronin (1970: 8) argues that the latter concept has become too closely associated with the notion of the melting pot. Johnston (1969b: 1), for example, uses the concept integration to refer to the "fusion of the immigrants' culture with that of the host group." However, the concept integration is also favoured above assimilation by cultural pluralists (see Bernard, 1967, 1973; Borrie, et al, 1959; Bostock, 1981; Klaff, 1977; Lagassé, 1975; Sommerlad and Berry, 1970; Stone, 1973). London (1967: 340) writes:

Integration ... implies interaction between the migrant community and the host society with a resultant change in the cultural amalgam, but without the migrant's loss of cultural identity.

The concepts absorption, accommodation and adjustment are avoided for reasons similar to those given above. Amalgamation implies biological mixing (Yinger, 1981) and is thus equally unsuitable. It can thus be seen that the concepts discussed so far do not meet the criteria specified for this study.

This leaves the concept of adaptation. Gould and Kolb (1964: 8) write of adaptation: "... the present usage of the term has become so broad as to be diffuse and almost meaningless". Practically every human (and non-human) activity can be subsumed under the broad heading of adaptation. However, this study is concerned with a particular form of adaptation, namely the adaptation that occurs as a result of immigration. By specifying the principal actors in the process (not only the immigrants themselves but also members of the receiving society) the concept has already been considerably narrowed in focus. Furthermore, it is the lack of specificity of the concept that makes it attractive. Adaptation is an all-embracing concept which can incorporate numerous subprocesses on many different levels, and implies no particular end-result. Richmond (1984: 520), for example, writes:

The process of adaptation is a multidimensional one in which acculturation interacts with economic adaptation, social integration, satisfaction and degree of identification with the new country.

The concept of adaptation is thus broad enough to include any or all of the processes that occur when immigrants enter a society, ranging from assimilation to pluralism, and even including return-migration. Stepick (1983: 23) writes: "Adaptation is ... a process which spans international boundaries and common conceptual frameworks." The lack of prescriptive assumptions about the outcome of such interaction between immigrant and society is an important element in the choice of the concept.

Adaptation is used in this study primarily for pragmatic reasons. It is not a concept without faults (see for example Cronin, 1970: 8), but importantly it is

not associated with a particular ideological position to the same extent as are other concepts mentioned earlier, nor has its use been so widespread as to make it confusing and meaningless. Goldlust and Richmond (1974: 195) write:

While lacking specificity and requiring a more precise operational definition for purposes of empirical research, the term 'adaptation' has the advantage of not involving a priori value judgements concerning desirable outcomes or conveying the same ideological overtones that have come to be associated with the notion of 'assimilation'.

The present study is concerned with only one aspect of this broad process of adaptation, namely that of the individual immigrant in response to his new environment. This aspect of the adaptation process will be referred to as 'immigrant adaptation' to distinguish it from the numerous other changes that take place in response to large-scale immigration. This focus should in no way detract from the importance of adaptation on the part of various other persons and groups in the receiving society. Immigrant adaptation is defined here simply as the ways in which an immigrant changes in response to a new environment (see Brody, 1969; Hurh and Kim, 1984).

Due to the complex nature of the process under consideration, such a definition does not offer much in the way of increasing understanding of the dynamics of immigrant adaptation. This can only be achieved by identifying the various dimensions that form part of this process and by specifying the expected relationships between such dimensions. In this way such concepts and relationships can be operationally defined and empirically tested. This task will be undertaken in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE NATURE OF IMMIGRANT ADAPTATION

In the previous chapter a view of immigrant adaptation as a multidimensional process was posited. In this chapter the dimensions or subprocesses involved in the process of immigrant adaptation are identified and discussed in more detail. Two concepts relating to, but not coterminous with, adaptation are also discussed, namely settlement intentions and citizenship intentions. Finally, some of the factors that may affect the adaptation of immigrants are discussed.

#### 3.1 DIMENSIONS OF IMMIGRANT ADAPTATION

Following a number of authors (Goldlust and Richmond, 1974; Johnston, 1963; Kovacs and Cropley, 1975; Maykovich, 1976) a distinction is made between objective (or external) adaptation and subjective adaptation. Whereas the former is concerned with the outward or overt behavioural changes an immigrant makes in adapting to his new environment, the latter is more concerned with the socio-psychological aspects of adaptation (Richmond, 1984: 9). Each of these levels of adaptation will be discussed in turn.

##### 3.1.1 Objective aspects of immigrant adaptation

Gordon's (1964) seven subprocesses are primarily concerned with group processes rather than with individual adaptation, but his distinction between structural and cultural assimilation is an important one for the present study. Following Gordon, a number of other authors have distinguished between structural and cultural adaptation (see for example Greeley, 1969: 6). Feagin (1984: 28) points out that Gordon's structural assimilation relates to primary group relations in which contact is "personal, informal, intimate, and usually face-to-face" (Gordon, 1964: 31). Such primary group contact, and the establishment of primary

networks, has been referred to as social adaptation (see Fitzpatrick, 1966: 5).

Feagin proposes that secondary group relations, in which contacts tend to be "impersonal, formal or casual, non-intimate, and segmentalized" (Gordon, 1964:32), should be identified explicitly as a separate type of structural assimilation. Structural assimilation thus refers to access to, and participation and acceptance in, the various institutions of the receiving society. Although relations within such organisations may develop into primary relations, they can typically be described as secondary social relations (See also Zubrzycki, 1961: 55). It is therefore possible to distinguish between primary social adaptation and secondary social adaptation.

There appears to be some measure of confusion in the work of Richmond (1974) and Goldlust and Richmond (1974) regarding primary social adaptation. Goldlust and Richmond (1974: 198-199) initially regard primary social adaptation, or the "integration of immigrants into networks of primary relationships with kith and kin, as well as members of the receiving society", as an aspect of objective adaptation. However, later they note that "primary social integration appears to be more closely related to satisfaction, identification, and ethnicity" (Goldlust and Richmond, 1974: 219). Richmond (1974: 17) regards "social integration at the primary level of family and local community relationships" as a subjective aspect of adaptation, whereas in a later paper (Richmond, 1978: 9) he again treats primary social integration as an objective aspect of immigrant adaptation. The latter approach will be followed here.

In addition to these two levels of social adaptation, various authors have identified a number of other spheres in which significant interaction between immigrants and members of the receiving society takes place. The major institutional spheres which can be identified are the economic, political, educational and religious spheres (see Bostock, 1981: 33-47; Gordon, 1978: 120).

It can thus be seen that six distinct areas of adaptation can be identified: cultural, primary social, secondary social, economic, political, educational and religious adaptation. Each of these aspects will be examined briefly in turn:

(a) Cultural adaptation

Cultural adaptation refers to the "interchange of cultural artifacts and symbols between immigrants and the receiving country (Goldlust and Richmond, 1974: 198). Language acquisition and usage is one of the more important aspects of cultural adaptation (see Hurh and Kim, 1984), as communication is regarded by many to be an essential prerequisite for successful adaptation. The changes in other cultural traditions such as eating habits, dress, music, speech and other customs are also indicators of cultural adaptation, as is the nature and degree of exposure to the media. Acculturation, defined by Richardson (1961: 20) as the "acquisition and adoption of knowledge, beliefs and behaviour patterns similar to those prevailing in the host society" can be regarded as a special case of cultural adaptation.

(b) Primary social adaptation

Primary social adaptation is mainly concerned with family relations and friendship patterns in the receiving society (see Chimbos, 1972). Kirkland (1983: 515) writes:

The formation of primary group relationships with the host society members is largely dependent on the orientation of the immigrant's social participation; towards the immigrant community, another immigrant group or the host society.

Primary group relationships play a crucial role in immigrant adaptation. In fact, Zubrzycki (1961:59) feels that membership of primary groups should be regarded as the basic unit of analysis in studies of ethnic relations (see also Cohen, 1977: 999).

(c) Secondary social adaptation

This aspect of adaptation refers to the immigrant's acceptance and participation in various clubs, societies and associations within the receiving society (Hurh and Kim, 1984; Kirkland, 1983; McPherson, 1977; Zubrzycki, 1964). The nature and composition of these voluntary associations is an important factor in social adaptation.

(d) Economic adaptation

Economic adaptation is one of the most important aspects of adaptation and often regarded as a necessary precondition for subjective adaptation. Stone (1973: 180-189) identifies five dimensions of economic adaptation, namely housing, transport, occupational change, working conditions, and prospects and opportunities. The role of occupational mobility in economic adaptation is also discussed by Johnston (1969a), Lai (1971), Ramcharan (1976), and Richmond (1983).

(e) Political adaptation

Nelson (1982: 34) identifies the following aspects of political adaptation: involvement in politics, political awareness and knowledge, political efficacy, and political cynicism. Although the focus is often on political participation, Black (1982: 3) notes that political adaptation is also concerned with "how appraisal shifts from one political system to another and how new political reference points are subsequently established." In other words, the immigrant's reaction to and acceptance of the prevailing political ideologies in the receiving country form an important part of his political adaptation.

(f) Educational adaptation

Educational adaptation mainly concerns the children of immigrants (the so-called second-generation). This aspect refers to access to the educational institutions and opportunities of the host society, as well as to the educational achievements of immigrants and their children (Kim, 1983). The medium of instruction and the attendance of private minority language schools are important considerations in educational adaptation. As the present study is focussed primarily on the first generation (adult) immigrant, this aspect will not receive much further attention in this study.

(g) Religious adaptation

Millett (1979) discusses five ways in which immigrants may adapt to the religious institutions of the receiving society:

- (i) They could abandon all religious activity (secular assimilation);
- (ii) They could join the churches operating in the official languages of the host society (religious assimilation);
- (iii) They could join pre-existing congregations of the major churches operating in a non-official language (linguistic diversification);
- (iv) They could establish their own religious institutions if these are not already available (new formal organisations); or
- (v) They could practice their religion in private homes (new informal organisations).

Mol (1965, 1971, 1979) and Steinberg (1978) also discuss the role of religion in immigrant adaptation.

### 3.1.2 Subjective aspects of adaptation

In contrast to objective adaptation, subjective or internal adaptation is concerned with the socio-psychological aspects of immigrant adaptation. Subjective adaptation refers essentially to the immigrant's own experience of life in the new country. Goldlust and Richmond (1974: 199) distinguish between three aspects of subjective adaptation (satisfaction, identification, internalisation) to which a fourth can be added (acceptance). Each of these dimensions of subjective adaptation will be discussed briefly below.

#### (a) Satisfaction

Satisfaction (see Goldlust and Richmond, 1974: 198; Richardson, 1974: 26-39; Taft, 1965: 64-66) is regarded as the most important aspect of subjective adaptation, and is usually seen as a prerequisite for further subjective and even objective adaptation. McEwan (1964: 120), for example, writes: "Since no immigrant identifies himself with a new country until he is satisfied with it, satisfaction is a necessary precursor to complete assimilation". Satisfaction is itself multidimensional: an immigrant may be satisfied with certain aspects of his life in the new country but dissatisfied with other aspects. An immigrant may also evaluate his satisfaction relative to his pre-migration situation, relative to other immigrants, or relative to members of the receiving society (Goldlust and Richmond, 1974: 199).

#### (b) Identification

Identification is another important component of subjective adaptation (see Gordon, 1964: 71; Johnston, 1969: 6-7; Richardson, 1979: 9-10). In the words of Goldlust and Richmond (1974: 199), identification involves "the modification of the migrant's own sense of identity and a transference of loyalty from his

former country to the new". Identification refers to the development of a "sense of belonging" in the new country (see Neiva and Diegues, 1959: 197).

In a plural society such as South Africa, identification may not change along a simple continuum with the sending and receiving countries at either point. Dual identity, or identification with an ethnic group within a plural receiving society, may be a stable condition rather than a transitional phase on the way to complete identification with the host society. Kirkland (1982: 256) writes:

With the idea of plural societies has also come the recognition that individuals may identify simultaneously, and without conflict, with their ethnic group and with the larger society.

In other words, identification does not necessarily imply that the immigrant must sacrifice his attachments to his country of origin (see Richardson, 1979: 11; Wiseman, 1985: 353).

(c) Internalisation

Goldlust and Richmond (1974: 199) identify a third aspect of subjective adaptation which they call internalisation. Douraghy (1981: 24) refers to this aspect as attitudinal adaptation. Internalisation refers to the extent to which the prevailing attitudes and values of the receiving society are adopted by the immigrant. It is closely related to acculturation, and can be regarded as the subjective equivalent of cultural adaptation (see Goldlust and Richmond, 1974: 199). This aspect is also related to Taft's (1962) notion of "opinion convergence" which refers to the reduction in differences of opinion about social and political matters. In a later work Taft (1965: 7), uses the term "congruence" to refer to this convergence of norms between hosts and migrants.

(d) Acceptance

In addition to the above three aspects distinguished by Goldlust and Richmond, it is possible to identify a fourth aspect of subjective adaptation which will be called "acceptance". This refers to the degree of acceptance of the immigrant in the new society as experienced by the immigrant himself (see Taft, 1965: 6-7). Richardson (1974: 73) distinguishes between two types of identification, namely motivational (in which the individual desires to become like a member of the host society) and cognitive (in which the immigrant feels accepted as a member of the host group). Acceptance corresponds to the latter type of identification proposed by Richardson. Acceptance can also be regarded as the subjective equivalent of Gordon's (1964: 71) two subprocesses: attitude receptional assimilation (the absence of prejudice) and behaviour receptional assimilation (the absence of discrimination). The extent to which the immigrant feels that he is regarded as an outsider by members of the host society will have a profound effect on his general orientation towards that society in terms of satisfaction, identification and internalisation.

3.1.2 Dimensions of adaptation

The dimensions of immigrant adaptation can be summarised as follows:

----- IMMIGRANT ADAPTATION -----	
OBJECTIVE ASPECTS	SUBJECTIVE ASPECTS
-----	-----
CULTURAL ADAPTATION	SATISFACTION
ECONOMIC ADAPTATION	IDENTIFICATION
POLITICAL ADAPTATION	INTERNALISATION
PRIMARY SOCIAL ADAPTATION	ACCEPTANCE
SECONDARY SOCIAL ADAPTATION	
EDUCATIONAL ADAPTATION	
RELIGIOUS ADAPTATION	
-----	-----

It must be pointed out that each of the above "objective" dimensions of adaptation has a very important subjective component. Often the implied assumption in these objective aspects is that greater access to and/or participation in the various institutions of the receiving society means "more successful" adaptation. This is not necessarily the case. With regard to many of the institutions in a particular society even the citizens of that society do not all participate fully, nor do they all desire to do so. When examining objective aspects of immigrant adaptation, it may appear as if more is expected of the immigrants than of the members of the receiving society itself. Instead of concentrating only on the nature and extent of immigrant access to and/or participation in host society institutions, it should also be asked whether immigrants have any need or desire to participate in these institutional structures.

In sum, objective adaptation can thus be evaluated on two levels: (a) the expectations of the receiving society, and (b) the immigrant's own experience. Any objective measure of immigrant adaptation from the point of view of the receiving society contains the implicit assumption of what "successful" adaptation is or ought to be. All immigrants (regardless of their own definitions of the situation) are then judged collectively according to the demands of the prevailing ideology in the receiving society, whether this be assimilationist or pluralist, or something between the two.

In this study the primary concern is with the immigrant's own experience of the situation, rather than with the expectations of either official policy or popular ideology. Immigrant adaptation is thus seen to be ultimately subjective (see Neiva and Diegues, 1959: 197; Thomas and Znaniecki, 1958: 5-6). For this reason the objective aspects of immigrant adaptation will be treated as independent rather than dependent variables. In other words, the concern here will be with the effect of entrance into institutions of the receiving society

on the immigrant's subjective adaptation experience.

Having identified the various subjective and objective aspects of immigrant adaptation, it remains to identify the other variables that play a role in immigrant adaptation. Before this is done, however, it is necessary to discuss the similarities and differences between immigrant adaptation and two related but independent variables: permanent settlement and naturalisation (or citizenship).

### 3.2 IMMIGRANT ADAPTATION AND RELATED VARIABLES

A distinction must be made between immigrant adaptation on the one hand and permanent settlement and/or citizenship on the other. To presume that "successful" immigration must inevitably lead to permanent settlement in the new country is to deny the complex and dynamic nature of modern international migrations. To quote Kritz and Kreeley (1983: xxvii) at some length:

The distinction between settlement and integration is important because population movements cannot be assumed to be permanent migratory movements. A significant proportion of migrants enter the receiving country with no intention of remaining for extended periods of time; others enter with a greater degree of ambivalence concerning their intentions; and some enter with the intention to remain but change their minds or have their minds changed for them. Very little is known about how important such original intentions are. It may well be that the majority of those who enter with no intention to settle, eventually end up settling.

Even though the notion of permanence is implicit in the concept "immigrant" (distinguishing it from related concepts such as contract worker, temporary migrant, gastarbeider, etc.), the settlement intentions of immigrants may change in response to circumstances either within the surrounding society and/or from abroad.

It could be argued that the migrant who decides to settle permanently in a particular country can be regarded as having reached a reasonable level of adaptation (particularly satisfaction). However, this need not necessarily be

the case. On the basis of his research on the return of British immigrants from Australia, Richardson (1974: 137) concluded that "not all of those who leave are discontented with their lives in Australia nor are all of those who remain contented". An immigrant may simply be unable to return home to his country of origin because of blocked opportunities for re-migration (see Richmond, 1984: 529-530). The opposite case also applies. Merely because an immigrant does not wish to settle permanently in the receiving country, it cannot automatically be assumed that he failed to adapt to life in the new country. People re-migrate for many different reasons, only some of which may be associated with "unsuccessful" adaptation. Richmond (1984: 530) claims that "most returning migrants are satisfied with their experience abroad; some may even consider emigrating again at a later date". If adaptation and settlement were directly associated, it would mean that all immigrants were not well-adapted in their countries of origin, hence their decision to emigrate in the first place. Adaptation and settlement must thus be treated as related but independent processes.

The question of naturalisation/citizenship and its relationship to immigrant adaptation is equally problematic. A number of authors (see for example Price, 1968; Loedolff, 1960; Rose, 1969) regard naturalisation as the ultimate goal of immigrant adaptation, and see the immigrant who has become a citizen of his new country as completely assimilated. By way of illustration, Taft's (1965) book on the process of assimilation is titled From Stranger to Citizen. However, most authors today however recognise the relative independence of the two processes (see for example Richardson, 1979; Seitz and Foster, 1985; Wearing, 1985). Hammer (1985: 441-442) lists a number of reasons why there is a strong hesitation on the part of immigrants to opt for a change of citizenship. Briefly, some of these reasons are as follows:

- (a) Giving up the old nationality may cause a loss of valuable rights in that country (such as property or inheritance rights). "Some states'

citizenship", writes Hammer (1985: 441), "is considered to have an especially high value because of economic reasons or because of the diplomatic protection that it may provide".

- (b) Many immigrants nurture the desire to return to their home country some day, and for this reason wish to retain their original passports.
- (c) A number of immigrants are bound by ties to the old country. As noted by Hammer: "A change in nationality would, for them, be something like a denial of one's national identity, or a break in loyalty to the emigration state, or a betrayal of the friends and relatives left behind there, or a combination of all these three" (1985: 441).
- (d) There may be no significant gains resulting from a change of citizenship. Stone (1973: 216) points out that the adoption of South African citizenship is "essentially a symbolic act, for there are few material benefits reserved exclusively for the South African citizen apart from the right to vote". Indeed, adopting South African citizenship may be regarded as a distinct disadvantage by many immigrants at present, especially as it restricts access to international travel and contacts as a result of the ostracisation of South Africa abroad.

As with permanent settlement, there are many reasons why immigrants do not necessarily want to become citizens of a particular receiving country. In other words, failure to naturalise (once eligible) cannot be regarded as an indicator of poor adaptation. However, Lavell has the following to say about those who do become citizens (quoted in Van Rensburg, 1968: 246):

... immigrants may become naturalised out of motives of self interest, to secure employment where citizenship is a requirement, to avoid alien registration, or to protect themselves in time of war or to secure various social benefits.

In these examples, the act of becoming a citizen of a particular country is also completely unrelated to the extent of adaptation.

The question of citizenship in South Africa will be discussed in more detail at a later stage. Suffice it to say here that neither naturalisation nor settlement can be regarded as evidence of adaptation or otherwise. The particular relationships between these three variables within the South African context requires detailed research. A discussion of some of the many factors that influence the adaptation of immigrants is now necessary.

### 3.3 FACTORS INFLUENCING IMMIGRANT ADAPTATION

As a result of their inclination to concentrate on only one or two aspects of immigrant adaptation at a time, few authors have attempted a systematic overview of the many variables that influence immigrant adaptation. Goldlust and Richmond's (1974) multivariate model of immigrant adaptation (see Section 2.2.5) is an exception, and their systematic ordering of the factors involved will serve as the point of departure for the present discussion.

Goldlust and Richmond distinguish between two major groups of factors affecting immigrant adaptation. The first group is associated with the immigrant himself and the second with the receiving society. However, whereas they use the descriptions "pre-migration characteristics and conditions" and "situational determinants in the receiving country" (Goldlust and Richmond, 1974: 196) to refer to these two groups of factors respectively, in the present discussion a distinction will be made between specific and contextual factors. The reason for this will become clearer as the discussion of these factors develops. Each of these groups of variables will be discussed in turn.

#### 3.3.1 Specific factors

Specific or individual factors are those factors that may be associated with individual immigrants. Each immigrant is unique, and brings with him a

particular combination of characteristics, knowledge and experience that may be functional or dysfunctional for his subsequent adaptation in the new country. A number of specific factors can be identified.

(a) Education and training

The first and one of the most important of the specific factors identified by Goldlust and Richmond (1974: 199) is the level of education and technical training of the immigrant. In a study of immigrant adaptation in Toronto, Richmond (1974: 17) found that "education is positively associated with all aspects of objective adaptation, but negatively associated with the subjective aspects." This means that the more highly qualified immigrant is likely to have a faster rate of occupational mobility (economic adaptation); he is also likely to learn the language/s of the host country more rapidly (cultural adaptation), and to become more active in the various formal and informal institutions of the receiving society (secondary social adaptation and/or political adaptation). On the other hand, argues Richmond, the more highly educated immigrant is less likely to be satisfied with life in the new country and less likely to identify with that country.

Thus, although education plays a major role in immigrant adaptation, it appears to have a differential effect on various aspects of adaptation. This is further supported by Kavass (1962: 63) who writes:

It does not necessarily follow that the better educated immigrant who has a higher standing in the country of origin has a better ability to assimilate. That may also have an adverse and curbing effect.

Prior education works in combination with other factors in affecting adaptation differentially. The importance of education in affecting various types of adaptation is also discussed by Black (1982: 15), Crispino (1980), Cronin (1970: 15, 268-269), Hurh and Kim (1983: 20), Richmond (1984: 522-525), Roche (1984: 36-38) and Yu (1977a).

(b) Urbanisation

The prior urban experience of the immigrant is another factor distinguished by Goldlust and Richmond (1974: 199) (see also Anderson, 1974; Stepick, 1983: 17). This factor played an important role in the major immigrant waves to the United States early this century. A large proportion of the early immigrants to that country were transplanted from villages and hamlets in Europe to the major metropolises of America, resulting in a double migration. Not only did such immigrants have to adapt to life in a new country, but in addition they had to face the demands of urban life for the first time. For example, Thomas and Znaniecki's pioneering work, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, first published in 1919, is concerned with the immigrant's transition from an agrarian-rural society to an industrial-urban environment (see Stone, 1973: 19-20). As a result of the introduction of restrictive immigration laws and policies in most receiving countries, the demographics of modern migration have since changed, with more and more immigrants moving from one urban conglomerate to another (see Goldlust and Richmond, 1974: 199). Urban living in general has become more cosmopolitan, exposing the immigrant to foreign cultures in the sending country on the one hand, and to his own culture in the receiving country on the other. Modern communication has also contributed to reducing the boundaries and psychological distances between nations. Although it is expected that the urban/rural differential will probably play a less important role in adaptation, the possible role of this factor cannot be entirely ignored.

(c) Gender

An immigrant's gender has been found to play a significant role in his or her adaptation. Whether employed or housewives, women are considered to be at a considerable disadvantage in adapting to life in the new country. It is argued

that employed immigrant women are doubly disadvantaged, facing discrimination not only on the basis of gender but also on the basis of national origin (Cox and Martin, 1977; Richmond, 1984: 529). Immigrant housewives are also at a disadvantage, especially with regard to learning a new language. Whereas working men and school-going children find language acquisition essential for work or school (obligatory acculturation), housewives have little opportunity to practice a new language and little encouragement to do so (see Stevens, 1986). Richmond (1974a: 28) found, for example, that "immigrant housewives (particularly those with poor education) tend to be socially isolated and much less likely to learn one of the official languages of Canada." (see also Bogardus, 1954: 344; Richardson, 1974: 56; Richardson, 1979: 43).

However, the role of gender in immigrant adaptation is not as clear-cut as the above discussion seems to indicate. Ryan (1974) found higher assimilation rates for Irish immigrant women in Britain than for Irish men. Richardson (1974: 79) found that single women were more likely to assimilate than single men, even after controlling for age and socio-economic background. Stone (1973: 153-154) found no significant differences between the sexes on a number of different sub-dimensions of integration. He concludes (1973: 154):

In general, these findings are a warning against adopting the stereotype of women as poor migrants, even though many immigrants of both sexes held this view, for while there is an element of truth in the assertion, it has been grossly exaggerated.

The role of gender in the adaptation of immigrants in South Africa is an area that needs further study. The particular problems faced by immigrant wives are the subject of a research project forming part of the present programme of research on immigrants in South Africa (see Bryant and Strydom, 1988). Others who have written on the role of women in immigrant adaptation include Dumon (1981), Evans (1984) and Smith (1980).

(d) Age

Although a number of authors identify age, or more particularly age on arrival in the new country, as affecting subsequent adaptation (see Cronin, 1970: 14; Mol, 1971: 65; Peterson and Scheff, 1967: 160), the precise nature of the relationship between age and the various dimensions of adaptation is rarely specified. A number of studies have found that age does not significantly affect subsequent adaptation. Ryan (1974: 80), for example, writes:

There is a general assumption in the literature ... that the younger the migrant, the easier and faster he assimilates, but there is no evidence to support this in the present study.

Cronin also concludes that the age at which a person emigrates appears to have no important bearing on later changes. However, she cautions that

... one cannot simply rule out this variable because neither the present study nor any others have systematically investigated the importance of age at emigration upon change. (Cronin, 1970: 264).

Kuo and Lin (1977: 347, 349), Richardson (1974: 54; 1979: 49), Stone (1973: 156) and Yu (1977: 172) have all found that age on arrival was not significantly associated with various dimensions of adaptation. On the other hand, Goldlust and Richmond (1974: 205) found that both age and age on arrival have important effects on the nature of immigrant adaptation (see also Richmond, 1983: 313).

There appears to be some confusion surrounding the role of age and age on arrival in immigrant adaptation. Measuring the precise effect of age is not easy because of the difficulty isolating it from other confounding variables such as education, family ties, and so on. It should also be noted that most of the above studies were concerned with first-generation adult immigrants. The adaptation experiences of second or third generation immigrant offspring are not considered here (see Aronowitz, 1984; Johnston, 1979; Kim, 1983; and Yu, 1977 for further discussion of this issue).

(e) Marital status

Does the adaptation of the single person in the new country proceed more rapidly or more smoothly than that of the married immigrant? Again, there seems to be a measure of disagreement regarding the effect of this variable (see Peterson and Scheff, 1967: 162). Both Appleyard (1964: 174-176) and Stone (1973: 154-155) found that single migrants are more likely to migrate for adventure and travel, whereas married migrants are primarily motivated by economic considerations. Stone (1973:154) writes:

One would expect as a consequence that the motives, expectations, experiences, and attitudes of the single immigrant would differ sharply from those of the married migrant.

This is supported by his research among British immigrants in South Africa. Ryan (1973: 86), however, did not find a significant relationship between marital status and assimilation rate. Richmond (1974: 16) found that those immigrants who married members of the host society or other immigrants of a different nationality to their own, acculturated faster than those who had married before migrating or who had married someone of the same or similar national background. Thus the background of the immigrant's marital partner is also important (see also Richardson, 1979: 49).

(f) Other socio-demographic factors

The factors already discussed are by no means the only background factors that influence immigrant adaptation, nor are they necessarily the most important. Factors such as family size ( Goldlust and Richmond, 1974: 200; Stone 1973: 156; Yu, 1977: 169), religion (Millett, 1979; Mol, 1965, 1971, 1979; Richmond, 1984: 532; Steinberg, 1978; Yu, 1977: 172), ethnic or national origin (Richmond, 1984: 533), and home language (Goldlust and Richmond, 1974: 200) have all been shown to play an important part in the adaptation of immigrants. The factors discussed earlier have been isolated for illustrative purposes - to demonstrate that the

role of such factors in immigrant adaptation is not always as clear-cut or straightforward as might be expected. This may in part be due to the differential effect of certain factors on various dimensions of adaptation. Another reason could be that these factors have rarely been subjected to multivariate analyses. The presence of interactions or intercorrelations between these factors could possibly account for the confusing and sometimes contradictory findings regarding the precise effect of these various factors on immigrant adaptation. The present study is in part concerned with an analysis of the role of such socio-demographic factors on various aspects of immigrant adaptation within the South African context.

(g) Family ties

In addition to those factors relating to the immediate family of the married immigrant (such as the nationality of the spouse, whether the immigrant was married before or after immigration, and where the children were born and brought up), the location of other family members and relatives may have an important effect on the immigrant's adaptation, especially in respect of primary social relations.

Notwithstanding the possible role of the ethnic group in this regard, the presence of family members in the receiving country provides the newly-arrived immigrant with an existing support system and network of contacts that may be invaluable in his adaptation to life in the new country (see Wiseman, 1985: 351). Richardson (1974: 148-9) found that parental support was a significant factor in immigrant adaptation. Richmond (1974a: 30) reports that satisfaction was significantly lower among immigrants who never saw any of their close relatives aside from their immediate family.

On the other hand, the continued presence of "close" (in the psychological rather than the biological sense) family in the immigrant's home country may negatively affect his subjective adaptation in the new country. Based on a study of American immigrants in Australia, Bardo and Bardo (1980: 224) come to the conclusion that, for most immigrants:

... just infrequent correspondence from "home", and less frequent visits, were sufficient to keep the traditional sense of "self as American" salient.

It can thus be seen that the whereabouts of the immigrant's "significant others", and the degree of his attachment to them, may well have a profound effect on his adaptation in the new country (see Richardson, 1974: 142).

(h) Prior knowledge and expectations

The extent of the immigrant's knowledge about the receiving country, and the realism of his expectations regarding life in that country can also influence his subsequent adaptation (see Stepick, 1983: 17). This relates to the degree to which the immigrant is prepared for the new society he is to enter. Ryan (1974: 88) found that Irish immigrants to Britain whose knowledge of life there was "good" assimilated faster than those whose knowledge was "fair" or "poor". Whether the immigrant has visited the receiving country before immigrating, as well as the number, duration and circumstances of such visits, will obviously influence the knowledge and expectations he has about that society. The role of these factors is also mentioned briefly by Stone (1973: 84, 170-175) who points out that the information obtained by British immigrants to South Africa related more to "bread and butter" issues than the social and political situation in this country.

(i) Psychological factors

In addition to the socio-demographic and other factors discussed above, psychological factors associated with the immigrant could also play a role in adaptation. Richardson (1974: 19-21, 37), for example, discusses the role of personality factors in the decision to migrate and in later adaptation (see also Richardson, 1957, 1959, 1961). Eisenstadt (1952) considers a high predisposition to change (see also Zubrzycki, 1956: 77) and a high level of frustration tolerance as conducive to adaptation. Smither (1982: 64) distinguishes various personality qualities required for successful role performance in cultural adaptation. The role of personality characteristics such as risk-taking and efficacy in immigrant adaptation is briefly discussed by De Jong and Fawcett (1981: 26). Haberkom (1981) provides a good review of socio-psychological factors affecting decision-making in immigration/emigration. However, the role of psychological factors in immigrant adaptation will not be discussed further here. This does not mean that the psychological perspective is unimportant, merely that the focus of the present study is primarily sociological.

(j) Migration auspices, motives and intentions

Another group of factors that affect adaptation relate to the nature of the migration itself. Goldlust and Richmond (1974: 200) identify two such factors, namely the auspices of and motivation for migration (see also Richmond, 1974a: 15-16). Whether the migration was voluntary (immigrant) or involuntary (refugee) may have a profound effect on adaptation in the new country. Whereas for the voluntary migrant the act of immigration is usually the culmination of a lengthy process of planning and decision making, refugees, in the words of Bernard (1976: 269), are usually "thrust out of their native lands in a mad rush and forced to settle down wherever circumstances dictate". It may be that the adaptation of the refugee who has little chance of ever returning to his home

country may proceed more smoothly than that of the voluntary migrant who possibly has less of a stake in successfully adapting to his new surroundings. On the other hand, Richmond (1984: 522) points out that:

Although the prospects of return are generally poor for such people, political refugees frequently maintain a strong attachment to the home country and an aspiration to return, should political conditions change.

The possible effects of voluntary/refugee status on immigrant adaptation in South Africa will not be examined in the present study as the number of refugees admitted to this country has been negligible (see Chapter 6).

Even among voluntary immigrants, the auspices of migration differ from person to person. Goldlust and Richmond (1974: 200) point out that the "largest single group in most migratory flows are those who come independently seeking employment after arrival." However, the tightening of immigration laws in many countries in recent years may have changed this trend, with more immigrants required to have proof of employment before being accepted in the receiving country (this obviously excludes refugee quotas). Others may be recruited for temporary employment and on termination of their work contracts may decide to remain in the host country. Still others enter the country initially as students before deciding to remain as immigrants. A further category of immigrants are sponsored by family or relatives in the host country, while others arrive as children with their parents. The degree of assistance immigrants receive from government or employers for the migration itself, as well as during the initial settlement in the new country, may also affect their subsequent adaptation. The auspices of immigration may thus influence the immigrant's adaptation in the long run.

Closely associated with the auspices of migration are the immigrant's motives for migrating, both in terms of his reasons for leaving his former or home country and his reasons for choosing one particular country over another to emigrate to. People move from one country to another for many different reasons,

whether they be economic, political, social, religious, family, personal, or whatever. Each of these reasons for migration may affect the immigrant's subsequent adaptation in a particular way.

A third factor related to the migration itself is the immigrant's intentions regarding migration, whether these be permanent settlement, return-migration or re-migration. The point has already been made that permanent settlement should be regarded as an issue independent of, but related to, immigrant adaptation. Here the concern is with the role of such intentions in influencing immigrant adaptation. Intentions are distinguished from motives in that whereas the latter may be relatively short-term goals involving both push and pull factors, intentions refer to the long-term goals and aims of the immigrant after migration. Bardo and Bardo (1980: 194) make the point that "original commitments that brought people to Australia are not the same as those that keep them there." For example, an immigrant may have economic motivations for migrating, but may have no intention of remaining permanently in a particular receiving country. A growing number of people are becoming what might be called "international commuters", moving from one country to another in response to world economic forces, becoming "world citizens", with no particular allegiance to or affinity for any one country. Intentions and motives usually, but not necessarily, overlap in the initial stages of immigration, and a combination of various intentions and motives is usually evident.

The long-term goals of immigrants may change in response to changing circumstances in the receiving country, as well as in response to the success or failure of the immigrant's adaptation to life in that country. In addition, factors external to the receiving country (such as changing circumstances in the immigrant's home country, or economic or other opportunities elsewhere) may cause the immigrant to revise his long-term intentions regarding life in the receiving country. This in turn will affect both his subjective and objective

adaptation within that country.

The relationship between auspices, motives and intentions is a complex one, as is the effect of these variables (either individually or in combination) on the various modes of immigrant adaptation. After researching this question in respect of immigrants in Canada, Richmond (1974a: 15) found that the direct effect of auspices of migration on subsequent adaptation was less important than might have been expected. He found that refugees, largely because of the impossibility of returning to their former countries, tended to exhibit greater commitment to the new country and greater involvement in ethnic organisations than other immigrants. He writes:

In almost all other respects, auspices were less important than the motivation for migration and the original intentions with regard to permanent settlement." (Richmond, 1974: 15).

These factors are obviously closely associated with the question of re-migration and settlement discussed earlier. The relationship between these variables and their effect on immigrant adaptation is nevertheless worthy of investigation, especially in view of the uncertain future facing South Africa.

### 3.3.2 Contextual factors

Elklit and Tonsgaard (1984: 93) write:

A decisive factor for social integration and so for the total process of assimilation seems to be the structure of the surrounding society.

Although immigrant adaptation is conceptualised in the present study as an individual process, an analysis of such adaptation cannot be divorced from the context within which it takes place. There are numerous factors within a receiving country that may either promote or impede the adaptation of individual immigrants. These situational determinants operate on two levels.

In the first instance, the particular nature of the receiving society may have a profound influence on the adaptation of immigrants within its boundaries. In a comparative study of immigrant adaptation in a number of different countries, it is important to take the differing situational determinants of each society into account. However, because the impact of these various situational determinants on an individual immigrant is almost impossible to measure, such determinants should rather be seen as contextual factors affecting immigrant adaptation.

Most studies of immigrant adaptation focus on the immigrant rather than on the surrounding society. There is consequently a dearth of systematic study of those factors in a receiving society that may influence immigrant adaptation. Some researchers mention certain of these factors in passing, but no detailed discussion of the role of such situational determinants could be found in the extensive literature on immigrant adaptation reviewed.

No attempt will be made to redress this situation here. Due to the unique nature and combination of situational determinants in each receiving country, factors that may have an effect on immigrant adaptation will only be mentioned here and will not be discussed in detail. In the next two chapters a more detailed discussion of South Africa as a receiving country will be undertaken.

Goldlust and Richmond (1974: 198) mention a number of situation determinants, among which are the degree of pluralism and stratification in the host country. Related to this is the ethnic composition of the host society and the power relations between various groups in such a society. Demographic factors pertaining to both host and immigrant groups are also important, especially such factors as the level of urbanisation and the degree of territorial dispersion or concentration of the various groups. The history of immigration to the society in question is also important, especially in regard to the volume,

origin and type of previous immigrant groups. Both governmental policies and public attitudes towards immigrants may affect the latter's adaptation (see Yinger, 1981; Zubrzycki, 1956). The degree of cultural and physical similarity between host and immigrant groups is also important (see van den Berghe, 1981; Yinger, 1981). With regard to the general economic and political situation in the receiving country, Yinger (1981) notes that the degree to which the host economy is open and expanding will affect immigrant adaptation (see also Elklit and Tonsgaard, 1984: 93). These are but a few of the numerous factors within a receiving country that may influence the adaptation of its immigrants. Some of these factors will be discussed in greater detail in the next two chapters.

In this regard, the peculiar nature of South African society as it pertains to immigrant adaptation will be discussed in more detail at a later stage.

The second level at which situational determinants operate to influence adaptation concerns differences within a particular society. Especially in a heterogeneous society such as South Africa, immigrants who settle in one part of the country may face very different circumstances from those who settle elsewhere. In a national study, the situational determinants pertaining to the society as a whole will be fairly uniform, whereas major regional differences may occur. The same set of variables used in this study may therefore serve as contextual factors on the one hand, and as explanations for possible regional differences in immigrant adaptation on the other. Due to the vast number of possible factors that may affect immigrants differently in various parts of the receiving country, no attempt will be made to discuss them here. Should important regional differences be found in regard to immigrant adaptation in South Africa, possible explanations will be offered at a later stage.

### 3.3.3 Length of residence

In addition to the specific and contextual factors identified above, one final variable that has a major influence on immigrant adaptation needs to be mentioned, namely length of residence. Goldlust and Richmond (1974: 198) write:

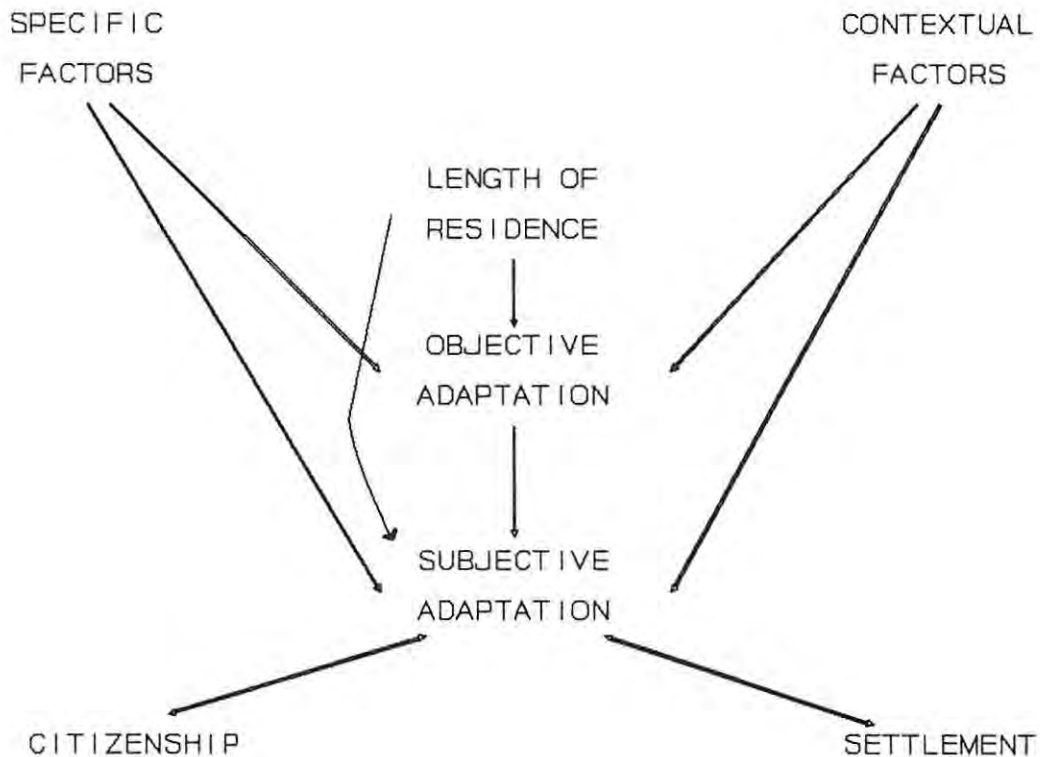
Length of residence in the receiving society is necessarily an independent variable that interacts with both pre-migration and situational determinants to modify the objective and subjective modes of adaptation.

Immigrant adaptation is a process that takes time. Time in the new country, or length of residence, is thus a crucial factor in immigrant adaptation and must form part of any study of this process (see Cronin, 1970: 14-15; Mol, 1971; Richardson, 1979: 49; Richmond, 1974a: 20; Richmond, 1978: 9; Richmond, 1984: 530; Yu, 1977: 169). The role of this variable in immigrant adaptation is fairly self-evident and need not be discussed in more detail here. However, it is treated as a key variable in the present study.

### 3.4 PROPOSED MODEL OF IMMIGRANT ADAPTATION

Having discussed the various dimensions of immigrant adaptation (both objective and subjective) and having looked at some of the factors (specific factors, contextual factors and length of residence) that may influence such adaptation, a tentative model of the immigrant adaptation process in South Africa can now be offered. This model is illustrated in Figure 3.1.

FIGURE 3.1  
 MULTIVARIATE MODEL OF IMMIGRANT ADAPTATION IN SOUTH AFRICA



Briefly the model has three elements: (a) the various objective and subjective aspects of adaptation, (b) related concepts (naturalisation and settlement), and (c) factors that affect immigrant adaptation. The empirical analyses conducted in the present study are aimed at exploring these three aspects in turn. The model will thus not be discussed in detail here.

It should be emphasised that this model is not intended to have any explanatory power, but should be seen merely as a framework within which the study of immigrant adaptation in South Africa can be undertaken. Not all the relationships between the variables mentioned are included in the model, nor will all the relationships indicated be empirically examined. The intention of this study is not to test the efficacy of this model or its applicability to South African

circumstances. The model merely serves as background for the empirical analysis of certain selected variables which have been discussed in this chapter.

Some of the variables that affect immigrant adaptation in South Africa have been identified here . It remains to examine the relationships between these variables and the importance of such variables to an understanding of the process of immigrant adaptation in this country. Before this can be done, the context within which such immigrant adaptation takes place needs to be examined. Contextual factors associated with the South African receiving society are discussed in the next three chapters.

CHAPTER 4  
SOUTH AFRICA AS RECEIVING SOCIETY

South Africa is in certain respects like most other immigrant-receiving countries, yet in other respects it is like no other country. In order to understand the process of immigrant adaptation in South Africa it is necessary to examine the context within which it takes place. Three groups of contextual factors can be distinguished. In this chapter the structure of South African society as it pertains to the adaptation of immigrants is discussed. In Chapter 5, attention will be focussed on two particular aspects of White South African society: government policy and public attitudes towards immigrants. Then in Chapter 6 the nature of immigration to South Africa will be examined.

With regard to the first group of factors, Du Pisanie (1975: 169) points out that the two outstanding features of South African society are stratification and pluralism. Each of these aspects will be examined in turn.

#### 4.1 STRATIFICATION

The first and probably the most important feature of South African society as it pertains to the immigrant is its stratified nature. In order to address the issue of stratification and its effect on immigrant adaptation in more detail, three aspects need to be covered, namely (a) the nature of stratification, (b) South Africa as a stratified society, and (c) the implications of such stratification for immigrant adaptation in South Africa. Each of these aspects will be discussed in turn.

#### 4.1.1 The nature of stratification

There are a variety of approaches to the study of social stratification, resulting in confusion over the definition of the concept. A common thread running through these various approaches indicates that stratification refers to the differential distribution of societal rewards, resulting in institutionalised inequality (Marsh, 1970: 149). The first key element in the concept of stratification is the ranking of persons into hierarchical strata or layers according to one or more criteria (see Eisenstadt, 1971: 10; Silverman, 1970: 212; Tuden and Plotnovic, 1970: 3). Such criteria as sex, education, religion, nationality, language, race, caste and class have all at some time served as a basis for systems of social stratification.

The question of institutionalised inequality is also central to the concept of social stratification. Yinger (1965: 8) points out that all societies are characterised by some form of social differentiation. Such differentiation often finds expression in a system of ranking. Stratification, however, involves more than mere social differentiation. Stratification is a particular case of social differentiation in which the hierarchical ranking system has become institutionalised and formalised within a society.

Considerable variation between societies may be found in terms of the degree of stratification. A society can, for instance, be considered to be highly stratified to the extent that inter-stratum mobility is restricted, resulting in relatively fixed and impermeable strata. The degree of stratification can also be evaluated in terms of the relative access of the various strata to society's power and rewards. In a highly stratified society, power (political, economic, religious, etc.) is concentrated in the hands of one stratum, which is usually a numerical minority. The status differences between such strata are also usually very large.

Plotnovic and Tuden (1970: 4-5; see also Tuden and Plotnovic, 1970: 5) offer a number of characteristics of stratified societies which are useful in an examination of South African society. Characteristically, stratified societies consist of social groups that:

- (a) are ranked hierarchically;
- (b) maintain relatively permanent positions in the hierarchy;
- (c) have differential control of the sources of power;
- (d) are separated by cultural distinctions and social distance; and
- (e) are articulated by an overarching ideology which provides a rationale for the hierarchical arrangement.

These, then, are some of the more important features that distinguish stratified societies from non-stratified ones. These features may be present to a greater or lesser extent in stratified societies, depending on the degree of stratification. In the next section, the extent to which such characteristics pertain to South Africa are examined.

#### 4.1.2 South Africa as a stratified society

South Africa is a classic example of a highly stratified society. Van den Berghe (1965: 52) characterises South Africa as a caste-based stratification system. Berreman (1976: 48) offers the following definition of caste:

A caste system occurs where a society is made up of birth-ascribed groups which are hierarchically ordered and culturally distinct. The hierarchy entails differential evaluation, rewards and association.

The chief difference between caste and, say, class as a basis for stratification lies in the fact that membership in the former is determined at birth and generally fixed for life. Van den Berghe (1965: 53) writes:

In most general terms, South African society consists of four racial castes, and each of those is subdivided according to the usual criteria of a Western class system. Such a description is only approximative, however, insofar as many other lines of cleavage, some hierarchical, others not, further subdivide the population.

The various secondary subdivisions present in South African society (other than those within the White group - based on language - which will be dealt with in the next section) are not pertinent to this study. The discussion will therefore concentrate rather on the major basis for stratification, namely race. South Africa is statutorily divided into four racial or population groups, namely Blacks (Africans), Whites, Coloureds and Asians (or Indians). In Table 4.1 the relative sizes of these four groups within the historical (pre-homeland) boundaries of South Africa<sup>1</sup> in 1980 are presented (Human Sciences Research Council, 1985: 21).

TABLE 4.1  
COMPOSITION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN POPULATION, 1980

Population group	Number	Percent
Blacks	20 903 760	72,4
Whites	4 528 100	15,7
Coloureds	2 612 780	9,1
Asians	821 320	2,8
TOTAL	28 865 960	100,0

Even if the population of the various "independent" and "non-independent" homelands were to be excluded, Whites still only constitute 18,2% of so-called "White South Africa".

These four so-called "racial groups" in South Africa satisfy the basic criteria of caste discussed earlier, in that they are "hierarchized, almost entirely endogamous and mobility between groups is, with a few exceptions, impossible" (Van den Berghe, 1965: 53). It will also be shown that these racial groups also correspond with the characteristics of stratification mentioned earlier.

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<sup>1</sup>These figures thus include the populations of the various "self-governing National states" as well as the four "independent states" of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

That the four racial groups in South Africa are ranked hierarchically is without question. A cursory perusal of any of a number of texts containing basic facts and figures about South African society (see for example Cooper, et al, 1986) is enough to convince even the most sceptical reader that South Africa's race groups do not enjoy equal access to that society's rewards, whether political, economic or social. A single example will suffice here. In 1984 the average monthly earnings of the four groups was as follows (Cooper, et al, 1986: 131):

Blacks	R	363
Coloureds	R	494
Asians	R	693
Whites	R	1 403

The evidence regarding the hierarchical ranking of racial groups in South Africa is overwhelming and will not be repeated here. Although programmes aimed at economic development and the removal of social discrimination have recently gained momentum, the relative positions of the four groups remain unchanged. The four racial groups are ranked hierarchically, and their positions vis-a-vis one another are relatively permanent and stable.

The unequal distribution of political and economic power (Plotnovic and Tuden, 1970: 4-5) is a central feature of the apartheid system in South Africa. Although recently there has been talk of "power-sharing" and "broadening democracy", and the Coloured and Indian groups have been accommodated in separate chambers of parliament, political power and control remains firmly in the hands of the White minority. Again, the presentation of evidence to support this argument here is unnecessary and superfluous, as such evidence can be found in most standard analyses of South African society (see for example Adam and Moodley, 1986).

With regard to the question of birth-ascription, in South Africa individuals are assigned at birth to one of the four ascriptive categories on the sole basis of

biological descent. Such ascription forms the cornerstone of the apartheid edifice and is entrenched in the Population Registration Act of 1950 which regulates the classification of all South Africans into one or other racial group.

Not only is membership of a racial group determined at birth, but endogamy within these groups was, until recently, enforced by law. With the scrapping of the Mixed Marriages Act and the race clause (Section 16) of the Immorality Act (which respectively prohibited marriage and sexual intercourse across the colour bar) in June 1985, exogamous unions are now legally permissible. However, legal restriction arising from the enforcement of segregated residential areas and schools, combined with powerful social sanctions, have served to keep the extent of such racial mixing to the minimum. As a result, mobility between the racial castes is still curtailed (Van den Berghe, 1965: 56).

The question of cultural differences between the racial groups is less clear-cut. Each of the four racial groups is internally subdivided. Language and religion, among other factors, serve as divisive factors within these groups. Culture does not always coincide with race in South Africa; in fact, culture cuts across racial cleavages in a number of cases. For example, in respect of religion and language, Afrikaners have more in common with Coloureds than with English-speaking Whites. In other words, the four racial groups cannot be regarded as culturally or linguistically homogeneous. This aspect is explored further by Van den Berghe (1965: 59-72) and also Cornevin (1980: 69-74).

The differences between the various racial groups are more distinct when social distance is taken into account. A multitude of laws governing social contact across racial boundaries have historically isolated the groups from each other. In addition, with regard to perceived social distance, a number of studies of ethnic attitudes (whether of social distance, stereotypes, prejudice or

ethnocentrism) have shown that South Africans distinguish between people on the basis of race (see Heaven, 1977; Lever, 1972).

Finally, Plotnovic and Tuden (1970: 5) argue that an overarching ideology provides a rationale for the hierarchical arrangement in any stratified society. In few countries is this as evident as it is in South Africa, where the apartheid ideology serves as the basis for the statutory ranking of the four groups. In terms of Plotnovic and Tuden's (1970) criteria, South Africa can thus be regarded as a highly stratified society. The implications of South Africa's stratified social system for the adaptation of immigrants in this country will now be examined.

#### 4.1.3 Implications of stratification for immigrant adaptation

The high degree and peculiar nature of racial stratification in South Africa has a number of implications for the adaptation of immigrants within such a society. Some important implications on the political, economic and social levels will be briefly mentioned here.

Firstly, conflict is an integral part of such a highly stratified society as South Africa (whether such conflict is latent or manifest, constructive or destructive, violent or non-violent). Structural inequality between dominant and subordinate groups in South Africa generates conflict between such groups. Such conflict is increasingly being manifest in violence. In fact, many regard South Africa as being in the grip of a revolution. The prospects for peaceful change seem remote to many, and Whites are becoming increasingly pessimistic about their future in this country. This has obvious implications, not only for migration flows to and from South Africa, but also on the long-term settlement plans of immigrants.

Another political implication of such stratification is that, from the moment he arrives, the immigrant inescapably becomes part of the conflict between White and non-White in South Africa. Stone (1975: 15) writes:

Migration assumes a disproportionate political significance in societies characterized by sharp racial, ethnic and social cleavages. ... [I]n these situations the immigrant becomes another weapon in the armoury of group antagonism.

This is certainly the case in South Africa.

On arrival in South Africa, immigrants automatically become identified as members of the dominant White minority. Whatever the immigrant's own political views may be, this co-optation places him firmly in the centre of the conflict between dominant and subordinate groups. Although as yet no empirical evidence can be provided in support of such a contention, Black resentment against immigrants may run high for a number of different reasons. Firstly, as a White person, the immigrant is automatically regarded (by virtue of ascription rather than achievement) as a member of the dominant group. Secondly, in spite of being a "foreigner", after five years of residence in this country, the immigrant becomes eligible for South African citizenship, a privilege that has historically been denied to many millions of Black South Africans. A bizarre reversal still exists for many Blacks who are regarded as foreigners in their own country (they are deemed to be citizens of one or other Black "homeland" or "national state"), while immigrants of European origin may, within a relatively short time, obtain all the privileges of full citizenship (including the right to vote), which no Black person, citizen or not, enjoys.

Thirdly, resentment may also stem from the importation of skilled manpower that is seen to be at the expense of Black education and advancement. Granted, the shortage of such skilled manpower in South Africa is critical<sup>2</sup> and immigration

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<sup>2</sup>According to a Government mini manpower survey conducted in September 1984, a total of 179 667 vacancies existed in South Africa, with 41 646 of these in the professional, semi-professional and technical categories (Cooper, *et al*, 1986: 132). In 1983 this figure was 30 865 for these three categories (Central

offers a relatively cheap and rapid means of overcoming this problem, in the short term at least. However, Black unemployment continues to grow at an alarming rate<sup>3</sup>, and educational opportunities for Blacks are still severely restricted relative to those for Whites. Thus, although the use of skilled foreign manpower may be justified financially, it should be seen to be complementary to, rather than at the expense of, Black advancement.

These three factors combine to foster a sense of anger and bitterness among Black South Africans towards the immigrants who, by virtue of ascribed characteristics, enjoy a position of power and privilege that is denied the majority of South Africans in the country of their birth.

South Africa's racial stratification also has implications for immigrant adaptation on the economic level. The primary effect of such stratification is that, unlike in other immigrant receiving countries where class forms the basis of stratification, in South Africa the theory of ethnic succession does not apply. Briefly, ethnic succession refers to the process whereby newly-arrived immigrant groups initially tend to occupy the poorest jobs and housing, but slowly move upward in the socio-economic hierarchy as other ethnic newcomers arrive to replace them at the bottom of the hierarchy (see Light, 1981; Park, 1936; Shibutani and Kwan, 1965: 121). Although many authors have contested the notion of ethnic succession, it is generally agreed that new immigrant arrivals begin at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder in the new country (see Bostock, 1981: 33; Nelson, 1982: 30).

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Statistical Service, 1986: 70).

<sup>3</sup>An estimated 539 000 Blacks (or 8,5% of the economically active population) were unemployed in November 1985 (Cooper, et al, 1986: 134).

In contrast to other countries, as Stone (1973: 37) points out,

... the immigrant in South Africa is immediately confronted by a caste-type stratification system in a manner that brooks no evasion. The immigrant manual worker will be in a higher relative position in the new structure than in the old, without necessarily experiencing 'social mobility' in the conventional sense, simply by virtue of his membership of the dominant white caste. He will have experienced an 'unachieved rise in status' and this will have to be explained, rationalized, or legitimized in some way.

In South Africa the least desirable and worst-paid occupations are filled by Blacks - the very jobs that unskilled immigrant labour would fill in other countries (see Bostock, 1981). Unskilled and semi-skilled immigrants may be expected to obtain employment in South Africa incommensurate with their education and/or experience.

On a social level the immigrant is affected by the structure of the surrounding society. Due to the strict segregation between the races, he is generally restricted to social contact with members of the White group. However, because of the salience of race and ethnicity in South Africa, the immigrant whose language, customs and religion differs from the majority of Whites will be treated with a measure of suspicion by the host group. This further restricts opportunities for equal-status social contact with South Africans of all races. This aspect will be dealt with later.

These are some of the possible effects of stratification on the objective adaptation of immigrants to South Africa. What about their subjective adaptation? This will depend in large part on the immigrant's attitudes and expectations regarding apartheid. An immigrant who arrives with a good knowledge and full approval of the apartheid system would be more likely to identify with South Africa than, say, an immigrant who finds it difficult to accept his elevated status position in the new society. Much will depend on how the immigrant views apartheid, both before and after arrival in South Africa.

## 4.2 PLURALISM

Due to the rigid stratification and segregation of racial groups in South Africa, the immigrant is restricted to the White group. It is within this group that the adaptation of the immigrant takes place. Without denying the importance of the remaining racial groups in immigrant adaptation, the focus of the remainder of this chapter will be on White South Africans as a host community. It was noted earlier that although South Africa is stratified primarily on the basis of race, within each racial caste there are numerous further subdivisions which may or may not be ranked hierarchically. This is where the notion of pluralism comes in.

Many regard such distinctions between pluralism and stratification as artificial. A number of authors regard pluralism as a particular form of stratification. Tuden and Plotnovic (1970: 25) regard pluralism and racial stratification as coterminous. Both Van den Berghe (1965, 1970) and Stone (1973, 1975) describe the racial situation in South Africa in terms of a plural society. On the other hand, Rex (1983: 20) writes: "Pluralism in a society is not to be confused with stratification." Smith (1965: 83) also points out that "There is no inherent reason why all cultural sections in a society should be ranked hierarchically." This latter approach, in which pluralism and stratification are regarded as related but nonequivalent concepts, will be followed here. For the purposes of the present discussion, a distinction will therefore be made between stratification between the races and pluralism within each racial group.

### 4.2.1 The nature of pluralism

Part of the problem regarding this confusion over the meaning of stratification and pluralism lies in the lack of agreement over the term "pluralism".

Schermerhorn (1978: 122-127) distinguishes four different meanings of pluralism (Nicholls (1974) discusses three different usages of the concept). Briefly, these four meanings are as follows:

- (a) Normative pluralism. This refers to the ideological designation of pluralism made popular by Kallen and others (see Section 2.1.2). The terms "cultural pluralism" and "pluralism" are used interchangeably within this ideological tradition.
- (b) Political pluralism. Pluralism as a political designation has been used predominantly by American political scientists to refer to an interaction of non-stratified, cross-cutting and overlapping interest groups in political decision-making (see Lijphart, 1977; Nicholls, 1974: 18-32). Pluralism in this sense is believed to be the central feature of democracy in the United States of America.
- (c) Cultural pluralism refers to the presence of ethnic groups in a society. This will be discussed in more detail later.
- (d) Structural pluralism. Schermerhorn (1978: 124) notes that "A multicultural or multiethnic society is by implication a society with plural structural units". Structural pluralism and cultural pluralism tend to co-exist.

These last two meanings of the concept are of interest here. Structural pluralism can be ranged along a continuum. At one extreme, power is monopolised by a single dominant group. This approximates the notion of the "plural society" first coined by Furnivall (1948) in a colonial context and later refined and made more generally applicable by Smith (1965, 1969). At the other extreme of the continuum, pluralism refers to the presence of several ethnic groups (Bekker, 1974) which share participation in a number of broad social

institutions while maintaining a measure of cultural distinctiveness. The term "social pluralism" has also been used to refer to this form of pluralism. Unlike stratification, pluralism therefore does not necessarily imply the hierarchical ranking of groups. This hierarchy is the key difference between these two concepts.

It has already been noted that the third and fourth meanings of pluralism identified by Schermerhorn are closely related. As van den Berghe points out (quoted in Schermerhorn, 1965: 126), "in most cases ... social or structural pluralism is simply another facet of cultural pluralism." The concepts of cultural and structural pluralism will be used here to designate the presence of different ethnic groups in a society with a greater or lesser degree of institutional incorporation.

The ethnic group is a key element in the concept of pluralism. However, the definitions of ethnic group are many and varied. Gordon (1964: 24) offers one of the simpler yet more popular definitions, seeing the ethnic group as a group of individuals "with a shared sense of peoplehood." Additional (but not necessarily contradictory) definitions of ethnicity are offered by Isajiw (1974), Kolm (1971: 65), Schermerhorn (1978: 12) and Yinger (1985), among others. A common element in these definitions is the question of identity. An ethnic group can be regarded as consisting of people who conceive of themselves as being alike (Dashefsky, 1976: 97; Shibutani and Kwan, 1965: 47). Such similarity may be based on any number of characteristics (such as religion, race, nationality, language, or geographical proximity).

To the extent that ethnic groups form subsocieties within which most primary relations and some secondary relations take place and institutional activity (family, marriage, church, education, politics, recreation, language, etc.) is separated (see Gordon, 1964: 37), they can be said to exhibit pluralism (be

plural). It should be emphasised that "immigrant group" and "ethnic group" are not coterminous concepts. An immigrant group is simply a conglomerate of individuals with a common country of origin. Only when this group develops a sense of shared identity and exhibits a measure of social and structural separation from other groups in society can such a group be regarded as an ethnic group.

#### 4.2.2 South Africa as a plural society

With this brief discussion in mind, the plural nature of White society in South Africa will now be examined. Stone (1973: 83) notes that "South African society is a classic example of social and cultural pluralism." It has already been noted that each of the four race groups in South Africa is internally subdivided. The White group is segmented into two large and distinct groups, namely Afrikaners and "English speakers"<sup>4</sup>. In addition to these two groups, a number of smaller groups such as the Jews, Germans and Portuguese can also be identified. Whether these latter groups form distinct ethnic communities or whether they can be regarded as subgroups of one of the two major divisions needs to be examined.

Language is the primary basis for differentiation within White society. The language composition of White South Africa in 1980 is presented in Table 4.2.

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<sup>4</sup>This latter group should more correctly be described as "English-speaking White South Africans" to distinguish them from English speakers of other racial groups on the one hand, and British immigrants on the other. For reasons of convenience the descriptor "English speakers" will be used here.

TABLE 4.2  
LANGUAGE COMPOSITION OF THE WHITE POPULATION IN SOUTH AFRICA, 1980<sup>5</sup>

Language	Number	Percent
Afrikaans	2 580 480	57,0
English	1 763 180	38,9
Portuguese	57 080	1,3
German	40 240	0,9
Greek	16 780	0,4
Italian	16 600	0,4
Dutch	11 740	0,3
French	6 340	0,1
Other	34 700	0,8
TOTAL	4 527 140	100,1

It is important to note that language in the sense used here is more than a means of communication. As Levy (1985: 113) points out: "The particular language one speaks is naturally a critical determinant of self-identity." Language is used here as an indicator of deep historical, cultural, religious, political and attitudinal differences between various groups in South Africa. To describe White South Africa simply as a bilingual society is to completely miss the significance of language in all spheres of life. The argument for regarding the two major language groups within White South African society as distinct ethnic groups will be discussed here.

One of the central tenets of recent apartheid ideology is that the Whites in South Africa constitute one nation, whereas the Blacks are considered to consist of a number of distinct ethnic groups (see Cornevin, 1980). For example, in the official yearbook of the Republic of South Africa the following appears:

Measured by the accepted criteria of nationhood, the Whites of South Africa constitute a full-fledged, independent nation. Despite their diverse European origins they have evolved a nationhood and a distinctive identity of their own. ... Between those of British stock and their Afrikaner compatriots there has been a growing comradeship, a new identity of purpose, a genuine sentiment of

<sup>5</sup>These and subsequent figures are compiled from the 5% sample of the 1980 census. The Central Statistical Service is gratefully acknowledged for making the computer tape of the 5% sample available.

shared nationhood." (Information Service of South Africa, 1979: 80)<sup>6</sup>.

Despite the great differences between Afrikaners and English speakers, these two groups are officially presented as a single White nation (see Cornevin, 1980: 69). In contrast to this, it is written in the yearbook that "The Blacks of South Africa do not constitute a single homogeneous people or ethnic entity" (Information Service of South Africa, 1979: 82).

It is argued that Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking Whites are not only linguistically but also economically, socially, culturally, religiously, politically and ideologically distinct groups. Few would disagree that the Afrikaners can be regarded as an example par excellence of an ethnic group (see Rhoodie and Couper, 1986). Although English speakers are a more heterogeneous and less cohesive group than the Afrikaners (see Hanf, et al, 1980: 82-83; Paton, 1981), they too can be regarded as an ethnic group.

The implications of this are crucial for immigrant adaptation in South Africa. Unlike in many other immigrant-receiving countries, the immigrant to South Africa is confronted with not one, but two host societies (as far as Whites are concerned) coexisting within the same country. It is important to examine the differences between English and Afrikaans in South Africa and to explore the implications of such differences for immigrant adaptation. Although it is beyond the scope of the present study to examine the historical development and contemporary character of these differences in detail, a few areas of difference will be mentioned to support the contention regarding the plural nature of White society.

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<sup>6</sup>It is interesting to note that up until 1979 the official yearbook, in its chapter on "The People of South Africa" dealt at some length with White South Africans, extolling their superiority vis-a-vis the other racial groups and emphasising their common bond with European cultures. Other language groups within the White group were mentioned only in passing. However, in 1980 the discussion on White South Africans was dropped, and separate sections on the Jews, Germans, Dutch, Greeks, Portuguese, Italians and French were introduced.

It was pointed out earlier that identity is a core aspect of ethnicity. If a common identity is at the core of ethnicity, both Afrikaners and English speakers can be regarded as ethnic groups. In a survey of Whites undertaken by Schlemmer (1976: 100) in 1974, the identification of both English speakers and Afrikaans speakers was ascertained. The findings of this survey are presented in Table 4.3.

TABLE 4.3  
ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION OF WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS, 1974

Identification	Afrikaans speakers (N=641) %	English speakers (N=659) %
South African	15	28
White South African	21	12
Afrikaner	12	-
Afrikaans-speaking South African	51	5
English-speaking South African	-	40
English/British	-	8
European	-	5
Other	1	3

It is interesting to note that the designation "South African" was chosen by a minority of both groups, indicating a lack of a common national identity among White South Africans. A significant proportion of both English speakers (48%) and Afrikaans speakers (63%) chose to identify themselves in language terms, pointing to a consciousness of ethnicity among the majority of Whites in South Africa.

In a further question, Schlemmer (1976: 101) posed the following question: "How important do you think it is for a group such as English-speaking South Africans/Afrikaans-speaking South Africans to maintain its identity and keep its tradition and language strong?" The responses to this question are presented in Table 4.4.

TABLE 4.4  
THE IMPORTANCE OF ETHNIC GROUP MAINTENANCE TO WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS

Response:	Afrikaans speakers (N=641) %	English speakers (N=659) %
Very important	86	53
Fairly important	10	26
Fairly unimportant	2	13
Very unimportant	1	7
Can't say / do not know	-	2

The importance of ethnic group maintenance for Whites in South Africa is clearly evident from these responses, with no less than 96% of Afrikaans speakers and 79% of English speakers acknowledging the importance of ethnic identity.

The question on identity was recently repeated in a countrywide probability survey of Whites undertaken by Rhodie, De Kock and Couper<sup>7</sup> in March 1984. The findings of this survey are presented in Table 4.5.

TABLE 4.5  
ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION OF WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS, 1984

Identification	Afrikaans speakers (N=528) %	English speakers (N=406) %
South African	17,0	33,0
White South African	31,1	15,8
Afrikaner	7,0	0,5
Afrikaans-speaking South African	41,0	0,2
English-speaking South African	1,3	36,5
English/British	-	8,6
European	1,7	3,4
Other	0,8	2,0
TOTAL	99,9	100,0

<sup>7</sup>Unpublished research findings of the Division for Group Interaction of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC).

Although it appears as if ethnic identification (especially among Afrikaans-speaking Whites) has dropped slightly in the ten years between the two surveys, a not unsubstantial number (48% of Afrikaans speakers and 45,1% of English speakers) still identified themselves primarily in ethnic or language terms in 1984.

In terms of religious denomination, the two groups also differ greatly. The religious affiliation of Afrikaans and English speakers in 1980 can be found in Table 4.6.

TABLE 4.6  
RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS

Religious affiliation	Afrikaans speakers %	English speakers %
Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK)	63,0	3,5
Gereformeerde Kerk	4,8	0,2
Nederduits Hervormde Kerk	9,3	0,3
Anglican (Church of England / CPSA)	0,9	24,4
Methodist	1,9	20,5
Catholic	1,0	15,8
Other Christian	15,8	20,3
Jewish	0,1	6,4
Other / none	3,3	8,5
TOTAL	100,1	99,9

It can be seen from Table 4.6 that 77,1% of Afrikaans speakers belong to one of the three Afrikaans "sister churches". Put another way, 96,2% of the membership of these three churches are Afrikaans speakers, whereas 94,2% of the Anglicans and 87,3% of the Methodists are English speakers. Thus, in terms of religion, White South African society is to a large extent ethnically enclosed.

With regard to education, an even higher level of separation between the two major White ethnic groups is found. Looking at Table 4.7 (compiled from Central Statistical Service, 1985: 60-61) it can clearly be seen that education in South

Africa is organised in terms of language, with 99,5% of Afrikaans-speaking children attending Afrikaans medium schools in 1980, and 99,0% of English-speaking children attending English medium schools. A mere 0,08% of White schoolgoers are pupils at dual medium schools. It is also interesting to note that of the 2 018 pupils (0,21% of the total number of pupils) whose home language is given as "other", 85,5% attended English medium schools, and only 9% Afrikaans medium schools. Possible reasons for this will be discussed later.

TABLE 4.7  
HOME LANGUAGE AND MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION OF PUPILS, 1980

Medium of instruction	Home language			
	Afrikaans	English	Both	Other
Afrikaans				
N	554 532	2 916	15 526	3 323
%	99,47	0,92	34,07	8,97
English				
N	2 662	312 959	29 981	31 677
%	0,48	98,96	65,78	85,49
Both				
N	292	374	70	34
%	0,05	0,12	0,15	0,09
Other				
N	5	6	0	2 018
%	0,00	0,00	-	5,45
TOTAL				
N	557 491	316 255	45 577	37 052
%	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

An examination of party-political support provides further evidence of pluralism. In a survey conducted by Rhodie, De Kock and Couper in March 1986 it was found that 69,6% of supporters of the National Party are Afrikaans speakers, as are 90,0% of Conservative Party supporters and 92,3% of Herstigte Nasionale Party supporters. In contrast, 83,0% of supporters of the Progressive Federal Party and 76,9% of supporters of the New Republic Party are English speakers.

Occupationally, there is also a degree of differentiation. According to the 1980 census (5% sample) 71,1% of employees in central government are Afrikaans speakers (bearing in mind that 57% of the total White population is Afrikaans speaking). Afrikaans-speaking Whites are also overrepresented in provincial administrations (66,9%), public corporations such as ISCOR and SASOL (75,1%), and Railways and Harbours, South African Airways, and the Post Office (74,6%). English speakers (38,9% of the White population) are mainly concentrated in the private sector, comprising 49,1% of all White employees in that sector. If one looks at specific occupations listed in the 1980 census, it is found that for 64 of the 81 occupational groups listed, Afrikaans speakers are either overrepresented or underrepresented by at least 10 or more percentage points. A similar pattern exists in respect of English speakers.

The institution of marriage is another area where clear evidence of ethnic pluralism can be found. Endogamy within ethnic groups in White South African society is highly pronounced. In a study of the marriage patterns of White South Africans, Maconachie (1988: 38) found that 94,1% of all married Afrikaans speakers were married to other Afrikaans speakers, and 87,7% of all English speakers were married to other English speakers. The cleavages within White society are thus being perpetuated through homogamous marriage patterns.

In addition to the above differences between English and Afrikaans speakers, the two groups are generally also geographically separated. In Table 4.8 a summary of the proportion of English and Afrikaans speakers in metropolitan and other areas (based on the 5% sample of the 1980 census) is presented.

TABLE 4.8  
PROPORTIONS OF ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS SPEAKERS IN SELECTED AREAS, 1980

Area	Afrikaans %	English %
Total South Africa	57,0	39,0
<u>Metropolitan areas:</u>		
Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging (PWV)	54,5	39,5
Western Cape	42,6	54,2
Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage-Despatch	52,4	46,0
Durban-Pinetown	15,9	80,8
Total metropolitan	47,1	48,1
<u>Non-metropolitan areas:</u>		
Cape	73,8	24,8
Transvaal	84,6	13,1
Natal	47,5	48,2
Orange Free State	85,0	11,4
Total non-metropolitan	77,0	20,5

It can be seen from Table 4.8 that only in the PWV does the proportion of English versus Afrikaans approach that for South Africa as a whole. However, this area houses 41,1% of all Whites in South Africa and is composed of a number of more segregated areas. For example, the magisterial district of Delmas is 90,2% Afrikaans, Wonderboom 88,2% Afrikaans, and Pretoria 75,0% Afrikaans. In contrast, 76,8% of Randburg's White residents are English, as are 64,7% of Johannesburg's residents. A more detailed examination of data from the 1980 census reveals a clear pattern of residential segregation between English and Afrikaans at the suburban level.

#### 4.2.3 Implications of pluralism for immigrant adaptation

One implication of pluralism among Whites for immigrant adaptation is that, as with the situation between the races, Afrikaners and English speakers are competing for dominance within the various power structures of South African society. For this reason immigration again becomes a political issue. As Stone (1973: viii) points out:

... the balance of power within the 'white' community, between English-speaking South African and Afrikaner, is such that

immigration on a severely limited scale could quite easily affect the relative size of each ethnic group.

Although South Africa ostensibly has a policy of recruiting skilled manpower for specific needs, immigration has more than purely economic significance. Both the number and type of immigrants entering South Africa have political significance for English-Afrikaner relations (see Du Pisanie, 1975: 174).

Afrikaners perceive their numerical and political dominance within White society to be particularly threatened by the flow of immigrants to this country who may bolster the ranks of the English speakers. For example, Nel (1965: 362) writes:

As a result of the great influx of immigrants during the past few years it has again become necessary to remind the Afrikaner that language and culture are spiritual creations of the highest order and that they should be preserved at all costs.

The linguistic, political, cultural and religious implications of immigration for White South Africa affects both Government policy and public attitudes towards immigrants, which in turn affect the adaptation of such immigrants in South Africa. These aspects will be examined in more detail in later chapters.

A second implication of White pluralism is that South Africa is a bilingual country. In this respect South Africa is not unique. Although South Africa shares many similarities with other bilingual immigrant-receiving countries such as Canada, there are also major differences. In Canada, for example, both languages are "international" languages, whereas in South Africa, although derived from various European sources, Afrikaans is a language exclusive to this country. The implications of this are two-fold. Firstly, there are no "ready-made" Afrikaans-speaking immigrants that South Africa can recruit. Secondly, unless an immigrant intends to settle permanently in South Africa, he may have little or no incentive to learn Afrikaans.

Furthermore, in Canada English is the dominant language both politically and numerically<sup>8</sup>, and most immigrants join the English language group rather than the French. In contrast, in South Africa the Afrikaners are in the political and numerical majority but it is the English group that gains most from immigration. In other words, although both French and Afrikaners feel threatened by large-scale immigration, the Afrikaners have the power to promote or even enforce bilingualism.

Many immigrants who come to South Africa believe that it is sufficient to speak one of the official languages of this country. However, bilingualism is required for employment in the public sector and to a lesser extent in the private sector. In addition, both Afrikaans and English are compulsory subjects at school level.

Bilingualism, and especially fluency in Afrikaans, is promoted on all levels. In 1970, Dr Connie Mulder, then Minister of Immigration stated the following (Hansard, 1970: 5008):

This evening I want to say something in plain language to the immigrant population of South Africa ... To say to us that they are prepared to learn only one of the two official languages, will not be good enough in South Africa in the long run. This people is a bilingual people. We live in a bilingual country. Immigrants cannot expect goodwill to be shown towards them if they persist in learning only one language and totally ignoring the other language.

The immigrant who is not prepared to learn Afrikaans may not be accepted by the majority of Whites in this country. He may experience not only resentment, but possibly also prejudice and even discrimination.

Furthermore, the plural nature of South Africa offers the immigrant a number of options because there is no single host society. Even within the White group

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<sup>8</sup>In 1961, 58,5% of Canadians were English, 28,1% were French, and 13,5% spoke various other languages (Liebersson, 1970: 34).

there are a number of distinct cultural and linguistic groups which the immigrant can join. Ryan (1973: 23) points out that

Both Gordon and Eisenstadt accept the concept of a core culture which acts as a standard against which the progress of immigrants can be measured.

In South Africa it is not possible to speak of a core culture. In a deeply divided society such as this, the concept of a "South African culture" has little meaning. The evidence presented earlier also mitigates against speaking of a "White culture" in South Africa. In other words, even though he is restricted to the White group, the immigrant has a number of available options regarding adaptation, and especially integration or assimilation. However, depending on the immigrant's own origins, these subsocieties may exhibit a greater or lesser degree of openness in accepting the immigrant into their ranks.

Finally, a direct practical consequence of White pluralism is that South Africa has not one, but two officially-sanctioned immigrant-assistance organisations, namely the 1820 Memorial Settlers' Association of Southern Africa (or, more simply, the 1820 Settlers' Association) and the "Maatskappy vir Europese Immigrasie" (M.E.I. - translated as European Immigration Company).

The 1820 Settlers' Association was formed in 1920 in commemoration of the British settlers who landed at Algoa Bay in 1820. Of primary concern to the Association is the integration of immigrants from English-speaking countries, primarily from the British Isles (see Department of Immigration, 1969).

The M.E.I., on the other hand, was formed in 1954 with the aim of assisting immigrants to integrate into the Afrikaans community. The M.E.I., which is supported by Afrikaans churches and cultural organisations, was initially concerned with encouraging immigrants from the Netherlands and Germany to settle in South Africa and to assimilate with the Afrikaners. However, with the decline

in immigration from these countries, the M.E.I. has broadened its focus to include all immigrants who are not English speaking, particularly those from the continent of Europe (see Department of Immigration, 1975).

The M.E.I. and the 1820 Settlers' Association receive an equal subsidy from the Government for their integration efforts. Both organisations however rely on the assistance of volunteers as well as on additional funding from outside sources. Over the last few years a number of overtures have been made to combine the resources of the two organisations (see Hansard, 1977: 10441), but the idea of a merger is resisted.

#### 4.3 SUMMARY

This chapter has focussed on the stratified and plural nature of South African society. Some of the implications of the structure of this society for immigrant adaptation have been discussed. It is clear that immigrants are restricted to one segment of South African society, namely the White community. It is also clear that this community does not constitute a homogenous receiving society.

The next chapter focuses further on White South African society, and looks at the kind of reception that immigrants may expect from various elements of the White community in South Africa.

## CHAPTER 5

### GOVERNMENT POLICY AND PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS

This chapter focuses on two aspects of White South African society as they pertain to the adaptation of immigrants in this country. The official policy espoused by the ruling party is sure to impact on immigrants in South Africa, not only through the official support for certain actions and discouragement of others, but also through the effect such policies may have on public attitudes towards immigrants. The attitudes of White South Africans in general and towards specific immigrant groups are also examined.

#### 5.1 GOVERNMENT POLICY

No attempt will be made to present a thorough review of official policy towards immigrants over the last few decades (for such reviews see Du Pisanie, 1975; Lotz, 1971: Chapter 5). All that will be done in this section is to briefly mention a few salient policy issues as they pertain to immigrant adaptation in South Africa.

Unlike most other immigrant-receiving countries, South Africa has for many years actively promoted immigration, and still does so. Whereas countries like the United States of America, Canada and Australia have strict immigrant quotas and regulations restricting immigration, South Africa both encourages the recruitment of immigrants and subsidises the passage and initial accommodation of selected immigrants.

South Africa's immigration policy has two main aims. The first is the importation of skilled manpower to promote economic growth in South Africa, and the second is the strengthening, or at least the maintenance, of the numerical position of Whites relative to the other groups in South Africa (see Hansard, 1966: 2904;

1978: 7310). With these aims in mind, South Africa's immigration policy is based on the strict selection of immigrants. All potential immigrants are screened by the Immigrant Selection Board before being accepted.

Regarding the requirements of selection, according to the Aliens Act of 1937 (as amended) an application for immigration can only be approved if:

... the applicant is of good character and likely to be readily assimilated by the White inhabitants and to become a desirable inhabitant within a reasonable period after his entry. (South Africa, 1985: 288).

The immigration policy of the National Party Government was re-affirmed by Dr Piet Koornhof (National Party MP and later Minister of Immigration) in 1968 as follows:

... it is the stated immigration policy of the National Party, and that of the Government to consolidate the white man here by means of four very explicit assurances which it is giving to the nation. ... The first is that the Government will see to it that immigrants do not deprive our people of their work; secondly, that the Protestant denominational ratio in this country will not be upset by immigration; thirdly, that unassimilable elements will be excluded from this country; and fourthly, that care will be taken to ensure that immigration does not become a threat to the language, culture or religion of any white ethnic group in South Africa, or endanger the future of any population group here. (Hansard, 1968: 5943).

The central role of assimilation in the Government's approach to immigrants was more recently confirmed by Mr Louis Nel (National Party MP and later Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs) who stated that

... the success or otherwise of an immigration programme necessarily depends not on the figures or number but on the extent to which immigrants associate themselves with the traditions and ways of life of their new country. (Hansard, 1980: 7670).

This concern with assimilation can be evidenced in four recurring themes in parliamentary debates on the issue.

The first of these themes is that, despite official statements that "it is not -- and never has been -- Government policy to discriminate against any immigrant

on grounds of nationality or origin" (Hansard, 1972: 7840)', immigrants from South Africa's traditional countries of origin are preferred to immigrants from other countries (Hansard, 1968: 5934; 1969: 7582; 1984: 5748).

The second theme is that learning to speak both South Africa's official languages is regarded as highly desirable and is also expected of immigrants within a reasonable period of time (Hansard, 1965: 7582; 1969: 7582; 1970: 5008; 1974: 5226; 1977: 10430).

A third major concern has been to encourage immigrants to become South African citizens. It was estimated in 1979 that of the 400 000 immigrants to South Africa since 1968, only some 10% had become naturalised (Hansard, 1979: 6394). To quote Mr S.F. Kotze, the then Deputy Minister of Immigration:

Our entire nation ought to co-operate to realize the ultimate ideal of complete assimilation. If, in the present circumstances in which we find ourselves, there is one great task which we face in connection with our immigrants, it is ... to ensure that as many as possible of these people become South African citizens. (Hansard, 1978: 7311-7312).

This concern has been echoed in many other parliamentary debates (see for example Hansard 1969: 7582; 1970: 4982; 1977: 10437-10438; 1981: 3163-3165).

A final concern is opposition to any separation of immigrant groups from mainstream White society and the formation of immigrant ethnic groups. This concern is epitomised in the following statement by Mr Z.P. Le Roux (National Party MP) in 1977:

We cannot afford to have South Africa balkanized into cultures that do not in fact have a common feeling for South Africa. We cannot have a balkanization where the German community, the Portuguese community, the English community, the Afrikaans community, each has a different idea of what South African patriotism is. (Hansard, 1977: 10437).

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'This has not precluded discrimination on the basis of race. Until very recently immigration was restricted to Whites only. At one time the following question appeared as part of the application form for permanent residence: "Are you and all the persons concerned of pure White descent?" (Hansard, 1969: 7589).

This concern is particularly evident with regard to the Portuguese community which in 1981 was said to number between 600 000 and 700 000 members, only 9% of whom were South African citizens (Hansard, 1981: 3202; see also Hansard, 1983: 7785). The formation of ethnic enclaves, or the geographical concentration of immigrant groups, is officially regarded as undesirable (Hansard, 1970: 4984; 1971: 5443; 1975: 8018; 1983: 7784).

In recent years a more tolerant attitude towards immigrants appears to have emerged, along with an increasing realisation of the relative permanence of various ethnic communities within White South Africa. Despite this, the major thrust of official policy towards immigrants appears to be unchanged. Although professing to recognise and even to encourage cultural diversity within the White community, Government policy towards immigrants has remained assimilationist in its intent.

## 5.2 PUBLIC ATTITUDES

Along with official policies pertaining to immigration, the attitudes of members of the receiving society towards immigrants will have a profound effect on their adaptation. In this section the attitudes of the two main White groups towards immigrants will be examined.

Lever (1968, 1972) studied the ethnic attitudes of White adults in Johannesburg in 1964 and 1968 using a modified social distance scale. The social contact distance indices for Afrikaans and English respondents are presented in Table 5.1 (Lever, 1972: 205-206). A high social contact distance index indicates an unfavourable attitude. It is evident from the table that the attitudes of English-speaking respondents towards other ethnic groups are relatively more favourable than those of their Afrikaans counterparts.

TABLE 5.1  
SOCIAL CONTACT DISTANCE INDICES OF WHITE RESIDENTS OF JOHANNESBURG, 1964 AND 1968

	Afrikaans		English	
	1964	1968	1964	1968
Afrikaans-speaking South Africans	1,17	1,16	1,56	1,56
English-speaking South Africans	1,34	1,45	1,16	1,17
British	2,03	2,30	1,34	1,44
Hollanders	2,18	2,47	1,88	1,95
Germans	2,41	2,55	2,10	2,12
Jews	2,83	2,94	2,05	1,98
Italians	3,37	3,86	2,43	2,67
Greeks	3,52	3,94	2,61	2,87
Portuguese	3,90	4,61	2,99	3,28

Although ethnic attitudes were relatively stable in this period, Afrikaans-speaking respondents in 1968 expressed greater social distance towards Italians, Greeks and Portuguese than in 1964. This leads Lever (1972: 206-207) to conclude that

... the Afrikaans community is becoming increasingly resentful of certain types of immigrants, more especially those whose cultures are markedly different.

English speakers expressed a similar social distance to immigrants from non-traditional sending countries, but such attitudes have remained relatively stable.

In a combined survey by Lotz (1971a, 1971b) and Pretorius (1971a, 1971b), the attitude of 1 020 adult White residents of Pretoria towards immigration policy and various minority groups were ascertained. In the first part of the study, Lotz (1971a) found that the majority of respondents (75%) agreed that immigration was necessary, and supported the broad aims of South Africa's immigration policy. However, the sample desired the strict screening of potential immigrants. Clearly observable differences of opinion between Afrikaans and English speakers were found. For example, the percentages of those who felt that the screening of immigrants in terms of selected criteria was necessary are presented in Table 5.2 (recalculated from Lotz, 1971a: 137-138,

155).

TABLE 5.2  
PERCENTAGES OF RESPONDENTS AGREEING WITH THE NECESSITY FOR SCREENING OF  
IMMIGRANTS ACCORDING TO VARIOUS CRITERIA

Criteria	Afrikaans (N = 772) %	English (N = 248) %
Country of origin	86,1	69,4
Religious convictions	71,8	33,9
Sex distribution / marital status	50,5	37,1
Type of occupation	81,2	73,4
Labour efficiency	93,3	86,7
Health	91,3	84,7
Age	72,3	59,3
Political background	87,0	73,8

It can be seen from Table 5.2 that the sample was generally opposed to the immigration of unskilled manpower. In addition the national origin, religion and political background of immigrants are of greater concern to Afrikaans-speaking respondents than to their English counterparts.

Opposition, particularly among Afrikaners, to immigrants from non-traditional sending countries can be seen in the responses to the following question: "Should immigrants with values foreign to those generally prevalent in South Africa be allowed here?" Only 22,0% of Afrikaans speakers responded positively to this question, compared to 51,6% of English speakers (Lotz, 1971a: 150).

Opposition to the development of plural structures was found to be relatively low among both language groups. In response to the question, "Should the government allow immigrant groups to form social, cultural and religious societies to satisfy their special needs?", 60,1% of Afrikaans speakers and 77,8% of English speakers agreed. In answer to a subsequent question, 50,4% of Afrikaners felt that such societies would help immigrants to settle in South Africa, as opposed to 75,4% of English speakers who felt this way (Lotz, 1971a:

150).

In his study of attitudes towards various White minority groups, Pretorius (1971a: 347) concluded that:

... Afrikaans-speaking respondents are more prejudiced towards the relevant ethnic groups than the English-speaking respondents. They also have less actual social contact and see them more as a threat than do the English-speaking respondents.

Using a modified social distance measure, Pretorius determined the ethnic preferences of the respondents. The relative social distances (with a high score indicating greater social distance) are seen in Table 5.3 (Pretorius, 1971a: 289).

TABLE 5.3  
ETHNIC PREFERENCES OF WHITE RESIDENTS OF PRETORIA AS MEASURED BY A SOCIAL DISTANCE SCALE

Ethnic group	Afrikaans (N = 772)	English (N = 248)
British	1,78	1,28
Germans	1,80	1,60
Dutch	2,08	1,94
French	2,32	1,74
Jews	3,69	2,61
Italians	3,77	2,67
Greeks	4,06	2,93
Portuguese	4,43	3,26

It is interesting to note that the British are ranked more favourably than the Germans and Dutch by Afrikaans-speaking respondents. The differences in the scores of Afrikaans and English respondents are statistically significant for all groups except the Germans, Dutch and French. A number of other questions in the study by Pretorius confirm the relative rankings of the various ethnic groups. It is also interesting to note that the relative rankings of the various groups correspond in broad terms with the findings of Lever (1972) discussed earlier.

In a countrywide probability sample survey of White attitudes towards immigrants conducted in 1975 by Groenewald and Smedley (1977), it was hypothesised inter alia that

... more Afrikaans-speaking respondents than English-speaking respondents would express a desire for social distance from, and unfavourable attitudes towards White immigrant groups, [and] that Afrikaans-speaking respondents would express greater social distance from, and less favourable attitudes towards the Italian, Greek and Portuguese immigrant groups than English-speaking respondents. (Groenewald and Smedley, 1977: 127).

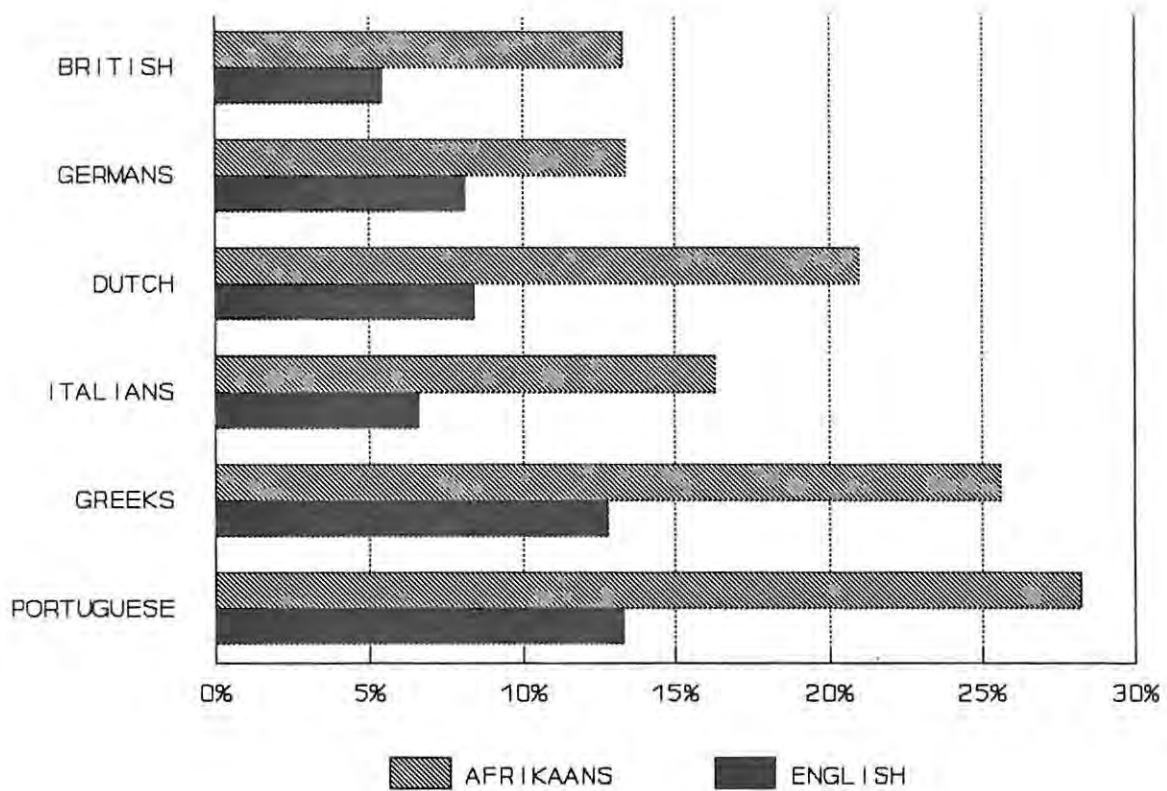
These hypotheses were confirmed by the results of the survey, again supporting the findings of Lever (1968, 1972) and Pretorius (1971). The questions asked by Groenewald and Smedley were repeated, together with a few additional questions, in a countrywide survey (using identical sampling methods) by the present writer in 1984. These two surveys are thus comparable, and can be regarded as broadly representative of the adult White population of South Africa. Detailed results of the two surveys can be found in Tables 5.4 and 5.5.

Instead of a Bogardus-type social distance scale, in the 1975 and 1984 surveys respondents were asked to indicate in respect of a number of immigrant groups whether they felt more of each group should come to South Africa than at present, just as many, fewer than at present, or whether they should not be allowed to come at all. The responses to this series of questions are presented in Table 5.4. For illustrative purposes the proportions of respondents in the 1984 survey who indicated that such groups should not be allowed to come to South Africa are also presented graphically in Figure 5.1.

TABLE 5.4  
WHITE ATTITUDES TOWARDS SPECIFIC IMMIGRANT GROUPS, 1975 AND 1984

Immigrant group:	AFRIKAANS		ENGLISH		TOTAL	
	1975	1984	1975	1984	1975	1984
	%	%	%	%	%	%
<b>Italians:</b>						
More	7,7	8,5	20,2	17,0	12,4	13,2
The same	32,2	26,3	46,6	39,1	37,8	32,3
Less	31,6	25,8	23,5	14,5	28,5	20,0
None	25,6	16,3	7,2	6,6	18,6	12,0
Uncertain	3,0	23,1	2,5	22,9	2,7	22,5
<b>British:</b>						
More	20,6	12,1	46,2	21,6	29,3	16,9
The same	40,4	33,9	34,7	43,0	38,9	37,7
Less	22,7	28,6	12,6	16,2	19,3	22,2
None	13,7	13,3	4,5	5,4	10,2	10,1
Uncertain	2,7	12,1	2,0	13,8	2,4	13,1
<b>Dutch:</b>						
More	11,6	10,2	32,0	18,7	19,1	15,1
The same	30,7	29,7	43,3	39,8	35,5	34,2
Less	28,4	25,6	14,9	15,5	23,4	20,5
None	26,4	21,0	7,5	8,4	19,5	15,1
Uncertain	2,9	13,4	2,4	17,7	2,6	15,2
<b>Portuguese:</b>						
More	2,4	4,2	12,8	11,3	6,5	8,3
The same	15,1	19,7	27,8	30,7	20,0	25,3
Less	36,2	36,0	40,4	26,5	37,1	30,3
None	43,7	28,2	16,7	13,3	33,9	21,5
Uncertain	2,6	11,9	2,3	18,2	2,5	14,5
<b>Germans:</b>						
More	33,5	22,9	41,9	23,3	36,7	24,1
The same	35,2	32,8	38,3	40,5	36,3	36,0
Less	15,8	18,6	13,2	10,6	14,7	14,6
None	12,7	13,4	4,3	8,1	9,7	11,1
Uncertain	2,8	12,3	2,3	17,4	2,5	14,3
<b>Greeks:</b>						
More	4,3	6,1	13,3	11,5	8,1	9,1
The same	21,9	22,0	34,6	35,9	27,0	28,3
Less	35,8	32,4	35,5	21,9	35,0	27,2
None	35,3	25,6	14,2	12,8	27,5	19,9
Uncertain	2,7	14,0	2,3	17,9	2,5	15,6

FIGURE 5.1  
 PROPORTIONS OF RESPONDENTS WHO FEEL THAT SUCH GROUPS SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO  
 COME TO SOUTH AFRICA AT ALL, 1984



The difference in attitudes between English and Afrikaans speakers is again evident from both the table and the figure. It is also interesting to note the relatively low ranking given to Dutch immigrants by Afrikaans speakers. Only 10,2% of Afrikaans-speaking respondents in the 1984 survey said they felt South Africa should get more immigrants from the Netherlands, as opposed to 12,1% who wanted more British and 22,9% who wanted more German immigrants. Despite the similarities in language and culture between these two groups, the degree of Afrikaner antipathy towards Dutch immigrants can be expected to have serious implications for the adaptation of the latter group. This is significant in view of the fact that it is commonly accepted that this group would readily assimilate into Afrikaner society.

In addition to the above questions, a series of eight attitude statements were presented to respondents in the 1975 survey to ascertain their attitudes towards immigrants in general (see Groenewald and Smedley, 1977). These eight statements, together with a further five, were included in the 1984 survey. The statements and the percentage responses can be found in Table 5.5.

It can be seen from this table that English speakers appear to be more positive towards immigrants in general than their Afrikaans-speaking compatriots. Afrikaners hold strongly negative aspects on the questions asked in 1984 which relate to immigrants and their relationship to the two main White groups in South Africa. The majority of Afrikaners believe that immigrants are not prepared to learn Afrikaans, and tend to associate with English-speaking South Africans or other immigrants rather than with Afrikaans speakers.

The eight items that were included in both surveys were combined in a crude index so that a summary measure of respondents' general attitudes towards immigrants could be obtained. To construct the index, a score of 1 was assigned to an "agree" response, 2 to an "uncertain" response and 3 to a "disagree" response. The scoring of the items marked "R" in Table 5.5 was reversed. Each respondent's scores on the eight items were then summed, giving a combined score ranging from 8 (favourable attitude towards immigrants) to 24 (unfavourable attitude). The combined scores were then divided into three groups. Scores of 8 to 13 were regarded as generally favourable, 14 to 18 as generally neutral, and 19 to 24 as generally unfavourable. The resultant index can be regarded as a rough summary measure of respondents' general attitudes towards immigrants as ascertained from these eight items. The percentage responses on the index can be found in Table 5.6.

TABLE 5.5  
WHITE ATTITUDES TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS IN GENERAL, 1975 AND 1984

	AFRIKAANS		ENGLISH		TOTAL	
	1975	1984	1975	1984	1975	1984
Statement:	%	%	%	%	%	%
-----						
Most immigrants are prepared to relinquish their own identity and become like South Africans:						
Agree	21,7	31,9	24,3	30,7	22,5	31,5
Disagree	48,3	44,2	43,2	46,4	46,3	45,1
Uncertain	30,0	24,0	32,5	22,9	31,1	23,3
Normally, immigrants are tolerant towards South Africans:						
Agree	35,3	48,3	65,4	61,9	46,0	55,0
Disagree	30,6	28,3	12,5	12,5	24,1	24,1
Uncertain	34,1	23,4	22,1	22,1	29,9	20,9
Most immigrants support the official policy of South Africa:						
Agree	23,1	36,0	37,4	41,8	29,0	39,7
Disagree	37,3	32,6	23,8	31,9	32,2	31,4
Uncertain	39,6	31,3	38,8	26,3	38,9	28,8
Most immigrants are indifferent about South Africa (R):						
Agree	28,2	32,8	19,2	30,2	25,0	31,0
Disagree	32,5	35,7	46,7	41,5	37,7	39,5
Uncertain	39,3	31,5	34,1	28,3	37,3	29,6
South Africa already has too many immigrants (R):						
Agree	41,0	37,7	14,3	22,1	31,3	30,4
Disagree	30,0	35,1	63,0	53,8	42,1	44,3
Uncertain	29,0	27,2	22,7	24,1	26,6	25,3
Immigrants are very necessary for South Africa's development:						
Agree	48,1	53,8	71,2	70,8	56,9	62,4
Disagree	27,4	27,4	14,3	14,7	22,5	21,1
Uncertain	24,5	18,9	14,5	14,5	20,6	16,5
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TABLE 5.5 (continued)

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Immigrants are not prepared to assist in the defence of South Africa (R):						
Agree	28,8	43,8	23,6	44,2	27,2	43,8
Disagree	21,2	29,2	29,3	32,4	24,3	31,4
Uncertain	50,0	27,0	47,2	23,3	48,5	24,8
Immigrants limit opportunities of employment for White South Africans (R):						
Agree	39,0	50,6	14,5	32,7	30,3	41,4
Disagree	39,8	33,2	69,4	50,9	50,1	42,4
Uncertain	21,2	16,2	16,2	16,5	19,6	16,2
Most immigrants are not prepared to learn Afrikaans:						
Agree	-	56,6	-	48,9	-	52,8
Disagree	-	24,3	-	24,3	-	25,4
Uncertain	-	19,1	-	26,8	-	21,8
Most immigrants will leave South Africa at the first sign of unrest:						
Agree	-	58,3	-	48,2	-	52,2
Disagree	-	21,1	-	25,1	-	24,3
Uncertain	-	20,6	-	26,8	-	23,4
Immigrants affect the balance between the language groups in South Africa in favour of the English speakers:						
Agree	-	68,7	-	44,7	-	58,4
Disagree	-	16,2	-	31,4	-	22,6
Uncertain	-	15,1	-	23,8	-	19,0
Most immigrants do not mix socially with South Africans, but rather keep to their own group:						
Agree	-	62,6	-	38,6	-	51,7
Disagree	-	19,2	-	42,3	-	29,5
Uncertain	-	18,1	-	19,2	-	18,8
-----						

TABLE 5.6  
 WHITES' GENERAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS BASED ON INDEX SCORES, 1975 AND 1984

General attitude	Afrikaans		English		Total	
	1975 %	1984 %	1975 %	1984 %	1975 %	1984 %
Positive	24,5	28,5	54,8	42,5	35,7	36,1
Neutral	46,3	42,6	35,5	41,5	42,2	41,4
Negative	29,2	28,9	9,7	16,0	22,1	22,5
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

It appears from this table that English attitudes towards immigrants have become less favourable in the 9-year period between the two surveys, whereas Afrikaans attitudes have remained relatively stable. In spite of the change in English attitudes, they still hold more favourable attitudes towards immigrants than Afrikaners. Taking both samples as a whole, it is evident that attitudes towards immigrants are generally more favourable than unfavourable.

Although a number of studies on attitudes towards immigrants have been conducted in other countries (see for example Berry, Kalin and Taylor, 1977; Callan, 1983; Hoskin and Mischler, 1983; Trlin, 1971), It is unfortunately not possible to compare such findings with those pertaining to South Africa because of methodological differences between the studies.

### 5.3 SUMMARY

In this chapter the official policy of the South African Government and the attitudes of Afrikaans and English speaking White South Africans were examined. It is clear that neither policies nor attitudes are neutral on the issue of immigrants in South Africa. It has been seen from both Chapters 4 and 5 that White South Africa does not constitute a single "core culture" as far as immigrant adaptation is concerned. Immigrants are faced with a bilingual and bicultural receiving society. It is thus crucial that the findings discussed in

this thesis be understood in the context of the surrounding society within which such adaptation takes place.

CHAPTER 6  
IMMIGRANTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Not only may the nature of the receiving society affect immigrant adaptation, but so too may the nature of prior immigration to that country. This chapter examines the numbers and kinds of immigrants who have come to South Africa since World War Two, as well as whether geographical concentrations of various immigrant groups may be found in South Africa.

6.1 IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION

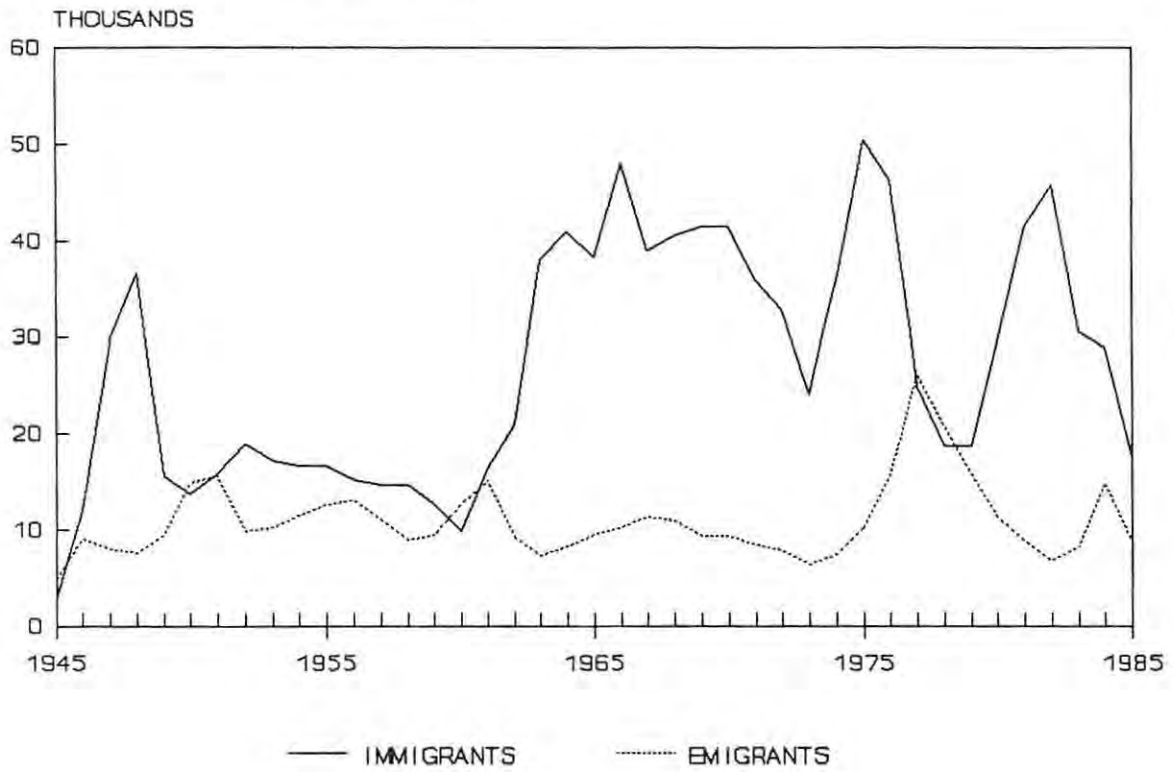
In this chapter attention is focussed on post-war migration to and from South Africa. In 1946 the Government adopted a policy actively encouraging immigration, ending the restrictive policy that had been in force since 1930 (Katzen, 1963: 184). A brief summary of immigration and emigration between 1924 and 1945 (from Katzen, 1963: 183) is presented in Table 6.1 below. Prior to 1924 no records of immigration and emigration as such were kept.

TABLE 6.1  
IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION, 1924 TO 1945

Period	Immigrants	Emigrants	Net migration gain/loss
1924-1929	38 811	25 851	+ 12 960
1930-1934	20 875	13 255	+ 7 620
1935-1939	39 006	15 969	+ 23 037
1940-1945	10 373	15 237	- 4 864

Immigration and emigration figures in South Africa for the last forty years are presented graphically in Figure 6.1. The figures on which the graph is based can be found in Table A.1 in Appendix A.

FIGURE 6.1  
IMMIGRANTS AND EMIGRANTS, 1945-1985



In the period immediately after World War Two, South Africa experienced a high level of immigration, primarily as a result of the large-scale uprooting of people in Europe. After the National Party came to power in 1948 immigration slumped for a number of years, until 1961 when the Department of Immigration was formed and a programme of immigrant recruitment was started. The political turmoil and the events of Sharpeville in 1960 resulted in a higher than average emigration figure for that year. Between 1960 and 1970 the average growth rate of South Africa's economy was 6% per annum (Van Zyl, 1985) and this fact is reflected in the large number of immigrants in this period. A slump in the growth rate in 1972 was accompanied by a corresponding slump in the number of immigrants to South Africa. The political turmoil of 1976 had major consequences for immigration, with a net migration loss being recorded for the first time since

1960. Between 1980 and 1982 a relatively buoyant economy again saw a large number of immigrants, but this flow has again slowed down since 1983. With the present poor political and economic situation in this country, it is expected that low immigration and high emigration will be a characteristic of the next few years. For a more detailed discussion of migration trends in South Africa, see D.C. Groenewald (1975), Katzen (1963) and Van Zyl (1985).

South Africa differs from other immigrant-receiving countries in terms of both absolute numbers and the relative size of immigrant flows. This can be seen in Table 6.2.

TABLE 6.2  
IMMIGRATION TO VARIOUS COUNTRIES RELATIVE TO POPULATION SIZE<sup>1</sup>

Country	Immigrants 1974-1978	Estimated pop- ulation 1978	Immigrants as propor- tion of population
United States	3 044 480	218 060 000	1,396
Canada	757 002	23 500 000	3,221
Australia	486 715	14 250 000	3,416
South Africa			
Total	176 104	24 012 000	0,733
Whites	176 104	4 442 000	3,965

Only when the proportion of immigrants relative to South Africa's White population is considered does relative immigration to this country reach figures on a level with countries like Australia and Canada. Thus it can be said that immigration to South Africa is low, both in relative and absolute terms, compared to that for other immigrant-receiving countries.

<sup>1</sup>The figures in this table are compiled from various sources. The number of immigrants to South Africa was obtained from the Department of Immigration (1979). Immigration figures for the remaining countries are from Atchison (1984: 17). The mid-year population estimates for South Africa are from the Central Statistical Service (1986). The population estimates for the other countries are from the United Nations Yearbook (1979).

## 6.2 CHARACTERISTICS OF IMMIGRANTS

### 6.2.1 Countries of birth of immigrants

South Africa differs from other immigrant-receiving countries in the number of immigrants as well as in the type of immigrants coming to this country. In Table 6.3 the countries of birth of all immigrants and emigrants in South Africa between 1945 and 1985 can be seen.

TABLE 6.3  
COUNTRIES OF BIRTH OF IMMIGRANTS AND EMIGRANTS, 1945 TO 1985

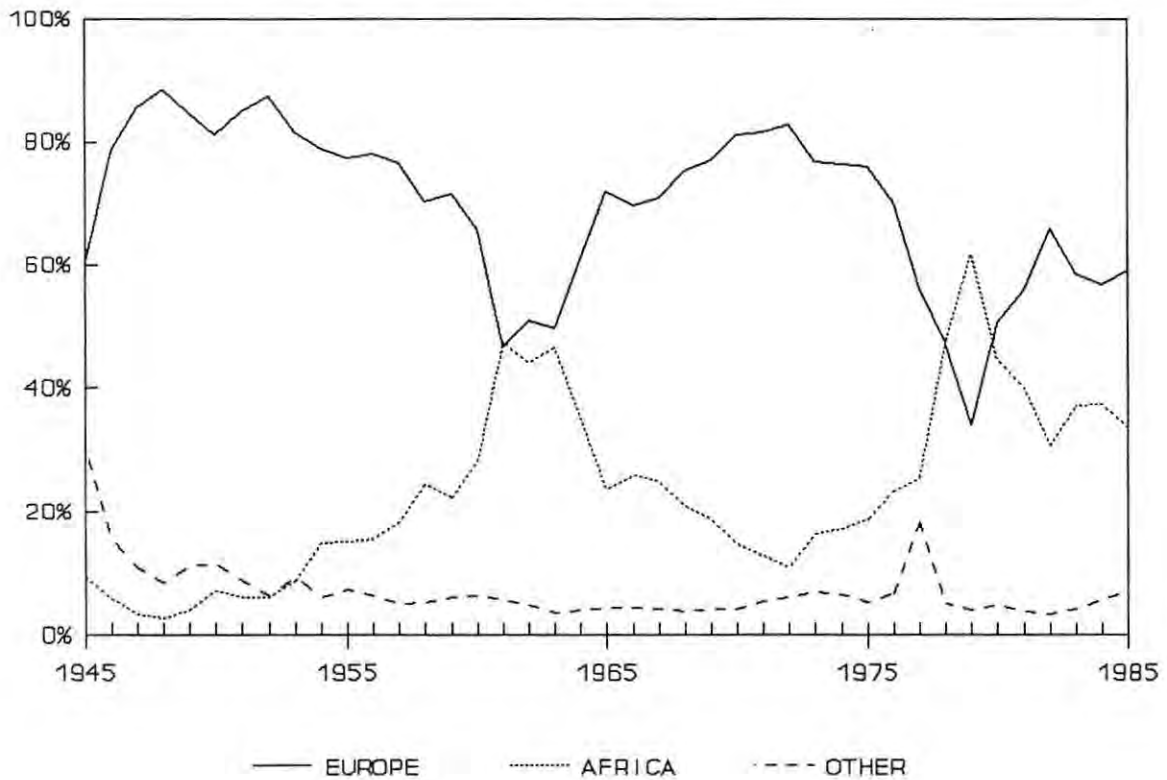
Country	Immigrants	Percent	Emigrants	Gain/loss
TOTAL	1 109 055	100,0	446 249	662 806
TOTAL EUROPE	771 613	69,6	190 459	581 154
United Kingdom	461 663	41,6	128 611	333 052
Germany	72 349	6,5	16 554	55 795
Netherlands	52 408	4,7	12 140	40 268
Portugal	42 648	3,8	2 824	39 824
Italy	33 242	3,0	4 608	28 634
Greece	18 827	1,7	1 410	17 417
Switzerland	15 786	1,4	5 477	10 309
Republic of Ireland	13 630	1,2	3 522	10 108
Austria	11 728	1,1	2 547	9 181
Belgium	10 776	1,0	2 514	8 262
France	8 242	0,7	2 077	6 165
Rest of Europe	30 314	2,7	8 175	22 139
TOTAL AFRICA	269 462	24,3	230 238	39 224
British Africa	118 102	10,6	16 318	101 784
Portuguese Africa	22 924	2,1	1 025	21 899
Rest of Africa	21 693	2,0	7 611	14 082
South Africa	106 743	9,6	205 284	- 98 541
REST OF WORLD	67 980	6,1	25 552	42 428
United States	10 374	0,9	3 757	6 617
Canada	5 027	0,5	1 629	3 398
Australia	9 317	0,8	3 879	5 438
New Zealand	4 603	0,4	1 519	3 084
Rest of world	38 659	3,5	14 768	23 891

More than two thirds (69,6%) of all South Africa's immigrants in this period came from Europe, which is not surprising in light of this country's immigration laws and policies discussed earlier. By far the largest single source of immigrants

is the United Kingdom, accounting for 41,6% of all immigrants. If other English-speaking countries are taken into account, well over half of all immigrants are from English-speaking countries. Other large groups of immigrants are the Germans, Dutch, Italians and Portuguese. It is unfortunate that the immigration statistics provided by the government do not include home language as this would give a clearer picture of the contributions made to various ethnic or language groups in this country.

The percentage contribution of immigrants from Europe and Africa for each year is illustrated graphically in Figure 6.2 which is based on Table A.2 in Appendix A.

FIGURE 6.2  
SOURCE OF IMMIGRANTS TO SOUTH AFRICA, 1945-1985



It can be seen from Figure 6.2 that the composition of South Africa's annual immigrant flow shows large fluctuations in terms of area of origin. The proportion of immigrants from Africa reached peaks in 1961-1963 and again in 1979, largely in response to political developments elsewhere in Africa.

The percentage contribution of immigrants from various specific countries are found in Figures 6.3 to 6.11. It is not possible to keep the scale of these graphs constant because of the large differences in proportions. The primary intention of this series of graphs is to show the changing pattern of immigration from each country, and not to compare immigrant flows across countries. The percentages on which the graphs are based are reproduced in Appendix A (Table A.2). These graphs are self-explanatory and only a few important features will be brought to the reader's attention here.

FIGURE 6.3  
BRITISH IMMIGRANTS AS PERCENTAGE OF ALL IMMIGRANTS, 1945-1985

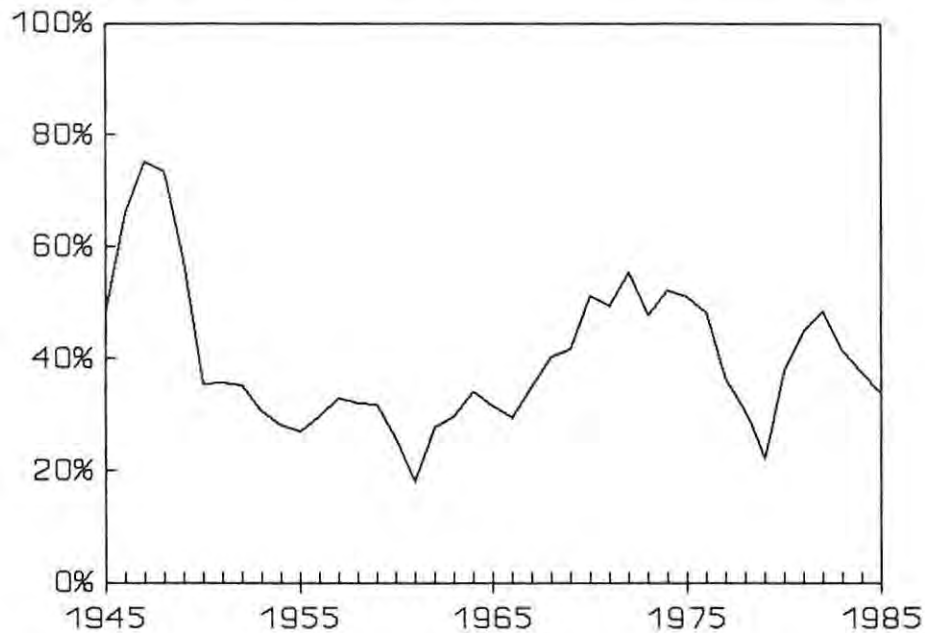


FIGURE 6.4  
GERMAN IMMIGRANTS AS PERCENTAGE OF ALL IMMIGRANTS, 1945-1985

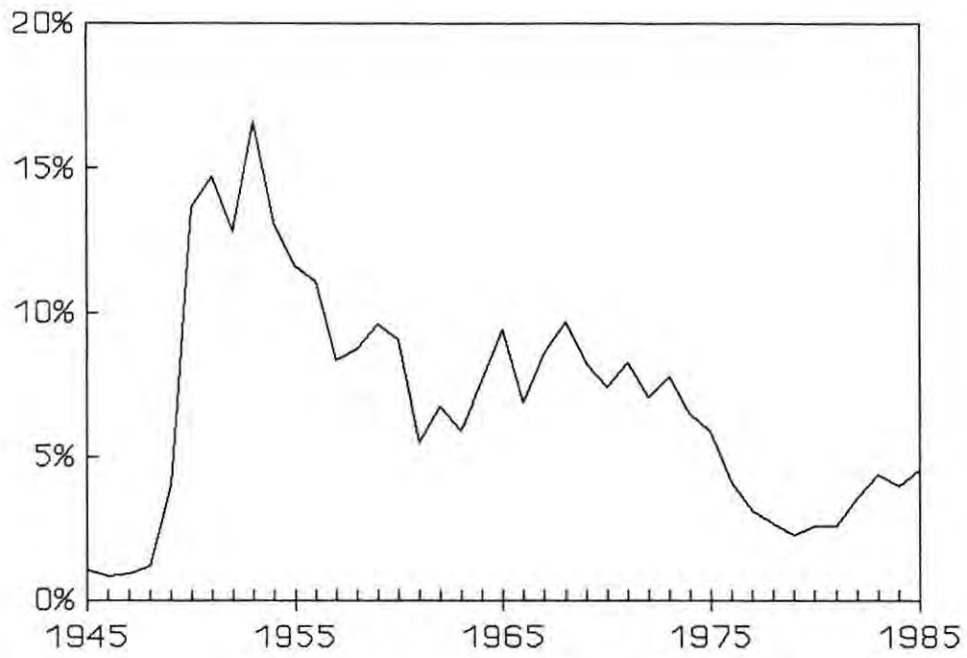


FIGURE 6.5  
DUTCH IMMIGRANTS AS PERCENTAGE OF ALL IMMIGRANTS, 1945-1985

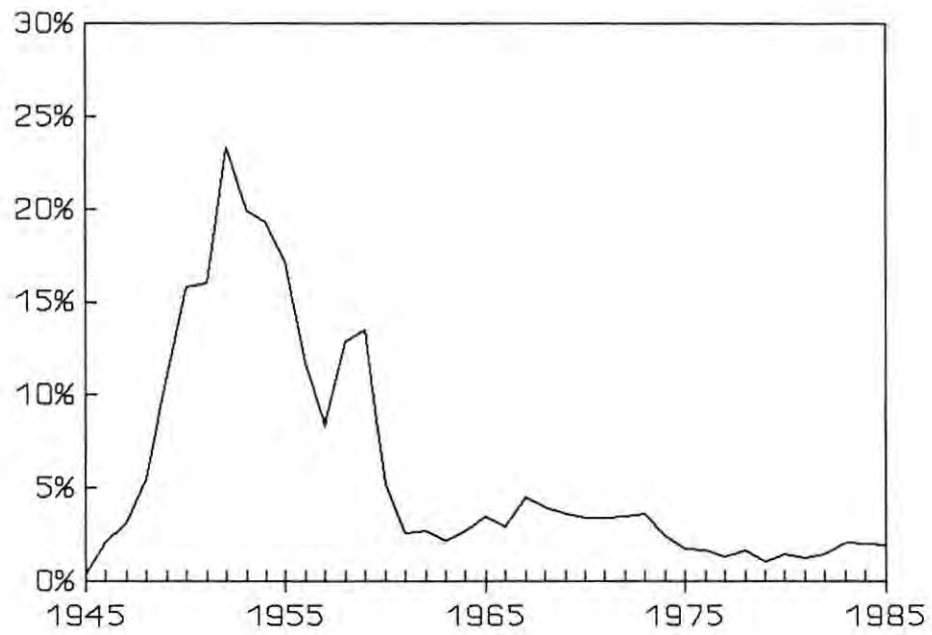


FIGURE 6.6  
ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS AS PERCENTAGE OF ALL IMMIGRANTS, 1945-1985

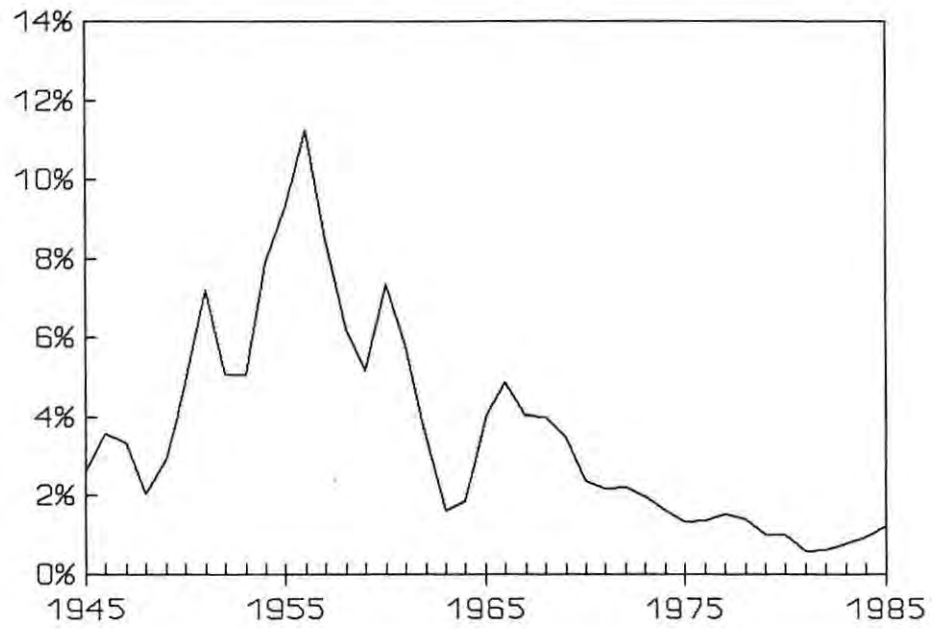


FIGURE 6.7  
PORTUGUESE IMMIGRANTS AS PERCENTAGE OF ALL IMMIGRANTS, 1945-1985

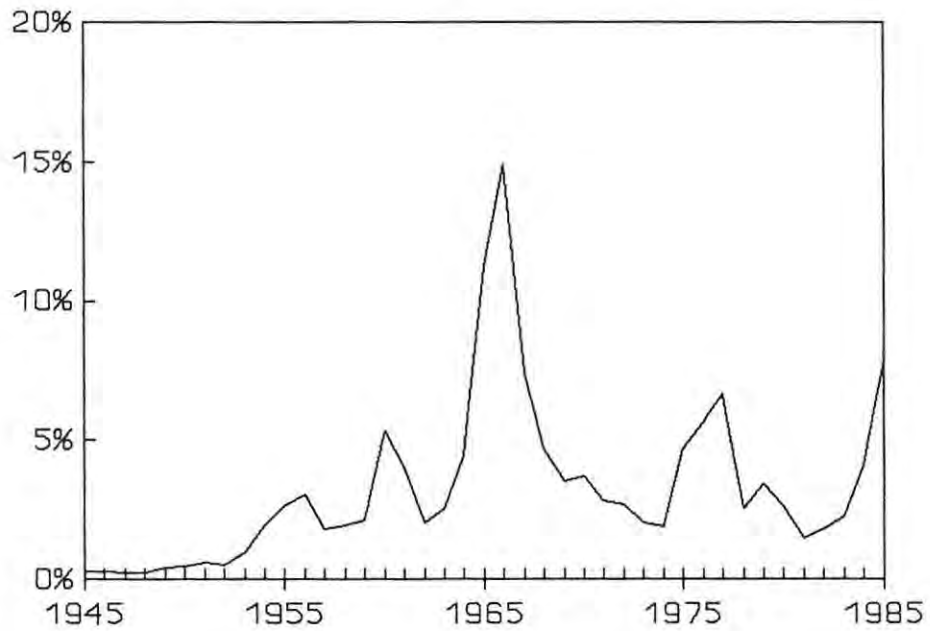


FIGURE 6.8  
IMMIGRANTS FROM REST OF EUROPE AS PERCENTAGE OF ALL IMMIGRANTS, 1945-1985

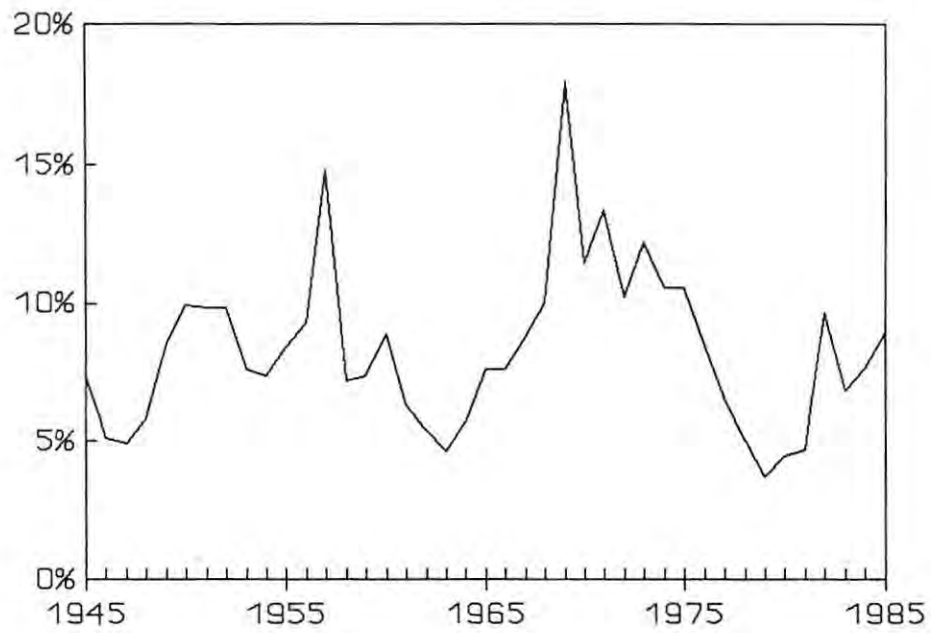


FIGURE 6.9  
BRITISH AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS AS PERCENTAGE OF ALL IMMIGRANTS, 1945-1985

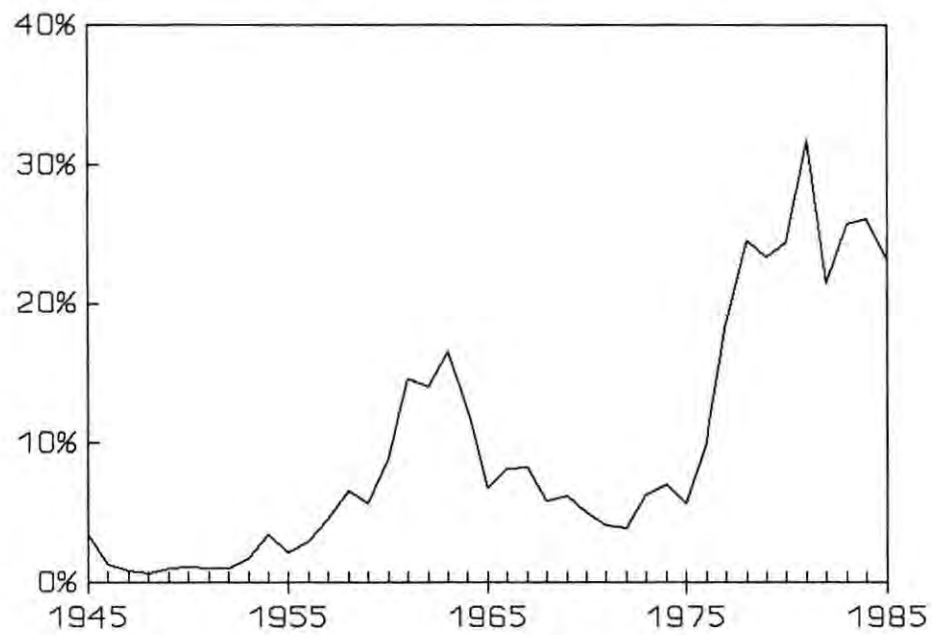


FIGURE 6.10  
PORTUGUESE AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS AS PERCENTAGE OF ALL IMMIGRANTS, 1945-1985

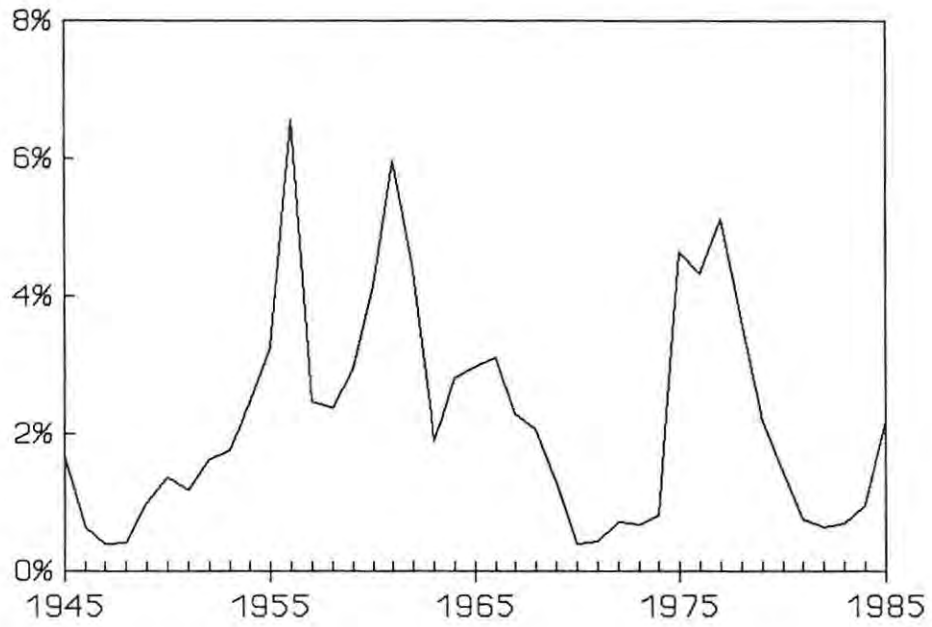
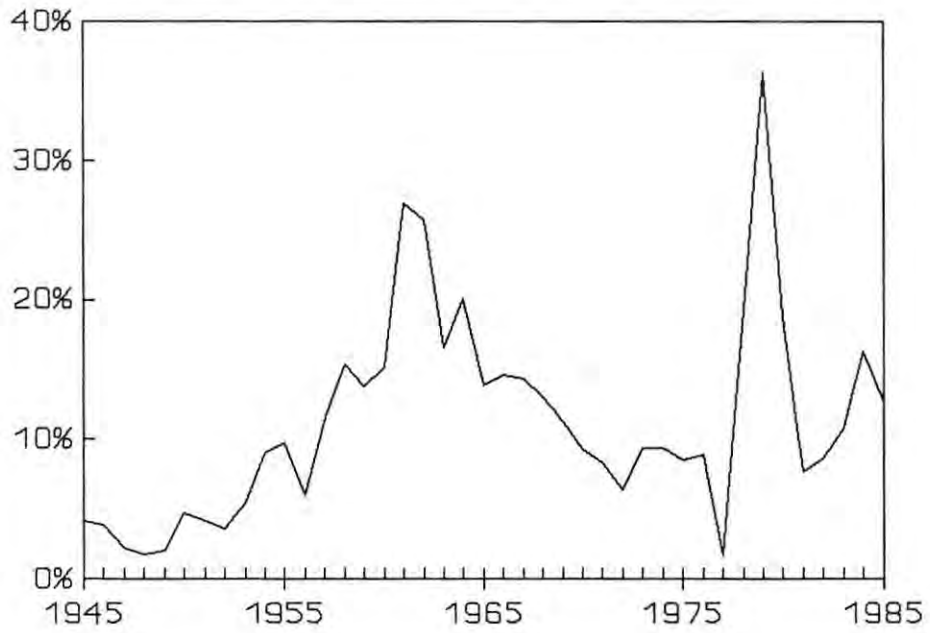


FIGURE 6.11  
IMMIGRANTS FROM REST OF AFRICA AS PERCENTAGE OF ALL IMMIGRANTS, 1945-1985



The most important trend to be seen from this series of graphs is the decline in the proportion of immigrants from Germany (Figure 6.4) and the Netherlands (Figure 6.5), the two major countries of origin of Afrikaans-speakers in South Africa. Italian immigration (Figure 6.6) has also been declining relative to total immigration since 1966. The proportion of immigrants from the rest of Europe (Figure 6.8) shows marked fluctuations. The peak in 1957 may be due to a number of immigrants from Hungary after the Soviet occupation of that country in 1956. Similarly, the peak in 1969 is attributable to an influx of 1 751 Czechoslovakian refugees, accounting for 4,2% of all immigrants in that year.

British Africa (Figure 6.9) refers to the three ex-colonies of the United Kingdom that have traditionally provided the largest source of such immigrants to South Africa, namely Zimbabwe, Zambia and Kenya. These three countries account for 10,6% of all immigrants to South Africa between 1945 and 1985. In addition, many of the immigrants whose country of birth is South Africa were residents of these countries. The pattern of immigration from this source can be clearly linked to political events in each of these countries. The higher than average immigration levels between 1960 and 1964 are largely the result of an increase of immigrants from Kenya. This is associated with the political events which culminated in the independence of Kenya at the end of 1963. Similarly, the transitional government in Zimbabwe in 1977 and the independence of that country in 1980 played an important part in the peak of immigrants to South Africa in this period.

Portuguese Africa (Figure 6.10) refers to the former Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mocambique, as well as to the island of Madeira. Although the latter is a province of Portugal, because of its geographical proximity to Africa and the fact that it is treated as an African country in official migration statistics, it will be regarded as such here. The two peaks in 1956 and 1961 are due to the larger than normal influx of immigrants from Madeira, whereas the later peak (1975-1978) is attributable to the independence of Mocambique and

Angola in June 1975 and November 1975 respectively. In the final graph (Figure 6.11) immigration from the rest of Africa is illustrated. This includes South African-born immigrants, which makes the determination of causes difficult. However, the peak in 1979 is in large part due to the immigration of South African-born persons from Zimbabwe. This graph is thus in large part a reflection of the situation for British African countries.

The large number of immigrants to South Africa who are of African origin makes the situation in South Africa different from that in other receiving countries. In 1972, for example, 41,6% of Canada's immigrants were born in Europe, including 13,6% from Britain. North and South America accounted for 24,5% of Canada's immigrants in that year, while Asia accounted for 21,3% and Africa only 7,3% (Boyd, 1976: 89). In the same year, 23,9% of immigrants to the United States were born in Europe, 37,5% in North and Central America, 31,0% in Asia and 1,7% in Africa (Boyd, 1976: 90). Massey (1981: 58) points out that whereas 75% of all immigrants to the United States between 1900 and 1965 were of European extraction, since 1968, 29% of immigrants were from Asia and 33% from Latin America. A similar change has occurred in Canada and Australia (see Richmond and Rao, 1976: 189). In the 1974-5 fiscal year, 43,0% of Australia's immigrants were from the United Kingdom and Ireland, and a further 18,5% from the rest of Europe. In 1967-8 these figures were 45,5% for the United Kingdom and Ireland and 36,0% for Europe.

A major contributory factor in the changing pattern of immigration to these countries is the large numbers of refugees, particularly of Indochinese origin, who have been admitted to such countries (see Massey, 1981; Peterson, 1978). Between 1975 and 1980 the United States admitted a total of 595 200 refugees, Canada 74 000 and Australia 44 000 (Atchison, 1984: 20). In contrast to this, South Africa has admitted a negligible number of refugees, and those that were admitted were all of European origin (primarily Hungarians, Czechoslovakians,

Poles, and Portuguese from Angola and Mocambique).

### 6.2.2 Occupational characteristics

The occupational characteristics of immigrants to South Africa between 1956<sup>2</sup> and 1985 are presented in Table 6.4.

TABLE 6.4  
OCCUPATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF IMMIGRANTS, 1956 TO 1985

Category	Number	Percentage
TOTAL IMMIGRANTS	911 921	
Total economically active	391 945	43,0
Professional and technical	103 406	11,3
Administrative and managerial	21 382	2,3
Clerical	62 817	6,9
Sales	23 183	2,5
Production	144 500	15,8
Other	36 657	4,0
Not economically active	519 976	57,0

The annual percentages for each occupational category can be found in Table A.3 in Appendix A. The proportion of economically active immigrants has remained fairly constant over this period, although there have been changes within specific occupational categories. The proportion of immigrants in professional and technical occupations has risen fairly steadily over the years, with a peak in 1973, whereas the proportion of production workers declined between 1965 and 1977.

South Africa does not compare unfavourably with other immigrant-receiving countries in respect of the occupational characteristics of its immigrants. According to Richmond and Rao (1976: 194-5), 46,5% of immigrants to Australia

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<sup>2</sup>Prior to 1956 a different system of occupational classification was used, making comparisons with later years risky.

between 1968 and 1975 were classified as economically active, as compared to 49,5% of Canadian immigrants in the same period. The comparable figure for South Africa for this period is 43,6%. With regard to the United States, 44,2% of immigrants in the period 1961 to 1970 were economically active (Irwin, 1972: 23).

Taking one particular year as an example (see Richmond and Rao, 1976: 194), in 1975 11,2% of Australia's immigrants were classified as professional or technical, compared to 10,6% of Canada's immigrants and 11,3% of South Africa's immigrants. The administrative and managerial category accounted for 2,7% of Australia's, 3,1% of Canada's and 1,9% of South Africa's immigrants, whereas the clerical category comprised 6,8% of Australia's, 6,3% of Canada's and 6,7% of South Africa's immigrants.

Although immigration to major immigrant-receiving countries such as the United States, Canada and Australia in the early part of the 20th century was characterised by a high level of unskilled and semi-skilled workers, stricter selection requirements in these countries has since changed this pattern. For example, Peterson (1978: 539) points out that less than 1% of immigrants to the United States up to 1925 were professionals. By contrast, in the period 1961 to 1970, 10,2% of immigrants to the United States were classified as professional or technical (Irwin, 1972: 23). The situation in South Africa thus closely parallels modern immigration patterns of other immigrant-receiving countries with regard to the occupational characteristics of immigrants.

### 6.2.3 Other characteristics

The gender distribution of immigrants to South Africa by year is presented in Table A.4 in Appendix A. After some fluctuation in the late 1940s the proportion of males to females has remained fairly constant over the years, with male immigrants slightly outnumbering females. It is interesting to note that in the

United States, 70% of immigrants at the beginning of the century were male, but this figure had dropped to 44,8% for the decade 1961-1970. (Irwin, 1972: 22).

With regard to the age distribution of immigrants, the proportion of immigrants in selected age categories can be found in Table A.5 in Appendix A. Van Zyl (1985: 26) points out that international migrants are generally concentrated in the younger age categories, and this is no exception for South Africa. The largest proportion of immigrants fall into the young working age group (20-34). The proportion of immigrants in the non-working (or dependent) age categories (0-19 and 65+) increased from a low of 24,7% in 1947 to a high of 39,9% in 1963 before again slowly declining. However, the proportion of immigrants in the 65+ category has been increasing slightly since the late 1970s. The average age of immigrants to South Africa has increased steadily over the years, from 24,8 in 1969, to 25,2 in 1973, to 28,1 in 1980 and 29,5 in 1985 (Van Zyl, 1985: 26).

This gradual change in the age structure of immigrants may be due in part to the changing family structure of immigrants. Although such statistics for 1974 and subsequent years are not available, an examination of the marital status of immigrants in Appendix A (Table A.4) reveals a gradual decline in the proportion of single immigrants since the mid-1950s, with a corresponding increase in the proportion of married immigrants. This trend may account for the changing age structure of migration to South Africa. It is noteworthy that the proportion of single immigrants to the United States has also declined, from 52,2% in the period 1961-1965, to 49,0% in 1966-1968, and finally to 47,1% in 1969-1972 (Keely, 1974: 591).

In conclusion, then, two major differences between immigration to South Africa and to other immigrant-receiving countries can be observed. The first difference is one of numbers, both in absolute terms and relative to population size. Secondly, because of the policy of admitting only White immigrants, and because

of its location in Africa, South Africa differs from other countries regarding the sources of its immigrants. However, in respect of occupation, gender, age and marital status, South Africa does not appear to differ dramatically from other countries.

### 6.3 IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES IN SOUTH AFRICA

Having looked at the flow of immigrants to and from this country over the last forty years, a consideration of the current position of such immigrant communities in South Africa is now necessary. The viability of an immigrant or ethnic community as a distinct group and the degree of pluralism possible is largely determined by the size and geographical concentration of such a community. The presence and location of people with a shared origin will have a profound effect on the adaptation of individual immigrants.

The proportion of certain foreign-born groups in various metropolitan and other areas of South Africa is presented in Table 6.5. These figures are from 1980 census data. As can be seen from the table, all groups are over-represented in the metropolitan areas. This is in line with the situation in other countries where immigrants tend to congregate in the larger cities. Furthermore, with the exception of those born in British Africa, all the groups in Table 6.5 are over-represented in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging (PWV) area, the largest metropolitan conglomerate in South Africa. For example, 73,3% of all Portuguese born persons in South Africa live in the PWV area. Those born in the Britain and British Africa are overrepresented in the Durban-Pinetown metropolitan area, whereas a sizeable proportion (19,7%) of those born in the Netherlands live in the Western Cape metropolitan area.

TABLE 6.5  
GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITES IN SOUTH AFRICA, 1980

Area:	Country of birth							Total White
	United Kingdom	Germany	Netherlands	Italy	Portugal	British Africa	Portuguese Africa	
<u>Total South Africa:</u>								
N	200 460	31 260	28 660	17 160	37 620	72 280	18 200	4 527 140
<u>Metropolitan areas:</u>								
<u>Total metro</u>								
N	174 660	25 480	23 800	15 120	32 660	54 100	15 220	3 020 980
%	87,1	81,5	83,0	88,1	86,8	74,8	83,6	66,7
<u>PWV area</u>								
N	92 160	16 880	14 440	11 040	27 580	27 560	12 100	1 858 980
%	46,0	54,0	50,4	64,3	73,3	38,1	66,5	41,1
<u>Western Cape</u>								
N	37 020	5 240	5 640	1 680	2 420	9 820	1 920	582 400
%	18,5	16,8	19,7	9,8	6,4	13,6	10,6	12,9
<u>Eastern Cape</u>								
N	7 840	800	660	420	380	2 020	120	185 100
%	3,9	2,6	2,3	2,4	1,0	2,8	0,7	4,1
<u>Durban metro</u>								
N	37 540	2 560	3 060	1 980	2 280	14 700	1 080	394 500
%	18,8	8,2	10,7	11,5	6,1	20,3	5,9	8,7
<u>Non-metropolitan areas:</u>								
<u>Total non-metro</u>								
N	25 800	5 780	4 860	2 040	4 960	18 180	2 980	1 506 160
%	12,9	18,5	17,0	11,9	13,2	25,2	16,4	33,3
<u>Transvaal</u>								
N	8 480	2 120	2 480	400	3 060	7 880	1 900	532 680
%	4,2	6,8	8,7	2,3	8,1	10,9	10,4	11,8
<u>Cape</u>								
N	7 360	1 660	1 060	380	400	4 740	420	501 620
%	3,7	5,3	3,7	2,2	1,1	6,6	2,3	11,1
<u>Natal</u>								
N	7 880	860	820	920	520	4 500	260	167 360
%	3,9	2,8	2,9	5,4	1,4	6,2	1,4	3,7
<u>Orange Free State</u>								
N	2 080	1 140	500	340	980	1 060	400	304 500
%	1,0	3,6	1,7	2,0	2,6	1,5	2,2	6,7

Space does not permit a detailed discussion of the residential settlement patterns of the various groups within the metropolitan areas. However, an examination of the locations of foreign-born residents in the 1 355 suburbs that make up South Africa's metropolitan areas reveals no marked concentration of those born in the United Kingdom, British Africa, Germany and the Netherlands at the suburban level. On the other hand, those born in Portugal and Portuguese Africa, and to a slightly lesser extent Italian-born residents, show a marked propensity to form residential clusters or ethnic enclaves within the major metropolitan areas.

The magisterial district of Johannesburg is the most cosmopolitan area of South Africa in terms of home language, with some 4 680 German speakers, 6 160 Italian speakers and 24 180 Portuguese speakers. Almost a quarter (23,5%) of Johannesburg's White residents are foreign-born. Yet despite its cosmopolitan nature, Johannesburg cannot compare with the major metropolises of other immigrant-receiving countries. For example, 2,1 million or 30% of New York's 7,1 million residents are from overseas (Time, 8 July 1985). The relatively small sizes of South Africa's immigrant or foreign language communities mitigate against the development of extensive plural structures within the broader White community.

#### 6.4 SUMMARY

Although the size of the immigrant flow to South Africa has not been as large as that to other countries, the issues discussed in this chapter (immigration trends, characteristics of immigrants, and the extent and location of immigrant communities) nevertheless may be crucial contextual factors in the adaptation of such immigrants in South Africa.

A model of immigrant adaptation has been proposed (Chapter 3), and the context in which such adaptation takes place has been discussed (Chapter 4, 5 and 6). Now attention can be focussed on the collection of the data and the analysis of results for the present study. Although not explicitly analysed, the context of immigrant adaptation discussed in Chapters 4 to 6 should be kept in mind during the analysis and interpretation of the findings of this study.

CHAPTER 7  
RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHOD

The contributions of previous studies of the process of immigrant adaptation in South Africa have been limited in that almost all have been restricted to one or at most two immigrant groups, and to a single geographical location. The need existed for a comprehensive study that would facilitate comparison between immigrants of diverse origins as well as diverse places of settlement within South Africa. It was thus decided that the present study should not be limited to a single geographical area nor to immigrants from a single country of origin. In addition, the study was to be designed to achieve the greatest possible diversity, both in respect of various immigrant groups and in respect of the issues to be covered. This meant that a detailed study of certain specific groups or issues could not be undertaken to the extent that may be desirable. The intention of this study was to identify areas of interest or concern for later, more detailed research. The present study was therefore specifically designed to be fairly superficial in its coverage of specific areas of adaptation.

These, then, were the general aims and intentions behind the present study. However, research design is essentially a process of compromise. The constraints imposed by available resources (whether money, time or personnel) must be balanced against the broad aims of the study in order to obtain a design that is both effective and affordable.

In this chapter the empirical methods used in the present study are described. The various steps in the research process described here should not be seen as discrete entities, nor as always following a strict temporal sequence. Indeed, many of the stages occurred simultaneously, and decisions taken at one point affected action taken at other stages. Four main steps in the research process can be identified, namely (a) planning, (b) data collection or implementation

of the survey, (c) preparation of the data for analysis, and (d) analysis of the data. Each of these steps will be discussed in turn.

## 7.1 PLANNING

During the course of 1984, both the Department of Home Affairs (known as the Department of Internal Affairs at that time) and the European Immigration Company (MEI - Maatskappy vir Europese Immigrasie) approached the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) with requests for research on immigrants in South Africa. These requests were forwarded to the Division for Group Interaction of the HSRC's Institute for Sociological and Demographic Research (ISODEM). It was decided to combine these requests into a co-ordinated and comprehensive programme of research on immigrants in South Africa.

In response to these initiatives, a project planning committee was constituted to guide this task. The present writer was appointed co-ordinator of the research programme and convener of the committee. The functions of the committee were primarily advisory in nature, with the actual research effort being conducted by the HSRC's researchers.

The following organisations were represented on the project planning committee:

The Human Sciences Research Council (Social Work Research, Demographic Research, and Group Interaction)

The Department of Home Affairs

The European Immigration Company

The 1820 Settlers' Association

The University of Pretoria (Departments of Economics and Sociology)

The University of South Africa (Department of Sociology)

The committee met a few times during 1984 and 1985, serving in an advisory capacity to the researchers during the planning and implementation stages of the

research.

Following a review of previous research on immigrants in South Africa and a discussion of the particular research needs of the various organisations represented, a number of research proposals were developed by the writer for submission to the committee. It was proposed that to best serve the interests of the organisations requesting the research, and to establish a solid grounding for continued research on immigrants in this country, the programme of research should begin with a general overview of the current situation regarding immigrants in South Africa. On the basis of such research, particular problem areas and issues for further research could be identified, yet at the same time sufficient information could be collected to produce practical recommendations for addressing some of the problems facing immigrants in this country. Other projects dealing with more specific aspects of immigrant adaptation (such as the problems facing immigrant wives and children) and the re-migration of immigrants were also proposed. These projects varied in terms of perceived urgency, feasibility, cost and duration.

Two of the proposed projects were approved by the project planning committee for immediate implementation, with others being identified for later attention. The first project would involve a countrywide survey of a large and diverse sample of immigrants, and would be conducted by the writer. The second project approved was more limited in its scope, focusing on the adaptation of immigrant wives in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging (PWV) area. This latter project is discussed elsewhere (Bryant, 1987; Bryant and Strydom, 1988), and will not be dealt with further here.

A mail survey was selected for the first project because it would permit the greatest possible coverage of a widely diverse and dispersed sample of immigrants within the limitations imposed by monetary, time and personnel constraints.

However, the viability of the proposed mail survey depended on (a) obtaining a suitable sampling frame of immigrants in South Africa, and (b) raising the necessary funds to conduct the research.

With regard to the first factor, it was ascertained that the Department of Home Affairs maintains a register of all permanent residence visa holders in South Africa as part of its population register. At the request of the HSRC, and in the light of its involvement in the research, the Department of Home Affairs made this register available to the HSRC for the purposes of this research. This was the first time that access to a portion of the population register had been obtained for such purposes, and represented a unique opportunity to select a sample that would be broadly representative of the entire immigrant population in this country. Previous studies have resorted to drawing samples from incomplete or inadequate lists obtained from various immigrant-assistance organisations or immigrant associations, or to making use of snowball sampling or other non-probability sampling procedures to identify potential respondents. Although access to the population register represented a major breakthrough in research on immigrants, there were a number of problems associated with the use of such a list. These drawbacks, and their effect on the present research, will be discussed later in this chapter.

Regarding the issue of financing the research, the availability of funds had a major impact on all aspects of the research design. Although the fixed costs associated with the research (such as salaries, computing facilities, office equipment, and so on) would be borne by the HSRC, funding for the variable costs associated with the project (translation, printing, mailing, etc.) would need to be found elsewhere. An initial target of R25 000 was set. Neither the Department of Home Affairs nor the MEI could provide sufficient funds, and only R2 000 was budgeted by the HSRC towards the variable costs, so the balance had to be raised independently. This task was undertaken by the writer with the

support of various members of the project planning committee.

A number of the larger immigrant-employing organisations were approached by mail and telephone for financial support. Each was asked to contribute R5 000 towards the costs of this research. The response to these solicitations was disappointing, with only the following three organisations contributing: Johannesburg Consolidated Investments Ltd. (R5 000), SASOL Ltd. (R5 000), and Dorbyl Heavy Engineering Pty. Ltd. (R200). Together with the R2 000 provided by the HSRC, and a further R4 000 provided by the Department of Home Affairs, this represented a total of only R16 200. A number of changes thus had to be made to the research design in order to keep the estimated costs within the budget available. The inability to raise adequate funds meant that a number of compromises had to be made with regard to various aspects of the research design, particularly the data collection phase.

Having obtained the minimum funds necessary to proceed, it was possible to move on to the remaining stages of the research process. In the following sections, the various stages of data collection are discussed.

## 7.2 IMPLEMENTATION

### 7.2.1 Choice of data collection method

As has already been pointed out, the choice of a particular research design and data collection method is dictated by the aims of the research as well as the constraints imposed by various factors. Given the need for a large and geographically dispersed sample of immigrants in South Africa, the choice of survey research using structured questionnaires was obvious. Ideally, a longitudinal approach to the study of immigrants should be adopted in view of the importance of time in immigrant adaptation (see Goldlust and Richmond, 1974).

However, longitudinal studies with sizeable samples are extremely time-consuming and expensive. For this reason the design of the research was of necessity restricted to a single ad hoc survey.

The choice of data collection method for the survey was also dictated by various operational constraints. The need for trained multilingual interviewers would have made the costs and effort involved in a door-to-door or interviewer-administered survey prohibitive. The time and effort involved in recruiting and training multilingual interviewers would have precluded all but the most restricted of surveys. Furthermore, the sample would have had to be limited to only a few of the larger metropolitan areas which would restrict the generalisability of the findings, especially with regard to immigrants living in non-metropolitan areas. A telephone survey would not impose such restrictions on sampling but would not obviate the need for multilingual interviewers. In any case, telephone numbers were not included with the list of names obtained from the Department of Home Affairs, making a telephone survey impractical.

This left a postal or mail survey. Mail surveys using self-administered questionnaires are much cheaper than interviewer-administered approaches (whether door-to-door or telephone), especially in cases where the sample is large and widely dispersed. In addition, mail surveys obviate the need for trained interviewers, an important factor in the present study. The major drawback of the mail survey lies in the generally poor response rates associated with this method<sup>1</sup>. In spite of this limitation it was felt that a mail survey would provide the most information from the largest and most diverse sample at the lowest cost and in the shortest time. The feasibility of a mail survey depends in large part on the availability of a list of names and addresses of potential respondents.

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<sup>1</sup>For a more detailed discussion of the relative merits of various data collection methods, see Couper (1986).

When such a list was forthcoming, it made the choice of a mail survey for the present study straightforward.

#### 7.2.2 The survey population and sampling frame

As has already been mentioned, the feasibility of a study of this nature depends in large part on the availability of an appropriate sampling frame. The present study was designed around the fact that such a frame was available to the researcher. Unfortunately, a list such as this is rarely compiled with research in mind. As a consequence, the research design has to be tailored to the specific characteristics of the available sampling frame.

The list obtained from the Department of Home Affairs contained the names (as well as additional information) of all holders of permanent residence visas in South Africa. Excluded from this list are temporary visa holders. This latter group includes students, contract workers, missionaries, diplomats, and the like. Also excluded are those who have already acquired South African citizenship or who have re-migrated. Although some temporary visa holders may later decide to settle in South Africa, and some permanent visa holders may have no intention of settling here, there is no way to establish this objectively. For the purposes of the present study an immigrant will be defined as a holder of a permanent residence visa.

The sampling frame is thus defined as the list of permanent residence visa holders in South Africa obtained from the Department of Home Affairs. Both the contents and structure of the sampling frame have a large impact on the sampling procedure adopted. Before the sample could be drawn, it was necessary to examine the sampling frame. The database was obtained from the Department of Home Affairs in computerised form, greatly reducing the cost and effort involved in selecting an appropriate sample.

The dataset was found to contain the following information for a total of 410 810 persons:

- (a) identification number
- (b) full names
- (c) date of birth
- (d) gender
- (e) official language preferred
- (f) marital status
- (g) country of birth
- (h) country of previous residence
- (i) month and year of arrival in South Africa
- (j) residential address
- (k) postal address

It had been hoped to select a stratified sample on the basis of nationality and/or home language. However, neither of these variables were included in the dataset provided, although country of birth and country of previous residence were. It was decided to use the former (country of birth) as the criterion for sample selection.

In order to determine the most efficient approach in selecting an appropriate sample, the composition of the dataset was first examined. The classification of the 410 810 names in the dataset in terms of country of birth are presented in Table 7.1.

TABLE 7.1  
COUNTRIES OF BIRTH OF PERMANENT RESIDENCE VISA HOLDERS

Country of birth	Number	Percent
United Kingdom	171 185	41,7
Germany	30 920	7,5
Italy	14 114	3,4
Portugal	34 217	8,3
Netherlands	18 361	4,5
Greece	7 925	1,9
France	2 629	0,6
Switzerland	6 536	1,6
Belgium	4 396	1,1
Austria	5 545	1,4
Rest of Europe	16 894	4,1
Zimbabwe	23 807	5,8
Zambia	4 363	1,1
Kenya	2 659	0,6
Madeira	7 432	1,8
Mozambique	4 893	1,2
Angola	1 522	0,4
Rest of Africa	14 930	3,6
Rest of World	19 416	4,7
Unknown	19 066	4,6
Total	410 810	99,9

A list of this type lends itself to systematic sampling. However, it would not be possible to simply draw a single systematic sample of all immigrants from the full list. This would result in too many immigrants of British origin and too few immigrants from other countries, as can be seen from Table 7.1. In addition, such a selection would result in too diverse a sample in terms of home language, further complicating the administration of the survey instrument.

In addition, because of the disproportionate number of British immigrants, such sampling would result in too few immigrants from the other groups to enable meaningful analysis. For example, if a sample of 2 000 names was drawn from the complete list of immigrants, only about 150 German-born, 90 Dutch-born and 68 Italian-born would be included in the initial sample (and these are some of the larger groups). With the poor response rates generally associated with mail surveys (see Section 7.2.3), this would result in insufficient completed

questionnaires from the smaller national groups, making cross-national comparisons difficult. To ensure sufficient numbers of these small groups, the initial sample size would have to become so large it would make the study impossible to implement. A choice thus had to be made between being able to generalise the findings of the study to the entire immigrant population in South Africa on the one hand, and including sufficient numbers of the more important immigrant groups to permit meaningful comparisons between groups on the other hand.

Because of the importance of country of origin or birth as a variable in the study of immigrant adaptation, and because the study was essentially planned to enable comparisons between different immigrant groups, it was decided to follow the latter option. In other words, rather than try to sample all immigrants, the study would concentrate on certain of the larger immigrant groups in this country. This would effectively mean that a series of separate samples would be drawn with generalisability within each of the immigrant groups selected but not to all immigrants in South Africa. In spite of its limited generalisability to all immigrants in this country, this study nevertheless represents a unique opportunity to examine the process of adaptation in South Africa among a wide and diverse sample of immigrants. If each of the subsamples were analysed separately, it would still be possible to generalise the findings to immigrants from those particular countries of origin, assuming no serious nonresponse bias.

The particular groups chosen were selected to give the broadest possible cross-section of immigrants in terms of their expected orientation to South Africa's two main White groups. Immigrants born in the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and Germany were chosen as the original sources of South Africa's White population, with the former group expected to associate with English-speaking South Africans, and the latter two groups with Afrikaans speakers. Two groups of immigrants from non-traditional sending countries who

might be expected to form their own communities were also selected, namely Italians and Portuguese. Finally, funds permitting, it was decided to draw two smaller samples of immigrants from Africa, in order to examine whether this factor has any influence on their adaptation in South Africa. Immigrants born in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Kenya were grouped together as British Africans, whereas those from Madeira, Mozambique and Angola represented Portuguese Africans<sup>2</sup>. Together these seven groups account for 313 473 (or 76,3%) of the names included in the database. Thus, although the samples could not be considered representative of the entire immigrant population in South Africa, a sizeable proportion of immigrants would be eligible for inclusion in the sampling frame.

### 7.2.3 Expected response rate

One of the most important factors determining both the sample design and the size of the initial sample in a mail survey is the estimate of the number of completed questionnaires that will be returned.

Response rates for mail surveys vary considerably<sup>3</sup> and are thus difficult to predict accurately. For example, Moser and Kalton (1971: 262) write: "Mail surveys with a response of as low as 10 per cent are not unknown, while rates of over 90 per cent have been reported on a number of occasions." The estimates of other writers vary from "about 10 to 50 per cent" (Selltitz, et al, 1959: 241), to "about 10 to 20 per cent" (Patten, 1966: 95). Meyers and Grossen (1978: 194) write that "typically about 20% - 30% of the mailed questionnaires are returned", and Goyder (1985: 234) notes that "Many texts caution against expecting mailed

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<sup>2</sup>Although these two groups are referred to as "Africans" they are all of course of European descent (see Section 6.2.1 dealing with this matter).

<sup>3</sup>Some of this variation could be attributable to different ways of calculating response rates. See Section 7.3 for further discussion on this issue.

questionnaire response from the general population to exceed about 30 percent".

To gain a clearer picture of the response rate that could be expected with a study of this kind, it is necessary to examine prior studies of similar target populations and/or employing similar methods. Few specific examples of mail surveys of immigrants could be found to facilitate this task. An extensive search of the literature uncovered only two such studies, neither of which were conducted in South Africa, and both of which have only indirect relevance to the present study.

Baldermann, Hecking and Knaub (1976) conducted a mail survey of 3 990 Germans and 1 800 foreigners in Stuttgart, West Germany. Their questionnaire was translated into Italian, Yugoslav, Greek, Turkish and Spanish, representing about 80% of the foreigners in that city. Whereas the response rate for the German sample was 50,1%, the response rate for the foreigners was only 27,3%.

Hurh, Kim and Kim (1979) conducted a mail survey of Japanese immigrants in the Chicago metropolitan area. Although neither the initial sample size nor the response rate is reported, the authors do mention that 22% of the mailed questionnaires were returned address unknown, and a further 26% could not be reached or refused to participate.

It was felt that in view of the target population's anticipated interest in the subject matter, coupled with special efforts to improve the response rate, an overall response rate of 40% was used as the basis for planning the present study.

#### 7.2.4 Pilot study

Before the sample was drawn for the main study a small pilot study was conducted in order to identify potential problems in terms of sampling, questionnaire design and response rate. Following the same procedure that would be used in the main study, a total of 300 addresses were systematically selected from the database (50 from each of the five European groups, and 25 from each of the two African groups). Questionnaires were posted to those addresses selected during May 1985. The implementation of the pilot study will not be discussed in detail here as it was in essence a "dry run" for the main study. On the basis of experience gained during the pilot study a number of procedural and other changes were made to the design and implementation of the main study. Although data from the pilot study was not analysed before the main study (time constraints prevented such an analysis), a number of tentative conclusions could be drawn from the pilot study.

One of the problems identified at the outset in the pilot study was that a relatively large proportion of the addresses were incorrect or outdated. Partly as a result of this, the response rate for the pilot study was poorer than the 40% expected.

Another aspect that emerged from the pilot study was the length of time it took for completed questionnaires to be returned. Because of the long delays in receiving questionnaires, it was found necessary to proceed with the main study before the results of the pilot study could be fully analysed.

The numbering of the questionnaires was also tested in the pilot study using a split-half design in which half the sample received numbered questionnaires and the other half received questionnaires with no identification numbers. The presence of the identification number was found to have no significant effect

on the response rate. Finally, on the basis of the pilot study, a number of wording and other changes of a technical nature were made to the questionnaire.

Despite the limitations of the pilot study, it was useful in identifying potential problem areas and for providing an indication of the possible time scale involved in a study of this nature. Adjustments made to counter some of the problems identified in the pilot study are dealt with at the appropriate points in the discussion of the implementation of the main study.

#### 7.2.5 Sampling procedures

Three factors became obvious from the pilot study that had a direct effect on the sampling design for the main study. Firstly, a number of the addresses selected were incomplete or insufficient and thus could not be used. This presented the alternatives of editing the entire database of 313 473 names and addresses before drawing the samples, or inflating the sizes of the samples selected to take this factor into account. Secondly, a large proportion (almost a quarter) of the questionnaires posted in the pilot study were returned "address unknown". Thirdly, the response rate was much lower than expected (just over 20% of all questionnaires posted were returned completed).

Within the constraints of time, personnel and money, there were no major changes that could be made to the research design to improve this situation to any significant extent, and it was decided to continue with the postal survey as planned.

On the basis of information obtained from the pilot study a number of minor changes were made to various aspects of the sampling design. In the first place, it was realised that the initial sample sizes needed to be sufficiently large to obtain an adequate number of completed questionnaires given the low response

rate expected. It was thus decided to draw samples of 2 000 from each of the five European-born groups, and 1 000 from each of the two African-born groups, giving a total of 12 000 questionnaires to be posted. Even with an overall response rate as low as 25% this would result in 3 000 completed questionnaires, which would be more than adequate for multivariate analysis as well as for meaningful comparisons between the various samples.

In addition, a visual inspection of the 313 473 names and addresses in the database for incomplete or incorrect information would be impractical. It was thus decided to select the 12 000 names first, and then inspect only those names and addresses selected. Additional samples of 500 and 250 respectively were selected for the five larger and two smaller groups. These additional names and addresses would be used to supplement the initial samples, replacing unusable addresses. It was also decided to substitute for those questionnaires returned address unknown, mailing such questionnaires again to an alternative address. The additional lists would also be used for this purpose.

All the various subsamples were selected using systematic sampling. Systematic sampling is most appropriate when a complete list of all elements in the sampling frame is available, and the elements are numbered, as was the case here. Because of the different sizes of the various groups, the sampling interval differed between samples. For illustrative purposes, the selection of the British sample will be discussed here.

The first step in selecting the British sample involved determining the sampling interval. This is simply the number of elements (records) in the list (171 185) divided by the sample size (2 000) and rounded to the nearest integer (85). A number between 1 and 85 was then selected using a table of random numbers. The number 9 was selected. Beginning with this element, every 85th element was selected until a sample of 2 000 had been obtained. In other words, the elements

selected were 9, 94 (9+85), 179, 264, 349 and so on. A similar procedure was followed for the remaining samples as well as for the replacement samples.

#### 7.2.6 The questionnaire

The questionnaire was compiled after identification of all the variables to be included in the study. Previous studies on immigrant adaptation were examined for examples of potential questions for inclusion in the study. These questions were evaluated for their suitability to the South African situation. Where necessary, new questions were developed or modifications made to existing questions.

Because of the exploratory nature of the research and the large number of variables to be included in the study, the measurement of such variables was for the most part restricted to single-item indicators rather than scales or indices. In studies concentrating on a single aspect of adaptation, the use of multiple-item measures is quite common. Such composite measures are desirable in that they improve measurement reliability and validity, and thus enhance the quality of the subsequent findings. To develop such scales for all the major variables in the present study would result in a questionnaire of excessive length.

This restriction made the measurement of certain variables problematical. The question of internalisation, for example, which concerns the convergence of norms and attitudes between migrant and host, cannot be ascertained by means of a single question. The development of a scale to measure internalisation would be too costly and time-consuming for the present study, and this variable was consequently excluded from the empirical analysis of immigrant adaptation.

The question of cultural adaptation proved equally problematic. In studies of cultural adaptation in other immigrant-receiving countries, changes in the immigrants' way of dress, eating habits, use of slang, celebration of national days, etc., have been utilised as indicators of cultural adaptation (see, for example, Richardson, 1974). All such studies presuppose that the culture of the host society is in certain identifiable ways distinct from those of the countries of origin of the various immigrant groups. Because of the cosmopolitan nature of White South African society, it would be extremely difficult to distinguish between the cultural traits of the sending society and those of the receiving society. Language use is one of the few acceptable indicators of cultural adaptation in South Africa, but even this variable loses its power when considering English-speaking immigrants.

A draft version of the questionnaire in English was given to various academics, researchers and members of immigrant-assistance organisations for criticism and comment. On the basis of the feedback obtained, a number of changes were made to the wording of questions. A number of new questions were also included and others discarded in order to accommodate the needs and interests of the various organisations involved in the research. As with other stages of the research process, the content of the questionnaire was a result of compromise between at-times conflicting needs. The result is that the connections between certain questions asked and the variables they are intended to represent may be more tenuous than is desirable.

Once the English version of the questionnaire was finalised, it was then translated into German, Dutch, Portuguese and Italian. The translation was undertaken by trained translators with these languages as their native tongues. As with the English version, the translated questionnaires were then shown to a number of people who speak these languages. Any problems of translation or interpretation that were uncovered were discussed with the translators and the

necessary changes were made to the questionnaires. In a number of instances, changes had to be made to the English version because of a lack of equivalent terms in one or more of the other languages. Thus a certain amount of juggling took place to make the various versions of the questionnaire as compatible as possible.

The various language versions of the questionnaire were used in the pilot study. Each respondent received a questionnaire with the English version on one side of the page and his presumed home language (as determined by country of birth) on the other. Immigrants from the United Kingdom and British Africa received only the English version. On the basis of comments and queries on the completed questionnaires of the pilot study, further changes of wording were made and typing and translation errors corrected.

An illustration was designed for the cover of the questionnaire with the aim of enhancing the visual impact of the questionnaire and to convey the purpose of the instrument to the respondent. Based on experience with the pilot study, it was also decided to print the various versions of the questionnaire on different coloured paper to facilitate identification. Five versions of the questionnaire were thus printed. A plain white version in English only was sent to immigrants from the United Kingdom and British Africa (this version of the questionnaire is included as Appendix B). Immigrants from Portugal and Portuguese Africa received the questionnaire in English and Portuguese printed on light blue paper. The Germans received an English and German version printed on mustard-coloured paper. Immigrants from the Netherlands were sent yellow questionnaires printed in English and Dutch, and the Italians received light green questionnaires in English and Italian.

In addition to the questionnaire, a cover letter explaining the purpose of the study and requesting the respondent's co-operation was also formulated. This was

translated into the four European languages, each of which was printed on the reverse side of the English version. The English version of the cover letter can also be found in Appendix B. The cover letters were printed on letterheads designed especially for this study.

Finally, reminders were prepared in the same way as the questionnaires and cover letters. However, the reminders were sent out under the auspices of the European Immigration Company, so their letterhead, rather than that of the HSRC, was used for the reminders<sup>4</sup>. The English version of the reminder is also reproduced in Appendix B.

#### 7.2.7 Administration of the survey

The administration of the survey was done by the present writer with the assistance of clerical staff at the HSRC's Institute for Sociological and Demographic Research. This section describes the administrative procedures used for mailing and reception of the questionnaires.

Each of the names included in the seven initial samples was assigned a unique six-digit record or identification number, the first two digits of which indicated the particular sample (British, German, etc.), while the remaining four digits were assigned numerically to the records within each sample. The replacement samples were assigned record numbers in similar fashion. The dataset contained both the residential and postal addresses of immigrants. The computer was instructed to use the latter address. If no postal address was provided, the residential address was used. In addition, the full names of immigrants which were provided in the dataset were abridged to initials and surnames for the

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<sup>4</sup>This was done in an effort to reduce costs. The European Immigration Company (M.E.I.) bore the costs of postage for the reminders.

purpose of printing address labels. Unfortunately no titles were available for respondents, and a generic "Dear Sir/Madam" cover letter had to be used.

The selected names and addresses were then automatically printed on address stickers with the aid of a computer. Three stickers were printed for each record sampled: one for the envelope, a second for the cover letter, and the third for the reminder (if needed). In addition a printout of the full list of names, addresses (both postal and residential) and record numbers of all persons in the sample was obtained for control purposes. The date a questionnaire was posted to a particular person, the date a reminder was sent, and the date a response (whether a completed questionnaire or one returned "address unknown") was received, were all recorded alongside that person's record on the printout.

The printed lists of names and addresses were visually inspected for incomplete or incorrect addresses. In cases where the residential address appeared to be more complete than the postal address, a new address sticker was prepared by hand. Addresses that were obviously incorrect were discarded, after being noted on the printout. Typographical errors on the address stickers were also corrected at this point. In addition, no postal codes had been included in the data obtained from the Department of Home Affairs. Postal codes were thus entered by hand on all of the address stickers.

Once the address stickers had been prepared, the questionnaires were packed and mailed to respondents in the following manner: For each respondent, the record number was written in the space provided on the appropriate version of the questionnaire. One of the address stickers was placed on the English side of the cover letter, and the letter was date-stamped. The questionnaire and cover letter, together with an official reply-paid envelope was sealed in another envelope, on the outside of which was placed the second address sticker. Both this envelope and the reply-paid one were manila envelopes bearing the logo and

address of the HSRC.

Once a sample's questionnaires had all been packed, they were mailed. All in all, the entire process, from inspection of the addresses to packing and mailing of the envelopes, took some five weeks to complete. All 12 000 questionnaires in the initial mailing were posted within a period of two weeks during November 1985.

A record was kept of every questionnaire that was returned, whether completed or not. For completed questionnaires, the following information was recorded on a separate coding sheet: the record number, the date received, the language in which the questionnaire was completed, and the respondent's magisterial district according to the address. For questionnaires returned but not completed, the date, record number, magisterial district and reason for non-completion (address insufficient, addressee moved, addressee deceased, refusal, other language requested, etc.) were recorded on the coding sheet. For both completed and non-completed questionnaires, the date of return was also marked on the address printout and the third address sticker was discarded so that no reminder would be sent to an address from which a response had already been received or which was incorrect. For all questionnaires returned but not completed, another address was selected from the replacement list of that subsample, the record number was altered to reflect the new sample member, and the questionnaire was posted to the new address.

Replacement addresses were used for further mailings for a period of two months after the despatch of the first questionnaires, that is until the end of January 1986. During this time, replacement addresses for some of the groups had been exhausted, and additional replacement addresses had to be selected from the original dataset. In addition, a large proportion of the addresses in the German sample were found to be in Namibia (South West Africa). It was decided to

restrict the study to the borders of South Africa, and the Namibian addresses were consequently discarded. This meant that an additional 700 replacement addresses were selected for the German sample. For similar reasons, an extra 200 replacement addresses were also drawn for both the Italian and Portuguese samples, and an extra 100 for the Portuguese African sample.

Approximately two months after the initial mailing (towards the end of January 1986), reminders were sent to all those addresses from whom no reply had been received to date. Over 3 000 reminders were posted.

At about the same time, concern over the response rates for the Italian and Portuguese samples relative to the other groups led to the writer contacting local newspapers serving these two communities. As a result, O Seculo de Joannesburgo (a Portuguese language newspaper with a circulation of about 40 000 and La Voce (published in Italian -- circulation unknown) carried reports on the study and its importance for these communities in South Africa. These reports were published shortly after the initial mailing of questionnaires. In addition, the European Immigration Company, through its branches in all the major centres of the country, was of great help in promoting the study among the various immigrant communities.

At the end of this time, a total of 16 200 names and addresses had been selected from the database, of which 14 472 were mailed questionnaires. The remaining 1 728 addresses which were not used were discarded. The final numbers of addresses sampled and questionnaires posted for each country of origin are presented in Table 7.2.

TABLE 7.2  
 NAMES AND ADDRESSES SELECTED, AND QUESTIONNAIRES MAILED

Country	Sampled	Mailed
United Kingdom	2 500	2 445
Germany	3 200	2 380
Netherlands	2 500	2 383
Italy	2 700	2 492
Portugal	2 700	2 403
British Africa	1 250	1 175
Portuguese Africa	1 350	1 194
TOTAL	16 200	14 472

Every questionnaire that was returned was checked for completeness and consistency with the information in the dataset. Some of the problems identified at this stage, and the decisions taken were as follows:

- (a) Questionnaire completed by wrong respondent. This was detectable in cases where the sex, age and/or date of entry into South Africa differed from that in the dataset. If the respondent was an immigrant with the same country of birth as the sampled person, the questionnaire was retained, otherwise it was discarded.
- (b) Incomplete questionnaire. Depending on the number of questions completed, a decision was made to include or discard the questionnaire. If more than half the questions were completed, the questionnaire was retained.
- (c) Respondent now a South African citizen. These were discarded as the respondent no longer qualifies in terms of the definition of the sampling frame.
- (d) Respondent's country of birth differs from that recorded in the database. If the reported country of birth was one of those included in the study, the questionnaire was retained, otherwise it was discarded.
- (e) Record number was blacked out or removed by respondent. This occurred on only two occasions. Both questionnaires were retained.

Twenty six completed questionnaires were discarded in this process, and the record numbers of a further 59 were altered to reflect a different country of birth. The results of this initial edit are presented in Table 7.3.

TABLE 7.3  
RESULTS OF INITIAL EDIT

Country	Returned	Deleted	Changed:		Final sample
			Gained	Lost	
United Kingdom	686	4	19	5	696
Germany	662	7	3	4	654
Netherlands	736	5	4	8	727
Italy	551	3	1	5	544
Portugal	300	3	16	9	304
British Africa	397	3	6	9	391
Portuguese Africa	214	1	10	19	204
Total sample	3 546	26	59	59	3 520

For the sake of consistency the figures in the last column in Table 7.3, representing the final samples after editing, will be used in the remainder of this thesis, including the calculation of response rates. Although these figures represent the final sample sizes for each group, it should be pointed out that questionnaires were still being returned while coding was taking place. In fact, completed questionnaires were accepted up until the beginning of the data capture stage.

#### 7.2.8 Translation of responses

The next step in preparing the data for analysis involves the allocation of numeric codes to responses. Before coding could take place, however, those questionnaires that had been completed in languages other than English had to be translated. The percentage of each group that completed the questionnaire in English are presented in Table 7.4.

TABLE 7.4  
LANGUAGE OF COMPLETED QUESTIONNAIRES

Sample	English		Other language	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
United Kingdom	696	100,0	0	0,0
Germany	228	34,9	426	65,1
Netherlands	199	27,4	528	72,6
Italy	211	38,8	333	61,2
Portugal	98	32,2	206	67,8
British Africa	391	100,0	0	0,0
Portuguese Africa	101	49,5	103	50,5
Total sample	1 924	54,3	1 596	45,7

This meant that the responses to open-ended questions in almost 1 600 completed questionnaires first had to be translated into English before they could be coded. The translation was undertaken by the same translators used for the questionnaires. The translated responses were written on the English side of each questionnaire. This task took about one month to complete and was undertaken while the English questionnaires were being coded.

#### 7.2.9 Coding

After the questionnaires had been edited and translated, coding could take place. For the closed questions this simply involved transferring each circled code number into the appropriate block. Both this, and the more complex task of coding the open-ended questions were undertaken by trained coders under the direct supervision of the writer. In order to compile the codebook, a systematic sample of 50 questionnaires were selected from each sample. The coders then wrote down each unique response to each of the open-ended questions, noting the frequency with which such responses appeared. On the basis of these lists the researcher compiled a codebook containing detailed coding instructions and lists of codes for each question.

At this stage it became obvious that certain questions could not be coded because of the wide diversity of responses obtained. It was felt that reducing the responses to the last three questions in the questionnaire (Questions 88 - 90) to a series of codes would result in the loss of rich qualitative material. The same was felt for Question 38. Furthermore, these four questions were not central to the present study and were intended for more in-depth qualitative analysis of issues facing immigrants. It was thus decided not to code these questions. Instead, the responses were transcribed on separate sheets for later analysis. Over 300 pages of comments, suggestions, and problems were obtained in this manner.

The coders were trained in the specific coding procedures used in this study. The codebook was discussed in detail with the coders to ensure that they understood the instructions and the meaning of each code allocated. Although a code for "other" responses was provided for each question, coders were expressly instructed not to allocate such a code to a response without prior consultation with the researcher. In addition, any questionnaires on which the coders were uncertain about a particular response were set aside for later discussion with the researcher. Where necessary, new codes were added to the code list for substantive responses that could not be accommodated elsewhere. Furthermore, the researcher inspected 10% of each coder's work each week to ensure the accuracy and consistency of the coding. Inconsistencies or disagreements of interpretation were resolved in consultation with the respective coder.

For a number of questions, information had to be obtained from elsewhere to facilitate coding. The question regarding educational qualifications (Question 17 in Appendix B) proved especially problematical. The assistance of the HSRC's unit for the evaluation of foreign qualifications was obtained in determining the local equivalents of numerous qualifications from abroad. Despite this resource, a number of qualifications could not be accurately identified, and had

to be coded as unknown or estimated from other information provided by the respondents. In order to code the question on newspapers read (Question 54), a list of members of the Newspaper Press Union of South Africa was obtained. Information on foreign newspapers was obtained from consular officials of the appropriate countries. A number of different sources were consulted with regard to the question on membership of various organisations and clubs (Question 45). Certain abbreviations and obscure clubs remained undetected, however, and thus could not be accurately classified. The HSRC's Institute for Manpower Research and various existing occupational category code lists were invaluable in the coding of the questions on occupation (Questions 40, 42 and 43).

Although special efforts were made to ensure that the classification of open-ended responses was as accurate and complete as possible, problems of translation and insufficient information necessitated the use of a catch-all "other" category. As far as possible, use of this category was kept to the barest minimum.

#### 7.2.10 Data capture and cleaning

Once all coding had been completed and verified, the questionnaires were sent to the HSRC's Computer Centre for data capture (also called data entry). Data capture involved producing a computerised data file on magnetic tape by keypunching the codes for each questionnaire according to the data entry format or record layout specified by the writer.

Initial data cleaning, to ensure that the data entered is within permissible ranges, took place simultaneously with data capture. Following data capture, the data cleaning or verification process was performed by the writer using computer software specifically written for this purpose. A number of checks were performed, including out-of-field cleaning, internal consistency checks, and the

detection of duplicate or incomplete records. Any errors that were detected during this process were corrected by referring to the original questionnaires.

Finally the dataset was visually inspected by examining the marginal frequencies of all items. In addition, certain key bivariate relationships were examined. This was done to ensure that the dataset was as accurate as possible before being accepted for analysis. Once the researcher was satisfied that all possible steps had been taken to eliminate errors, a permanent dataset was created on a magnetic tape and made available for analysis.

This represented the end of the data collection phase of the research. To evaluate the effectiveness of the data collection strategies employed, it is necessary to examine the response rates before proceeding with the analysis.

### 7.3 RESPONSE RATE AND COMPLETION RATE

Kviz (1977) makes a distinction between response rate and completion rate. The completion rate is simply the number of completed questionnaires expressed as a proportion of the total sample. The completion rate thus includes both eligible and ineligible sampling units, in other words all those respondents who have been identified for inclusion in the sample. For the present study this means the 14 472 people to whom questionnaires were mailed. In calculating the response rate, Kviz recommends exclusion of ineligible sampling units. Ineligible sampling units refer to sampled respondents who for some or other reason do not qualify for inclusion in the survey. In the context of the present study this would refer to respondents who have died, have left the country permanently, are no longer holders of permanent residence visas, etc. Respondents who have moved and for whom a forwarding address is not available would be regarded as eligible sampling units, as they would still qualify for inclusion in the study should they be traced. In mail surveys it is not always possible to distinguish between eligible

and ineligible sampling units. For this reason the completion rate is often reported in lieu of the response rate.

With regard to computing response rates, Babbie (1973: 165) points out that "... the acceptable practice is to omit all those questionnaires that could not be delivered." This approach will be followed here with regard to the response rate. In other words, for the purpose of the present study completion rate will be used to refer to the number of completed questionnaires divided by the initial sample size, whereas response rate refers to the number of completed questionnaires divided by the net sample size (after subtracting undelivered questionnaires).

The completion rates and response rates for the various samples and total sample after initial editing of the returned questionnaires are presented in Table 7.5.

TABLE 7.5  
COMPLETION RATES AND RESPONSE RATES

Country:	Mailed A	Returned completed B	Returned undelivered C	Completion rate (%) B/A	Response rate (%) B/(A-C)
United Kingdom	2 445	696	691	28,5	39,7
Germany	2 380	654	562	27,5	36,0
Netherlands	2 383	727	570	30,5	40,1
Italy	2 492	544	686	21,8	30,1
Portugal	2 403	304	591	12,7	16,8
British Africa	1 175	391	258	33,3	42,6
Portuguese Africa	1 194	204	265	17,1	22,0
TOTAL SAMPLE	14 472	3 520	3 623	24,3	32,4

The overall response rate of 32,4% is low but not entirely unexpected in a survey of this nature. The fact that at least 25% of the questionnaires that were mailed never reached the intended respondents is an indication of the inaccuracy of the Population Register from which the dataset of names and addresses was obtained. Although permanent residents (and indeed all people in South Africa) are required by law to inform the Department of Home Affairs of any change of address, there

appears to be considerable laxity in this regard. Some time after the fieldwork was completed, a publicity campaign was launched by the Department in an attempt to update the Population Register in time for the May 1987 election. Although the results of such a campaign were too late to benefit the present study, the need for such a campaign serves to underline the inaccuracy of the register. The utility of such a register should be questioned in view of this high level of inaccuracy. The use of official lists for research purposes is no guarantee of the comprehensiveness or accuracy of any sample drawn from such lists.

Many of the envelopes returned indicated that the sampled person had not lived at that address for a number of years. As an extreme example, one addressee had died over 40 years ago, but his name still appeared in the Register. The low response rate is thus in part due to the inaccuracies in the address list obtained from the Department of Home Affairs. Over half (50,6%) of all the questionnaires mailed cannot be accounted for, so one can only speculate as to what proportion were actually received by the intended respondent. Of the 7 143 questionnaires that could be accounted for (those that were returned, whether completed or undelivered) just over half (50,7%) of these did not reach their intended destination. It can thus be assumed that a large proportion of the 7 329 questionnaires unaccounted for suffered a similar fate, with the current resident simply not bothering to forward the envelope or to return the envelope to the HSRC.

With response rates as low as this, the question of nonresponse bias is of particular concern. Nonresponse bias arises from the fact that responders may differ substantially from nonresponders in their replies to the questionnaire items. The larger the proportion of nonresponders, the greater their potential impact on the generalisability of the results to the population from which the sample was drawn. Furthermore, not only is the response rate low, but it also varies across samples, from a high of 40,1% for the Dutch to a low of 16,8% for

the Portuguese. This is an indication of the presence of response bias.

Generalisations based on the responses received in this study are thus simply not permissible with any degree of statistical accuracy, and have little practical meaning. However, it has already been pointed out that such generalisations are not a central concern in this study. Zetterberg (1966: 54-55) notes that the representativeness of a sample is not of crucial importance when the analysis concerns relationships between variables, as opposed to descriptions of a population. What is desirable in such a case is that the sample be as heterogenous as possible within the constraints of the population from which it is selected. Obviously, if the population is homogenous with respect to a variable, the sample will also be so.

For the purposes of this study the seven subsamples are combined into a single dataset and analysed collectively. What is desired is thus a set of data that captures as much of the range of the immigrant experience as possible, rather than being representative of all immigrants in South Africa, or even any subset of such immigrants. Using the information available in the dataset obtained from the Department of Home Affairs, a comparison can be made between the socio-demographic characteristics of those to whom questionnaires were mailed and those who completed and returned questionnaires, in an attempt to assess whether this goal has been met. These comparisons are presented in Table 7.6.

It can be seen from Table 7.6 that the characteristics of those who completed questionnaires broadly correspond with those to whom questionnaires were mailed. It can also be seen from the figures in this table that the range of characteristics in the population is fairly well represented in the sample, permitting meaningful multivariate analysis of the relationships between these variables.

TABLE 7.6  
COMPARISON OF CHARACTERISTICS OF SAMPLE FRAME AND FINAL SAMPLE

Variable	Mailed	Completed
Number	14 472	3 520
<u>Country of birth:</u>		
United Kingdom	16,9 %	19,8 %
Germany	16,4	18,6
Netherlands	16,5	20,7
Italy	17,2	15,6
Portugal	16,6	8,6
British Africa	8,1	11,1
Portuguese Africa	8,3	5,8
<u>Province:</u>		
Transvaal	70,6	66,5
Cape	13,5	14,3
Natal	12,8	15,9
Orange Free State	3,0	3,2
<u>Residence:</u>		
Metropolitan	51,9	48,8
Non-metropolitan	48,1	51,2
<u>Gender:</u>		
Male	59,1	61,3
Female	40,9	38,7
<u>Age:</u>		
18-25	2,4	2,6
26-35	25,0	23,5
36-45	35,2	33,8
46-55	24,3	26,1
56-65	9,5	10,2
66+	3,7	3,8
<u>Marital status:</u>		
Never married	15,4	12,8
Married	80,5	83,5
Widowed/divorced	4,0	3,8
<u>Year of arrival:</u>		
1950 or earlier	4,1	3,9
1951-1960	18,7	21,2
1961-1970	32,9	30,9
1971-1980	30,1	25,8
1981 or later	14,2	18,2

#### 7.4 PLAN OF ANALYSIS

This section briefly describes the form that the next few chapters will take, and the way in which the data will be analysed. In Chapter 3, the concepts which will be used in the analysis were developed. Such concepts are not measured directly as such in the questionnaire. Measures or indicators of these constructs need to be identified and developed from the items in the questionnaire. The next step thus involves the transformation of items or groups of items into variables representing the constructs to be studied. Decisions about missing data need to be made at this stage. An examination of marginal frequencies and selected bivariate relationships will serve to identify appropriate variables. Where index construction is required, more sophisticated data reduction techniques will be used. The development of the measures of subjective and objective adaptation will be discussed in Chapter 8, while Chapter 9 will focus on the measurement of those factors hypothesised to influence immigrant adaptation in South Africa.

Once the variables to be used have been specified, the next step involves the analysis of the relationships among these variables. As this study is essentially an exploratory one, specific hypotheses about the nature and/or direction of such relationships are not developed. The analyses will be guided by the multivariate model of immigrant adaptation proposed earlier (Chapter 3). However, it should be emphasised that the intention is not to test the theoretical model for its efficacy, but rather to use the model to guide the exploratory analysis of the data.

CHAPTER 8  
DEVELOPMENT OF MEASURES OF ADAPTATION

Before the relationships between the various objective and subjective dimensions of adaptation can be examined, it is necessary first to operationalise the concepts used. This involves developing variables from the items in the questionnaire that could serve as indicators of the constructs of interest. In most cases this will involve the transformation of a single item into a form suitable for analysis. However, in certain instances variables may be formed by combining related items.

The task of operationalising the concepts used and finding suitable indicators is made difficult by the fact that the questionnaire items evolved out of a series of compromises and concessions, both to the needs of those sponsoring the research and to the demands of simplicity and brevity inherent in questionnaire design. As a result, the links between certain items or groups of items and the underlying concepts may be more tenuous than desired. In some cases, such as the subjective dimension of internalisation, the concept is not measured at all. To further complicate the task, because this study does not work within an assimilation framework, adaptation cannot simply be measured along a single continuum of greater or lesser integration into the host society. Thus for some dimensions of adaptation (such as social adaptation) there are several possible orientations that can be examined, whereas for other dimensions there may be only one orientation (economic adaptation). Without a preconceived notion of what is desirable in adaptation, these dimensions cannot simply be evaluated in terms of "greater" or "lesser" adaptation or more or less "successful" adaptation.

With this in mind, the task of forming variables can proceed. Each of the dimensions of adaptation discussed in Chapter 3 will be dealt with in turn here.

## 8.1 OBJECTIVE ADAPTATION

### 8.1.1 Cultural adaptation

As was pointed out in Chapter 7, the development of measures of cultural adaptation in the South African context is extremely difficult given the lack of consensus regarding what constitutes "South African culture", if there is indeed such a thing. For this reason the primary indicator of cultural adaptation used here is language acquisition and usage. A number of items on language were included in the questionnaire. However, the use of language as an indicator of cultural adaptation in South Africa is also problematic. For those immigrants whose home language is English, the use of this language in South Africa cannot be considered evidence of cultural adaptation. This is less of a problem for Afrikaans, although Dutch speakers could be considered at an advantage in learning Afrikaans. Any analysis using these variables must take this into account. Languages spoken before coming to South Africa or country of origin should thus be included as control variables in any analyses using language acquisition as a dependent variable.

The distributions of the two questions on English and Afrikaans fluency (Questions 58 and 59), controlling for languages spoken before coming to South Africa, can now be examined. These are presented in Tables 8.1 and 8.2 respectively.

TABLE 8.1  
 FLUENCY OF SPEAKING ENGLISH NOW, BY WHETHER RESPONDENT COULD SPEAK ENGLISH BEFORE  
 COMING TO SOUTH AFRICA

How well do you speak English now:	Spoke English before arriving		Total %
	Yes %	No %	
Fluently	85,1	47,8	70,1
Averagely	13,7	36,7	22,9
Poorly	0,5	11,8	5,0
Not at all	0,0	2,9	1,2
Not ascertained	0,7	0,8	0,7
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	99,9
(n)	(2 109)	(1 411)	(3 520) <sup>1</sup>

TABLE 8.2  
 FLUENCY OF SPEAKING AFRIKAANS NOW, BY WHETHER RESPONDENT COULD SPEAK DUTCH BEFORE  
 COMING TO SOUTH AFRICA

How well do you speak Afrikaans now:	Spoke Dutch before arriving		Total %
	Yes %	No %	
Fluently	56,6	9,8	19,4
Averagely	37,0	18,2	22,1
Poorly	5,2	35,9	29,6
Not at all	0,6	35,1	28,0
Not ascertained	0,6	1,1	1,0
TOTAL	100,0	100,1	100,1
(n)	(724)	(2 796)	(3 520)

The need to control for these two prior languages (English and Dutch) if language acquisition is to be used as a measure of adaptation is clear from these tables.

The next set of variables that could be considered as indicators of the language component of cultural adaptation are Questions 60, 61 and 62, relating to language spoken at home, at work, and that desired for the children to speak. Again, these measures should be used with caution. For example, one would not expect language spoken at home to have changed for many immigrants since coming

<sup>1</sup>Unless otherwise stated, all the percentages presented here are based on the full sample of 3 520 respondents.

to South Africa, especially if they spoke English previously. The best indicator of cultural change would be whether home language has changed since arriving in South Africa. Unfortunately, information on previous home language is not available to permit an examination of such change. Thus language spoken at home may be more a function of previous home language than any other factor. Similarly, language spoken at work is also affected by external factors. The second of these three questions, the language respondents desire their children to speak, may serve as a better indicator of long-term cultural adaptation. The major drawback of using this question is that a sizeable proportion of the sample (13,5%) did not respond to this question, or simply replied that it was up to the children themselves.

A further complication is that in response to these three questions, multiple languages were mentioned. This varies from 8,6% who speak two or more languages at home, to 12,4% who want their children to be at least bilingual, to 24,1% who speak at least two languages at work. However, as the primary concern here is with the two official languages, the responses to these three items were collapsed to reflect this focus. Regardless of what other languages are spoken, the distribution of responses to these questions are presented in Table 8.3.

TABLE 8.3  
OFFICIAL LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME, AT WORK, AND PREFERRED THAT CHILDREN SPEAK

Language:	Language spoken at home %	Language spoken at work %	Language prefer children to speak %
English	56,1	45,4	61,8
Afrikaans	6,7	5,5	6,9
Both	1,5	5,2	15,4
Neither	34,9	29,4	2,4
Not ascertained, it's up to them	0,8	14,5	13,5
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0

Although the use of South Africa's official languages by the respondents themselves is low, this appears to change as far as the second generation (the children of immigrants) is concerned.

A number of items have been identified that could serve as indicators of the language component of cultural adaptation. However, none of these variables is without flaws, and it may be necessary to use some combination of these variables to measure the cultural adaptation of immigrants more accurately. Furthermore, the measures of language acquisition and usage are more applicable to certain groups than to others, and this needs to be kept in mind when analysing these variables.

Another potential indicator of cultural adaptation is the newspapers that immigrants read. Two issues are of concern here: the reading of newspapers (a) may serve as another indicator of language acquisition, or (b) may be used as a measure of exposure to South African cultural norms and activities. Both the names of the newspapers read and the frequency with which each newspaper was read were ascertained in Question 54. To simplify matters, the type of newspaper read was coded into four broad groups: English South African newspapers, Afrikaans South African newspapers, other language South African newspapers, and finally foreign newspapers. Separate variables were created to combine these categories with the frequency of reading each type of newspaper. The results of this recoding are presented in Table 8.4.

TABLE 8.4  
 TYPES OF NEWSPAPERS READ AND FREQUENCY READ

Frequency:	English South African %	Afrikaans South African %	Other language South African %	Foreign %
Daily	52,0	5,4	0,1	1,5
Weekly	21,2	4,8	6,3	13,0
Monthly	1,2	0,6	2,8	4,2
Occasionally	11,1	3,0	1,5	69,9
Never	14,6	86,2	89,3	11,4
TOTAL	100,1	100,0	100,0	100,0

These four variables can be reduced further to form a single indicator. Each variable is dichotomised according to whether or not the respondent reads that type of newspaper at all. Focusing only on the first two variables in Table 8.4, the following four categories can be distinguished:

Reads English papers	77,0 %
Reads Afrikaans papers	5,4 %
Reads both English and Afrikaans papers	8,4 %
Reads neither English nor Afrikaans papers	9,2 %
TOTAL	100,0 %

Although much of the richness of information in the original series of questions has been lost, it has been reduced to a manageable proportion, and this single variable could be used as a crude indicator of the immigrant's exposure to the culture and language of White South Africa as represented by its newspapers.

Another indicator of immigrants' exposure to White South African culture is the amount of television (if any) watched. Because of the large proportion of imported (particularly American) programming on television in South Africa, it was decided to restrict the focus to news programmes for their predominantly local content. In Question 56, respondents were thus asked "How often do you watch news programmes on television?" The responses to this question were as follows:

Regularly (every day)	63,1 %
Often (a few times a week)	25,0 %
Seldom (about once a week)	6,1 %
Rarely (about once a month or less)	5,3 %
Not ascertained	0,5 %
TOTAL	----- 100,0 %

Unfortunately, because of space constraints in the questionnaire, this question could not be expanded to compare the watching of English versus Afrikaans programmes on television. Nevertheless, this question could serve as a useful indicator of general exposure to issues of national concern in South Africa.

#### 8.1.2 Primary social adaptation

The next dimension of adaptation to be examined is primary social adaptation. This dimension is concerned specifically with interaction with family and close friends.

To measure the primary social orientation of immigrants, a series of four questions (Questions, 49, 50, 51, and 52) were asked. The questions were worded as follows: "How many of your close friends are (of the same nationality as yourself / English-speaking South Africans / Afrikaans-speaking South Africans / immigrants of other nationalities)?" The responses to these four questions can be seen in Table 8.5.

TABLE 8.5  
PRIMARY SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS OF IMMIGRANTS

How many of your close friends are:	English- speaking South Africans %	Afrikaans- speaking South Africans %	Of the same nation- ality %	Immigrants of other national- ities %
All	10,6	1,7	8,9	1,3
Most	31,6	9,0	32,4	8,8
Some	46,3	58,9	44,9	57,8
None	10,9	29,6	13,2	31,3
Not ascertained	0,6	0,8	0,6	0,9
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,1

These four variables were combined to form an index of the primary social orientation of immigrants. This index consists of the following four categories reflecting the friendship choices of immigrants:

Predominantly English-speaking South Africans	40,4 %
Predominantly Afrikaans-speaking South Africans	8,8 %
Predominantly other immigrants (of the same or other nationality)	20,9 %
Mixed	29,9 %
TOTAL	100,0 %

The final group served as a catch-all category for those who could not be placed into one of the first three groups. This group of 1 054 respondents includes 905 respondents (85,9% of this group) who have some friends from at least two groups, but did not say "all" or "most" to any group, a further 25 (0,7%) who said they had no close friends in any of these four groups, and the remaining 124 who responded "all" or "most" to two or more groups, and thus could not be allocated unambiguously to a single category.

In another question relating to social activities (Question 48), respondents were asked: "How active is your present social life compared to what it was like in your home country?" The following responses were obtained:

Much more active now	10,0 %
More active now	15,2 %
About the same	31,9 %
Less active now	20,4 %
Much less active now	15,3 %
Not ascertained	7,1 %
	-----
TOTAL	99,9 %

Although this variable does not indicate the direction of an immigrant's social adaptation, it is nevertheless a useful measure of social participation, and can be used in conjunction with the other indicator of primary social adaptation.

Combining the responses to these questions, it is found that those who associate with English speakers are more likely to report that their social life is more active (28,7% of this group), compared to those who associate with Afrikaans speakers (20,0% more active). Similarly, those who associate with other immigrants are more likely to report that their social life is less active now (42,5% compared to 31,9% for those who associate with English speakers and 32,6% for those who associate with Afrikaans speakers).

### 8.1.3 Secondary social adaptation

This dimension refers to the immigrant's acceptance and participation in various clubs, associations and societies within the receiving country. Two questions were asked to ascertain the extent of membership and/or participation in such secondary social groups. In the first (Question 44), respondents were asked whether they belonged to or attended any organisations or clubs. Almost half (46,6%) responded in the affirmative, whereas 51,5% said no, and 1,9% did not respond to this question. This can be contrasted with a study of White South Africans by De Villiers (1976: 68) in which he found that 30% of English speakers and 26% of Afrikaans speakers did not belong to any organisations. According to the second question, in which respondents were asked to name all the organisations or clubs they belonged to or attended, the 46,6% who do so can be categorised as follows: 24,1% only one, 13,2% two, 5,6% three and 3,8% four or

more clubs or organisations. These variables can serve as an indicator of the extent of secondary social participation.

To obtain information on the orientation of such secondary social adaptation in relation to members of the host society, it is necessary to examine the type of clubs or organisations to which immigrants belong or attend. The first five organisations mentioned in response to Question 45 (only five respondents said they belonged to more than five) were coded into a set of broad categories. The proportions of respondents who belong to each of these types of clubs are summarised in Table 8.6.

TABLE 8.6  
MEMBERSHIP OF / ATTENDANCE AT VARIOUS TYPES OF CLUBS OR ASSOCIATIONS

Type of club or organisation:	Percentage of total sample	Percentage of those who belong to or attend any clubs or organisations
Immigrant/national associations	10,5	22,5
Sports clubs	21,7	46,6
Cultural/social/hobby clubs	9,6	20,6
Professional organisations	6,6	14,1
Service organisations	7,4	15,9
Religious organisations	2,3	5,0
Other	10,1	21,8

The percentages in Table 8.6 do not add up to 100 as multiple mentions are possible. The first group (immigrant associations) does not refer to groups specifically for immigrants, but rather all groups where interaction is primarily with members of national minorities. Some examples of groups coded into this category are RASA (Rhodesian Association of South Africa), Casa Social de Madeira, Club de Angolos, Italian clubs, British clubs, and so on.

As has been done with other variables, it is possible to collapse these responses further into a single variable on the basis of contact with members of the host

society. However, not enough detail is available to accurately distinguish between groups consisting primarily of English speakers or Afrikaans speakers. The following categories can be distinguished on the basis of respondents' membership or participation in various clubs or organisations:

Host groups only	36,0 %
Host and immigrant groups	4,5 %
Immigrant groups only	5,9 %
None	53,5 %
	-----
TOTAL	99,9 %

From this it can be seen that more than half the sample do not appear to participate in any secondary social interaction, at least in formally organised groups. The figure of 53,5% includes the 51,5% who said none to Question 44, the 1,9% who did not respond to this question, and 5 respondents who said "yes" in Question 44, but did not name any clubs in response to Question 45. This variable can thus serve as a crude measure of the direction of an immigrant's secondary social adaptation.

#### 8.1.4 Economic adaptation

A number of distinct subcategories of economic adaptation can be identified, namely housing, transportation, occupational change, working conditions, and future prospects and opportunities (Stone, 1973: 180-189). Two of these (transportation and future prospects) were not measured in this study. The remaining aspects will be discussed here.

A series of questions were asked with regard to housing. The first (Question 68) is a measure of residential stability. Respondents were asked: "Approximately how long have you lived at your present address?" The responses to this question were as follows:

Less than five years	49,3 %
Five to nine years	23,0 %
Ten or more years	26,3 %
Not ascertained	1,4 %
	-----
TOTAL	100,1 %

Obviously the length of residence in South Africa will affect this variable, and this needs to be taken into account in any analysis of residential stability.

Respondents were also asked if their present accommodation is temporary or permanent (Question 69). Only 4,9% of the sample said "temporary". This could also be determined in large part by length of residence in South Africa. However, on cross-tabulating these two variables, it is found that 39,6% of those in temporary accommodation have been in the country for 5 years or less, while 20,8% have been here for more than 20 years. This points to a potential problem with this question. If more than 20% of those currently living in temporary accommodation have been in South Africa for more than 20 years (and 49,1% more than 10 years), it cannot be assumed that those in temporary housing have been so since their arrival in South Africa. In any case, the proportion of respondents in temporary accommodation (4,9%) is too low to permit meaningful analysis of this variable.

In the final question on housing (Question 71), the following was asked: "How satisfied are you with your present accommodation?" The following responses were obtained:

Very satisfied	52,9 %
Satisfied	35,3 %
Mixed feelings	8,4 %
Dissatisfied / very dissatisfied	2,4 %
Not ascertained	1,0 %
	-----
TOTAL	100,0 %

A high level of satisfaction is evident from these responses. It is interesting to note that for the 4,9% of the sample who said they were living in temporary accommodation, significantly fewer respondents expressed satisfaction (59,1%), while 24,5% had mixed feelings and 13,8% were dissatisfied.

Satisfaction with accommodation is also related to residential stability. Of those who have lived at their present address for less than five years, 45,5% report being very satisfied with their accommodation, compared to 54,5% of those who have lived there for 5 to 9 years, and 65,5% of those who have lived there for 10 or more years.

More central to an immigrant's economic adaptation is his/her employment situation. The occupational status of respondents as ascertained in Question 39 is as follows:

Employer	11,0 %
Employee	51,4 %
Self-employed	12,9 %
Housewife	17,2 %
Student	1,1 %
Unemployed	1,0 %
Retired/disabled	4,4 %
Not ascertained	1,1 %
	-----
TOTAL	100,1 %

Three of the categories (student, unemployed, and retired/disabled) can be combined to form a single group of "other not working": 6,4% of the sample falls into this group. It can be seen that 75,3% of the sample is economically active.

With regard to occupational change and mobility, the number of jobs respondents have had since coming to South Africa was ascertained in Question 41. The distribution of responses to this question is as follows:

None	7,5 %
One	28,5 %
Two	21,2 %
Three or more	33,1 %
Not ascertained	9,7 %
	-----
TOTAL	100,0 %

Relatively few respondents have not worked since coming to South Africa. If the "not ascertained" category is included with this group, this is still only 17,2% of the sample. Immigrants are also fairly stable in their occupations, with almost half (49,6%) having only had one or two different jobs since coming to

this country.

Respondents were also asked to describe their current job (Question 40), their first job in South Africa (Question 42) and their last job in their previous country of residence (Question 43). Because of the large proportion of respondents who have had only one job in South Africa, only the first and third questions are compared. The occupational codes were collapsed into four broad groups to simplify the analysis of these questions. The four groups are:

- (a) Professional, managerial, owners of small businesses,
- (b) white collar,
- (c) blue collar (skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled), and
- (d) not working, not ascertained.

A cross-tabulation of current job with last job in previous country is presented in Table 8.7. The percentages are the proportion of the total sample (3 520 respondents) in each cell of the table. The marginal percentages are also presented.

TABLE 8.7  
CURRENT JOB AND LAST JOB IN PREVIOUS COUNTRY

Last job in previous country:	Current job:				Marginal Percent
	Professional, al, manager	White collar	Blue collar	Not working, not answered	
Professional, managerial	14,7	1,5	0,7	3,6	20,4 (718)
White collar	5,6	8,4	0,8	6,1	20,8 (733)
Blue collar	8,4	2,8	12,3	5,1	28,6 (1 006)
Not working, not ascertained	10,9	5,4	3,6	10,3	30,2 (1 063)
Marginal percent (n)	39,6 (1 395)	18,0 (633)	17,3 (610)	25,1 (882)	100,0 (3 520)

To form a measure of occupational mobility from the information presented in Table 8.7, certain assumptions have to be made regarding the relative social status of these broad groupings of occupations. If the relative status of these occupations is assumed to be in the same order in which they are presented above, a crude measure of mobility with three categories can be developed. The first category consists of the diagonal cells in Table 8.7. This is the group of respondents who have approximately the same occupational status now as in their previous country. Almost half of the sample (45,7%) fall into this group. The second group are those whose occupational status is higher now than previously. These are the respondents in the upper right section of Table 8.7, and comprise 36,6% of the sample. Finally, there are those whose occupational status has decreased relative to their last job in their previous country. These are in the lower left segment of the table, and comprise the remaining 17,7% of the sample.

These three groups should be treated with caution. This is a very crude index based on questionable assumptions and broad categorisations. Nevertheless, given the information available in the questionnaire, this is the only way to obtain any indicator of occupational mobility.

The third aspect of economic adaptation investigated refers to working conditions. This is assessed subjectively in that respondents were asked how satisfied they were with their present job (Question 72). Responses to this question are as follows:

Very satisfied	35,3 %
Satisfied	31,5 %
Mixed feelings	8,3 %
Dissatisfied / very dissatisfied	2,8 %
Not applicable - not working	22,1 %
	-----
TOTAL	100,0 %

As was seen with regard to satisfaction with accommodation, there is a marked skewness in the responses to this question, with 66,8% of the sample (or 85,7% of those currently working) expressing satisfaction. This will affect the ability

to detect meaningful correlates or predictors of job satisfaction.

Job satisfaction is highly related to current occupation. The percentage of respondents reporting that they are very satisfied with their work declines monotonically as occupational status decreases, from 51,3% for professionals, to 48,6% for managers and owners of small businesses, 44,5% for clerical and other white collar workers, and 36,7% for blue collar workers.

Satisfaction is also strongly related to occupational mobility. For those who have experienced an increase in occupational status, 47,5% say they are very satisfied with their current job, compared to only 9,9% of those who have had an decrease in status and 35,3% of those whose status has remained at about the same level.

In addition to these specific areas of economic adaptation, two questions were included to measure the immigrants' own perceptions of their general economic situation. In the first of these (Question 74), respondents were asked: "How satisfied are you with your general standard of living in South Africa?" Respondents replied to this question as follows:

Very satisfied	24,4 %
Satisfied	50,9 %
Mixed feelings	18,7 %
Dissatisfied / very dissatisfied	5,6 %
Not ascertained	0,4 %
	-----
TOTAL	100,0 %

This variable suffers from the same problem as the other indicators of economic satisfaction discussed above, namely extreme skewness in the distribution of responses.

In the second question (Question 75), respondents were asked to compare their general standard of living in South Africa with that in their home country. The responses obtained were:

Much higher in South Africa	11,5 %
Higher in South Africa	31,1 %
About the same	37,1 %
Lower / much lower in South Africa	13,2 %
Uncertain / not ascertained	7,0 %
	-----
TOTAL	99,9 %

The responses to this variable are more evenly distributed than for the other satisfaction measures, making this a useful measure for distinguishing between different levels of economic adaptation.

#### 8.1.5 Political adaptation

By political adaptation is meant the extent to which immigrants accept the prevailing political ideology of the host society. However, care must be taken not to equate rejection of the dominant ideology with failure to adapt, as this would imply that this ideology is somehow the right one. The ideology of apartheid is certainly dominant in White South African society, but more so among Afrikaners than English speakers (see Couper and Rhoodie, 1988). It would therefore be useful to examine the attitudes of immigrants to this ideology that is uniquely South African.

A series of questions on various political issues were included in the questionnaire. Two of these questions (Questions 79 and 81) deal with changes in attitudes or expectations, and have no anchoring points for comparison. For example, a person could respond to Question 79 that there is more racial discrimination than he expected, but there is no way of knowing whether he expected much discrimination or not. In other words, there is no way that respondents' present political attitudes can be inferred from these two questions.

The question that is most useful for the present purposes is Question 80. The question wording and the distribution of responses for this question were as

follows: "How do you feel about the race policies of the South Africa Government?"

In your opinion, are these policies:"

Right	30,3 %
Neither right nor wrong	24,9 %
Wrong	33,6 %
Totally wrong	7,1 %
Uncertain or do not know	9,5 %
Not ascertained	1,8 %
	-----
TOTAL	100,1 %

It is possible that respondents could regard the policies as wrong in that they (the policies) may be regarded as too "liberal". However, it will be assumed that the number of such persons is minimal. It is also true that this question may be particularly susceptible to social desirability effects. Although not without flaws, this question is the most suitable of those available for use as a general indicator of political attitudes.

Also of interest as far as political adaptation is concerned is the extent of immigrant participation in the political process. Formal participation (in the sense of voting) is restricted to those who have become citizens. As a substitute, interest in politics and support for various political parties can be examined. Respondents were asked (in Question 86) how interested they were in South African politics. For comparative purposes, they were also asked how interested they were in politics in their previous country (Question 85). The responses to these two questions are presented in Table 8.8.

TABLE 8.8  
INTEREST IN POLITICS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND PREVIOUS COUNTRY

Interest in politics in:	South Africa %	Previous country %
Very interested	26,5	12,9
Fairly interested	41,4	28,9
Slightly interested	21,5	30,1
Not at all interested	9,8	24,6
Not ascertained	0,8	3,5
	-----	-----
TOTAL	100,0	100,0

From these questions it appears as if there is a slightly higher level of interest expressed in South African politics than in politics in the previous country of residence.

These two questions can be combined to determine interest in South African politics relative to interest in politics in the previous country. On doing so, it is found that 43,6% are more interested in South African politics than previously, 43,2% expressed the same level of interest, 9,3% were less interested, and the remaining 3,8% could not be classified into any of the above three categories due to missing data on one or both of these variables. Either or both of these two variables (interest in South Africa politics, and change in interest) could be used as indicators of political adaptation.

A further measure that can be used to ascertain an immigrant's political adaptation is support for various political parties in South Africa. In Question 87 respondents were asked: "Which political party in South Africa do you favour the most?" Combining certain categories, the following distribution of responses is obtained:

None	21,9 %
National Party (NP)	41,0 %
Progressive Federal Party (PFP), New Republic Party (NRP), United Democratic Front (UDF), etc.	17,4 %
Conservative Party (CP), Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP), Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), etc.	3,3 %
Do not know / not ascertained	16,4 %
TOTAL	100,0 %

More than a third of the sample did not mention a specific party. Of those who did express a preference, two-thirds (66,5%) selected the ruling National Party, while 28,1% selected parties to the left of the National Party, and 5,3% chose parties to the right.

It would be interesting to compare the above political party preferences with those of White South Africans. An identical question to this one was asked in a national probability sample of 1 024 White South Africans conducted in March 1984 (see Rhoodie, De Kock and Couper, 1985). The responses to this question, analysed according to home language, are presented in Table 8.9. For comparative purposes, the responses of immigrants to this question in the present study are also included in this table.

TABLE 8.9  
POLITICAL PARTY PREFERENCES OF WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS, BY LANGUAGE (MARCH 1984),  
AND OF IMMIGRANTS (1985)

Political party preferences:	White South Africans:			Immigrants %
	Total %	Afrikaans %	English %	
NP	56,4	69,3	40,8	41,0
PFP, NRP	9,0	2,1	18,1	17,4
CP, HNP	7,5	12,4	2,0	3,3
None / not ascertained	27,1	16,2	39,1	38,3
TOTAL (n)	100,0 (1 024)	100,0 (530)	100,0 (407)	100,0 (3 520)

It can be seen from Table 8.9 that the political party preferences of immigrants expressed in the present study are remarkable similar to those of English-speaking South Africans from a survey conducted a year earlier.

#### 8.1.6 Educational adaptation

This dimension refers specifically to the second and subsequent immigrant generations. Educational adaptation is usually assessed in terms of the second generation's access to the educational institutions and opportunities of the host society. The focus here is on first generation immigrants, and therefore this dimension was not measured in the present study.

### 8.1.7 Religious adaptation

This aspect of adaptation can be evaluated in two ways: religious denomination and frequency of church attendance. Ideally, one would want to establish how immigrants have changed, if at all, in respect of these two variables since arriving in South Africa.

The religious denominations of immigrants as ascertained in Question 46 are presented in Table 8.10. For purposes of comparison, the religious denominations of Whites in South Africa (analysed according to home language) are also presented. These latter data are from the 1980 Census (5% sample).

TABLE 8.10  
RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS OF WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS, BY LANGUAGE (1980), AND OF IMMIGRANTS (1985)

Religious denomination:	White South Africans:			Immigrants %
	Total %	Afrikaans %	English %	
Afrikaans churches (NGK, GK, NHK)	45,7	77,1	4,0	7,2
Anglican (GPSA)	6,9	0,7	16,7	6,5
Church of England	3,2	0,2	7,7	7,7
Methodist	9,1	1,9	20,5	5,5
Presbyterian	2,8	0,4	6,6	4,1
Catholic	8,7	1,0	15,8	38,2
Lutheran	0,9	0,3	0,7	8,4
Jewish	2,6	0,1	6,4	0,6
Other	15,0	15,4	14,1	9,2
None /not ascertained	5,0	3,0	7,5	12,6
TOTAL (n)	99,9 (226 357)	100,1 (129 024)	100,0 (88 159)	100,0 (3 520)

From this table it can be seen that immigrants are over-represented among Catholics and Lutherans, and under-represented among the three Afrikaans churches. This points to some degree of religious separation or pluralism, both between English and Afrikaans South Africans and between these two groups and immigrants. This could be an important element in immigrant adaptation.

With regard to frequency of church attendance, the distribution of responses to Question 47 is as follows:

Regularly	21,3 %
Often	10,9 %
Seldom	38,2 %
Never	28,6 %
Not ascertained	1,1 %
	-----
TOTAL	100,1 %

This variable could serve not only as an indicator of religious adaptation but also possibly as a measure of secondary social participation and contact with members of the host society.

## 8.2 SUBJECTIVE ADAPTATION

Having identified the indicators of objective adaptation that will be used in this study, the discussion now turns to an examination of the subjective dimensions of adaptation. Four dimensions of subjective adaptation were identified in Chapter 3: satisfaction, identification, acceptance and internalisation.

The last of these dimensions, internalisation, refers to the extent to which the attitudes and values of the receiving society are adopted by the immigrant. In the South African situation, this is particularly difficult to evaluate, as the identification of attitudes and values that can be considered uniquely characteristic of White South Africans seems an impossible task. For this reason, this dimension of subjective adaptation is not addressed in this study. The remaining three dimensions will be discussed in turn.

### 8.2.1 Satisfaction

A number of measures of satisfaction, particularly with regard to economic factors, have already been identified. These will not be re-examined in this section. What is sought here is a general measure of overall satisfaction. One such variable is obtained from Question 76, which is worded as follows: "Compared with your life in your home country, how happy are you with your life in South Africa?" The following distribution of responses was obtained for this question:

Much more happy in South Africa	14,4 %
More happy in South Africa	35,6 %
About the same	37,6 %
More / much more unhappy in South Africa	7,7 %
Not ascertained	4,8 %
	-----
TOTAL	100,1 %

Again, the distribution of responses to this question is not ideal from an analysis standpoint.

The happiness of a respondent's spouse and children is also important for his/her own level of satisfaction. Respondents were asked how happy their husband/wife (Question 77) and children (Question 78) were with life in South Africa. The responses to these questions for the 2 859 respondents who are married (81,2% of the sample) and the 2 559 (72,7%) who have children living in South Africa are presented in Table 8.11.

TABLE 8.11  
 SATISFACTION OF HUSBAND/WIFE AND CHILDREN WITH LIFE IN SOUTH AFRICA FOR MARRIED  
 RESPONDENTS AND THOSE WITH CHILDREN LIVING IN SOUTH AFRICA

Responses:	Husband/wife %	Children %
Very happy	30,5	43,5
Happy	46,3	41,3
Mixed feelings	18,9	7,9
Unhappy	2,4	0,5
Very unhappy	0,5	0,1
Not ascertained	1,4	6,7
TOTAL	100,0	100,0
(n)	(2 859)	(2 559)

As can be expected, the happiness of a respondent's spouse and/or children are both highly correlated with his/her own relative satisfaction. For example, for those respondents who say they are more happy in South Africa, 88,8% say that their spouses are happy, and only 0,5% say their spouses are unhappy. The corresponding figures for respondents who say they are less happy in South Africa are 36,4% and 20,9% respectively. A similar pattern can be seen for a respondent's children. For this reason, the single indicator of the respondent's own relative happiness can be used as a measure of satisfaction both in individual terms and for the family unit.

Another key indicator of satisfaction is the response obtained from Question 20. This question, and the distribution of responses, is as follows: "If you could make these decisions over again, knowing what you know now, would you:"

Decide not to emigrate	12,0 %
Choose another country to emigrate to	14,8 %
Still come to South Africa	67,4 %
Not ascertained	5,7 %
TOTAL	99,9 %

As with other indicators of satisfaction, a sizeable proportion of respondents do not seem to regret their decision to come to South Africa.

### 8.2.2 Identification

The second aspect of subjective adaptation to be examined is identification. Two questions on identification were asked (Questions 66 and 67), one referring to the respondents' own identification and the other to their preferences for their children's identification. A wide variety of responses were received, but these can be grouped into four broad categories:

- (a) Those who identify themselves and/or their children as South Africans,
- (b) those who use some combination of South Africa and another country, such as "Portuguese-South African", "Italian-South African" (the so-called "hyphenateds"),
- (c) those who identify themselves exclusively by their country or region of origin or birth, for example "British", "Scottish", "Flemish", and
- (d) those who do not use a specific national identity, for example "stateless", "world citizen", "European", "immigrant", and so on.

The responses to these two questions are presented in Table 8.12.

TABLE 8.12  
IMMIGRANTS' OWN IDENTIFICATION AND PREFERRED IDENTIFICATION OF CHILDREN

Identification:	Self %	Children %
South African	10,9	27,5
Hyphenated South African	32,6	22,8
National origin	49,6	18,0
Other	3,2	7,0
Not ascertained / not applicable	3,8	24,6
TOTAL	100,1	99,9

Just over half of the sample (52,8%) do not identify themselves with South Africa, either exclusively or in combination with another country. As far as preference for children's identification is concerned, the tendency leans more towards a South Africa identity. However, a large number of respondents did not answer this question (27,3% of the sample do not have any children living in

South Africa), reducing the usefulness of this second variable. The first variable (own identity) will thus be used as the primary indicator of identification.

The criteria against which an immigrant's identification is evaluated should be kept in mind. It was noted in Chapter 3 (Table 3.5) that in 1984 only 48,1% of Afrikaans-speaking and 48,8% of English-speaking South Africans identified themselves as South Africans, whereas 48,0% of Afrikaans speakers and 45,1% of English speakers identified themselves in ethnic terms.

### 8.2.3 Acceptance

This aspect of subjective adaptation refers to the extent to which immigrants feel accepted by members of the host society. This involves both the attitudes and behaviour of host society members as perceived by immigrants (corresponding to Gordon's (1964: 71) attitude receptional and behaviour receptional assimilation).

Two questions were included in the questionnaire to tap this dimension of adaptation. As far as the attitudes of host society members are concerned, the following question (Question 53) was asked: "How do you rate the attitude of South Africans in general towards immigrants?" It would have been useful to see whether immigrants perceived any differences in the attitudes of English and Afrikaans speakers, but space constraints prevented this. However, 24 respondents (0,7% of the sample) did spontaneously distinguish between the attitudes of these two groups. These 24 respondents are included in the "neither positive nor negative" category for this variable, the responses to which were as follows:

Positive	39,6 %
Neither positive nor negative	41,7 %
Negative	16,8 %
Not ascertained	1,9 %
	-----
TOTAL	100,0 %

The second question focuses more on the behaviour of host society members towards immigrants. This question (83) was worded as follows: "Some people feel that people of your nationality are still faced with prejudice and even discrimination in South Africa. How often would you say these things happen to you?" The distribution of responses to this question are:

Often	4,6 %
Sometimes	17,9 %
Seldom	30,2 %
Never	42,1 %
Don't know / not ascertained	5,2 %
	-----
TOTAL	100,0 %

The majority of the sample (52,7%) reported at least some prejudice and/or discrimination.

### 8.3 SETTLEMENT AND CITIZENSHIP

In Chapter 3 (Section 3.2), two concepts related to immigrant adaptation were identified, namely naturalisation (or citizenship) and permanent settlement. Respondents' intentions regarding naturalisation were ascertained in Question 32, which was worded as follows: "Do you intend to become a South African citizen once you qualify for citizenship?" The following responses were obtained for this question:

Yes	17,2 %
No	68,0 %
Not sure	9,3 %
Not ascertained	5,5 %
	-----
TOTAL	100,0 %

With regard to permanent settlement, respondents were asked (Question 29): "Would you like to settle permanently in South Africa?" The responses to this question were as follows:

Yes	58,7 %
No	7,5 %
Not sure	32,2 %
Not ascertained	1,6 %
	-----
TOTAL	100,0 %

Although only 17,2% express the intention to become South African citizens, more than half (58,7%) intend to settle permanently in this country. The relationships between these two variables and the various dimensions of adaptation will be explored more fully in Chapter 11.

#### 8.4 SUMMARY

In this chapter various measures of subjective and objective adaptation, and of settlement and citizenship, have been proposed. The number of indicators is still large, and will have to be further reduced for the multivariate analyses of the relationships among these various dimensions. The measures discussed here are also summarised in Appendix C, with the labels that will be used in subsequent analyses. In the next chapter the development of measures for the various factors that may influence immigrant adaptation are discussed, after which attention can be focussed on analysing the results using the framework proposed in Chapter 3.

CHAPTER 9  
DEVELOPMENT OF MEASURES OF FACTORS INFLUENCING  
IMMIGRANT ADAPTATION

Having identified indicators for various dimensions of subjective and objective adaptation, the next task is to develop measures for the specific factors to be considered in this study.

In Chapter 3 (Section 3.3), a set of specific or individual factors that can affect the adaptation experiences of an immigrant were discussed. The specific factors identified include the following:

- (a) ethnic or national origin
- (b) home language
- (c) gender
- (d) marital status
- (e) education
- (f) age and age at arrival
- (g) prior urbanisation
- (h) family size and composition
- (i) religion
- (j) prior contact, knowledge and expectations
- (k) contact with home country
- (l) migration auspices, motives and intentions
- (m) present location
- (m) length of residence

In this chapter, the development of a set of variables based on these factors will be undertaken. Subsets of this pool of independent or predictor variables will be used to examine individual differences in various dimensions of adaptation, and in the development of predictive models.

The measurement of many of these factors is straightforward, and does not require any further manipulation to form usable variables. In such cases, the distribution of responses will simply be presented here. In other cases, the development of the measures needs to be discussed in somewhat more detail.

#### 9.1 ETHNIC OR NATIONAL ORIGIN

This variable could be ascertained in a number of different ways. Respondents were asked their country of birth (Question 1), their nationality (Question 2), their previous country of residence (Question 5), and their parents' nationalities (Questions 14 and 15). As these items are expected to be highly correlated, it is appropriate to select only one to represent the country of origin of a respondent. As country of birth was used to select the seven subsamples, and was externally validated against the original list obtained from the Department of Home Affairs, it was decided to use this variable. The countries of origin of the respondents in this study, as represented by the seven subsamples, are as follows:

Britain	19,8 %
Germany	18,6 %
Netherlands	20,7 %
Italy	15,5 %
Portugal	8,6 %
British Africa	11,1 %
Portuguese Africa	5,8 %
	-----
TOTAL	100,1 %

This variable, together with length of residence in South Africa, is expected to be a key variable in all analyses of immigrant adaptation.

#### 9.2 HOME LANGUAGE

It was pointed out earlier that present rather than previous home language was ascertained in this study. Thus this measure may be seen more as a consequence of adaptation than as a predictor of subsequent adaptation. It is felt that

previous home language may also overlap to a large extent with national origin. It was thus decided to use the responses to Question 57 as potential factors affecting immigrant adaptation in South Africa. In this question respondents were asked what languages they could speak before coming to South Africa. No measure of fluency with which such languages were spoken was included, so the assumption needs to be made that the languages reported were spoken fluently.

Rather than focus on all languages spoken, only three (English, German and Dutch) will be considered here. As multiple languages could be given, three separate variables were created, one for each of these three languages. Thus 59,9% of respondents said they spoke English before coming to South Africa, 20,6% Dutch and 29,6% German. These variables could serve as predictors of the direction of an immigrant's adaptation in terms of South Africa's two main White ethnic groups.

### 9.3 GENDER

Gender is a straightforward variable: 61,3% of the sample is male and 38,7% is female. This imbalance in favour of males is somewhat higher than expected from the gender distribution of immigrants to this country as presented in Appendix A (Table A.4). However, the percentage of males and females closely balance those in the sample frame used for this study: 59,1% and 40,9% respectively (see Table 7.6). The reason for this discrepancy is unclear, and could lie in the fact that the sample frame is composed of adult immigrants whereas the immigration statistics in Appendix A are based on immigrants of all ages. Regardless of the reason, the skewness in the distribution of this variable is not expected to jeopardise the findings of this study.

#### 9.4 MARITAL STATUS

Marital status was also ascertained (Question 9), and the following is the distribution of responses to this question:

Single	10,4 %
Married	81,2 %
Divorced/separated	5,9 %
Widowed	2,5 %
	-----
TOTAL	100,0 %

It may be that the preponderance of males in the sample is due to a relatively large proportion of single male immigrants. A cross-tabulation of marital status with gender reveals that this is not the case: 11,0% of males were single compared to 9,5% of females.

#### 9.5 EDUCATION

As far as education is concerned, the responses to Question 17 were combined to form the following categories:

None/not ascertained	4,6 %
Primary school or equivalent	6,2 %
Secondary school or equivalent	63,2 %
Tertiary education	26,0 %
	-----
TOTAL	100,0 %

Finer distinctions are not possible for this variable because of the problem of establishing exact equivalents. These cruder categories may have less variation, but also have less measurement error.

#### 9.6 AGE AND AGE AT ARRIVAL

To obtain respondents' ages, year of birth was asked (Question 8), and the responses recoded and then collapsed into the following categories:

30 or younger	12,7 %
31-40	29,0 %
41-50	31,8 %
51-60	16,2 %
61 or older	8,1 %
Not ascertained	2,1 %
	-----
TOTAL	99,9 %

The average age of respondents (for the 3 446 who responded to this question) is 43,9 years.

As an alternative, age at arrival could be used. This is computed by taking the difference of the respondent's age and length of residence in South Africa. The average age at arrival is 26,7 years. This is based on the information provided by the 3 431 respondents who answered both year of birth and year of arrival.

As length of residence has already been identified as an important control variable, the former variable (age) is preferred over the latter (age at arrival).

#### 9.7 PRIOR URBANISATION

The degree of prior urbanisation was ascertained in the following question: "In your previous country, did you live in a city, in a town or on a farm?" The distribution of responses to this question are as follows:

In a city	50,2 %
In a town	40,9 %
On a farm	8,4 %
Not ascertained	0,5 %
	-----
TOTAL	100,0 %

A small minority of respondents were thus faced with the potential double adaptation of one country to another and from a rural environment to an urban one.

## 9.8 FAMILY SIZE AND COMPOSITION

Family size and composition have also been identified as factors that may affect immigrant adaptation. In response to a question on the number of children they have (Question 12), respondents answered as follows:

None	8,7 %
One	13,6 %
Two	38,0 %
Three or more	27,2 %
Not ascertained	12,5 %
	-----
TOTAL	100,0 %

It should be pointed out that a large proportion of the 12,5% in the "not ascertained" category are single respondents who did not answer this question (10,1%), presumably because they do not have children. As none of the people in this group answered any of the other questions pertaining to children, it can be assumed that those who did not respond to this question do not have children. Even combining these two groups, only a fifth of the sample (21,1%) do not have any children.

## 9.9 RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

Respondents' religious denominations or affiliations have already been discussed in Chapter 8 (Section 8.1.7). However, this can also be regarded as a factor affecting adaptation. As present affiliation rather than affiliation before coming to South Africa was ascertained in Question 40, it is more appropriate to regard this as something that may already have changed as a result of migration. Nevertheless, when appropriate, religious affiliation will also be regarded as an independent factor affecting adaptation. In this case, the prime focus will be on the following broad groupings:

None	10,4 %
Catholic	38,2 %
Protestant	41,8 %
Jewish	0,6 %
Other	9,0 %
	-----
TOTAL	100,0 %

Although an interesting group, the number of respondents of Jewish faith (only 20) is too small to analyse, and this group will be combined with the "other" category.

#### 9.10 PRIOR CONTACT, KNOWLEDGE AND EXPERIENCE

An immigrant's contacts in South Africa before arriving in this country could have implications for his later adaptation. In Question 26, respondents were asked whether they had any close family, other relatives or friends living in South Africa before they came to settle here. The responses to these three questions can be combined to form a single measure. To simplify this process, and to reduce the number of categories on this combined measure, it is assumed that missing data is equivalent to a "no" response. The extent of immigrants' contacts in South Africa prior to settling here are as follows:

Close family, other relatives and friends	8,2 %
Close family and other relatives	2,6 %
Close family and friends	4,3 %
Close family only	11,5 %
Relatives and friends	5,0 %
Relatives only	19,7 %
Friends only	8,4 %
No-one	40,3 %
	-----
TOTAL	100,0 %

If it is assumed that close family are more important to successful adaptation than other relatives or friends, these categories can be further reduced. Three groups can be formed: those with close family in South Africa (26,6%), those with no close family, but with other relatives and/or friends (33,1%) and those with neither close family, other relatives nor friends in South Africa before settling here (40,3%).

Two other measures of contact were included in the questionnaire. In Question 27, respondents were asked whether they had visited South Africa before settling here. It was found that 65,7% had never visited, while 33,7% had been to South Africa at least once, and 0,7% did not respond to this question. This question serves as a useful indicator of knowledge and expectations about the receiving country.

#### 9.11 CONTACT WITH HOME COUNTRY

Related to prior contact with and knowledge of South Africa is the question of contact with the home country after migration. The extent of such contact is expected to affect an immigrant's adaptation in South Africa.

In Question 28, the maintenance of contact with the immigrant's home country was ascertained. This question was worded as follows: "How often have you returned to your home country since settling in South Africa?" The responses to this question were as follows:

Never	18,1 %
Once	18,9 %
Twice	16,2 %
Three or more times	46,2 %
Not ascertained	0,6 %
	-----
TOTAL	100,0 %

It appears that most immigrants maintain ties with their home country, a fact that could have important implications for their adaptation patterns in South Africa.

In Question 23, respondents were asked how often they made telephone calls or sent letters, newspapers/magazines or gifts to their home country. In Question 24, they were asked how often they received these things from their home country. The responses to these two questions are presented in Table 9.1.

TABLE 9.1  
 FREQUENCY OF COMMUNICATION TO/FROM HOME COUNTRY

	Frequency of communication:					Total %
	Regularly %	Often %	Seldom %	Never %	N/A %	
<u>Make/send to home country:</u>						
Telephone calls	17,9	17,9	47,0	13,4	3,8	100,0
Letters	40,3	27,5	25,1	5,9	1,2	100,0
Newspapers/magazines	6,4	5,0	21,1	57,6	9,9	100,0
Gifts	9,0	14,0	49,8	22,1	5,1	100,0
<u>Receive from home country:</u>						
Telephone calls	12,7	14,5	48,3	20,0	4,6	100,1
Letters	38,9	30,8	23,6	5,1	1,5	99,9
Newspapers/magazines	11,7	8,9	24,5	45,9	9,0	100,0
Gifts	7,8	13,9	44,5	27,4	6,3	99,9

The responses to these two series of questions could be combined to form a single index. If it is assumed that the level of communication implied by each of these items is equal, an additive approach can be used. This means the focus is on the relative frequency of contact or communication rather than on the quality of such communication. To form the index, a "never" or "not ascertained" response is given a score of 1, a "seldom" a score of 2, "often" a 3 and "regularly" a 4. The responses to the eight items are then simply summed, resulting in a new variable with scores ranging from 8 to 32. This variable is then collapsed into the following three categories reflecting the varying degrees of contact with the home country.

Low (score of 8-16)	40,3 %
Moderate (score of 17-23)	45,9 %
High (score of 24-32)	13,8 %
TOTAL	100,0 %

Although it should be emphasised that these categories do not have any intrinsic meaning (the 25-point scale could be divided up in any number of different ways), this index may nevertheless be useful in relative terms for understanding the effect of different levels of contact on immigrant adaptation.

A further measure of the degree of attachment to the home country could be the assets an immigrant has left behind in that country. In Question 25, respondents were asked whether they currently owned any property in their home country. Only 15,0% responded in the affirmative to this question, while 83,8% said they did not, and the remaining 1,2% did not answer the question. The effect of this variable on immigrant adaptation, and also on settlement intentions, will be examined.

#### 9.12 MIGRATION AUSPICES AND MOTIVES

A number of questions were included to ascertain the possible effect of these factors on immigrant adaptation. As far as the auspices for migration were concerned, in Questions 34 and 35 respondents were asked whether they had received any financial assistance for their immigration to South Africa and, if so, from whom. Combining the responses to these two questions, the following is obtained:

No financial assistance	60,9 %
South African Government	20,1 %
Employers	11,7 %
Other	7,2 %
	-----
TOTAL	99,9 %

Turning to motives for migration, respondents were asked to give both their main reasons for deciding to leave their previous country (Question 18) and for choosing to immigrate to South Africa (Question 19). Up to three reasons were coded for each of these questions. A wide variety of different reasons were given, making it difficult to reduce this information to a single useful indicator of motives for migration. Furthermore, it is suspected that this type of question is particularly susceptible to measurement error. Respondents were asked to give reasons for a major life decision some time after the fact, and the accuracy of the responses can thus be brought into question. For this reason, it was decided not to use these two variables in this study. However, it can be pointed that of all the reasons given (political, religious, family, health,

etc.), economic reasons dominated. In fact, 70,9% of all respondents gave at least one economic reason (job, pay, advancement, etc.) for coming to South Africa.

Another series of items (Question 21) was also considered as a possible indicator of motives for migration. In this question, respondents were asked how important each of a series of factors were to them in their decision to immigrate to South Africa. The range of responses to these items are presented in Table 9.2.

TABLE 9.2  
IMPORTANCE OF VARIOUS FACTORS IN THE IMMIGRANT'S DECISION TO COME TO SOUTH AFRICA

Factor:	Degree of importance:				N/A %	Total %
	Not at all important %	Slightly important %	Impor- tant %	Very im- portant %		
Job opportunities	15,2	6,4	21,9	41,6	14,9	100,0
Wages and salaries	17,3	12,8	31,4	20,5	17,9	99,9
Job security	22,2	12,2	22,1	24,9	18,5	99,9
Cost of living	17,2	16,9	28,6	19,5	17,8	100,0
Education system	32,1	9,1	16,8	22,3	19,7	100,0
Housing	21,8	14,3	27,4	17,6	18,9	100,0
Climate	15,8	14,0	24,4	30,5	15,3	100,0
Political circumstances	38,8	19,3	13,0	9,2	19,6	99,9
Religious circumstances	54,8	11,9	7,6	6,0	19,7	100,0
Family circumstances	36,4	8,5	13,9	24,7	16,5	100,0

The relative importance of economic factors in an immigrant's decision can again be seen in this series of items. However, no way could be found to combine these responses into a single indicator in any meaningful way. This question also suffers from the same drawbacks as the other two on motives. For these reasons, this series of items will not be used for analytical purposes here. This means that no suitable indicator of motives for migration is available.

### 9.13 PRESENT LOCATION

An immigrant's present location in the host country is likely to have an impact on his adaptation. It has already been shown that there are substantial regional differences in the receiving society. Based on the respondents' addresses as supplied by the Department of Home Affairs, a code for magisterial district was added to each record. This code was used for identifying the province of residence of the respondent as well as whether the person lived in a metropolitan or non-metropolitan area at the time of the survey.

With regard to province, most respondents (66,2%) live in the Transvaal, whereas 14,3% live in the Cape Province, 15,9% in Natal and 3,2% in the Orange Free State (the location of the remaining 0,5% could not be ascertained). Using the postal code of the respondents' addresses, it was determined that 48,7% of respondents lived in metropolitan areas at the time of the survey, while 51,1% lived in non-metropolitan areas (the location of the remaining 0,2% could not be accurately determined).

### 9.14 LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

Length of residence is the final factor to be considered. With immigrant adaptation characterised here as a dynamic process, a longitudinal study would be most desirable. As this was not possible, the inclusion of length of residence as a control variable in any analysis of immigrant adaptation is crucial. As with age at arrival, length of residence was determined by subtracting the immigrant's year of arrival in South Africa (Question 3) from the year in which the survey was conducted (1985). This produces the following distribution of responses:

Less than 5 years	17,8 %
5-14 years	25,6 %
15-24 years	30,8 %
25 or more years	25,4 %
Not ascertained	0,4 %
TOTAL	100,1 %

The distribution of responses to this question makes it most suitable for analysis of the effect of time on immigrant adaptation.

#### 9.15 CONCLUSION

In Chapter 8 the development of the variables to be used as indicators of the various dimensions of adaptation have been discussed. The factors that may impact on such adaptation have been identified in Chapter 9. The number of variables identified is large, and it may be necessary to reduce this number somewhat in subsequent analyses. Further collapsing of categories may also be necessary to make these variables more amenable to multivariate analysis. The variables used in subsequent chapters are presented in summary form in Appendix C.

Having identified the variables to be used in the analyses, attention can now be turned to the relationships among the various subjective and objective dimensions of adaptation, and the effects of various factors on immigrant adaptation in South Africa. These tasks will be tackled in the remaining chapters.

CHAPTER 10  
SUBJECTIVE AND OBJECTIVE ADAPTATION

Having identified the measures of subjective and objective adaptation used in this study (see Chapter 8), attention can now be turned to an examination of the relationships between these concepts. This is not a straightforward task. Most of the measures used can be described as non-ordered polytomous (i.e. categorical) variables. Furthermore, few of the variables are measured on the same metric. This complicates the analysis of any relationship between these variables. In addition, numerous indicators of the various dimensions of subjective and objective adaptation have been identified. This list needs to be reduced in order to make the task of analysis and interpretation more manageable. With these cautions in mind, the first step is an examination of the relationships among the various measures of subjective adaptation.

10.1 RELATIONSHIPS AMONG SUBJECTIVE ADAPTATION INDICATORS

Indicators of three dimensions of subjective adaptation were discussed in Chapter 8. These dimensions are satisfaction, identification and acceptance. An examination of these three dimensions will address one of the key questions posed in this study, that is whether it is worthwhile to think of subjective adaptation as a multidimensional concept, or whether it is more appropriate to regard it as a single unidimensional phenomenon.

Ideally, a technique such as factor analysis or multidimensional scaling would be used to address the above question. However, such techniques require at least ordinally scaled data. For the analysis of subjective adaptation, it is necessary to use a combination of log-linear analysis (see Knoke and Burke, 1980) and Goodman and Kruskal's lambda, a PRE (proportional reduction in error) measure of association for categorical data (see Reynolds, 1984).

The following five measures<sup>1</sup> of subjective adaptation are analysed:

- |                    |   |              |
|--------------------|---|--------------|
| (a) HAPPY          | } | satisfaction |
| (b) DECIDE OVER    |   |              |
| (c) IDENTIFICATION |   |              |
| (d) HOST ATTITUDES | } | acceptance   |
| (e) PREJUDICE      |   |              |

All five variables were included in a log-linear analysis using the BMDP program 4F (Dixon, 1985). Log-linear modeling does not require specification of a dependent variable, making it particularly suitable for the analysis of these variables. The major drawback of this technique lies in problems of interpretation. Although the statistical significance of both marginal and partial associations in the hierarchical model can be ascertained, it is difficult to determine the strength of such relationships. Nevertheless, as a first step towards understanding the relationships between them, the five variables were included in a saturated log-linear model.

The results of this analysis will not be discussed in detail. However, an examination of both the partial and marginal associations reveals that none of the 3-way or higher order interactions are statistically significant ( $p > 0,05$ ). By contrast, all the two-way associations are significant at the 0,01 level, with the exception of the partial association between DECIDE OVER and PREJUDICE, which is significant at the 0,05 level. This leads to the conclusion that these five variables are all related, but that these relationships do not appear strong, nor can they be said to all measure the same single concept.

To obtain further evidence for the claim that these five variables should be regarded as separate dimensions, the bivariate relationship between each pair

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<sup>1</sup>See Appendix B and Chapter 8 for more detailed descriptions of these variables.

of variables in turn is analysed using the symmetric version of Goodman and Kruskal's lambda. Lambda is a PRE measure of association with a range between 0 and 1, with 0 indicating no association and 1 perfect association. Lambda thus provides a rough measure of the strength of association between two nominally scaled variables. The lambda coefficients ( $\lambda$ ), their critical values ( $z$ ) and significance levels are presented in Table 10.1.

One drawback of lambda is that it is relatively insensitive to unevenly distributed variables. If the modal category of each variable remains unchanged across all categories of the other variable, the resultant coefficient is 0. This is the case for three of the coefficients in the above table. However, this is usually an indication that the association between these variables is very weak. This is confirmed by an examination of an alternative measure of association (Goodman and Kruskal's tau), revealing that there is virtually no association between these three pairs of variables.

TABLE 10.1  
RELATIONSHIPS AMONG SUBJECTIVE ADAPTATION INDICATORS: LAMBDA COEFFICIENTS

	HAPPY	DECIDE OVER	IDENTIFI- CATION	HOST ATTITUDES
DECIDE OVER	$\lambda=0,057$ $z=4,61$ **			
IDENTIFICATION	$\lambda=0,051$ $z=5,15$ **	$\lambda=0,000$		
HOST ATTITUDES	$\lambda=0,064$ $z=4,63$ **	$\lambda=0,018$ $z=1,33$	$\lambda=0,020$ $z=2,29$ *	
PREJUDICE	$\lambda=0,008$ $z=0,78$	$\lambda=0,000$	$\lambda=0,000$	$\lambda=0,098$ $z=9,62$ **

\*  $z$  significant at the  $p < 0,05$  level  
\*\*  $z$  significant at the  $p < 0,01$  level

An examination of the results in Table 10.1 confirms the findings of the log-linear analysis. Although some are statistically significant, none of the relationships between any of these variables is strong. The strongest association is 0,098 between the two measures of acceptance. The overall satisfaction measure (HAPPY) is significantly related to all but the PREJUDICE measure, indicating that the former could well serve as a general indicator of subjective adaptation.

It can be concluded from these analyses that subjective adaptation (as measured by these variables) cannot be considered a unidimensional concept. It is useful to distinguish between the three dimensions of subjective adaptation (satisfaction, identification and acceptance). In other words, an immigrant who identifies with South Africa cannot automatically be presumed to be happy in this country. Similarly, it appears that one can be happy in South Africa without necessarily feeling accepted by South Africans or identifying with them.

This can be illustrated for a few of these measures. The bivariate relationship between IDENTIFICATION and HAPPY is presented in Table 10.2.

TABLE 10.2  
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SATISFACTION (HAPPY) AND IDENTIFICATION

HAPPY:	IDENTIFICATION			
	South African	Hyphenated	National origin	Other/not ascertained
Much more happy in South Africa	29,6 %	18,0 %	8,8 %	13,8 %
More happy in South Africa	31,2 %	42,0 %	32,5 %	35,0 %
About the same	29,1 %	31,0 %	44,2 %	34,1 %
More/much more unhappy in South Africa	3,4 %	3,2 %	11,2 %	9,3 %
Not ascertained	6,8 %	5,8 %	3,3 %	7,7 %
TOTAL	100,1 %	100,0 %	100,0 %	99,9 %

It can be seen from this table that there is a clear relationship between identification and satisfaction, with those identifying themselves as South Africans being more likely to express greater satisfaction with life in South Africa. However, a significant proportion (41,3%) of respondents identify themselves by their country of origin yet express greater satisfaction with life in South Africa. Similarly, a third of those who identify themselves as South African do not claim to be happier in this country. These variables can thus not be considered to be interchangeable. A similar observation can be made about the relationship between satisfaction (HAPPY) and acceptance (HOST ATTITUDES), presented in Table 10.3.

TABLE 10.3  
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SATISFACTION (HAPPY) AND ACCEPTANCE (HOST ATTITUDES)

HAPPY:	HOST ATTITUDES			
	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Not ascertained
Much more happy in South Africa	21,1 %	9,9 %	10,0 %	11,8 %
More happy in South Africa	39,5 %	35,6 %	26,6 %	36,8 %
About the same	32,9 %	41,2 %	40,4 %	30,9 %
More/much more unhappy in South Africa	3,4 %	8,0 %	17,3 %	2,9 %
Not ascertained	3,2 %	5,2 %	5,8 %	17,6 %
TOTAL	100,1 %	99,9 %	100,1 %	100,0 %

Again, it can be seen that those who experience negative attitudes on the part of South Africans are less likely to be happier in this country relative to their country of origin. Nevertheless, 36,6% of those who experience negative attitudes still profess to be happier in South Africa.

It has been shown that the measures of subjective adaptation discussed here are related to each other, but not to the extent that they can be regarded as indicators of the same concept or dimension. It is analytically useful to treat these three dimensions separately. In other words, it makes little sense to evaluate the adaptation of immigrants in South Africa along a single continuum.

Having examined the relationships among subjective adaptation measures, the same will be done for the indicators of objective adaptation in the next section.

## 10.2 RELATIONSHIPS AMONG OBJECTIVE ADAPTATION INDICATORS

How do the various dimensions of objective adaptation, and the indicators within each dimension, relate to each other? This is a difficult question to answer given the nature of the variables being considered. The most useful techniques for determining the dimensionality of a set of items are factor analysis or cluster analysis. However, these techniques are designed for interval or ordinal data, and are thus inappropriate for the variables used here. Log-linear modeling would be an appropriate alternative given the categorical nature of the variables. However, given the large number of variables to be analysed (25), this task cannot easily be done using log-linear modeling. As an alternative, Goodman and Kruskal's lambda was again used. Lambdas were thus calculated for every possible pair of variables. A total of 300 coefficients were produced in this way. These lambda coefficients are summarised in Table 10.4.

TABLE 10.4  
 AVERAGE LAMBDA'S WITHIN AND BETWEEN VARIOUS DIMENSIONS OF OBJECTIVE ADAPTATION

	SOCIAL	CULTURAL	ECONOMIC	POLITICAL	RELIGIOUS
SOCIAL	0,009				
CULTURAL	0,033	0,082			
ECONOMIC	0,011	0,018	0,043		
POLITICAL	0,014	0,021	0,016	0,061	
RELIGIOUS	0,010	0,026	0,005	0,016	0,132

The values on the diagonal in Table 10.4 represent the average of the lambdas for all pairs of variables within each dimension, whereas the off-diagonal values are the average of the lambdas between all the variables of one dimension and all the variables of another. The figures should not be interpreted too literally, but provide a rough indication of the associations among the objective adaptation measures.

With the exception of social adaptation, the diagonal value for each dimension exceeds the off-diagonals, showing greater within-dimension than between-dimension association. This provides some evidence for treating the indicators as generally being correctly classified into these five dimensions.

The low average lambda for the social adaptation measures may be due to the fact that these indicators were in part designed to measure two related but distinct concepts, primary social adaptation and secondary social adaptation. Excluding the single indicator for primary social adaptation, the average lambda for the remaining secondary social adaptation variables increases marginally to 0,014.

Nevertheless, the associations among indicators, both within and between dimensions, are generally not strong. Such moderate associations among variables permits their use as independent variables in a linear probability model (such

as Multivariate Nominal Scale Analysis) without multicollinearity being too big of a concern. To the extent that predictor variables overlap (are strongly related), the high collinearity may cause the results to become unstable. However, a moderate degree of multicollinearity, as may be expected here among the objective adaptation measures, is quite common, and should not affect the results of subsequent analyses much.

Although no proof can be offered here for the multidimensionality of objective adaptation, an inspection of the lambda coefficients provides no evidence to counter the theoretical claims made earlier. This analysis will thus proceed on the assumption that the five dimensions of objective adaptation used here, and the variables used to measure them, have at least some theoretical validity.

### 10.3 RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN OBJECTIVE AND SUBJECTIVE ADAPTATION

Having argued that the three dimensions of subjective adaptation and five dimensions of objective adaptation should be considered separately, the next step is to examine the relationships between the various dimensions of objective adaptation and each of the subjective adaptation measures in turn. This will address the question of whether these dimensions of objective adaptation affect an immigrant's subjective experiences of satisfaction, identification and acceptance in different ways.

It should be pointed out that although linear probability techniques (in which one dependent variable is "explained" by a set of independent or predictor variables) are used, causality is not necessarily implied. The linear model is used as a convenient way of reducing the large number of relationships to be examined. The subjective adaptation measures are thus treated as dependent variables here, while the objective adaptation indicators are treated as the independent variables. These analyses should rather be seen as accounting

techniques (accounting for variance in a variable) than as causal models. Although the language of linear modeling is used here for the sake of convenience, objective adaptation indicators should rather be seen as covariates, rather than predictors, of subjective adaptation and related variables.

To reduce the number of analyses to be performed, only three of the five measures of subjective adaptation will be used. These are HAPPY (measuring satisfaction), IDENTIFICATION, and HOST ATTITUDES (as a measure of acceptance). It is also necessary to reduce the number of indicators of objective adaptation. Twenty five indicators for the five dimensions of objective adaptation were identified in Chapter 5, making analyses with the full set of predictors unwieldy.

Multivariate Nominal Scale Analysis (MNA) is used both to reduce the number of predictors and to examine the relationships between objective and subjective adaptation. MNA is an implementation of the linear probability model developed by Andrews and Messenger (1973) for the analysis of a categorical dependent variable and a set of categorical predictor variables. It is preferred to logit analysis (a special case of log-linear analysis in which one of the variables is designated as the dependent variable) for its ease of interpretation. The focus of the MNA technique is more on the strength and nature of associations between variables rather than on statistical significance (as in logit models), making it particularly suitable for the present purpose.

In the first step, a series of fifteen (5 objective dimensions by 3 subjective dimensions) MNAs were performed to obtain measures of the bivariate relationship between each predictor and each of the three dependent variables in turn. This was primarily used to assist in the reduction of the pool of predictor variables. The statistic produced, the generalised  $\eta^2$ , is based on the one-way analysis of variance  $\eta^2$  statistic.  $\eta^2$  is a measure of the ability of the predictor to explain the variance of each dependent variable category dichotomized against

TABLE 10.5  
 OBJECTIVE ADAPTATION INDICATORS AS PREDICTORS OF SATISFACTION,  
 IDENTIFICATION AND ACCEPTANCE: MNA RESULTS

Predictors	Satisfaction	Identification	Acceptance	
<u>Cultural Adaptation</u>	(0,0034)	(0,0181)	(0,0073)	
English fluency	0,0014	0,0042 **	0,0111 *	
Afrikaans fluency	0,0097	0,0457 **	0,0005	
Home language	0,0030	0,0217 **	0,0191 *	
Work language	0,0039	0,0252 *	0,0151 *	
Child language	0,0023	0,0190 *	0,0017	
Newspapers	0,0027	0,0106	0,0027	
Watch TV	0,0009	0,0005	0,0006	X
<u>Social Adaptation</u>	(0,0223)	(0,0136)	(0,0078)	
Primary social adaptation	0,0042	0,0231 **	0,0053	
Active social life	0,0618 **	0,0118 *	0,0132 *	
Clubs	0,0009	0,0060	0,0050	X
<u>Economic Adaptation</u>	(0,0218)	(0,0085)	(0,0080)	
Tenure	0,0039	0,0110 *	0,0106 *	
Satis accommodation	0,0170 *	0,0103 *	0,0078	
Occupational status	0,0075	0,0080	0,0058	X
Current work	0,0041	0,0050	0,0035	X
Number of jobs	0,0022	0,0077	0,0030	X
Mobility	0,0038	0,0081	0,0010	X
Satis work	0,0099	0,0060	0,0070	X
Satis live std	0,0341 **	0,0129 *	0,0209 **	
Compare live std	0,1139 **	0,0079	0,0124 *	
<u>Political Adaptation</u>	(0,0129)	(0,0136)	(0,0079)	
Race policies	0,0126 *	0,0096	0,0116 *	
Interest in politics	0,0026	0,0088	0,0028	X
Change in interest	0,0225 **	0,0170 *	0,0031	
Political party	0,0140 *	0,0189 *	0,0140 *	
<u>Religious Adaptation</u>	(0,0034)	(0,0138)	(0,0128)	
Attend church	0,0011	0,0032	0,0038	X
Denomination	0,0057	0,0244 **	0,0218 **	

\*\* Generalised  $\eta^2 > 0,02$

\* Generalised  $\eta^2 > 0,01$

X Generalised  $\eta^2 < 0,01$  for all 3 dependent variables

all other categories (Andrews and Messenger, 1973: 31). The generalised  $\eta^2$  is a summary measure across all categories of the dependent variable, and serves as a measure of the association between the dependent variable and each independent variable in turn. The generalised  $\eta^2$  statistics from the first set of MNAs are presented in Table 10.5. The numbers in parentheses represent the average generalised  $\eta^2$  values for each of the dimensions of objective adaptation.

A number of observations can be made about the results in Table 10.5. Firstly, the levels of association between the objective adaptation measures and each of the three subjective adaptation dimensions is low. In only one case (COMPARE LIVE STD on SATISFACTION) does an indicator of objective adaptation explain more than 10% of the "variance" in the dependent variable. Based on an inspection of the coefficients in Table 10.5, an arbitrary limit of 0,01 (or 1% of the variance) was chosen for excluding variables from further analyses.

However, in an attempt to keep the same set of predictors for all three dependent variables to permit comparison across analyses, only those predictors with a generalised  $\eta^2$  of less than 0,01 on all three subjective adaptation measures were excluded. In this way nine predictors were dropped from subsequent analyses as they appear to have very little impact on any of the subjective measures of adaptation.

It can also be seen from Table 10.5 that the objective adaptation indicators have a differential impact on subjective adaptation. For example, COMPARE LIVE STD, which has the largest (bivariate) effect on satisfaction, has virtually no impact on identification. Cultural adaptation measures have comparatively strong effects on identification, but virtually none on satisfaction. Social adaptation measures have the strongest average effect on satisfaction (mostly due to the variable ACTIVE SOCIAL LIFE), but have little effect on acceptance. Similarly, economic

adaptation affects satisfaction more than it does identification or acceptance. Both political and religious adaptation are marginally better predictors of identification than of either satisfaction or acceptance. These findings provide further evidence for treating satisfaction, identification and acceptance as distinct processes, each influenced by different circumstances, and each associated with different areas of functioning.

Having discarded nine of the objective adaptation indicators, analyses were again performed on the remaining sixteen indicators and each of the three subjective adaptation measures in turn. The results of this second series of analyses will be discussed in more detail in the next three sections.

#### 10.3.1 Objective adaptation and satisfaction

The results for the MNA with satisfaction as the dependent variable are presented in Table 10.6. For reasons of parsimony, the (bivariate) percentages and (multivariate) adjusted percentages are not presented, and only the coefficients produced by the MNA are reproduced here. The adjusted percentages can be obtained by adding or subtracting the coefficients from the base rates (overall percentages) for each category of the dependent variable. The coefficients show the effects of membership in a particular category of the independent variable on the likelihood of membership in each category of the dependent variable, after holding constant all other independent variables (Andrews and Messenger, 1973: 14). In other words, the coefficients can be interpreted as indicating the gain or loss in likelihood of belonging to a particular category of the dependent variable after controlling for the effect of all other predictors. These coefficients can be added to the base likelihood (overall percentage) to predict scores for persons in particular categories.

To further reduce the amount of information presented in the table, although all 16 independent variables were included in the analysis, only those with a generalised  $\eta^2$  above 0,01 are presented. In addition, only the substantively meaningful categories for each predictor variable is retained. This is possible as the coefficients for a particular category of an independent variable sum to 0 (given rounding errors) across the categories of the dependent variable.

The generalised multiple correlation coefficient ( $R^2$ ) for this analysis is 0,1825. This can be interpreted to mean that about 18% of the variance in the dependent variable (SATISFACTION) is explained by this set of independent variables. The category specific  $R^2$  values in Table 10.6 indicate the variance in each category of the dependent variable explained by the predictors. It can be seen from Table 10.6 that, ignoring the "not ascertained" category, the substantive category best predicted by these variables is the "much more happy" category, with 27% of the variance in this category explained by this set of sixteen objective adaptation measures.

Looking at individual predictors, it can be seen that those immigrants who say that their standard of living is much higher in South Africa are also much more likely (46,8%, or more than 3 times the base rate percentage of 14,4%) to say that they are much more happy in this country. A similar, but less pronounced, trend is found for satisfaction with current living standards. It may be that standard of living is interpreted by respondents as synonymous with overall satisfaction. Alternatively, it could be that economic factors are of key importance in determining satisfaction.

It is interesting to note that, after controlling for the remaining variables, satisfaction with accommodation does not have much effect on the dependent variable, except in the case of those who are less satisfied. The effects of the political variables are also in the expected direction. Those who are more in

TABLE 10.6  
EFFECTS OF OBJECTIVE ADAPTATION ON SATISFACTION: MNA COEFFICIENTS

	HAPPY				
	Much more happy	More happy	About the same	Less happy	Not ascer- tained
Overall percentage	4,4	35,6	37,6	7,6	4,8
Category-specific R <sup>2</sup>	0,2738	0,1126	0,1692	0,1870	0,3847
<u>Active social life</u>					
More active now	7,4	7,6	-9,3	-3,2	-2,5
About the same	-1,2	1,1	6,0	-3,7	-2,2
Less active now	-3,1	-4,6	3,2	6,0	-1,5
<u>Satis accomm</u>					
Very satisfied	0,8	1,8	-1,4	-1,0	-0,2
Satisfied	-1,7	-0,3	2,2	-0,4	0,2
Mixed feelings/dissatisfied	0,5	-7,9	0,7	6,4	0,3
<u>Satis live std</u>					
Very satisfied	8,2	-3,9	-3,0	-1,4	0,0
Satisfied	-1,7	1,8	1,1	-1,4	0,2
Mixed feelings/dissatisfied	-4,5	0,3	1,0	4,0	-0,9
<u>Compare live std</u>					
Much higher in S.A.	32,4	-9,3	-17,5	-3,4	-2,2
Higher in S.A.	-1,8	16,1	-10,7	-2,0	-1,7
About the same	-6,6	-4,5	13,5	-0,9	-1,5
Lower in S.A.	-3,4	-13,7	7,2	11,1	-1,2
<u>Race policies</u>					
Right	5,4	-0,4	-3,6	-1,1	-0,3
Neither right nor wrong	-1,8	1,1	1,8	-0,6	-0,5
Wrong	-4,2	-1,2	2,2	2,9	0,3
<u>Change interest</u>					
More interested	0,7	1,1	-0,6	-0,8	-0,4
About the same	-0,9	0,7	0,9	0,2	-0,9
Less interested	-0,3	-3,7	2,2	3,0	-1,2
<u>Political party</u>					
None	0,8	-3,9	4,0	-0,1	-0,9
NP	-0,0	3,9	-3,6	-0,5	0,2
FPF, NRP	-0,8	-5,2	3,8	1,7	0,5
CP, HNP	-2,5	1,1	-0,2	2,7	-1,1
Don't know, N/A	0,4	0,7	-0,3	-1,1	0,4

favour of the Government's race policies and who support the National Party are more inclined to express satisfaction. The effect of CHANGE IN INTEREST is less clear.

It is also noteworthy that those with a more active social life are also more likely to be satisfied with their life in South Africa in general. It is, however, interesting that the direction of such social activity (host versus immigrant groups) does not appear to play much of a role in determining an immigrant's satisfaction with life in South Africa. In other words, immigrants who associate primarily with Afrikaans speakers are not more satisfied with life in South Africa than those who associate with English speakers or other immigrants.

#### 10.3.2 Objective adaptation and identification

The results of the analysis for identification are presented in Table 10.7. Again, only those predictors with a relatively substantial bivariate effect are presented in the table. Here the category best predicted by the set of objective adaptation measures is "national origin", that is, those immigrants who identify themselves in terms of their country of origin. The generalised  $R^2$  for this analysis is 0,1226, indicating that about 12% of the variance in the dependent variable is accounted for by these predictors.

It can be seen from both Table 10.5 and Table 10.7 that, in contrast to satisfaction, cultural adaptation appears to play a much larger role in determining identification. Primary social adaptation and church denomination also have a fairly substantial effect on identification. Economic factors seem less important to identification than to satisfaction.

TABLE 10.7  
EFFECTS OF OBJECTIVE ADAPTATION ON IDENTIFICATION: MNA COEFFICIENTS

	IDENTIFICATION			
	South African	Hyphenated	National origin	Other/not ascertained
Overall percentage	10,9	32,6	49,6	7,0
Category-specific R <sup>2</sup>	0,1311	0,0877	0,1678	0,0528
<u>Afrikaans fluency</u>				
Fluently	3,3	6,3	-9,9	0,3
Averagely	1,1	1,3	-4,4	-0,3
Poorly	-1,5	2,3	-0,5	-0,3
Not at all	-1,9	-9,2	11,6	-1,5
<u>Home language</u>				
English	1,8	-0,1	-1,2	-0,5
Afrikaans	2,0	1,0	-3,0	1,5
Both	2,0	1,9	-4,7	0,8
Neither	-3,0	0,1	2,8	0,1
<u>Work language</u>				
English	0,8	2,1	-2,7	-0,1
Afrikaans	14,9	-7,6	-4,1	-3,2
Both	11,5	-1,6	-11,8	1,9
Neither	-4,8	-0,7	5,9	-0,4
<u>Child language</u>				
English	-0,3	0,5	0,5	-0,7
Afrikaans	4,6	0,4	-7,3	2,3
Both	0,8	1,9	-3,7	1,1
Neither	0,2	2,1	-3,9	1,7
<u>Newspapers</u>				
English papers	0,4	0,1	-0,6	0,0
Afrikaans papers	-5,2	4,9	3,7	-3,3
Both	0,0	0,9	-0,5	-0,5
Neither	-0,5	-4,8	2,9	2,3
<u>Primary social adaptation</u>				
English South Africans	1,5	4,6	-5,5	-0,5
Afrikaans South Africans	3,6	-2,2	-1,5	0,2
Immigrants	-2,4	-5,6	9,8	-1,7
Mixed	-1,4	-1,6	1,1	1,8

TABLE 10.7 (continued)

<u>Active social life</u>				
More active now	1,4	2,0	-2,5	-0,9
About the same	-0,1	-0,2	0,3	0,1
Less active now	-0,3	-2,6	1,9	1,1
<u>Tenure</u>				
Less than 5 years	-0,3	-2,9	3,5	-0,3
5-9 years	-0,2	1,9	-1,7	-0,0
10 or more years	0,8	4,2	-4,4	-0,5
<u>Satis accomm</u>				
Very satisfied	-0,4	1,6	-1,4	0,1
Satisfied	0,0	-1,7	2,5	-0,9
Mixed feelings/ dissatisfied	1,8	-2,7	-0,6	1,5
<u>Satis live std</u>				
Very satisfied	2,9	1,6	-3,5	-0,9
Satisfied	0,2	0,7	-1,9	1,0
Mixed feelings/ dissatisfied	-3,2	-2,6	7,5	-1,6
<u>Change interest</u>				
More interested	0,5	1,8	-2,2	-0,1
About the same	-0,3	-0,5	1,2	-0,4
Less interested	-4,9	-4,2	7,8	1,4
<u>Political party</u>				
None	-1,3	-4,1	3,8	1,5
NP	2,5	3,8	-6,3	0,0
PFP, NRP	-4,7	-3,2	7,7	0,2
CP, HNP	4,9	2,2	-7,0	-0,1
Don't know/not ascertained	-0,6	-1,1	4,0	-2,2
<u>Denomination</u>				
Afrikaans churches	2,0	1,5	-2,2	-1,3
Anglican (CPSA)	1,6	-1,2	-0,9	0,5
Church of England	1,1	-7,4	6,7	-0,4
Methodist	11,2	0,1	-7,9	-3,5
Presbyterian	5,4	-4,4	1,8	-2,8
Catholic	-2,9	1,1	2,3	-0,5
Lutheran	-4,5	12,1	-5,3	-2,2
Other	0,6	-1,4	-1,3	2,2
None/not ascertained	2,1	-4,4	-2,1	4,4

Examining the combined effects of the objective adaptation indicators on the dependent variable, it can be seen that greater use of the Afrikaans language is associated with identification as a South African. Summing the coefficients across categories of independent variables it is found that, of those who speak Afrikaans fluently, speak it at home and at work, wish their children to speak the language, and associate with Afrikaans-speaking South Africans, 39,1% identify themselves as South Africans, compared to the base rate of 10,9%. In contrast, 12,8% of those who speak English fluently, use it at home and at work, wish their children to speak English, and associate with English-speakers, identify themselves as South Africans. This is still slightly higher than the base rate, indicating that both Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking immigrants are more likely than the average to identify themselves as South Africans.

The effect of NEWSPAPERS on identification is somewhat surprising. Those who read Afrikaans newspapers appear less likely to identify themselves as South Africans. This runs counter to the findings on language discussed above. Examining the bivariate relationship between NEWSPAPERS and identification indicates that 16,9% of those who read Afrikaans newspapers identify themselves as South Africans. After controlling for the remaining variables in the analysis, this percentage drops to 5,7%. This indicates that this variable is particularly sensitive to the effects of the other independent variables in the model. Given the relatively small number of respondents who read Afrikaans newspapers (5,4% of the sample), this result may be somewhat unstable in the multivariate case.

Those who are more likely to identify themselves in terms of their country of origin include those who do not speak Afrikaans at all (61,1%, or 49,6% + 11,6%), those who associate primarily with other immigrants (59,3%), those who have mixed feelings or who are dissatisfied with their standard of living in South Africa (57,1%), those who are less interested in politics now (57,3%), those who support

political parties to the left (PFP, NRP) of the National Party (57,3%), and those who belong to the Church of England (56,3%).

### 10.3.3 Objective adaptation and acceptance

With regard to acceptance, none of the dimensions of objective adaptation emerges as a strong predictor of acceptance. Religious denomination and satisfaction with standard of living are the two individual measures with the best explanatory power for this dependent variable (see Table 10.5). The more detailed results of the MNA for acceptance (as measured by HOST ATTITUDES) are presented in Table 10.8. The multiple correlation coefficient ( $R^2$ ) for this analysis is 0,0825, indicating that only about 8% of the variance in the dependent variable is accounted for by this set of predictors. This is less than that for both satisfaction (0,1825) and identification (0,1226). Of the three categories in the dependent variable, the "positive" category is best explained by this set of independent variables, with almost 11% of the variance accounted for in this analysis.

The effect of religious denomination on acceptance is interesting: with the exception of Lutherans and, to a lesser extent, Catholics, all others are less likely than the base rate to experience positive attitudes on the part of South Africans. It could be that this variable serves as an intervening variable between national origin and acceptance, with the vast majority of Lutherans (96,3%) being from Germany. The slight positive trend for Catholics is more surprising, given that this group are predominantly Portuguese (36,8% Catholic) and Italians (19,3% Catholic), the two groups that could be expected to experience the greatest prejudice on the part of South Africans (see Chapter 5). The relationships between national origin and acceptance will be explored more fully later in this thesis.

TABLE 10.8  
EFFECTS OF OBJECTIVE ADAPTATION ON ACCEPTANCE (HOST ATTITUDES): MNA COEFFICIENTS

	HOST ATTITUDES		
	Positive	Neutral/not ascertained	Negative
Overall percentage	39,6	43,6	16,8
Category-specific R <sup>2</sup>	0,1089	0,0334	0,0486
<u>English fluency</u>			
Fluently	-1,6	0,8	0,8
Averagely	3,1	-1,5	-1,7
Poorly	7,8	-5,4	-2,3
Not at all	11,3	-5,7	-5,6
<u>Home language</u>			
English	-2,9	2,5	0,3
Afrikaans	-0,8	-2,2	3,0
Both	-7,4	6,6	0,9
Neither	4,7	-3,7	-1,0
<u>Work language</u>			
English	-2,0	2,3	-0,3
Afrikaans	6,9	-7,6	0,7
Both	1,7	-3,5	1,8
Neither	1,4	-1,9	0,5
<u>Active social life</u>			
More active now	7,2	-2,4	-4,8
About the same	1,0	0,3	-1,3
Less active now	-5,2	1,5	3,7
<u>Tenure</u>			
Less than 5 years	-2,5	1,9	0,7
5-9 years	2,7	-2,7	-0,0
10 or more years	1,7	-0,7	-1,0
<u>Satis live std</u>			
Very satisfied	6,1	-3,5	-2,6
Satisfied	6,1	-0,4	-1,6
Mixed feelings/ dissatisfied	-10,0	4,2	5,8

TABLE 10.8 (continued)

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<u>Compare live std</u>			
Much higher in S.A.	3,4	-4,9	1,5
Higher in S.A.	-0,1	0,8	-0,7
About the same	-0,1	0,8	-0,7
Lower in S.A.	2,6	-4,2	1,6
<u>Race policies</u>			
Right	2,6	-2,6	-0,0
Neither right nor wrong	-0,7	3,8	-3,2
Wrong	-2,5	-1,5	4,0
<u>Political party</u>			
None	-6,3	3,1	3,2
NP	4,0	-1,4	-2,6
PFP, NRP	0,7	-0,6	-0,2
CP, HNP	2,0	-5,9	3,9
Don't know/not ascertained	-2,7	1,1	1,6
<u>Denomination</u>			
Afrikaans churches	-5,9	5,1	0,8
Anglican (CPSA)	-5,2	5,2	0,0
Church of England	-8,9	7,0	1,9
Methodist	-6,4	2,3	4,1
Presbyterian	-9,1	5,8	3,3
Catholic	2,8	-2,1	-0,7
Lutheran	12,0	-6,2	-5,8
Other	-3,0	0,6	2,4
None/not ascertained	2,9	-2,6	-0,3

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The coefficients for English and Afrikaans fluency are also somewhat surprising. Those who say that they do not speak English at all are 11% more likely than the base rate to report experiencing positive host attitudes, while those who do not speak Afrikaans at all (not included in Table 10.8) are 0,9% more likely to do so. Combining the effects of these two variables, this means that 52% of those who speak neither official language experience positive attitudes on the part of host society members, compared to 35,1% of those who speak both languages fluently. The large coefficient (11,3%) for those who do not speak English at all may in part be due to the small number of cases (41) in this category. This may have the effect of exaggerating the impact of this category on the dependent variable. However, the coefficients for home language support this finding that those who speak neither English nor Afrikaans at home are somewhat more likely (4,7% more than the base rate) to report positive host attitudes.

The coefficients for the remaining variables are generally in the expected direction. Those who experience positive attitudes include those who have a more active social life, have lived at the same address longer (greater tenure), are satisfied or very satisfied with their standard of living in South Africa, and agree with the race policies of the Government.

#### 10.4 SUMMARY

In summary, a number of points can be made about the findings discussed in this chapter. Firstly, it is useful (and empirically meaningful) to distinguish between different dimensions of subjective adaptation. To treat these variables as indicators of a single concept would detract from the multidimensional nature of the adaptation process.

Secondly, although the empirical evidence is less clear, the theoretical argument for treating objective adaptation as a multidimensional process also receives

some support. The observation that different features of objective adaptation have different effects on the subjective adaptation dimensions lends further credence to this view.

It has been shown that economic adaptation appears to have a much larger impact on satisfaction than on either identification or acceptance. Social adaptation also has a relatively strong effect on satisfaction and, to a lesser extent, on identification, while the effect of cultural adaptation is stronger on identification than on either satisfaction or acceptance.

This all means that an immigrant who is happy in South Africa does not necessarily identify with this country or feel accepted here, and vice versa. Furthermore, an immigrant's subjective feelings of satisfaction, identification and/or acceptance are differentially determined by factors such as economic, political, religious, social and cultural adaptation.

Finally, it should be reiterated that no causality should be implied by the analyses performed in this chapter. The framework developed in Chapter 3 (see Section 3.4) shows bidirectional effects among the variables discussed in this chapter. The fact that only unidirectional effects have been examined here does not imply that such effects do not or cannot also go in the opposite direction. It could be equally true, for example, that subjective adaptation "causes" or "affects" objective adaptation. To simplify the analyses undertaken here, assumptions were made as to which variables would be treated as dependent variables and which as independent variables. This will be less of a problem in analysing the effects of specific factors, where the direction of the effects are more clear.

In analysing the effects of certain factors on immigrant adaptation, the latter should not be seen as a single dependent variable. It is important to consider

the differential impacts of various factors on the different dimensions of subjective and objective adaptation. Before this can be done, it is necessary to take a look at the concepts of settlement and citizenship intentions and their relationships to various dimensions of subjective and objective adaptation. This is done in Chapter 11.

CHAPTER 11  
ADAPTATION AND RELATED CONCEPTS

Having examined the relationships between various dimensions of subjective and objective adaptation, the focus now turns to those variables that are generally considered to be associated with, if not synonymous with, immigrant adaptation, namely settlement intentions and citizenship intentions. The first step is to examine how these variables relate to each other and to the dimensions of subjective adaptation discussed earlier.

11.1 SUBJECTIVE ADAPTATION, SETTLEMENT AND CITIZENSHIP

The relationship between settlement and citizenship intentions is presented in Table 11.1.

TABLE 11.1  
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SETTLEMENT INTENTIONS AND CITIZENSHIP INTENTIONS

CITIZENSHIP:	SETTLEMENT		
	Yes	No	Uncertain, N/A
Yes	24,6 %	1,5 %	7,8 %
No	60,8 %	91,3 %	75,4 %
Uncertain, N/A	14,6 %	7,2 %	16,8 %
TOTAL	100,0 %	100,0 %	100,0 %
(n)	(2 066)	(264)	(1 190)

It can be seen from Table 11.1 that there is a strong (but by no means perfect) association between these two variables. Only a quarter (24,6%) of those who say they intend to settle permanently in South Africa also intend to become citizens of this country. Thus, permanent settlement can in no way be equated with citizenship intentions.

How does subjective adaptation relate to each of these variables? Is an immigrant who is satisfied with life in South Africa, identifies himself as a South African, and feels accepted by South Africans, more likely to want to settle permanently in this country and more likely to become a citizen? To answer this question, two MNAs were performed, using the three indicators of subjective adaptation as independent variables, and settlement and citizenship in turn as the dependent variables. The summary results from these analyses are presented in Table 11.2.

TABLE 11.2  
SUBJECTIVE ADAPTATION AS PREDICTORS OF SETTLEMENT AND CITIZENSHIP: MNA RESULTS

Predictors:	Settlement	Citizenship
<u>Generalised eta<sup>2</sup>:</u>		
Satisfaction	0,0977	0,0150
Identification	0,0633	0,0427
Acceptance	0,0166	0,0035
Generalised R <sup>2</sup>	0,1340	0,0487

These three subjective adaptation measures appear to be better predictors of settlement intentions than of citizenship, explaining over 13% of the variance in the former and less than 5% in the latter variable. Satisfaction also emerges as more strongly associated with settlement than with citizenship, as does identification and acceptance (to a lesser extent). Of these three variables, identification is the best predictor of citizenship.

An examination of the detailed results of these analyses would be informative. In each case, both the "raw" (bivariate) percentages and the adjusted percentages are presented. The adjusted percentages represent the effect of each category of the independent variables on the dependent variable category, holding the effect of the remaining variables in the model constant. The coefficients can be obtained by summing the overall (base) percentage with the adjusted percentage for each category.

### 11.1.1 Subjective adaptation and settlement intentions

The results for settlement intentions are presented in Table 11.3. The category-specific  $R^2$  values in Table 11.3 indicate that the "yes" category is best explained by these subjective adaptation measures, with over 18% of the variance in this category accounted for by these variables. Holding other variables constant, it is found that 80,9% of those who are much more happy in South Africa intend to settle permanently in this country, compared to 27,2% of those who are less happy. The effect of identification is somewhat less pronounced, with 75,3% of those identifying themselves as South Africans intending to settle here, compared to 49,4% of those who identify themselves in terms of national origin. The effect of host attitudes on settlement intentions is minimal, but still in the expected direction.

Combining the effects of the three independent variables, it can be determined that the coefficients for those who are much more happy, identify themselves as South Africans and experience positive attitudes, exceeds 100%' when added to the base rate percentage. This means that all those immigrants who responded in this way would be expected to settle permanently in South Africa. For the opposite extreme (those who are less happy, identify themselves in terms of national origin and experience negative host attitudes), only 12,3% would be expected to settle permanently in South Africa. The strength of association between subjective adaptation and settlement intentions is thus clear. Despite this, however, these variables should not be considered synonymous.

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'Actually 100,5%. This reflects a degree of collinearity among the independent variables in the model.

TABLE 11.3  
EFFECTS OF SUBJECTIVE ADAPTATION ON SETTLEMENT INTENTIONS: MNA COEFFICIENTS

		SETTLEMENT		
		Yes	No	Uncertain/not ascertained
Overall percentage		58,7	7,5	33,8
Category-specific R <sup>2</sup>		0,1825	0,1221	0,0843
<u>Satisfaction:</u>				
Much more happy	Percent	86,4	1,4	12,3
	Adj. Pct.	80,9	2,8	16,3
More happy	Percent	68,9	2,2	29,0
	Adj. Pct.	67,7	2,6	29,7
About the same	Percent	45,9	9,8	44,4
	Adj. Pct.	47,9	9,2	43,0
More unhappy/much more unhappy	Percent	20,1	34,2	45,7
	Adj. Pct.	27,2	31,9	40,9
Not ascertained	Percent	61,9	5,4	32,7
	Adj. Pct.	60,0	6,3	33,8
<u>Identification:</u>				
South African	Percent	80,6	1,8	17,5
	Adj. Pct.	75,3	3,6	21,1
Hyphenated	Percent	73,2	2,2	24,7
	Adj. Pct.	69,2	4,0	26,8
National origin	Percent	45,6	12,3	42,1
	Adj. Pct.	49,4	10,8	39,9
Other	Percent	50,0	6,9	43,1
	Adj. Pct.	50,3	6,6	43,2
<u>Host attitudes:</u>				
Positive	Percent	66,4	5,3	28,3
	Adj. Pct.	61,7	7,3	31,1
Neutral/not ascertained	Percent	56,8	6,9	36,3
	Adj. Pct.	58,1	6,6	35,3
Negative	Percent	45,5	14,2	40,3
	Adj. Pct.	53,1	10,3	36,5

### 11.1.2 Subjective adaptation and citizenship intentions

Turning to citizenship intentions, the results for this MNA are presented in Table 11.4. As with settlement, both the percentages and adjusted percentages are included in the table. In this case, the "no" category is best predicted, but less strongly (6,8% of the variance) than was the modal category for settlement intentions. The effects for satisfaction and identification are as expected. A quarter (25,1%) of those who are much more happy are likely to say "yes" on the dependent variable (after controlling for other variables in the analysis).

The power of identification in explaining citizenship intentions is somewhat stronger: 35,1% (17,9% more than the base rate) of those who identify themselves as South Africans intend to become citizens, almost three times as many as those who identify themselves by country of origin (12,6%). Nevertheless, 42,2% of those who identify themselves as South Africans do not intend to become citizens. A cross-tabulation of these two variables shows that only 23,0% of those who intend to become South African citizens identify themselves as South Africans. In their study of Latvian immigrants in Australia, Jaunzems and Brown (1971:60) concluded that "naturalisation is a poor index of identification." The opposite also appears to be true. Finally, as was seen in Table 11.2, host attitudes appears to have no effect on citizenship intentions.

Combining the effects of the independent variables in the same way as for settlement intentions, it is found that 43,3% of those who are much more happy, identify themselves as South Africans and report positive host attitudes intend to become citizens, compared to 10,5% of those who are less happy, identify themselves by country of origin and report negative host attitudes. Conversely, 31,0% of the former group answered "no" to the question of citizenship while 80,7% of the latter group responded in this way.

TABLE 11.4  
EFFECTS OF SUBJECTIVE ADAPTATION ON CITIZENSHIP INTENTIONS: MNA COEFFICIENTS

		CITIZENSHIP		
		Yes	No	Uncertain/not ascertained
Overall percentage		17,2	68,0	14,8
Category-specific R <sup>2</sup>		0,0473	0,0679	0,0162
<u>Satisfaction:</u>				
Much more happy	Percent	28,3	52,4	19,4
	Adj. Pct.	25,1	57,2	17,7
More happy	Percent	16,6	68,3	15,2
	Adj. Pct.	16,5	68,5	15,0
About the same	Percent	15,1	71,6	13,3
	Adj. Pct.	16,1	70,0	13,9
More unhappy/much more unhappy	Percent	12,6	76,2	11,2
	Adj. Pct.	15,3	72,1	12,7
Not ascertained	Percent	11,9	72,0	16,1
	Adj. Pct.	10,5	74,7	14,8
<u>Identification:</u>				
South African	Percent	36,4	40,3	23,3
	Adj. Pct.	35,1	42,2	22,7
Hyphenated	Percent	19,4	64,4	16,2
	Adj. Pct.	19,0	65,1	15,9
National origin	Percent	12,2	76,8	11,1
	Adj. Pct.	12,6	76,0	11,4
Other	Percent	13,0	65,5	21,5
	Adj. Pct.	13,2	65,2	21,6
<u>Host attitudes:</u>				
Positive	Percent	18,4	66,1	15,5
	Adj. Pct.	17,5	67,6	15,0
Neutral/not ascertained	Percent	16,7	68,5	14,8
	Adj. Pct.	17,0	68,1	14,9
Negative	Percent	15,4	71,4	13,2
	Adj. Pct.	17,0	68,7	14,3

## 11.2 OBJECTIVE ADAPTATION, SETTLEMENT AND CITIZENSHIP

It has been seen that the objective adaptation dimensions affect settlement and citizen intentions indirectly, in that objective adaptation impacts on subjective adaptation dimensions, which in turn affect the two related variables. However, it can also be argued that such objective adaptation measures also have direct effects on settlement and citizenship intentions. The relationships between objective adaptation and these two variables are now examined, again using the MNA technique.

A series of MNAs were undertaken with each dimension of objective adaptation in turn as independent variables, and settlement and citizenship as dependent variables. The generalised  $\eta^2$  values from these analyses are presented in Table 11.5. The figures in parentheses are the average generalised  $\eta^2$  for each objective adaptation dimension.

With the exception of religious adaptation, on average all dimensions of objective adaptation are better at explaining settlement intentions than citizenship intentions. Political adaptation appears the most powerful set of predictors, mostly due to the variables RACE POLICIES and POLITICAL PARTY, both with generalised  $\eta^2$  values exceeding 0,05 for settlement and 0,02 for citizenship. Economic adaptation also plays a role in settlement intentions, but appears to have little effect on citizenship decisions. None of the economic adaptation indicators have generalised  $\eta^2$  values over 0,01 for citizenship. In fact, only four variables have values over 0,01 for this dependent variable: two political adaptation indicators and one from each of cultural adaptation and religious adaptation.

As was done earlier, the list of independent variables was reduced for the next stage of analysis by excluding those variables whose generalised  $\eta^2$  does not

TABLE 11.5  
 OBJECTIVE ADAPTATION INDICATORS AS PREDICTORS OF SETTLEMENT AND  
 CITIZENSHIP: GENERALISED ETA<sup>2</sup> VALUES

Predictors	Settlement	Citizenship	
<u>Cultural Adaptation</u>	(0,0100)	(0,0061)	
English fluency	0,0025	0,0024	X
Afrikaans fluency	0,0162 *	0,0038	
Home language	0,0104 *	0,0038	
Work language	0,0098	0,0183 *	
Child language	0,0173 *	0,0063	
Newspapers	0,0088	0,0046	X
Watch TV	0,0052	0,0033	X
<u>Social Adaptation</u>	(0,0100)	(0,0034)	
Primary social adaptation	0,0134 *	0,0079	
Active social life	0,0155 *	0,0014	
Clubs	0,0011	0,0009	X
<u>Economic Adaptation</u>	(0,0138)	(0,0034)	
Tenure	0,0156 *	0,0059	
Satis accommodation	0,0255 **	0,0018	
Occupational status	0,0076	0,0021	X
Current work	0,0024	0,0054	X
Number of jobs	0,0015	0,0050	X
Mobility	0,0007	0,0018	X
Satis work	0,0173 *	0,0005	
Satis live std	0,0337 **	0,0043	
Compare live std	0,0196 *	0,0038	
<u>Political Adaptation</u>	(0,0289)	(0,0146)	
Race policies	0,0529 **	0,0272 **	
Interest in politics	0,0008	0,0040	X
Change in interest	0,0096	0,0039	X
Political party	0,0522 **	0,0234 **	
<u>Religious Adaptation</u>	(0,0055)	(0,0081)	
Attend church	0,0047	0,0056	X
Denomination	0,0062	0,0106 *	

\*\* Generalised eta<sup>2</sup> > 0,02

\* Generalised eta<sup>2</sup> > 0,01

X Generalised eta<sup>2</sup> < 0,01 for all 3 dependent variables

exceed 0,01 on either of the two dependent variables. Eleven variables were discarded in this way. It is interesting to note that these include eight of the nine variables excluded earlier (see Section 10.3). These eight variables have thus proven to be consistently poor predictors of subjective adaptation, settlement and/or citizenship. The remaining 14 indicators were then included in two further MNAs.

#### 11.2.1 Objective adaptation and settlement intentions

The results of the analysis with settlement intentions as the dependent variable are found in Table 11.6. To save space, only the multivariate coefficients are included in the table. Furthermore, only the substantively meaningful categories of those predictors with generalised  $\eta^2$  values over 0,01 are presented.

Examining the coefficients in Table 11.6, it appears as if language plays an important role in settlement decisions. Those who speak Afrikaans fluently are slightly more likely to settle in this country (62,1% versus 54,3% of those who do not speak Afrikaans at all), as are those who speak both English and Afrikaans at home, and those who associate primarily with Afrikaans-speaking South Africans. Oddly, those who wish their children to speak neither language are 8,8% more likely than the base rate to settle in South Africa, but this may be an artifact of the relatively small number of cases (84) in this category.

The economic variables all act as expected. The longer an immigrant has lived at his present address (greater tenure), the more likely he is to settle permanently. Those who are dissatisfied with their work are less likely to want to settle in South Africa, and more likely to be ambivalent about settlement (43,3% of this group are unsure or did not respond to this question).

TABLE 11.6  
EFFECTS OF OBJECTIVE ADAPTATION ON SETTLEMENT INTENTIONS: MNA COEFFICIENTS

	SETTLE		
	Yes	No	Not sure/not ascertained
Overall percentage	58,7	7,5	33,8
Category-specific R <sup>2</sup>	0,1780	0,0957	0,0914
<u>Afrikaans fluency</u>			
Fluently	3,4	-2,4	-1,0
Averagely	0,4	-1,1	0,7
Poorly	1,2	-1,7	0,5
Not at all	-4,4	4,4	-0,0
<u>Home language</u>			
English	-1,4	-0,1	1,4
Afrikaans	1,2	-0,5	-0,7
Both	4,2	0,2	-4,4
Neither	1,9	0,3	-2,2
<u>Child language</u>			
English	-1,9	0,5	1,4
Afrikaans	5,9	-1,1	-4,8
Both	5,9	-0,3	-5,7
Neither	8,8	3,1	-11,8
<u>Primary social adaptation</u>			
English	1,8	-2,3	0,5
Afrikaans	7,2	0,9	-8,1
Immigrants	-4,2	2,4	1,8
Mixed	-1,6	1,1	0,4
<u>Active social life</u>			
More active now	3,2	-0,8	-2,5
About the same	2,2	-0,3	-1,9
Less active now	-4,6	0,9	3,7
<u>Tenure</u>			
Less than 5 years	-3,7	2,0	1,7
5-9 years	2,3	-1,6	-0,8
10 or more years	5,1	-2,2	-2,9
<u>Satis work</u>			
Very satisfied	2,4	-0,4	-2,0
Satisfied	-0,2	-0,7	0,9
Mixed feelings/ dissatisfied	-12,2	2,8	9,5

TABLE 11.6 (continued)

<u>Satis live std</u>			
Very satisfied	6,8	-1,1	-5,8
Satisfied	0,8	-1,0	0,2
Mixed feelings/ dissatisfied	-8,1	3,2	4,8
<u>Compare live std</u>			
Much higher in S.A.	3,7	-1,3	-2,3
Higher in S.A.	1,7	-1,7	0,0
About the same	-2,0	1,4	0,7
Lower in S.A.	-2,2	2,0	0,2
<u>Race policies</u>			
Right	10,1	-2,7	-7,5
Neither right nor wrong	0,7	-1,5	0,8
Wrong	-10,5	3,8	6,7
<u>Political party</u>			
None	-3,9	3,0	1,0
NP	7,6	-2,6	-5,0
PFP, NRP	-10,6	5,6	5,0
CP, HNP	-4,8	-0,7	5,5
Don't know/not ascertained	-1,7	-3,1	4,8

Even after holding constant the effects of the remaining variables in the analysis, the two political adaptation variables have a strong impact on settlement intentions. Those who agree with the Government's race policies are 10,1% more likely than the overall percentage to settle in South Africa. Conversely, those who think the Government's race policies are wrong are 10,5% less likely to do so. Supporters of the National Party are more likely to settle (66,3%) than supporters of either parties to the right (53,9%) or to the left (48,1%).

#### 11.2.2 Objective adaptation and citizenship intentions

Moving on to citizenship intentions, the coefficients produced by the MNA are presented in Table 11.7. Although the generalised  $\eta^2$  for primary social adaptation is less than 0,01, this variable was included in the table because of the size of certain coefficients. This shows that this variable appears to have little effect on citizenship when considered alone, but after holding other factors constant, a relationship with citizenship emerges.

Those respondents who speak both official languages at work are 11,6% more likely than the average to become citizens, as are those who associate primarily with Afrikaans-speaking South Africans (7,8%). It is interesting to note that association with English-speaking South Africans does not seem to foster a desire to become a citizen: this group is slightly less likely than the overall percentage to respond in the affirmative to this question.

As with settlement intentions, those who support the Government's race policies are more likely to express intentions of becoming South African citizens. More than twice as many of those who say such race policies are right intend to become citizens (24,6%) as those who say the policies are wrong (11,5%). Political party also has a strong effect on citizenship intentions. Supporters of parties to the

TABLE 11.7  
EFFECTS OF OBJECTIVE ADAPTATION ON CITIZENSHIP INTENTIONS: MNA  
COEFFICIENTS

	CITIZENSHIP		
	Yes	No	Not sure/not ascertained
Overall percentage	17,2	68,0	14,8
Category-specific R <sup>2</sup>	0,0937	0,1080	0,0338
<u>Work language</u>			
English	2,1	-1,1	-0,9
Afrikaans	0,0	-7,3	7,2
Both	11,6	-21,6	10,0
Neither	-3,1	4,3	-1,2
<u>Primary social adaptation</u>			
English	-1,4	1,2	0,2
Afrikaans	7,8	-11,3	3,6
Immigrants	-2,0	3,9	-2,0
Mixed	0,9	-1,0	0,1
<u>Race policies</u>			
Right	7,4	-6,9	-0,5
Neither right nor wrong	-2,1	2,4	-0,3
Wrong	-5,7	7,3	-1,6
<u>Political party</u>			
None	-0,4	1,2	-0,8
NP	1,5	-2,2	0,7
PFP, NRP	-5,9	9,9	-4,0
CP, HNP	8,5	-11,1	2,5
Don't know, not ascertained	1,2	-4,4	3,2
<u>Denomination</u>			
Afrikaans churches	-2,5	4,5	-2,1
Anglican (CPSA)	1,8	-5,0	3,1
Church of England	-4,0	1,6	2,4
Methodist	9,4	-9,5	0,2
Presbyterian	9,8	-10,7	0,9
Catholic	0,8	0,3	-1,1
Lutheran	-6,2	4,9	1,3
Other	2,4	-3,5	1,1
None, not ascertained	-4,5	5,1	-0,6

right are more inclined to become citizens (25,7%) than are those who support parties to the left of the National Party (8,7%).

Combining the effects of the above variables, a group of respondents can be identified that are most likely to express intentions of becoming citizens. Of those who speak both English and Afrikaans at work, associate with Afrikaans-speaking South Africans, support the Government's race policies, and support parties to the right of the National Party, more than half (52,5%) could be expected to become citizens.

The relationship between religious denomination and citizenship intentions is less clear. Methodists, Presbyterians, and to a lesser extent Anglicans, are more likely to become citizens, while Lutherans and members of the Church of England are less likely to do so. These latter two groups have not joined characteristically "South African" churches, and their reluctance to become citizens could possibly be understood in the context of secondary social adaptation. The negative coefficients on the "yes" response for members of the three Afrikaans churches is somewhat surprising, as is the lack of effect of Catholic membership (given the effect for Lutherans and members of the Church of England). As has been noted before, denomination may better serve as a proxy for country of origin than an indicator of objective adaptation.

### 11.3 SUMMARY

It has been shown in this chapter that settlement intentions and citizenship intentions are distinct concepts that should not be confused with, or used interchangeably with, any of the dimensions of subjective or objective adaptation identified here. Each of the measures of subjective adaptation has a different impact on these two measures. In addition, as with subjective adaptation, each of the objective adaptation dimensions affects settlement and citizenship

intentions differently.

It has also been argued that objective adaptation has both a direct and indirect effect on settlement and citizenship. To provide further evidence for this, two further MNAs were undertaken using the fourteen objective adaptation variables remaining in Table 11.5, together with the three subjective adaptation measures as independent variables. This was done in order to determine the marginal explanatory power of the objective adaptation measures over and above that of the subjective adaptation measures. For the analysis with settlement intentions as the dependent variable, the generalised  $R^2$  using both the subjective and objective measures is 0,1892, whereas using only the subjective measures it is 0,1340 (see Table 11.2). This indicates that the objective adaptation measures together account for 5,5% (18,9 - 13,4) of the variance in the dependent variable after discounting the contributions of the subjective adaptation measures. Similarly for citizenship, the generalised  $R^2$  for both subjective and objective variables is 0,1120 whereas that for the subjective measures alone is 0,0487, again indicating a marginal increase in predictive power of 6,3% over the subjective variables alone. These analyses thus support the contentions that dimensions of objective adaptation affect settlement and citizenship both directly as well as indirectly through subjective adaptation.

The relationships between the various dimensions of adaptation, both subjective and objective, have been explored in the last two chapters. In the next two chapters the focus will turn to an examination of those specific factors that determine the direction and extent of an immigrant's adaptation in terms of the dimensions discussed here. In Chapter 12, the factors affecting subjective adaptation, settlement and citizenship will be examined, while in Chapter 13 the factors affecting objective adaptation will be analysed.

CHAPTER 12  
FACTORS AFFECTING SUBJECTIVE ADAPTATION AND  
RELATED CONCEPTS

Immigrant adaptation has been shown to be a multidimensional concept. Not only does the process operate on two levels, the subjective and objective, but each of these levels in turn has a number of distinct dimensions. Furthermore, empirical support was presented for considering settlement intentions and citizenship intentions as concepts distinct from both subjective and objective adaptation.

The complex structure of the adaptation process has been explored in the previous two chapters. The next step is an investigation of the factors that affect this process on all the levels that have been identified. There are two ways in which this task can be organised. The first is to look at each dimension of subjective and objective adaptation in turn and examine the factors that affect them. The second approach would focus on the specific factors that are hypothesised to impact on immigrant adaptation in South Africa, and examine the effects of each factor in turn on all dimensions of adaptation. To follow the format of the previous two chapters, the former approach will be adopted first, examining each of the dimensions of subjective and objective adaptation in turn. However, it will also be useful to compare the different effects of particular factors on various dimensions of adaptation, so the latter approach will also be followed, in Chapter 14.

In Chapter 3 (Section 3.3.1), a number of specific or individual factors were identified that have been found to play a role in immigrant adaptation. In Chapter 8, twenty indicators measuring various factors were discussed. It was decided to use only seventeen of these in the analyses performed in this chapter. The three language variables (SPOKE ENGLISH, SPOKE GERMAN, AND SPOKE DUTCH) were

excluded because of their high covariance with country of origin, and with many of the cultural adaptation variables. This set of 17 measures will be used for the analyses undertaken in this chapter. The same set of measures will be used in each multivariate analysis (regardless of their impact on the dependent variable) to enable comparison across analyses. In the first step, the effect of these factors on the various dimensions of subjective adaptation will be examined.

### 12.1 FACTORS AFFECTING SUBJECTIVE ADAPTATION

A series of Multivariate Nominal Scale Analyses (MNAs) were performed with the set of specific factors as predictor variables and the indicators of subjective adaptation in turn as the dependent variable. The summary results from these analyses are presented in Table 12.1.

TABLE 12.1  
PREDICTORS OF SUBJECTIVE ADAPTATION: GENERALISED  $\eta^2$  VALUES

Predictors	Satisfaction	Identification	Acceptance
Country of origin	0,0166	0,0373	0,0397
Gender	0,0012	0,0020	0,0004
Marital status	0,0030	0,0010	0,0015
Education	0,0011	0,0032	0,0022
Age	0,0036	0,0056	0,0136
Urban	0,0013	0,0024	0,0008
Number of children	0,0009	0,0016	0,0007
Religion	0,0029	0,0075	0,0054
Contacts in S.A.	0,0013	0,0005	0,0038
Visited S.A.	0,0093	0,0034	0,0099
Visited home	0,0017	0,0039	0,0061
Contact with home	0,0050	0,0076	0,0008
Own property	0,0001	0,0027	0,0029
Financial assistance	0,0037	0,0027	0,0005
Province	0,0008	0,0022	0,0036
Metro	0,0007	0,0010	0,0003
Length of residence	0,0143	0,0341	0,0114
Generalised $R^2$	0,0494	0,0899	0,0749

The generally low  $R^2$  values for the three subjective adaptation measures indicate that the predictor variables are not explaining much of the variance in these

three dependent variables. When these values are compared with those using objective adaptation measures as independent variables, it can be seen that objective adaptation is generally a more powerful set of predictors of subjective adaptation than are the factors included here. This is particularly true of satisfaction. For this dependent variable, the generalised  $R^2$  obtained from the objective adaptation variables was 0,1825 (see Section 10.3.1), compared to only 0,0494 using the specific factors in Table 12.1. However, the difference between the  $R^2$  values for the two sets of independent variables is less marked for identification and acceptance. For identification, the objective adaptation measures produced a generalized  $R^2$  of 0,1226 (compared to 0,0899 for the specific factors), while for acceptance it was 0,0825 (compared to 0,0749). Identification is the subjective adaptation variable best explained by the set of predictors included in Table 12.1.

Examining the bivariate results in Table 12.1, it can be seen that few of the predictors have generalised  $\eta^2$  values over 0,01. Country of origin and length of residence are relatively strong predictors of all three subjective adaptation variables, but the remaining predictors (with the possible exception of age on acceptance) do not appear to contribute much to the explanation of these variables. To confirm this, three further MNAs were performed, with country of origin and length of residence as the only two predictors. The generalised  $R^2$  for satisfaction as the dependent variable is 0,0271. This means that the remaining 15 variables in Table 12.1 account for only a further 2,2% (0,0494 - 0,0271) of variance explained in the dependent variable, over and above that explained by country of origin and length of residence. Similarly, these two variables alone account for 0,0669 of the variance in identification, with the other 15 variables explaining an additional 0,023. For acceptance, the two variables produce an  $R^2$  of 0,0421, while the remaining variables contribute a further 0,0328. In each case, country of origin and length of residence account for more than half of the total variance explained by the full set of 17 variables.

The strength of the effect of these two predictors on the subjective adaptation dimensions is not surprising given the findings of previous research discussed in Chapter 3. What is surprising is the apparent lack of effect of many of these other variables on subjective adaptation. Despite the low generalised  $\eta^2$  values in Table 12.1, all 17 variables are retained for further analyses. This is done for a number of reasons. Firstly, if the same set of predictors is used for all analyses, comparisons across analyses may be possible. Secondly, these variables have all been shown to affect immigrant adaptation in some way in previous studies, and should thus be included as control variables here. Thirdly, although the bivariate results show little effect of these variables on subjective adaptation, when holding other factors constant relationships may emerge in the multivariate analyses. Finally, regardless of the strength of the effects, it is still of interest to look at how, if at all, these variables affect immigrant adaptation. With this in mind, attention will now be turned to an examination of the impact of specific factors on each of the three dimensions of subjective adaptation in turn.

#### 12.1.1 Satisfaction

The results for the analysis with satisfaction as the dependent variable are presented in Table 12.2. From Table 12.1 it can be seen that only five of these variables have an average coefficient greater than 2%. However, the coefficients for all the predictor variables included in the model are retained in Table 12.2 for comparative purposes. Following the procedure established in Chapter 10, only the substantively meaningful categories of the predictor variables are included. In effect, this means that any category containing less than 100 cases was excluded from the table. The results for these categories are considered unstable because of the small number of cases.

TABLE 12.2  
EFFECTS OF SPECIFIC FACTORS ON SATISFACTION: MNA COEFFICIENTS

	HAPPY				
	Much more happy	More happy	About the same	Less happy	N/A
Overall percentage	14,4	35,6	37,6	7,6	4,8
Category-specific R <sup>2</sup>	0,0394	0,0335	0,0562	0,0444	0,1310
<u>Country of origin</u>					
Britain	2,2	-1,4	-0,3	-0,7	0,2
Germany	0,9	0,7	3,0	-3,2	-1,4
Netherlands	-0,7	6,3	-4,3	-3,1	1,7
Italy	-3,0	-4,4	4,0	2,6	0,8
Portugal	0,3	7,3	-12,9	3,6	2,3
British Africa	-3,6	-8,4	11,0	3,5	-2,5
Portuguese Africa	7,3	-2,9	-5,8	4,5	-3,1
<u>Gender</u>					
Male	0,0	1,9	-1,0	-0,7	-0,3
Female	-0,0	-3,1	1,5	1,1	0,4
<u>Marital status</u>					
Single	-4,3	-7,4	11,7	0,7	-0,7
Married	0,2	1,3	-1,4	-0,1	0,0
Divorced/separated/ widowed	3,0	-2,8	-1,0	0,3	0,5
<u>Education</u>					
Primary or less	1,4	2,4	-1,1	-0,7	-2,0
Secondary	0,4	-0,5	0,8	-0,2	-0,5
Tertiary	-1,6	0,3	-1,6	0,8	2,0
<u>Age</u>					
30 or younger	1,7	-0,9	-4,4	0,3	3,2
31-40	0,8	-1,5	-2,5	-0,2	3,4
41-50	-1,2	0,6	0,2	0,4	-0,0
51-60	-0,1	3,2	1,3	0,1	-4,5
61 or older	-1,2	-2,4	11,8	-1,1	-7,0
<u>Urban</u>					
City	0,5	-0,3	-0,7	0,4	0,2
Town	-0,7	0,3	1,1	-0,5	-0,3
Farm	0,8	1,2	-1,1	0,2	-1,0
<u>Number of children</u>					
None/not ascertained	1,8	3,1	-3,2	-1,7	0,0
One	-2,2	1,2	0,6	-0,9	1,3
Two	-0,9	-0,0	-0,1	0,9	0,1
Three or more	1,0	-3,0	2,3	0,5	-0,9

TABLE 12.2 (continued)

<u>Religion</u>					
None	0,9	2,2	-3,0	0,5	-0,5
Catholic	-1,3	0,7	-0,5	0,7	0,4
Protestant	0,7	-0,1	0,4	-0,8	-0,2
Other	1,3	-6,6	5,6	0,1	-0,4
<u>Contacts in S.A.</u>					
Close family	0,4	1,1	0,4	-1,8	-0,1
Other relatives and/or friends	0,1	1,7	0,0	-0,5	-1,4
No-one	-0,4	-2,2	-0,2	1,6	1,2
<u>Visited S.A.</u>					
No	1,0	1,4	-0,6	-1,1	-0,6
Yes	-1,7	-2,6	1,4	2,2	0,6
<u>Visited home</u>					
Never	1,8	-2,0	-3,0	1,1	2,1
Once	3,3	-2,2	-1,6	-1,1	1,6
Twice	-0,5	-0,1	1,4	-1,2	0,4
Three or more times	-1,8	1,5	1,4	0,5	-1,5
<u>Contact with home</u>					
Low	2,3	0,2	-2,6	-1,7	1,8
Moderate	-0,8	1,2	0,1	0,7	-1,3
High	-4,1	-4,9	7,4	2,6	-1,0
<u>Own property</u>					
Yes	0,3	-1,6	2,1	-0,8	0,0
No	-0,1	0,3	-0,4	0,1	0,2
<u>Financial assistance</u>					
None	-1,0	-0,9	-0,1	0,7	1,2
S.A. Government	2,2	3,0	-1,6	-1,8	-1,9
Employers	-1,6	2,3	2,1	-1,2	-1,6
Other	5,0	-4,9	1,4	0,6	-2,1
<u>Province</u>					
Cape	-2,5	3,5	-1,6	0,6	-0,1
Natal	2,0	0,3	-2,4	0,3	-0,3
Transvaal	0,1	-0,8	0,7	-0,1	0,2
Orange Free State	1,9	-1,5	1,7	-1,6	0,6
<u>Metro</u>					
Metro	-0,0	1,0	-1,7	0,5	0,2
Non-metro	-0,1	-1,0	1,8	-0,5	-0,2
<u>Length of residence</u>					
0-4 years	-6,7	2,9	5,3	4,6	-6,1
5-14 years	-1,7	-2,6	7,4	1,4	-4,4
15-24 years	1,2	2,4	-1,9	-1,6	-0,1
25 or more years	4,7	-2,4	-8,5	-2,6	8,8

Looking at country of origin, it can be seen that, holding all other factors constant, immigrants from Portuguese Africa and Britain are more likely to express greater satisfaction with life in South Africa, whereas those from British Africa and Italy are less likely to do so. Combining the "much more happy" and "more happy" categories of the dependent variable, it is found that those from British Africa are the least satisfied, with only 38,0% (14,4% - 3,6% + 35,6% - 8,4%) saying that they are more happy in South Africa. Similarly, 42,6% of Italians are more happy in South Africa. At the other end of the scale, Portuguese immigrants appear most satisfied, with 57,6% being more happy with life in South Africa. Immigrants from the Netherlands are also more likely to express greater satisfaction (55,6%).

As far as marital status is concerned, single respondents appear less likely than the average to express greater satisfaction (and more likely to say "about the same"), while those who are divorced, widowed or separated are more likely to be much more happy in South Africa. When the "more happy" and "much more happy" categories are combined, it is seen that 38,3% of single immigrants are more satisfied with life in South Africa, compared to 51,5% of currently married immigrants and 50,2% of formerly married immigrants.

Age does not appear to have much effect on satisfaction, with the exception of those 61 or older who are almost 12% more likely than the average to feel about the same level of satisfaction in South Africa as in their previous country.

The effect on contact with home on satisfaction is more interesting. Those who have a low degree of contact with their home country are more likely to be more satisfied with life in South Africa, while those with a high level of contact are less likely to be so. Combining the "much more happy" and "more happy" categories, it can be shown that 52,2% of those with a low level of contact say they are more satisfied with life in South Africa, compared to only 41,0% of

those with a high degree of contact. Given these results, it is interesting that the variable VISITED HOME has virtually no effect on the dependent variable.

Turning to length of residence, a linear relationship can be discerned between this variable and satisfaction for both the "much more happy" and the "less happy" categories. The longer an immigrant is in this country, the more likely he is to express greater satisfaction with life here, and, conversely, the less likely he is to express dissatisfaction.

#### 12.1.2 Identification

How do these specific factors affect the way immigrants choose to identify themselves? The results for this dependent variable are presented in Table 12.3. As was seen in Table 12.1, the effects of country of origin and length of residence on identification are quite strong. This still holds in the multivariate case, controlling for other variables in the model.

With regard to country of origin, it can be seen from Table 12.3 that those more likely to identify themselves as South Africans are those from British Africa (27,5%, or 16,6% more than the overall percentage), and the Netherlands (15,6%). Immigrants from Italy (4,4%), Portugal (5,2%) and Portuguese Africa (5,1%) are less likely to identify themselves as South Africans. Immigrants from Germany are the group most likely (10,6% more than the average) to identify themselves as hyphenated South Africans (i.e. German-South Africans), while those from Britain are least likely to do so.

Religion appears to have some effect on identification. Catholics are somewhat less likely (2,7%) to describe themselves as South Africans and more likely (4,0%) to describe themselves in terms of their country of origin, whereas Protestants are less likely (3,5%) to describe themselves in terms of national

TABLE 12.3  
EFFECTS OF SPECIFIC FACTORS ON IDENTIFICATION: MNA COEFFICIENTS

	IDENTIFICATION			
	South African	Hyphenated	Country of origin	Other
Overall percentage	10,9	32,6	49,6	7,0
Category-specific R <sup>2</sup>	0,1053	0,0699	0,1178	0,0257
<u>Country of origin</u>				
Britain	0,3	-8,7	8,9	-0,5
Germany	-5,7	10,6	-4,7	-0,2
Netherlands	4,7	0,5	-6,6	1,4
Italy	-6,5	0,0	6,4	0,2
Portugal	-5,7	-3,6	13,0	-3,7
British Africa	16,6	-2,7	-16,2	2,3
Portuguese Africa	-5,8	4,6	3,1	-1,9
<u>Gender</u>				
Male	0,8	1,8	-2,7	0,1
Female	-1,3	-2,9	4,2	-0,1
<u>Marital status</u>				
Single	-1,0	-3,2	1,5	2,7
Married	0,1	0,5	-0,3	-0,3
Divorced/separated/ widowed	-0,1	-1,0	1,3	-0,3
<u>Education</u>				
Primary or less	-3,3	-4,0	6,2	1,2
Secondary	0,5	0,1	0,3	-0,8
Tertiary	0,2	1,5	-3,0	1,3
<u>Age</u>				
30 or younger	-0,3	-3,3	4,7	-1,1
31-40	0,1	1,0	-0,5	-0,6
41-50	0,2	1,1	-1,3	0,0
51-60	1,3	-2,3	-1,1	2,1
61 or older	-3,0	0,9	2,1	2,1
<u>Urban</u>				
City	0,4	-1,0	0,1	0,5
Town	-1,3	0,6	0,9	-0,1
Farm	3,4	3,2	-4,7	-1,9
<u>Number of children</u>				
None/not ascertained	-0,4	0,4	0,6	-0,6
One	-0,5	0,2	-2,4	2,7
Two	0,3	-0,1	0,2	-0,4
Three or more	0,1	-0,2	0,4	-0,3

TABLE 12.3 (continued)

<u>Religion</u>				
None	1,2	-5,0	-0,4	4,2
Catholic	-2,7	-1,4	4,0	0,0
Protestant	1,8	3,2	-3,5	-1,5
Other	1,4	-2,6	-0,1	1,3
<u>Contacts in S.A.</u>				
Close family	-0,4	3,5	-2,5	-0,6
Other relatives and/or friends	-1,3	0,3	1,0	-0,1
No-one	1,3	-2,6	0,8	0,5
<u>Visited S.A.</u>				
No	0,1	-1,0	1,3	-0,5
Yes	-0,1	1,7	-2,5	0,9
<u>Visited home</u>				
Never	2,2	-0,7	-1,0	-0,5
Once	0,7	-0,8	-0,7	0,7
Twice	1,0	-0,9	-2,9	2,9
Three or more times	-1,6	1,0	1,7	-1,1
<u>Contact with home</u>				
Low	4,0	1,2	-5,0	-0,3
Moderate	-2,1	-1,1	2,5	0,6
High	-4,9	0,0	6,3	-1,3
<u>Own property</u>				
Yes	0,7	-3,3	2,0	0,6
No	-0,1	0,8	-0,4	-0,3
<u>Financial assistance</u>				
None	1,4	-1,3	0,1	-0,3
S.A. Government	-3,6	3,9	-1,3	1,0
Employers	-2,1	1,3	1,7	-0,8
Other	1,4	-2,2	-0,1	0,9
<u>Province</u>				
Cape	0,5	0,4	-1,5	0,6
Natal	-1,6	0,7	0,9	0,1
Transvaal	0,5	-0,6	0,2	-0,1
Orange Free State	-1,8	7,9	-5,5	-0,5
<u>Metro</u>				
Metro	-0,9	0,6	0,6	-0,2
Non-metro	0,8	-0,6	-0,4	0,2
<u>Length of residence</u>				
0-4 years	-5,2	-11,1	16,3	-0,0
5-14 years	-2,6	-6,8	10,3	-0,9
15-24 years	1,1	2,7	-4,0	0,1
25 or more years	5,0	11,2	16,8	0,5

origin. Again, most of the remaining socio-demographic variables (gender, marital status, education, age and family size) have little effect on an immigrant's choice of identification in this country.

As with satisfaction, the extent of an immigrant's contact with home has an effect on identification. The proportion of respondents identifying themselves as South Africans decreases as contact with home increases, from 14,9% for those with little or no contact to 6,0% for those with a high degree of contact. Conversely, those with greater contact with home are more likely to describe themselves in terms of their country of origin, while those with a low level of contact are less likely to do so.

The effect of length of residence is again strong, and in the expected direction. The longer an immigrant has been in this country, the more likely he is to regard himself as a South African or as a hyphenated South African; and the less likely he is to identify himself in terms of his country of origin. Thus, for those who have lived in South Africa for less than five years, only 5,7% identify themselves as South Africans, whereas 65,9% identify themselves by their country of origin. Conversely, of those who have been in South Africa for 25 years or more, 15,9% identify themselves as South Africans and 32,8% by their country of origin.

The low level of South African identification, even for those who have been in this country a quarter century or more, is noteworthy. The proportion of respondents who identify themselves as South Africans remains low, even when considering combinations of factors that affect identification. Combining the effects of several variables, it can be seen that even for the group most likely to identify themselves as South Africans, namely immigrants from British Africa who have little or no contact with home and have been in South Africa for 25 or more years, just over a third identify themselves as South Africans. It will be

interesting to compare these findings with those for citizenship intentions (see Section 12.2.2).

### 12.1.3 Acceptance

Turning now to the degree of acceptance felt by immigrants, the results for this dependent variable are to be found in Table 12.4. A number of interesting findings emerge from the coefficients in this table. First, the effect of country of origin on the perceived attitudes of members of the host society is pronounced. Immigrants from Britain and British Africa are much less likely (27,1% and 25,7% respectively) to experience positive attitudes on the part of South Africans than are immigrants from Germany (57,2% reporting positive attitudes). Dutch immigrants are slightly more inclined to report negative attitudes than positive ones. Immigrants from Italy and Portuguese Africa are more inclined to report positive host attitudes.

These findings are somewhat surprising when considered in the light of the data presented in Chapter 5. In the findings discussed there, White South Africans reported the greatest social distance from, and negative attitudes towards, immigrants of Italian and Portuguese descent. Immigrants from the Netherlands were generally regarded slightly less favorably than those from Germany, although more positively than either Italians or Portuguese. British immigrants are consistently ranked more favorably by White South Africans than either German or Dutch immigrants, yet more of this group experience negative attitudes on the part of host society members than any other group. However, it was seen in Chapter 5 that Afrikaans-speaking South Africans held consistently more negative attitudes towards immigrants than their English-speaking counterparts. This may in part explain the highly negative responses of British immigrants, who may have expected to easily fit into a predominantly English-speaking country, and may have been taken by surprise by the bilingual (with Afrikaans dominating) nature

TABLE 12.4  
EFFECTS OF SPECIFIC FACTORS ON ACCEPTANCE: MNA COEFFICIENTS

	HOST ATTITUDES		
	Positive	Neutral/ N/A	Negative
Overall percentage	39,6	43,6	16,8
Category-specific R <sup>2</sup>	0,0906	0,0487	0,0384
<u>Country of origin</u>			
Britain	-12,5	7,2	5,3
Germany	17,6	-9,4	-8,1
Netherlands	-3,2	1,8	1,3
Italy	7,2	-4,7	-2,6
Portugal	0,0	1,6	-1,6
British Africa	-13,9	8,2	5,8
Portuguese Africa	4,8	-6,1	1,3
<u>Gender</u>			
Male	-0,6	-0,4	1,0
Female	1,0	0,6	-1,6
<u>Marital status</u>			
Single	-4,3	-0,1	4,5
Married	0,1	0,4	-0,5
Divorced/separated/ widowed	4,3	-3,9	-0,3
<u>Education</u>			
Primary or less	3,4	0,1	-3,4
Secondary	-0,6	0,9	-0,3
Tertiary	0,0	-2,2	2,1
<u>Age</u>			
30 or younger	-5,3	2,4	3,0
31-40	-3,1	2,4	0,7
41-50	1,5	-2,6	1,1
51-60	1,3	1,0	-2,3
61 or older	9,2	-4,1	-4,1
<u>Urban</u>			
City	0,3	-0,6	0,3
Town	-0,6	0,4	0,2
Farm	1,1	2,2	-3,2
<u>Number of children</u>			
None/not ascertained	4,0	-1,6	-2,4
One	-2,9	1,6	1,3
Two	-1,6	2,1	-0,5
Three or more	0,6	-2,5	1,9

TABLE 12.4 (continued)

<hr/>			
<u>Religion</u>			
None	-0,5	-1,1	1,6
Catholic	1,7	-0,9	-0,9
Protestant	-0,9	1,0	-0,1
Other	-3,1	0,7	2,4
<u>Contacts in S.A.</u>			
Close family	-2,2	2,6	-0,4
Other relatives and/or friends	2,9	-1,9	-1,0
No-one	-1,0	-0,2	1,1
<u>Visited S.A.</u>			
No	0,7	-2,2	1,5
Yes	-1,1	4,0	-2,9
<u>Visited home</u>			
Never	-0,3	-1,9	2,1
Once	0,5	-3,6	3,1
Twice	-3,7	2,8	1,0
Three or more times	1,3	1,1	-2,4
<u>Contact with home</u>			
Low	0,2	1,6	-1,8
Moderate	-0,3	-0,7	1,1
High	0,7	-2,3	1,6
<u>Own property</u>			
Yes	0,9	-4,1	3,3
No	-0,1	0,6	-0,5
<u>Financial assistance</u>			
None	-0,1	-0,6	0,7
S.A. Government	1,1	0,0	-1,1
Employers	1,2	-0,0	-1,1
Other	-4,2	5,1	-0,9
<u>Province</u>			
Cape	7,4	-1,5	-5,9
Natal	3,4	-1,4	-2,0
Transvaal	-3,1	1,1	1,9
Orange Free State	13,8	-8,0	-5,7
<u>Metro</u>			
Metro	2,0	-1,2	-0,8
Non-metro	-1,8	1,0	0,9
<u>Length of residence</u>			
0-4 years	-3,5	4,5	-1,0
5-14 years	3,8	-2,6	-1,2
15-24 years	0,6	-0,6	-0,0
25 or more years	-2,2	0,2	2,0
<hr/>			

of the host society. A similar explanation could be forwarded for the low level of acceptance experienced by immigrants from the Netherlands. Such immigrants may have been surprised by Afrikaner antipathy towards them (see Chapter 5).

Furthermore, the findings for the effect of country of origin run counter to those for identification and satisfaction. For example, German immigrants are less likely than the average to identify themselves as South Africans, yet much more likely to experience positive host attitudes. Conversely, immigrants from British Africa are more likely to identify themselves as South Africans, but less likely to be satisfied with life in South Africa and less likely to report positive host attitudes. These findings again provide evidence for the multidimensionality and complexity of the adaptation process.

Moving on to other factors influencing acceptance, a linear relationship can be discerned between age and the dependent variable. Younger immigrants are less likely to report positive host attitudes and more likely to report negative ones. The opposite is true for older immigrants, who experience more positive attitudes on the part of South Africans.

The lack of effect of religion on acceptance is interesting. After controlling for the effects of other variables in the model, Catholic respondents report slightly more positive attitudes on the part of South Africans than do Protestants. This again runs counter to expectations in terms of White South Africa's attitudes towards ethnic and religious minorities.

The effect of province of current residence on acceptance is quite strong. Immigrants residing in the Cape and Natal report more positive host attitudes while those in the Transvaal report less positive attitudes. This may support the argument that the greater negative attitudes on the part of Afrikaners is being felt more by immigrants in the Transvaal, where this group dominates. The

large coefficient for the Orange Free State may be an artifact of the small number of cases (only 111 respondents, or 3,2% of the sample) from that province. Given this small number, the results for each country of origin in that province may be highly unstable.

A curvilinear effect can be observed for length of residence. Those who have been here the shortest period of time (less than 5 years) and those who have been here the longest (25 or more years) are less likely to experience positive attitudes. However, in the bivariate case, a linear relationship is observed, with the proportion reporting positive attitudes increasing from 26,0% for those in this country for less than 5 years, to 44,6% for those here for 25 or more years. The discrepancy between the bivariate and multivariate results shows the effect of holding other variables constant. Length of residence may be interacting with other variables (for example, country of origin) in affecting acceptance.

An examination of the three-way cross-tabulation between length of residence, country of origin and host attitudes reveals some interesting trends. For immigrants from Britain and British Africa, the effect of length of residence on acceptance is a linear one, with the percentage of respondents reporting positive host attitudes increasing as length of residence increases. It is also noteworthy that these two groups also have the lowest percentages reporting positive attitudes for those who have been in South Africa for less than 5 years (16,5% for British and 16,7% for British Africans). The next lowest percentage for those here less than 5 years is 29,4% for the Portuguese, followed by 37,5% for Portuguese Africans, 38,4% for the Dutch, 45,8% for Germans and 46,2% for Italians. In other words, immigrants of British origin appear least likely to experience positive host attitudes initially, but this changes the longer they are in this country. For all the other groups (excepting those from Portugal), the proportion reporting positive host attitudes peaks for those who have been in South Africa between 5 and 14 years, before dropping somewhat for those here

longer. For the Dutch, this decline in those reporting positive attitudes is the strongest, with only 32,3% of Dutch immigrants who have been in this country 25 years or more reporting positive attitudes on the part of their South African hosts. The most positive group are Germans who have been in South Africa for 5 to 14 years, with 65,8% reporting positive host attitudes.

The results for the MNA with prejudice as the dependent variable provide mixed support for the above findings. Immigrants from Britain and British Africa are slightly more likely than the average to report experiencing prejudice often or sometimes (24,6% for British and 23,5% for British Africans). German immigrants are the least likely to report prejudice (17,6% do so), followed by the Dutch (18,2%). However, contrary to the results for acceptance, immigrants from Portuguese Africa (27,9%) and Italy (27,4%) are the most likely to experience prejudice. None of the other specific factors appear to have much effect on prejudice. With the exception of country of origin, none of the generalised  $\eta^2$  values exceed 0,006. The generalised  $R^2$  for the analysis with prejudice as the dependent variable is only 0,0421. There is thus little utility in examining the results for this variable further.

## 12.2 FACTORS AFFECTING SETTLEMENT AND CITIZENSHIP INTENTIONS

The summary results for these two dependent variables are presented in Table 12.5. The generalised  $\eta^2$  values for each predictor, as well as the generalised  $R^2$  value for each model, are found in the table. It can be seen from the  $R^2$  values that 10% of the variance in citizenship intentions is explained by this set of predictors, more than for any of the subjective adaptation measures. As with subjective adaptation, country of origin and length of residence emerge as strong predictors. However, the effect of country of origin on settlement intentions does not appear as strong as for the other dependent variables. The multivariate results for these two MNAs will be examined in more detail.

TABLE 12.5  
 PREDICTORS OF SETTLEMENT AND CITIZENSHIP INTENTIONS: GENERALISED  $\eta^2$  VALUES

Predictors	Settlement	Citizenship
Country of origin	0,0100	0,0504
Gender	0,0001	0,0012
Marital status	0,0045	0,0006
Education	0,0035	0,0073
Age	0,0247	0,0042
Urban	0,0039	0,0024
Number of children	0,0086	0,0016
Religion	0,0006	0,0042
Contacts in S.A.	0,0014	0,0179
Visited S.A.	0,0024	0,0101
Visited home	0,0054	0,0323
Contact with home	0,0101	0,0099
Own property	0,0009	0,0076
Financial assistance	0,0018	0,0010
Province	0,0028	0,0024
Metro	0,0018	0,0018
Length of residence	0,0227	0,0185
Generalised $R^2$	0,0749	0,0999

### 12.2.1 Settlement intentions

The detailed results of the MNA with settlement intentions as the dependent variable are presented in Table 12.6. From the MNA coefficients in this table it can be seen that British and Italian immigrants are less likely to settle permanently in South Africa, while all other groups are more likely to do so. Immigrants from Portugal and Portuguese Africa are most likely to have intentions of settling permanently in South Africa. Age has a linear effect on settlement intentions. The older an immigrant is, the more likely he is to want to settle in South Africa. This ranges from 46,2% for those age 30 or younger to 76,1% for those over 60. The effect of urban residence is interesting. Those immigrants who have come from rural areas in their previous country are more likely to settle permanently in South Africa, while those from cities are slightly less

TABLE 12.6  
EFFECTS OF SPECIFIC FACTORS ON SETTLEMENT INTENTIONS: MNA COEFFICIENTS

	SETTLEMENT INTENTIONS		
	Yes	No	N/A
Overall percentage	58,7	7,5	33,8
Category-specific R <sup>2</sup>	0,0981	0,0609	0,0534
<u>Country of origin</u>			
Britain	-6,0	3,2	2,9
Germany	2,0	-0,8	-1,2
Netherlands	1,9	-0,4	-1,6
Italy	-5,6	2,9	2,7
Portugal	8,7	-2,0	-6,7
British Africa	1,2	-4,9	3,7
Portuguese Africa	7,0	-2,3	-4,7
<u>Gender</u>			
Male	0,1	-0,4	0,3
Female	-0,1	0,6	-0,5
<u>Marital status</u>			
Single	-2,9	2,5	0,3
Married	0,8	-0,2	-0,6
Divorced/separated/ widowed	-3,8	-1,1	4,9
<u>Education</u>			
Primary or less	-3,4	-1,8	5,2
Secondary	1,4	-0,5	-0,9
Tertiary	-2,0	1,9	0,1
<u>Age</u>			
30 or younger	-12,5	5,3	7,2
31-40	5,7	0,3	5,4
41-50	3,4	-1,0	-2,3
51-60	3,9	-1,9	-2,0
61 or older	17,4	-1,1	-16,3
<u>Urban</u>			
City	-1,2	-0,4	1,6
Town	-0,3	0,8	-0,4
Farm	8,4	-1,4	-7,0
<u>Number of children</u>			
None/not ascertained	-2,3	-1,4	3,8
One	1,1	0,1	-1,2
Two	-0,1	-0,1	0,2
Three or more	1,4	1,3	-2,6

TABLE 12.6 (continued)

<u>Religion</u>			
None	-2,2	1,9	0,3
Catholic	-0,7	0,3	0,4
Protestant	1,6	-0,8	-0,8
Other	-1,4	-0,5	1,9
<u>Contacts in S.A.</u>			
Close family	3,1	-1,7	-1,4
Other relatives and/or friends	-0,5	0,0	0,4
No-one	-1,7	1,1	0,6
<u>Visited S.A.</u>			
No	-0,1	0,8	-0,7
Yes	-0,0	-1,5	1,6
<u>Visited home</u>			
Never	7,8	-3,0	-4,8
Once	3,8	-0,5	-3,3
Twice	-1,6	0,3	1,3
Three or more times	-3,5	1,3	2,2
<u>Contact with home</u>			
Low	3,3	-1,0	-2,3
Moderate	-0,3	-0,4	0,6
High	-8,8	4,1	4,7
<u>Own property</u>			
Yes	-4,5	3,7	0,8
No	0,9	-0,7	-0,2
<u>Financial assistance</u>			
None	-0,1	0,6	-0,5
S.A. Government	1,1	-1,3	0,2
Employers	-0,1	0,7	-0,6
Other	-2,2	-2,2	4,4
<u>Province</u>			
Cape	-3,5	0,3	3,2
Natal	-0,1	1,7	-1,5
Transvaal	0,3	-0,3	-0,0
Orange Free State	10,2	-3,4	-6,8
<u>Metro</u>			
Metro	-1,2	1,0	0,1
Non-metro	1,1	-1,0	-0,2
<u>Length of residence</u>			
0-4 years	-11,0	6,9	4,0
5-14 years	-4,1	2,4	1,7
15-24 years	1,0	-1,3	0,3
25 or more years	10,6	-5,7	-4,9

likely to do so.

Both the variables VISITED HOME and CONTACT WITH HOME have fairly substantial effects on settlement intentions. It appears that the greater the contact an immigrant has with his home country (whether in the form of visits or correspondence), the less likely he is to settle in South Africa. Combining these effects, it is found that 69,8% of those who have never visited their home country and have little or no contact with home intend to settle in South Africa, while only 46,4% of those who have gone home more than twice since migrating and have a high level of contact intend to do so. Those who own property in their home country are similarly less disposed towards settling in South Africa.

Province of current residence is also a relatively strong predictor of settlement intentions. As was seen with acceptance, immigrants in the Orange Free State are more likely to settle permanently. However, the effect for those in the Cape is contrary to that for acceptance: fewer than average respondents living in the Cape Province expressed permanent settlement intentions. There does not appear to be much effect for those living in Natal and the Transvaal.

Once again, a linear relationship between length of residence and the dependent variable is seen. As is expected, immigrants who have been in South Africa the longest are the most likely to settle here (69,3% of those who have been here 25 or more years), while recent immigrants are least likely to settle (47,7% of those here for less than 5 years).

#### 12.2.2 Citizenship intentions

Turning to citizenship intentions, the effects of the specific factors on this variable are summarised in Table 12.7. It can be seen that the category best predicted by this set of specific factors is the "yes" category, with 14,2% of

TABLE 12.7  
EFFECTS OF SPECIFIC FACTORS ON CITIZENSHIP INTENTIONS: MNA COEFFICIENTS

	CITIZENSHIP INTENTIONS		
	Yes	No	N/A
Overall percentage	17,2	68,0	14,8
Category-specific R <sup>2</sup>	0,1417	0,1145	0,0265
<u>Country of origin</u>			
Britain	-6,2	5,6	0,6
Germany	-6,0	6,3	-0,3
Netherlands	-6,4	8,5	-2,1
Italy	0,7	-4,8	4,1
Portugal	7,5	-5,6	-1,9
British Africa	22,4	-22,1	-0,3
Portuguese Africa	7,1	-6,3	-0,9
<u>Gender</u>			
Male	1,2	-1,8	0,6
Female	-1,9	2,8	-0,9
<u>Marital status</u>			
Single	3,2	-2,4	-0,8
Married	-0,2	0,2	-0,0
Divorced/separated/ widowed	-1,8	0,8	1,0
<u>Education</u>			
Primary or less	4,3	-5,0	0,7
Secondary	0,7	-0,8	0,1
Tertiary	-3,5	4,0	-0,6
<u>Age</u>			
30 or younger	-3,7	5,1	-1,4
31-40	-2,2	2,9	-0,7
41-50	2,9	-3,2	0,2
51-60	-0,5	-2,3	2,7
61 or older	0,6	-0,4	-0,2
<u>Urban</u>			
City	-1,1	1,4	-0,4
Town	0,6	-0,7	0,1
Farm	2,6	-4,2	1,6
<u>Number of children</u>			
None/not ascertained	-4,8	4,0	0,9
One	-0,2	1,3	-1,1
Two	1,4	-1,0	-0,4
Three or more	1,9	-2,3	0,4

TABLE 12.7 (continued)

<u>Religion</u>			
None	-1,6	2,5	-0,9
Catholic	-2,0	3,8	-1,8
Protestant	1,8	-3,3	1,6
Other	3,0	-4,9	1,9
<u>Contacts in S.A.</u>			
Close family	3,3	-3,0	-0,3
Other relatives and/or friends	-1,2	0,8	0,4
No-one	-1,2	1,3	-0,1
<u>Visited S.A.</u>			
No	2,2	-1,1	-1,2
Yes	-4,3	1,7	2,5
<u>Visited home</u>			
Never	8,7	-9,8	1,1
Once	1,1	-2,3	1,2
Twice	-0,2	-1,0	1,2
Three or more times	-3,8	5,8	-2,0
<u>Contact with home</u>			
Low	1,2	-2,3	1,1
Moderate	-0,1	1,0	-0,9
High	-3,3	3,4	-0,1
<u>Own property</u>			
Yes	-0,7	1,6	-1,0
No	0,1	-0,1	-0,0
<u>Financial assistance</u>			
None	1,4	-1,4	0,0
S.A. Government	-2,9	3,4	-0,5
Employers	-1,0	0,7	0,2
Other	-1,8	0,9	0,9
<u>Province</u>			
Cape	-0,3	-1,8	2,2
Natal	-1,3	1,3	-0,1
Transvaal	0,2	0,3	-0,5
Orange Free State	5,6	-8,9	3,3
<u>Metro</u>			
Metro	-0,4	0,6	-0,3
Non-metro	0,1	-0,4	0,3
<u>Length of residence</u>			
0-4 years	10,0	-6,4	-3,6
5-14 years	-0,7	1,5	-0,8
15-24 years	-3,2	1,6	1,6
25 or more years	-2,3	0,9	1,4

the variance in this category of the dependent variable explained by these factors.

It is noteworthy that, holding other factors constant, respondents from the three primary source countries for immigration to South Africa (Britain, Germany and the Netherlands) are all less likely than members of the other groups to become citizens of this country. This holds true for both the bivariate and multivariate results. In fact, the bivariate and multivariate results for this predictor do not differ much from each other, indicating that controlling for the remaining variables in the model did not have much effect on the relationship between country of origin and citizenship intentions. The group most likely to become South African citizens are those from British Africa. This is not surprising in light of the fact that this group is composed predominantly of immigrants from Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia).

For the first time education emerges as a fairly strong predictor. A negative relationship between educational level and citizenship intentions is discerned. As education increases, the desire for South African citizenship decreases. A positive relationship between age and citizenship intentions can be seen. Older respondents are somewhat more likely than their younger counterparts to express intentions of becoming citizens of South Africa. Older immigrants may have more to gain by citizenship (such as pension rights) whereas younger immigrants may have more to lose (in terms of military service). In addition, it was seen that older immigrants are also more likely to settle permanently in South Africa, and thus have less need to retain a foreign passport for travel or remigration opportunities.

A number of the contact variables also affect citizenship intentions. Those who have never been home since coming to South Africa are more likely to become citizens, while this likelihood decreases as the number of visits home increases.

Similarly, those who have a low level of contact with their home country are more likely to have intentions of becoming South African citizens, while those who have a high level of contact are less likely to do so.

Length of residence again emerges as a strong indicator of the dependent variable, but mainly for those who have been in South Africa for less than five years. It is this group that is not yet eligible for citizenship. More than a quarter (27,2%) of this group express intentions of becoming citizens. This proportion drops dramatically for those who are already eligible for South African citizenship, to a low of 14,0% for those who have been here for 15 to 24 years. This is quite understandable in light of the fact that those who have already become citizens are excluded from this study. Nevertheless, the rate of citizenship applications remains extremely low, and the longer an immigrant is in this country without becoming a citizen, the less likely he is to change his mind.

Comparing these results for those for identification, the findings for these two variables tend to provide mixed support for each other. Immigrants from British Africa are much more likely (a coefficient of 16,6%) to identify themselves as South Africans, and also much more likely (22,4%) to become South African citizens. German immigrants are less likely both to identify as South Africans and to become citizens of this country. However, immigrants from the Netherlands are more likely to identify themselves as South Africans but less likely to become citizens. The coefficients for immigrants from Portugal and Portuguese Africa are also in opposite directions. The results for the effect of length of residence on identification and citizenship are also opposite, with immigrants who have been here for a shorter time being less likely to identify themselves as South Africans but more likely to become citizens.

### 12.3 SUMMARY

This chapter has focussed on analyses of various factors that affect subjective adaptation, settlement and citizenship. It has been shown that these factors have a differential impact on various dimensions of adaptation. In the next chapter, the effects of these factors on objective adaptation will be examined.

## CHAPTER 13

### FACTORS AFFECTING OBJECTIVE ADAPTATION

In this chapter, the effects of specific factors on selected objective adaptation measures are examined. Space does not permit presenting the results of the MNAs for all 24 objective adaptation measures here. Five of the measures were selected for presentation, one from each dimension of objective adaptation. This selection was not based on overall predictive power of the specific factors on these variables. The generalised  $R^2$  values are the highest when the language variables are used as dependent variables, with an  $R^2$  of 0,35 for home language, 0,29 for work language and 0,23 for English fluency. However, these values are highly inflated because of the high correspondence between country of origin and language. Similarly, a number of the economic adaptation variables are well-predicted by the specific factors, mainly due to the effect of gender and age on occupational status. For this reason, it is not appropriate to use explanatory power as the criterion for the choice of objective adaptation measures to be predicted. Furthermore, the distributions of some of these variables make them less appropriate for use as dependent variables in a MNA. Therefore, the choice of the five dependent variables is somewhat arbitrarily made, after disqualifying the above variables.

The following five variables were selected for discussion: Afrikaans fluency, primary social adaptation, comparative living conditions, race policies and church attendance. However, MNAs were performed on all 24 objective adaptation measures. Where pertinent, the results from the remaining analyses will also be discussed. The summary results of the MNAs for these five dependent variables are presented in Table 13.1. These summary results will be discussed together with the detailed results for each dependent variable.

TABLE 13.1  
PREDICTORS OF OBJECTIVE ADAPTATION: GENERALISED  $\eta^2$  VALUES

Predictors	Dependent variables				
	Afr fluency	Primary adaptation	Compare live std	Race policies	Church attend
Country of origin	0,1440	0,0479	0,0283	0,0219	0,0301
Gender	0,0004	0,0003	0,0008	0,0046	0,0064
Marital status	0,0014	0,0025	0,0034	0,0024	0,0052
Education	0,0088	0,0119	0,0020	0,0178	0,0069
Age	0,0100	0,0067	0,0036	0,0092	0,0048
Urban	0,0007	0,0020	0,0015	0,0017	0,0043
Number of children	0,0025	0,0027	0,0022	0,0035	0,0105
Religion	0,0140	0,0122	0,0051	0,0048	0,0826
Contacts in S.A.	0,0029	0,0029	0,0024	0,0009	0,0019
Visited S.A.	0,0105	0,0047	0,0125	0,0023	0,0014
Visited home	0,0011	0,0011	0,0045	0,0044	0,0046
Contact with home	0,0020	0,0035	0,0064	0,0044	0,0005
Own property	0,0067	0,0046	0,0012	0,0020	0,0024
Financial assistance	0,0044	0,0018	0,0039	0,0019	0,0065
Province	0,0087	0,0142	0,0039	0,0025	0,0023
Metro	0,0045	0,0021	0,0033	0,0015	0,0041
Length of residence	0,0336	0,0024	0,0157	0,0037	0,0101
$R^2$	0,1991	0,0996	0,0734	0,0682	0,1446

### 13.1 CULTURAL ADAPTATION: AFRIKAANS FLUENCY

The first objective adaptation measure to be examined is Afrikaans fluency. The detailed results of the MNA for this variable are presented in Table 13.2. The generalised  $R^2$  for this analysis is 0,1991, meaning that almost 20% of the variance in this variable can be accounted for by the set of specific factors. Looking at the summary bivariate results in Table 13.1, it can be seen that the best predictors of Afrikaans fluency appear to be country of origin, length of residence, religion, whether the immigrant had visited South Africa, and age.

The strong effect of country of origin can be seen in the multivariate results in Table 13.2. As can be expected, immigrants from the Netherlands are much more

TABLE 13.2  
EFFECTS OF SPECIFIC FACTORS ON AFRIKAANS FLUENCY: MNA COEFFICIENTS

	AFRIKAANS FLUENCY				
	Fluently	Aver- agely	Poorly	Not at all	N/A
Overall percentage	19,4	22,1	29,6	28,0	1,0
Category-specific R <sup>2</sup>	0,3617	0,0824	0,1133	0,2682	0,0185
<u>Country of origin</u>					
Britain	-11,8	-13,0	12,9	11,9	-0,0
Germany	1,5	4,2	4,2	-9,8	-0,2
Netherlands	32,9	13,8	-24,7	-21,8	-0,1
Italy	-15,1	-6,3	0,2	21,7	-0,5
Portugal	-11,1	-7,5	2,2	16,5	-0,2
British Africa	-6,4	4,5	12,6	-11,7	1,0
Portuguese Africa	-12,7	1,2	2,4	8,5	0,6
<u>Gender</u>					
Male	1,3	1,2	0,0	-2,6	0,1
Female	-2,1	-1,9	-0,1	4,1	-0,1
<u>Marital status</u>					
Single	-2,6	0,9	4,1	-1,7	-0,7
Married	0,2	0,2	-1,0	0,5	0,1
Divorced/separated/ widowed	1,4	-3,4	4,5	-2,7	0,2
<u>Education</u>					
Primary or less	-1,5	-1,7	-6,2	8,9	0,5
Secondary	0,7	0,6	0,6	-1,7	-0,1
Tertiary	-1,0	-0,7	1,2	0,4	0,1
<u>Age</u>					
30 or younger	14,1	6,2	-2,2	-17,5	-0,7
31-40	4,2	2,0	-0,7	-4,9	-0,7
41-50	-1,0	-3,4	1,0	3,2	0,2
51-60	-8,6	-1,2	1,4	8,1	0,4
61 or older	-12,8	-3,7	0,0	14,7	1,7
<u>Urban</u>					
City	-0,4	-0,9	1,0	0,5	-0,2
Town	-0,4	1,4	-0,8	-0,4	0,2
Farm	3,7	-0,9	-2,6	-0,3	0,1
<u>Number of children</u>					
None/not ascertained	-1,0	0,7	-3,3	3,7	-0,1
One	0,8	0,2	-0,6	-0,6	0,2
Two	-0,8	-0,2	1,9	-1,2	0,4
Three or more	1,4	-0,3	0,2	-0,9	-0,5

TABLE 13.2 (continued)

<u>Religion</u>					
None	-0,0	1,0	-0,3	-0,1	-0,6
Catholic	-2,0	0,3	-1,2	2,2	0,7
Protestant	2,1	-1,2	0,9	-1,4	-0,4
Other	-1,3	3,3	1,5	-3,3	-0,2
<u>Contacts in S.A.</u>					
Close family	1,0	2,1	-1,7	-1,4	-0,1
Other relatives and/or friends	-1,8	-0,2	0,6	1,4	-0,0
No-one	0,8	-1,2	0,6	-0,2	0,1
<u>Visited S.A.</u>					
No	0,2	-0,1	0,3	-0,5	0,1
Yes	-0,4	-0,1	-0,5	1,1	-0,0
<u>Visited home</u>					
Never	1,6	0,5	-2,6	0,1	0,5
Once	0,6	-2,5	2,5	-1,2	0,5
Twice	-0,3	0,4	0,6	-1,1	0,4
Three or more times	-0,7	0,9	-0,2	0,6	-0,5
<u>Contact with home</u>					
Low	-0,4	-0,6	0,8	0,2	-0,0
Moderate	0,6	-0,6	-1,1	1,1	-0,0
High	0,6	3,7	1,2	-4,3	0,2
<u>Own property</u>					
Yes	-1,4	-3,4	1,3	3,4	0,1
No	0,3	0,8	-0,5	-0,5	-0,1
<u>Financial assistance</u>					
None	2,2	-1,2	-1,0	0,2	-0,3
S.A. Government	-4,8	3,2	2,7	-1,6	0,5
Employers	-3,5	2,0	2,5	-0,9	-0,1
Other	0,1	-1,6	-3,3	3,8	1,0
<u>Province</u>					
Cape	-6,4	2,9	4,4	-1,1	0,2
Natal	-9,0	-4,5	0,9	12,7	-0,2
Transvaal	3,0	0,6	-1,1	-2,5	-0,0
Orange Free State	11,7	0,2	1,2	-13,0	-0,1
<u>Metro</u>					
Metro	-4,9	-1,9	1,5	5,1	0,2
Non-metro	4,5	1,7	-1,5	-4,5	-0,2
<u>Length of residence</u>					
0-4 years	-14,7	-2,9	1,8	15,6	0,1
5-14 years	-7,5	-1,4	2,6	6,6	-0,3
15-24 years	2,0	0,6	0,1	-2,8	0,1
25 or more years	15,4	2,8	-4,2	-14,1	0,2

likely to speak Afrikaans fluently than any other immigrant group. All other things being equal, just over half (52,3%) of Dutch immigrants say they speak Afrikaans fluently, compared to only 7,6% of British immigrants, 4,3% of Italians and 8,3% of Portuguese. The 6,3% of Dutch who speak no Afrikaans at all can be contrasted with a figure of 34,8% obtained from an earlier study of Dutch immigrants in Pretoria (Loedolff, 1960). German immigrants are only slightly more inclined than the average to speak Afrikaans fluently. The Italians and Portuguese are the two groups most likely to speak no Afrikaans at all: 49,7% of Italians and 44,5% of Portuguese report that they do not speak any Afrikaans. Immigrants from British Africa are more inclined to report at least average or poor knowledge of Afrikaans.

The effects of gender, marital status and education appear negligible, with the exception of those with the lowest level of education who are 8,9% more likely to speak no Afrikaans at all. Age, particularly for the youngest and oldest groups, has a strong effect on Afrikaans fluency. This effect is a linear one for both the "fluently" and "not at all" categories. Younger immigrants are more likely to speak Afrikaans fluently (33,5% of those 30 or younger), while older immigrants are less likely to do so (only 6,6% of this group). Conversely, younger immigrants are less likely to speak no Afrikaans at all whereas older immigrants are more likely to speak no Afrikaans.

After controlling for the effects of the remaining variables in the model, the effect of VISITED S.A. that was seen in Table 13.1 is no longer present in Table 13.2. The effect of FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE is interesting. Those who paid their own way to this country are slightly more likely to speak Afrikaans fluently, whereas those whose passage was sponsored (either by the South African Government or the immigrants' employers) are less likely to speak Afrikaans fluently. The reason for this is unclear.

In the multivariate case, the effect of province is stronger relative to the bivariate case. Holding other factors constant, immigrants living in the Orange Free State and Transvaal are more likely to speak Afrikaans fluently, while those living in the Cape and Natal are less likely to do so. This may be in part the result of a greater probability of contact with Afrikaans-speaking South Africans in the former two provinces. Similarly, those living in metropolitan areas are less likely to speak Afrikaans fluently, and those in non-metropolitan areas more likely. Again, this is probably due to the greater concentration of Afrikaans speakers in the rural areas of South Africa.

The relationship between length of residence and Afrikaans fluency is a linear one, and in the expected direction. Other things being equal, the longer an immigrant is in South Africa, the more likely he is to speak Afrikaans fluently. Of those who have been here less than 5 years, only 4,7% speak Afrikaans fluently, compared to 34,8% of those who have been in this country for 25 or more years.

Some of the results for other cultural adaptation variables can be briefly mentioned here. Not surprisingly, 98,6% of immigrants from Britain speak English fluently. At the other end of the scale, 27,5% of Germans, 32,5% of Dutch, 37,4% of Italians, 29,9% of Portuguese and 32,3% of immigrants from Portuguese Africa speak no English at all. Those with a low level of education are also much less likely to speak English fluently, and those with a high level of education more likely to do so. The effect of age on English fluency is also quite strong, with fluency decreasing with increasing age: 83,0% of those age 30 or younger speak English fluently, compared to only 46,1% of those over 60. Finally, the longer an immigrant is in South Africa, the more likely he is to speak English fluently.

The results for home language are also interesting. The groups most likely to speak neither English nor Afrikaans at home are those from Portugal (68,1%, or

32,4% more than the average), Portuguese Africa (56,3%), and Germany (58,0%). This latter group is slightly less likely than the average to speak Afrikaans at home: only 5,4% of German immigrants claim to do so, compared to 21,0% of Dutch and 4,6% of Italians.

PROVINCE has a strong effect on home language. Immigrants living in the Cape and Natal are more likely to speak English and less likely to speak Afrikaans (especially in Natal), while the opposite is true for those living in the Transvaal. A similar trend is seen for METRO, with those in rural areas being more likely to speak Afrikaans at home than those in urban areas.

The effect of length of residence on home language is as expected for both English and Afrikaans. The longer an immigrant is in South Africa, the more likely he is to speak at least one of South Africa's official languages at home. For those who have been here less than 5 years, 50,0% speak neither English nor Afrikaans at home, but this percentage is halved (to 23,3%) for those here for 25 or more years. The results for both WORK LANGUAGE and CHILD LANGUAGE support the findings discussed above.

### 13.2 PRIMARY SOCIAL ADAPTATION

The detailed results for primary social adaptation are presented in Table 13.3. From Table 13.1 it can be seen that just less than 10% of the variance in this dependent variable is explained by the set of specific factors. Again, country of origin emerges as a powerful predictor ( $R^2=0,0996$ ). Province, religion and education also appear to be relatively strong predictors in the bivariate results. Turning to Table 13.3, the two categories of the dependent variable that are best predicted by this set of specific factors are "English" and "Afrikaans", with 15% and 13% respectively of the variance in these two categories explained by these predictors.

TABLE 13.3  
EFFECTS OF SPECIFIC FACTORS ON PRIMARY SOCIAL ADAPTATION: MNA COEFFICIENTS

	PRIMARY SOCIAL ADAPTATION			
	English	Afrikaans	Immigrants	Mixed
Overall percentage	40,4	8,8	20,9	29,9
Category-specific R <sup>2</sup>	0,1512	0,1255	0,0955	0,0330
<u>Country of origin</u>				
Britain	20,1	-8,2	-7,3	-4,6
Germany	-3,2	-0,4	0,3	3,3
Netherlands	-6,5	11,5	-3,4	-1,6
Italy	-6,3	-0,5	3,2	3,7
Portugal	-23,6	-0,7	19,1	5,2
British Africa	18,6	-4,2	-6,7	-7,7
Portuguese Africa	-18,7	-1,3	12,1	7,9
<u>Gender</u>				
Male	-0,1	1,0	-0,9	-0,0
Female	0,1	-1,6	1,4	0,0
<u>Marital status</u>				
Single	3,8	1,8	0,3	-5,9
Married	-1,0	-0,3	0,4	0,9
Divorced/separated/ widowed	5,2	0,8	-4,1	-1,8
<u>Education</u>				
Primary or less	-10,2	0,9	5,8	3,5
Secondary	0,2	0,5	0,3	-0,9
Tertiary	3,8	-1,5	-3,2	0,8
<u>Age</u>				
30 or younger	9,2	0,5	-4,9	-4,8
31-40	4,4	0,9	-4,7	-0,6
41-50	-1,8	-1,2	1,2	1,9
51-60	-6,2	-0,6	4,6	2,3
61 or older	-9,7	2,0	8,2	-0,4
<u>Urban</u>				
City	2,2	-0,8	-0,9	-0,6
Town	-1,1	0,1	1,1	-0,2
Farm	-8,0	3,8	-0,1	4,3
<u>Number of children</u>				
None/not ascertained	-0,9	-0,6	-2,3	3,8
One	-2,8	0,2	1,2	1,4
Two	1,5	0,1	-0,5	-2,0
Three or more	0,0	0,3	0,5	-0,8

TABLE 13.3 (continued)

<u>Religion</u>				
None	2,1	-3,1	-3,8	4,8
Catholic	2,2	-4,4	2,9	-0,7
Protestant	-3,5	4,8	-0,5	-0,9
Other	4,4	0,8	-5,9	0,8
<u>Contacts in S.A.</u>				
Close family	2,2	-1,7	0,6	-1,0
Other relatives and/or friends	-0,1	-0,8	2,2	-1,3
No-one	-1,4	1,7	-2,2	1,8
<u>Visited S.A.</u>				
No	-2,6	-0,2	1,5	1,2
Yes	4,7	0,2	-2,7	-2,2
<u>Visited home</u>				
Never	-2,5	3,5	0,4	-1,3
Once	-1,1	0,4	1,9	-1,2
Twice	0,2	-1,3	-0,0	1,1
Three or more times	1,2	-0,9	-0,7	0,4
<u>Contact with home</u>				
Low	3,5	0,6	-4,1	-0,0
Moderate	-0,7	0,2	0,8	-0,3
High	-7,9	-2,5	9,3	1,1
<u>Own property</u>				
Yes	0,6	-1,7	-0,1	1,2
No	-0,0	0,4	0,0	-0,4
<u>Financial assistance</u>				
None	1,1	0,3	-1,2	-0,2
S.A. Government	0,5	0,2	0,8	-1,5
Employers	-5,1	-2,0	2,6	4,5
Other	-2,1	0,1	3,9	-1,9
<u>Province</u>				
Cape	7,3	-2,8	-2,7	-1,8
Natal	16,4	-9,3	-4,4	-2,7
Transvaal	-4,6	2,2	1,9	0,5
Orange Free State	-14,2	11,5	-1,7	4,4
<u>Metro</u>				
Metro	4,2	-4,3	-0,4	0,5
Non-metro	-4,2	4,2	0,2	-0,2
<u>Length of residence</u>				
0-4 years	-14,3	-3,5	7,9	10,0
5-14 years	-2,8	0,7	1,8	0,3
15-24 years	3,4	-0,0	-2,6	-0,8
25 or more years	9,0	1,7	-4,4	-6,3

Turning to the results in Table 13.3, it can be seen that immigrants from Britain and British Africa are far more likely to associate with English-speaking South Africans: 60,5% (40,4% + 20,1%) of the former group and 59,0% (40,4% + 18,6%) of the latter report socialising predominantly with English speakers. Immigrants from Portugal (16,8%) and Portuguese Africa (21,7%) are the least likely to associate with English-speaking South Africans. These two groups are also most likely to associate with other immigrants rather than members of the host society. Dutch immigrants are most likely to associate primarily with Afrikaans-speaking South Africans, yet still only 20,3% do so, while 33,9% associate with English-speaking South Africans. German and Italian immigrants do not appear to have a strong preference for any particular group.

Gender appears to have very little effect on primary social adaptation. As far as marital status is concerned, single immigrants, and those who were formerly married, are somewhat more likely to associate with English speakers, but the reasons for this are unknown. Immigrants with a low level of education are more likely to mix socially with other immigrants, while those with a high level of education are slightly more likely to associate with English speakers.

The effect of age on association with English-speaking South Africans is interesting. Younger immigrants are more likely to associate with English speakers and correspondingly less likely to associate with other immigrants. However, this trend is reversed as age increases, with older immigrants (those over 60) being 9,7% less likely to associate with English speakers and 8,2% more likely to associate with other immigrants. Older immigrants are also slightly more likely (2,0%) to associate with Afrikaans-speaking South Africans.

The effect of religion does not appear to be as strong in the multivariate case as in the bivariate case. Nevertheless, Catholics are somewhat less likely to mix socially with Afrikaans speakers, while Protestants are more likely to do

so. Those with no religion or "other" religions tend to associate more with English speakers.

Although not large, the effect of level of contact with home on primary social adaptation is noteworthy. It appears that the greater an immigrant's contact with his home country, the more likely he is to associate with other immigrants rather than English or Afrikaans-speaking South Africans. This supports the findings for subjective adaptation discussed earlier.

The effect of province on social contact may again be due to the numerical preponderance of Afrikaans speakers in the Orange Free State and Transvaal, presenting greater opportunities for social interaction with this group. Thus, immigrants in these two provinces are more likely to associate with Afrikaans speakers, while those in the Cape and Natal have a greater tendency for association with English speakers. The results for metropolitan area support the argument that greater exposure may lead to greater contact.

### 13.3 ECONOMIC ADAPTATION: COMPARISON OF LIVING STANDARDS

Respondents were asked to compare their current standard of living in South Africa with that in their home country. The results of the MNA with this dependent variable are presented in Table 13.4. Firstly, an examination of the summary results in Table 13.1 reveals that only about 7% of the variance in this variable is explained by this set of predictors. Furthermore, only three of the independent variables (country of origin, visited S.A. and length of residence) appear to have any effect on the dependent variable. However, in the multivariate results, other variables also appear to have an impact on comparative living standards.

TABLE 13.4  
EFFECTS OF SPECIFIC FACTORS ON COMPARATIVE LIVING STANDARDS: MNA COEFFICIENTS

	COMPARE LIVE STANDARDS				
	Much higher	Higher	About the same	Lower	N/A
Overall percentage	11,5	31,1	37,1	13,2	7,1
Category-specific R <sup>2</sup>	0,0648	0,0519	0,0692	0,0951	0,1340
<u>Country of origin</u>					
Britain	2,3	6,7	-3,2	-6,6	0,8
Germany	-2,8	-6,6	3,6	7,0	-1,1
Netherlands	-2,6	-2,8	2,4	-0,5	3,5
Italy	-2,3	1,0	5,0	-2,6	-1,0
Portugal	7,4	14,2	-20,5	-2,6	1,5
British Africa	-2,2	-11,1	9,3	7,6	-3,7
Portuguese Africa	9,5	5,9	-9,5	-1,7	-4,2
<u>Gender</u>					
Male	0,7	0,9	-1,6	0,1	-0,2
Female	-1,2	-1,4	2,5	-0,1	0,3
<u>Marital status</u>					
Single	-8,4	-4,5	10,4	2,4	0,1
Married	1,1	0,9	-1,4	-0,5	-0,1
Divorced/separated/ widowed	0,2	-3,4	0,9	1,9	0,4
<u>Education</u>					
Primary or less	1,8	0,3	-0,4	-1,4	-0,3
Secondary	0,4	0,2	-0,8	0,5	-0,3
Tertiary	-1,7	-0,6	2,2	-0,7	0,8
<u>Age</u>					
30 or younger	3,3	7,4	-9,7	-5,3	4,3
31-40	1,7	-0,3	-4,9	-0,2	3,7
41-50	-0,2	-1,6	1,3	1,8	-1,3
51-60	-2,4	-0,7	5,6	1,5	-3,9
61 or older	-6,0	-1,6	15,9	-1,7	-6,5
<u>Urban</u>					
City	0,4	0,7	-0,8	-0,2	-0,2
Town	-0,1	-0,8	1,8	-0,7	-0,2
Farm	-1,4	-0,4	-3,8	4,6	1,1
<u>Number of children</u>					
None/not ascertained	4,0	-0,7	-1,2	-1,5	-0,7
One	-4,5	-1,3	4,9	1,0	-0,1
Two	-0,9	1,6	-1,2	-0,3	0,8
Three or more	0,3	-1,1	0,2	1,0	-0,5

TABLE 13.4 (continued)

<u>Religion</u>					
None	-0,7	0,1	1,4	0,6	-1,4
Catholic	1,8	-0,1	0,3	-2,2	0,2
Protestant	-1,7	0,5	-0,8	1,8	0,1
Other	1,3	-2,8	0,3	-0,1	1,2
<u>Contacts in S.A.</u>					
Close family	3,3	-0,8	-2,4	-0,8	0,7
Other relatives and/or friends	-1,1	2,1	0,4	0,3	-1,7
No-one	-1,3	-1,2	1,3	0,3	0,9
<u>Visited S.A.</u>					
No	0,9	1,3	-0,1	-2,1	-0,0
Yes	-1,6	-2,1	0,4	4,1	-0,7
<u>Visited home</u>					
Never	1,4	-6,1	-2,1	2,8	4,0
Once	-0,1	-2,2	0,9	-1,0	2,5
Twice	-0,6	0,3	-1,2	0,9	0,6
Three or more times	-0,3	3,0	1,2	-1,2	-2,8
<u>Contact with home</u>					
Low	1,4	-0,3	-3,2	-0,6	2,5
Moderate	-1,2	1,7	1,6	-0,4	-1,8
High	-0,4	-5,0	4,1	2,9	-1,6
<u>Own property</u>					
Yes	2,1	-3,0	0,1	1,5	-0,7
No	-0,4	0,7	-0,0	-0,4	0,2
<u>Financial assistance</u>					
None	-1,2	-1,8	0,0	1,2	1,7
S.A. Government	3,3	0,7	1,3	-3,0	-2,4
Employers	-0,2	7,3	-1,6	-2,1	-3,5
Other	1,4	0,9	-1,5	1,7	-2,4
<u>Province</u>					
Cape	-2,9	0,6	-2,2	3,3	1,2
Natal	0,4	-3,2	2,1	0,3	0,5
Transvaal	0,5	0,3	0,2	-0,7	-0,3
Orange Free State	1,2	1,4	1,4	-3,4	-0,6
<u>Metro</u>					
Metro	0,8	1,3	-2,7	0,4	0,3
Non-metro	-0,7	-1,1	2,3	-0,1	-0,4
<u>Length of residence</u>					
0-4 years	-6,9	-0,9	6,9	9,8	-8,9
5-14 years	-1,2	-1,8	6,0	2,0	-5,0
15-24 years	1,2	1,5	-1,5	-2,6	1,4
25 or more years	4,7	0,4	-9,0	-5,7	9,6

Immigrants from Portugal and Portuguese Africa (and, to a lesser extent, Britain) are more inclined to report that their standard of living is much higher in South Africa than in their previous country of residence. German and British African immigrants are more likely to report lower standards of living in South Africa. If the "much higher" and "higher" categories of the dependent variable are combined, almost two-thirds (64,2%) of Portuguese immigrants and 58,0% of immigrants from Portuguese Africa report a higher standard of living in South Africa. In contrast, only 29,3% of immigrants from British Africa report their standard of living in South Africa to be higher.

With regard to marital status, single immigrants are less likely to experience a higher standard of living in South Africa: only 29,7% report a higher or much higher standard of living, compared to 44,6% of married respondents. It is interesting to note that education does not appear to have much effect on this variable, although the more highly educated are slightly less likely to report a higher standard of living, and slightly more likely to respond "about the same". Turning to age, it is seen that younger immigrants are somewhat more likely to experience a higher standard of living in South Africa.

Although VISITED S.A. has an effect on relative standard of living in the bivariate case, the multivariate effect does not appear to be large. Individual coefficients for some of the contact variables are relatively substantial (over 5%), but there appears to be no discernible trend in the effects of these variables on comparative living standards.

Length of residence again has a substantial effect on the dependent variable. It appears that the longer an immigrant has been in South Africa, the more likely he is to say that his standard of living in this country is higher than in his previous country of residence, and, conversely, the less likely he is to report a lower standard of living.

Looking at the other measures of economic adaptation, gender and marital status appear to have strong effects. However, these effects are primarily due to the overlap between these variables and certain categories of the occupational status variables. Discounting these two variables, both age and length of residence have strong effects on occupational mobility. Younger immigrants (30 or younger) are much less likely to experience downward mobility and much more likely to experience upward mobility. However, this may be due to the fact that many have just entered the job market. The large number of older immigrants who experience downward mobility may similarly be due to their leaving the job market.

The effect of length of residence on mobility is a linear one, with the proportion experiencing upward mobility increasing with increasing length of residence. Satisfaction with work also increases as length of residence increases. For country of origin, German immigrants are most likely to be very satisfied with their work, while Italian and Portuguese immigrants are most likely to be dissatisfied with their work. Regarding occupational status, British immigrants are most likely to be in professional occupations, Germans are most likely to be managers or owners, and Portuguese are most likely to be in blue-collar occupations. However, these effects are not strong.

#### 13.4 POLITICAL ADAPTATION: RACE POLICIES

The dependent variable used here is one in which respondents were asked whether they thought the South African Government's race policies were right or wrong. From Table 13.1 it can be seen that less than 7% of the variance in this variable is explained by this set of specific factors. Country of origin and education are the only two variables with a generalised  $\eta^2$  greater than 0,01 for this variable. However, once the multivariate results are examined some interesting effects emerge. The MNA coefficients for this dependent variable are found in Table 13.5.

TABLE 13.5  
EFFECTS OF SPECIFIC FACTORS ON RACE POLICIES: MNA COEFFICIENTS

	RACE POLICIES			
	Right	Neither right nor wrong	Wrong	Don't know N/A
Overall percentage	30,3	24,9	33,6	11,3
Category-specific R <sup>2</sup>	0,0701	0,0272	0,1079	0,0517
<u>Country of origin</u>				
Britain	-10,6	-3,0	13,9	-0,4
Germany	1,7	-0,3	0,9	-2,3
Netherlands	3,7	-0,4	-1,0	-2,3
Italy	-1,7	9,1	-8,5	1,1
Portugal	13,9	-4,0	-18,2	8,3
British Africa	-5,4	0,1	5,0	0,4
Portuguese Africa	11,7	-5,5	-7,0	0,8
<u>Gender</u>				
Male	2,9	-2,2	1,4	-2,0
Female	-4,6	3,5	-2,2	3,2
<u>Marital status</u>				
Single	-0,4	-4,9	7,9	-2,6
Married	-0,3	0,7	-1,0	0,5
Divorced/separated/ widowed	3,2	-0,9	-0,5	-1,9
<u>Education</u>				
Primary or less	-1,4	-1,5	-6,0	8,9
Secondary	1,9	1,9	-3,2	-0,6
Tertiary	-4,1	-4,1	10,4	-2,2
<u>Age</u>				
30 or younger	-12,5	7,3	7,4	-2,2
31-40	-4,3	0,8	4,0	-0,5
41-50	2,4	-1,7	-1,4	0,7
51-60	6,6	-3,1	-3,2	-0,3
61 or older	11,1	-2,4	-11,1	2,4
<u>Urban</u>				
City	-1,3	0,1	2,2	-1,0
Town	1,4	0,1	-2,4	0,9
Farm	1,1	-1,1	-2,0	2,0
<u>Number of children</u>				
None/not ascertained	-0,9	0,6	-1,8	2,1
One	-0,2	-1,5	0,5	1,2
Two	-0,8	1,6	0,6	-1,3
Three or more	1,9	-1,9	0,3	-0,4

TABLE 13.5 (continued)

<u>Religion</u>				
None	-3,7	-2,1	5,4	0,4
Catholic	-1,8	-0,8	2,0	0,7
Protestant	3,0	1,4	-3,5	-0,9
Other	-1,4	-0,4	0,5	1,4
<u>Contacts in S.A.</u>				
Close family	-0,2	-1,0	-0,4	1,6
Other relatives and/or friends	0,3	-0,0	-0,7	0,4
No-one	-0,1	0,7	0,9	-1,4
<u>Visited S.A.</u>				
No	1,4	-0,0	-2,3	1,0
Yes	-2,4	0,0	4,3	-2,0
<u>Visited home</u>				
Never	7,5	-2,2	-6,6	1,4
Once	1,7	1,3	-3,1	0,1
Twice	-1,7	-0,3	1,6	0,3
Three or more times	-3,0	0,4	3,4	-0,8
<u>Contact with home</u>				
Low	0,2	1,3	-2,7	1,2
Moderate	0,0	0,1	0,5	-0,6
High	-0,8	-4,1	6,2	-1,3
<u>Own property</u>				
Yes	1,2	-0,3	-0,9	-0,0
No	-0,2	0,1	0,2	-0,1
<u>Financial assistance</u>				
None	-0,0	-0,7	0,4	0,3
S.A. Government	0,8	2,4	-3,7	0,5
Employers	-0,8	-1,5	3,3	-1,0
Other	-0,8	1,1	1,4	-1,7
<u>Province</u>				
Cape	-5,7	2,3	6,2	-2,8
Natal	-4,4	-0,3	4,5	0,2
Transvaal	2,1	-0,5	-2,2	0,6
Orange Free State	3,9	-0,2	-4,9	1,2
<u>Metro</u>				
Metro	-1,8	-0,3	3,6	-1,5
Non-metro	1,7	0,4	-3,5	1,3
<u>Length of residence</u>				
0-4 years	3,6	1,7	-7,7	2,5
5-14 years	-1,0	0,3	0,8	-0,0
15-24 years	-1,9	-0,0	3,7	-1,8
25 or more years	0,7	-1,2	-0,0	0,6

It can be seen from Table 13.5 that immigrants from Portugal and Portuguese Africa are most likely to support the Government's race policies: 44,2% of immigrants from Portugal say such policies are right, while only 15,4% say they are wrong. The comparable figures for Portuguese Africans are 42,0% and 26,6% respectively. British immigrants are least likely to support (and most likely to oppose) the race policies of the South African Government. The remaining groups are fairly divided in their opinions on this matter.

Moderate gender differences in attitudes towards the Government's race policies can be observed. Female respondents are less likely to have a firm opinion either for or against such policies, and more likely to be equivocal about the issue. Regarding marital status, single immigrants are more likely to express opposition to the race policies of the South African Government, while those who were formerly married are more likely to express support. The reasons for these differences are unclear.

Opposition to the Government's race policies increases as educational level increases. For those with a low level of education, 27,6% oppose such policies, while 30,4% of those with a moderate educational level and 44,0% of those with a high educational level do so. Those with a low level of education are also much more likely to choose the "don't know" option or not answer the question at all. The effect of age on responses to this question is also strong. Support for the race policies increases with increasing age, and opposition decreases. Only 17,8% of the youngest group (30 or younger) support such policies, compared to 41,4% of those over 60.

Three of the contact variables exhibit similar trends for this dependent variable. Those who had visited South Africa before settling here, those who have been home often since immigrating, and those with a high level of contact with home are all more likely to oppose the Government's race policies.

The effects of current residence, both in terms of province and metropolitan status, are quite strong. Immigrants living in the Cape and Natal, and those in metropolitan areas are more inclined to express opposition to the Government's race policies. Of course, the causality of this relationship is difficult to determine. It is unclear whether living in such areas leads to more liberal attitudes, or whether more liberal-minded immigrants tend to gravitate towards such locations.

Attitudes towards the Government's race policies are found to be related to the primary social orientation of immigrants. In a cross-tabulation of these two variables, it can be seen that those who associate primarily with English speakers are more likely to say that such race policies are wrong than those who associate with Afrikaans speakers (43,1% and 14,2% respectively). Conversely, more than half (54,8%) of those who associate with Afrikaans speakers support such policies, compared to 22,6% of those who associate with English speakers. Although the relationship between these variables is strong, the direction of causality (if any) still cannot be determined.

The results for gender, education, age, province and metro all mirror the findings of studies on the political attitudes of White South Africans (see for example Rhodie and Couper, 1987).

Finally, the effect of length of residence appears strongest for those who have been in South Africa for less than 5 years. This group is more likely to support the race policies of the South African Government and less likely to oppose them. Again the reason behind this is difficult to ascertain. It may be that more recent immigrants to South Africa are more conservative, or that newer immigrants are simply more hesitant to express opposition to the policies of the government in their new home. This trend may thus be due to a cohort effect, or to a genuine

change over time. Only a panel study will be able to resolve this issue adequately.

The results for other political adaptation measures (particularly political party support) corroborate the above findings. The greatest support for the National Party comes from Portuguese (60,9%) and Portuguese African (56,2%) immigrants. British immigrants are least likely (28,0%) to support the National Party, followed by those from British Africa (33,8%). Between these extremes of support for the National Party are the Dutch (40,9%), Germans (43,3%) and Italians (43,2%). Of all these groups, British immigrants are both most likely to support no party (29,2%) and most likely to support parties to the left of the National Party, such as the Progressive Federal Party and the New Republic Party (parties in operation at the time of the survey), with 24,8% supporting such parties. Portuguese immigrants are the least likely to support parties to the left (7,9%). Support for parties to the right of the National Party (such as the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party) remains low for all groups, the highest level of support being 5,2% for immigrants from Portuguese Africa.

Mirroring the results for RACE POLICIES, female immigrants and single immigrants are both less likely than the average to support the National Party. Similarly, support for the National Party increases with age. Finally, the results for the effect of length of residence on political party preference also support those for RACE POLICIES. Support for the National Party increases the longer immigrants are in this country, from 34,3% for those here less than five years to 45,5% for those who have been here 25 years or more.

### 13.5 RELIGIOUS ADAPTATION: CHURCH ATTENDANCE

The last of the objective adaptation measures to be examined is church attendance. It has been pointed out earlier (see Section 8.1.7) that this

variable could serve as an indicator of secondary social adaptation as well as of religious adaptation. The detailed results for this dependent variable are presented in Table 13.6. Looking at Table 13.1 first, it can be seen that the generalised  $R^2$  for this MNA is 0,1446. This is inflated somewhat by the effect of religion on church attendance, the generalised  $\eta^2$  for which is relatively high (0,0826). However, country of origin and length of residence again appear to be important predictors of the dependent variable. Turning to the category-specific  $R^2$  values in Table 13.6, it is seen that the category best explained by this set of factors is the "never" category, with 25% of the variance explained, followed by the "regularly" category (16,7% of variance explained). Examination of the detailed results will focus primarily on these two categories.

Looking at country of origin, it is seen that immigrants from Portuguese Africa are 15,7% more likely than the average to attend church regularly. Immigrants from Britain and Germany are somewhat less likely to attend church regularly and more likely to never go to church. Female immigrants are more likely to attend church on a regular basis, while males are less likely to do so. Single immigrants are also much more likely to attend church regularly, while formerly married respondents are less likely to do so.

There appears to be a curvilinear relationship between education and church attendance. Those with a high or low level of education are more likely to attend church regularly (and less likely not to attend at all), while those with a moderate educational level are less likely to be regular church-goers. Church attendance appears to increase with age. Other groups that are more likely to attend regularly include those from a rural background and those with larger families (three or more children). As can be expected, 74,1% of those professing no religion never attend church, while those whose religious affiliation is "other" (this includes various sects, Jews, and other non-Christian religions)

TABLE 13.6  
EFFECTS OF SPECIFIC FACTORS ON CHURCH ATTENDANCE: MNA COEFFICIENTS

	ATTEND CHURCH				
	Regularly	Often	Seldom	Never	N/A
Overall percentage	21,3	10,9	38,2	28,6	1,1
Category-specific R <sup>2</sup>	0,1673	0,0494	0,0798	0,2502	0,0560
<u>Country of origin</u>					
Britain	-7,1	-2,9	-1,7	12,1	-0,4
Germany	-8,2	0,5	2,9	4,8	-0,0
Netherlands	7,9	0,4	-6,1	-0,7	-1,5
Italy	-2,9	1,6	6,9	-7,1	1,4
Portugal	6,5	2,2	1,5	-12,2	2,0
British Africa	2,6	1,3	-0,3	-3,3	-0,3
Portuguese Africa	15,7	-3,3	-2,2	-11,1	0,8
<u>Gender</u>					
Male	-4,1	-0,7	3,1	2,0	-0,3
Female	6,4	1,2	-4,9	-3,2	0,5
<u>Marital status</u>					
Single	11,6	0,2	-11,2	-0,9	0,3
Married	-0,8	0,1	1,0	-0,2	-0,1
Divorced/separated/ widowed	-6,6	-0,9	4,2	2,6	0,7
<u>Education</u>					
Primary or less	4,8	1,5	-3,0	-2,9	-0,4
Secondary	-2,8	-0,2	1,5	1,5	0,1
Tertiary	4,7	-0,0	-2,3	-2,3	-0,0
<u>Age</u>					
30 or younger	-7,5	3,8	4,0	0,7	-0,9
31-40	-2,2	0,5	-1,2	3,2	-0,4
41-50	2,2	-1,7	-2,1	1,2	0,4
51-60	3,0	-0,7	1,4	-3,5	-0,2
61 or older	6,2	-0,6	2,1	-8,5	0,9
<u>Urban</u>					
City	-2,1	-1,1	1,9	1,4	-0,2
Town	1,0	0,5	-1,7	-0,1	0,3
Farm	7,1	3,6	-3,0	-7,2	-0,4
<u>Number of children</u>					
None/not ascertained	-1,0	-4,4	0,3	4,5	0,6
One	-4,1	1,2	0,8	2,8	-0,7
Two	-1,9	1,1	1,1	-0,1	-0,1
Three or more	5,5	1,31	-2,2	-4,7	0,0

TABLE 13.6 (continued)

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<u>Religion</u>					
None	-20,5	-8,8	-21,4	45,5	5,2
Catholic	3,5	1,4	3,1	-6,6	-1,4
Protestant	-1,8	1,5	5,9	-5,3	-0,3
Other	26,6	-0,9	-12,6	-13,4	0,3
<u>Contacts in S.A.</u>					
Close family	0,2	0,9	-0,5	-0,6	0,1
Other relatives and/or friends	0,6	-1,2	0,9	-0,5	0,2
No-one	-0,6	0,4	-0,4	0,8	-0,2
<u>Visited S.A.</u>					
No	1,3	-0,4	-1,7	0,9	-0,0
Yes	-2,4	0,5	3,6	-1,7	0,0
<u>Visited home</u>					
Never	-1,7	0,5	-2,5	2,9	0,7
Once	-1,5	1,6	-2,4	2,3	-0,0
Twice	-0,5	-0,5	2,7	-1,1	-0,7
Three or more times	1,5	-0,7	1,1	-1,9	-0,1
<u>Contact with home</u>					
Low	-1,2	-1,1	-0,8	3,5	-0,4
Moderate	1,4	0,0	-0,1	-1,8	0,5
High	-1,0	3,0	2,6	-4,3	-0,3
<u>Own property</u>					
Yes	0,3	2,6	-4,1	1,1	0,2
No	-0,1	-0,5	0,9	-0,2	-0,1
<u>Financial assistance</u>					
None	-1,2	0,9	0,7	-0,3	-0,1
S.A. Government	0,7	-1,8	1,3	-0,0	-0,1
Employers	2,3	-0,5	-3,6	1,9	-0,1
Other	4,3	-1,7	-3,6	-0,5	1,5
<u>Province</u>					
Cape	1,7	-2,7	-1,2	3,0	-0,7
Natal	0,2	-2,2	0,1	2,0	-0,1
Transvaal	-0,4	0,9	0,3	-1,0	0,2
Orange Free State	-5,3	6,3	1,9	-3,0	0,0
<u>Metro</u>					
Metro	-2,2	-2,5	2,8	2,0	-0,1
Non-metro	2,4	2,2	-2,9	-1,8	0,1
<u>Length of residence</u>					
0-4 years	-1,3	-1,1	-5,4	8,1	-0,3
5-14 years	1,2	-1,7	-1,8	2,1	0,2
15-24 years	-1,0	-0,6	2,9	-0,9	-0,4
25 or more years	1,2	3,2	2,2	-7,1	0,6
<hr/>					

are most likely to attend religious services on a regular basis, with almost half (47,9%) reporting that they do so.

Looking at the "never" category, it appears that church attendance increases as length of residence increases: 36,7% of those who have lived here for less than five years never go to church, whereas 21,5% of those who have been here for 25 or more years never attend.

It can be seen that participation in religious activities in South Africa is affected by a number of the specific factors included here. It is unfortunate that it is not possible to determine to what extent such participation involves interaction with members of the host society as opposed to interaction with other immigrants in ethnic minority churches. Furthermore, attendance prior to immigration is not measured, so changes in levels of religious participation cannot be examined. The usefulness of this variable is thus somewhat limited.

### 13.5 SUMMARY

In this chapter the effects of various factors on selected measures of objective adaptation have been examined. As with subjective adaptation, the differential impact of these factors on each of the dimensions of objective adaptation can be seen. Chapters 12 and 13 have focussed on dimensions of adaptation themselves, and how they are affected by various factors. In the next chapter the emphasis will be placed on the specific factors in order to determine what role (if any) they play in immigrant adaptation.

## CHAPTER 14

### THE ROLE OF SPECIFIC FACTORS IN IMMIGRANT ADAPTATION

In the previous two chapters the focus was on the various dimensions of subjective and objective adaptation and the factors that affect them. In this chapter, attention is focused on the specific factors themselves, in an attempt to evaluate what role, if any, each of them plays in immigrant adaptation. To do this it is necessary to summarise a large amount of data. In doing so, much of the detail is lost, but an overall impression of the explanatory power of these variables can be obtained.

These summary data are presented in Tables 14.1 to 14.3. In the first of these (Table 14.1), the results for subjective adaptation and related variables are summarised. Both the generalised  $\eta^2$  values and the MNA coefficients are averaged across all five subjective adaptation measures to give an indication of the strength of these predictors in the bivariate and multivariate case respectively. Only the average coefficients for settlement and citizenship intentions are presented in Table 14.1, as the generalised  $\eta^2$  values for these two variables have already been presented in Table 12.5. In Table 14.2 the average generalised  $\eta^2$  for each of the objective adaptation dimensions, as well as across all 24 objective adaptation measures, are presented. These values indicate the average effect of each of these specific factors on objective adaptation when considered alone. The equivalent multivariate results (holding all other factors constant) are represented in Table 14.3 by the average MNA coefficients. The data in all three of these tables will be considered together for each of the specific factors in turn.

TABLE 14.1  
THE ROLE OF SPECIFIC FACTORS IN SUBJECTIVE ADAPTATION AND RELATED VARIABLES

	Subjective adaptation		Settlement Citizenship	
	Average generalised $\eta^2$	Average coefficients	Average coefficients	
Country of origin	0,0248	4,29	3,44	5,98
Gender	0,0014	1,19	0,31	1,51
Marital status	0,0004	1,61	1,90	1,15
Education	0,0033	1,62	1,90	2,19
Age	0,0065	2,41	5,70	1,94
Urban	0,0017	1,09	2,40	1,41
Number of children	0,0010	1,20	1,30	1,63
Religion	0,0048	1,50	1,05	2,42
Contacts in S.A.	0,0019	0,99	1,17	1,29
Visited S.A.	0,0057	1,16	0,80	2,16
Visited home	0,0035	1,52	2,77	3,18
Contact with home	0,0041	1,83	2,83	1,48
Own property	0,0020	1,11	1,78	0,58
Financial assistance	0,0021	1,43	1,15	1,25
Province	0,0024	2,46	2,60	2,15
Metro	0,0006	0,72	0,77	0,32
Length of residence	0,0136	3,01	4,49	2,83

TABLE 14.2  
 THE ROLE OF SPECIFIC FACTORS IN OBJECTIVE ADAPTATION: AVERAGE GENERALISED  $\eta^2$   
 VALUES

Specific Factors	Objective Adaptation Dimensions					ALL
	Cultural	Social	Economic	Politi- ical	Relig- ious	
Country of origin	0,1295	0,0354	0,0220	0,0275	0,0301	0,0552
Gender	0,0085	0,0049	0,0344	0,0036	0,0064	0,0169
Marital status	0,0097	0,0012	0,0052	0,0023	0,0052	0,0055
Education	0,0208	0,0093	0,0073	0,0091	0,0069	0,0118
Age	0,0204	0,0075	0,0279	0,0055	0,0048	0,0184
Urban	0,0045	0,0016	0,0013	0,0014	0,0043	0,0024
Number of children	0,0194	0,0112	0,0070	0,0024	0,0105	0,0093
Religion	0,0227	0,0109	0,0043	0,0054	0,0826	0,0140
Contacts in S.A.	0,0033	0,0013	0,0024	0,0031	0,0019	0,0026
Visited S.A.	0,0104	0,0064	0,0116	0,0080	0,0014	0,0095
Visited home	0,0039	0,0031	0,0084	0,0042	0,0046	0,0056
Contact with home	0,0027	0,0062	0,0020	0,0038	0,0005	0,0030
Own property	0,0098	0,0028	0,0019	0,0016	0,0024	0,0043
Financial assistance	0,0069	0,0052	0,0053	0,0028	0,0065	0,0054
Province	0,0091	0,0078	0,0036	0,0025	0,0023	0,0055
Metro	0,0066	0,0022	0,0022	0,0008	0,0041	0,0033
Length of residence	0,0143	0,0108	0,0356	0,0187	0,0101	0,0224

TABLE 14.3  
THE ROLE OF SPECIFIC FACTORS IN OBJECTIVE ADAPTATION: AVERAGE MNA COEFFICIENTS

Specific Factors	Objective Adaptation Dimensions					ALL
	Cultural	Social	Economic	Politi- ical	Relig- ious	
Country of origin	8,32	5,76	3,20	4,41	4,07	5,25
Gender	2,09	1,63	4,90	1,86	2,65	3,07
Marital status	2,14	1,49	2,95	1,66	2,76	2,31
Education	2,79	2,28	1,77	2,50	1,86	2,26
Age	4,65	4,31	4,59	2,86	2,36	4,19
Urban	2,17	1,44	1,06	1,06	2,11	1,47
Number of children	2,02	1,15	1,58	0,94	1,92	1,56
Religion	1,90	2,17	1,51	1,80	9,29	2,08
Contacts in S.A.	0,90	1,44	0,87	0,81	0,53	0,93
Visited S.A.	1,10	1,09	0,98	1,10	1,25	1,06
Visited home	1,12	1,39	1,31	1,70	1,34	1,33
Contact with home	1,38	2,24	0,95	1,41	1,46	1,33
Own property	1,11	0,62	0,88	0,72	1,00	0,89
Financial assistance	1,41	1,93	1,77	1,25	2,69	1,64
Province	3,57	3,06	1,52	1,85	1,66	2,37
Metro	2,70	1,40	0,92	0,86	1,88	1,53
Length of residence	3,61	4,29	4,46	3,36	2,15	3,91

#### 14.1 COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

It has already been seen that country of origin has a strong effect on both subjective and objective adaptation. This is confirmed by both the bivariate and multivariate relationships in the figures in Tables 14.1 to 14.3. The dimensions best explained by this variable is the set of cultural adaptation variables, with an average of almost 13% variance explained. The impact of this variable on cultural adaptation remains strong, even when keeping other factors constant. On average, the effect of country of origin on objective adaptation is stronger than the effect on subjective adaptation (average generalised  $\eta^2$  values of 0,0552 and 0,0248 respectively). Given its centrality in the process of immigrant adaptation, a more detailed discussion of the role of this variable is in order.

Firstly, it is surprising to note the low level of positive host attitudes reported by immigrants from Britain and those from British Africa. Immigrants from English-speaking countries in general feel less accepted by South Africans than any other immigrant group included in this study. Earlier (see Table 3.11) it was seen that British immigrants were ranked most favourably both by Afrikaans-speaking and by English-speaking South Africans, yet this favourable attitude does not appear to be reciprocated to the extent evidenced for the other immigrant groups. One reason for this could be a discrepancy between expectations and reality on the part of British immigrants. Knowing South Africa to be a former colony of Great Britain, immigrants from that country may have expected to come to a predominantly English-speaking country where they would be welcomed more as fellow-countrymen rather than as outsiders or foreigners. The numerical preponderance of Afrikaans speakers in the White community, and the cultural and other differences between South Africa and their home country may have come as a surprise to them.

Despite this, British immigrants appear fairly satisfied with their new life in South Africa. This may be because satisfaction appears to be more strongly influenced by economic factors than by social or cultural factors (see Section 10.3.1). This is supported by the results for economic adaptation, in which it is seen that 51,6% of British immigrants felt their standard of living was higher in South Africa, while only 6,6% felt it was lower. With regard to identification, relatively few British immigrants identify themselves as South Africans, while more than half retain their British appellation. Although more than half of this group of immigrants intend to settle permanently in South Africa, this is the lowest rate for settlement intentions of any of the groups. British immigrants also have the lowest rates of citizenship intentions.

This discrepancy between satisfaction and economic adaptation on the one hand, and identification and citizenship on the other, could be explained in terms of the position of Great Britain in the world community, and the opportunities afforded its citizens. British immigrants may have greater opportunities than other groups for migration elsewhere (such as Canada and Australia), and are not closing the door to such opportunities by becoming South African citizens. Similarly, with identification, they may see themselves as part of the greater British Commonwealth, rather than just citizens of the United Kingdom. It seems that this group has much to lose and little to gain from South African citizenship. This does not necessarily mean that such immigrants are more likely to move, but that they perceive themselves to be part of some broader community (such as the English-speaking world in general) as opposed to being restricted to one specific country.

Turning to various objective adaptation indices, the belief that British immigrants swell the ranks of English-speaking South Africans is confirmed. Less than one in ten British immigrants claim to speak Afrikaans, and virtually none associate predominantly with Afrikaans-speaking South Africans. The political

attitudes of British immigrants also appear to parallel those of English-speaking South Africans, both in terms of attitudes towards the Government's race policies and in terms of political party support. Finally, as far as religious adaptation is concerned, church attendance in South Africa has declined the most for British immigrants.

Are there any differences between immigrants from Britain and those from British Africa? Does prior residence in an African country hold any advantage in terms of immigrant adaptation? As far as subjective adaptation is concerned, immigrants from British Africa differ markedly from their British counterparts. The former appear to be less happy with life in South Africa, and report more negative host attitudes, yet are the most likely of all groups to identify themselves as South Africans. This may be the result of the circumstances surrounding their migration, particularly from Zimbabwe (from where 83,9% of this group emanate). Much has been written about "ex-Rhodesians" and their attitudes towards the former colony (see for example Simon, 1983). In many cases such immigrants were reluctant to leave their former homeland and were unhappy about the move to South Africa. They may also feel that they could no longer identify with the country they left behind and adopt a South African identity more by default than by desire. This may also explain why this group is somewhat more uncertain about their settlement intentions. South Africa was chosen as the closest and easiest country to migrate to at the time, not necessarily as the final destination. British African immigrants have the highest level of citizenship intentions, reflecting possible feelings of dispossession and statelessness (from a subjective viewpoint). Thus, the adaptive experiences of British African immigrants clearly reflects the circumstances under which they came to South Africa.

British African immigrants are more likely than those from Britain to speak at least some Afrikaans, reflecting their greater level of contact with South

home, compared to 34,8% who speak English. Dutch immigrants are also more likely to associate predominantly with English speakers than with Afrikaans speakers: less than a fifth of this group associate primarily with Afrikaans-speaking South Africans.

Furthermore, the National Party Government does not enjoy the political support of Dutch immigrants to the extent that may be expected. Only a third of this group are of the opinion that the Government's race policies are right, with almost the same proportion feeling otherwise. Similarly, only 40,9% of Dutch immigrants support the ruling National Party. This is remarkably similar to the level of support for the National Party expressed by English speakers (40,8%) in a 1984 survey (Rhodie, de Kock, and Couper, 1985), and much lower than the 69,3% for Afrikaans speakers. This can be compared to the 1960 study of Dutch immigrants in Pretoria (Loedolff, 1960: 161) in which it was found that 51,0% were in favor of apartheid (75,3% of those who had been here for 4-5 years). Thus, despite popular belief to the contrary, immigrants from the Netherlands do not appear to bolster the ranks of the Afrikaners to the extent expected, either in social, cultural or political terms.

One possible reason for this has already been mentioned. Afrikaner antipathy towards immigrants (even those from the Netherlands) is well-documented (see, for example, Groenewald and Smedley, 1977). Dutch immigrants' efforts to enter Afrikaner society may be met with indifference and even hostility. Another reason may be that Dutch immigrants may have had greater exposure to the English language and culture prior to their immigration to South Africa. The path that the Afrikaner has taken both politically and culturally may have made the distance between Afrikaner and Dutch much wider than is often believed.

Finally, situational factors in South Africa may also serve to reduce the level of contact with Afrikaans speakers. Immigrants, particularly those with higher

levels of education (such as the Dutch and the Germans) typically live in the larger urban areas where the proportion of English speakers is greater than in rural areas. In addition, most would find employment in the private sector, again largely dominated by English speakers. It is therefore a combination of factors relating to both the receiving society and the immigrants themselves that contrive to keep the level of Dutch integration into the Afrikaans community at a relatively low level.

German immigrants exhibit similar trends to those from the Netherlands, although the former are less likely to speak Afrikaans fluently and less likely to associate with Afrikaans-speaking South Africans. The level of support for the National Party and its race policies is about the same for immigrants from Germany as those from the Netherlands. Where these two groups differ greatly is in respect of acceptance. The highest level of positive host attitudes (57,2%) is reported by German respondents, compared to 36,4% for the Dutch. This is not too surprising in light of the findings by Groenewald and Smedley (1977: 71) that German immigrants are the group most favoured by White South Africans. The greater acceptance felt by Germans may in part be due to lower expectations for rapid integration on the part of both the immigrants themselves and members of the host society. Whereas immigrants from Britain and the Netherlands are expected to integrate easily into their respective host communities, less pressure may be put on the Germans to do so.

Moving on to immigrants from the non-traditional countries of origin, Portuguese immigrants have been the subject of much attention in this country, both in public debate and in social-scientific research. Groenewald and Smedley (1977: 18) write

... the Portuguese immigrants were less prepared psychologically for their "cultural" change, their absorption process probably being retarded, and the attitudes of South Africans adversely affected, by the factors surrounding their arrival in this country.

Indeed, they found Portuguese immigrants to be the least favoured of immigrant

groups in South Africa. Similar findings were reported by Pretorius (1971).

With this in mind, Portuguese immigrant adaptation in South Africa can be examined. It has already been noted that this group expressed the highest level of satisfaction with life in South Africa, are most likely to settle permanently in this country, and are second only to British Africans in their intentions to seek South African citizenship. Despite negative attitudes expressed by White South Africans towards this group, almost 40% of Portuguese immigrants report positive host attitudes, compared to only 15,2% who experience negative attitudes. However, members of this group are most likely to continue to identify themselves as Portuguese (62,6%) rather than South Africans (5,2%) or Portuguese-South Africans (29,0%). The lukewarm reception given to immigrants of Portuguese extraction may mitigate against them fully identifying with this country. However, in terms of the other indicators of subjective adaptation, Portuguese immigrants can certainly be regarded as well-adapted.

A resolution to this apparent contradiction may be found in the objective adaptation dimensions. Economically, Portuguese immigrants appear to be much better off in South Africa than in their previous country or residence. No less than 64,2% of Portuguese immigrants report a higher standard of living in South Africa. As an aside, it should be noted that, contrary to Groenewald and Smedley's (1977: 18) claim that "... the majority of Portuguese immigrants entering the country over the last few years have been economically inactive", 74,3% of the Portuguese respondents in the present study were economically active at the time of the survey.

Despite the successful economic adaptation of Portuguese immigrants and its impact on subjective adaptation, this group has not fared as well in terms of cultural and social adaptation. Regarding the former, 44,5% of Portuguese immigrants claim to speak no Afrikaans at all (second only to Italian

immigrants), while 20,0% speak no English (the highest level of all groups). In fact, 21,1% of Portuguese immigrants can speak neither English nor Afrikaans, while only 42,8% speak at least one of these languages fluently. Given this, it is not surprising that 68,1% speak neither English nor Afrikaans at home, again the highest level for all groups. This carries over to social adaptation, where the Portuguese are more likely than any other group to associate predominantly with other immigrants (40,0%) than with English-speaking (16,8%) or Afrikaans-speaking (8,1%) South Africans.

Other indicators point to the presence of a fairly active ethnic community in which Portuguese immigrants participate. Portuguese respondents have the highest level of participation in ethnic or immigrant organisations. They also have a high level of church attendance, but this is predominantly (85,5%) in the Catholic church. Thus, rather than the Portuguese being seen as a group of unhappy and isolated individuals, these results paint a picture of active membership in an ethnic community that is itself somewhat isolated from mainstream White society in South Africa.

Turning finally to political adaptation, the greatest support for the Government's race policies comes from the ranks of the Portuguese respondents (44,2%), the group that is also most likely to support the National Party (60,9%). The level of support for the race policies is virtually identical to that (44,6%) obtained in response to an identical question asked in a subsequent study of Portuguese immigrants (Schutte, 1989: 19).

To what extent do immigrants from Portuguese Africa differ in their adaptation from those from Portugal? Given that their immigration was motivated more by political factors than economic, and given a certain familiarity with the Southern African situation, it is expected that these immigrants would be all the more likely to adapt to life in South Africa politically and economically,

and be more satisfied with life in South Africa relative to the turbulent conditions in their home countries that precipitated their departure. However, the pattern of results for these two groups are remarkably similar. Portuguese African immigrants are slightly less satisfied and feel slightly more accepted than their counterparts from Portugal. Although the level of South African identification is the same for both groups, the former are more inclined to identify themselves as Portuguese-South Africans rather than as Portuguese. The level of citizenship intentions is the same as that for the Portuguese. This is probably due to the fact that, unlike immigrants from Zimbabwe, these immigrants were resident in former colonies of Portugal, and thus still enjoy Portuguese citizenship.

Looking at the objective adaptation dimensions, again the results for Portuguese Africans are similar to those for Portuguese, although members of the former group are slightly less likely to speak no English or to speak no Afrikaans. Only 15,7% of this group can speak neither of South Africa's official languages. This may be the result of greater contact that such immigrants may have had with South African society prior to their immigration to this country. For the remaining dimension, there are few differences between immigrants from Portugal and those from Portuguese Africa. Therefore, the expectation that the adaptive experiences of these two groups would be substantially different is not supported by these data.

Finally, the adaptation of Italian immigrants can be examined. Van Coller (Hansard, 1974: 5237) mentions three factors of concern to prospective Italian immigrants to South Africa: firstly, that as Catholics they were not welcome in this country; secondly, that they would have to master two new languages; and, thirdly, that they would have to surrender their Italian passports. To what extent have these fears been realised by those who did come to this country? In terms of host attitudes, Italians are ranked somewhere between the Portuguese

and immigrants from the three traditional sending countries (see Groenewald and Smedley, 1977; Pretorius, 1971). Compared to these other groups, Italian immigrants appear somewhat less satisfied with their life in South Africa, are less likely to identify themselves as South Africans, and are less likely to settle permanently in this country. However, they are somewhat more likely to report positive host attitudes. With regard to citizenship intentions, Italians occupy a middle position, being more likely than immigrants from the traditional sending countries to become South African citizens, but less likely than the Portuguese or those from Portuguese or British Africa. Thus, the ranking accorded Italian immigrants by South African Whites appears to be reflected somewhat in their subjective adaptation in this country.

Turning to objective adaptation, it can be seen that of all the groups examined here, Italians are the least likely to speak Afrikaans. Virtually half (49,7%) of this group speak no Afrikaans at all. However, the level of competence in English is higher than that for the Portuguese, with only 7,7% of Italians speaking little or no English. In fact, only 5,9% of Italians can speak neither English nor Afrikaans, while 54,8% speak at least one of these languages fluently. Italian immigrants also appear more socially integrated into mainstream White society than their Portuguese counterparts. Their pattern of primary social adaptation resembles in broad terms that of the Germans, with about a third mixing with English speakers and the remainder mostly with other immigrants or having a mixed group of friends.

With regard to economic, political and religious adaptation, Italian immigrants again appear to occupy a middle position. Thus, despite expectations to the contrary, in objective terms at least, Italians can be considered to be fairly well adapted to life in South Africa.

Comparing Italian immigrants to the Portuguese, it might be asked why the former appear to adapt better (in terms of the objective adaptation dimension) than the latter. Given the similarities between these two groups (predominantly Catholic, non-traditional sending countries), similar adaptation experiences may be expected. However, there are a number of important differences between these two groups that may affect their adaptation to the economic, cultural, social and political situation in South Africa. The Italians in the present study are both better educated and slightly older than their Portuguese counterparts (both factors that appear to promote adaptation). More importantly, Italians have been in this country longer on average than the Portuguese. Finally, in terms of numbers, the Italian community in South Africa is less than one third the size of the Portuguese community, a factor that could mitigate against the development of ethnic enclaves and promote integration into the broader society, as is evidenced by the respective levels of primary social adaptation of these two groups.

#### 14.2 LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

In virtually every study of immigrants, whether in South Africa or abroad, length of residence is acknowledged to be a key factor in the process of adaptation. However, few studies deal with the question of length of residence directly. This is mostly due to the complex empirical problems posed by this variable. Separating age, period and cohort effects in examining length of residence is almost impossible in cross-sectional surveys such as the present one. Even a longitudinal survey would not solve all the problems posed by this variable. The only longitudinal study of immigrant adaptation reported to date (Canada, 1974) covered only the first three years of residence of immigrants in Canada.

Despite these problems, an attempt was made in the present study to examine the effects of length of residence independent of age. As with country of origin, the effects of length of residence on both subjective and objective adaptation appear to be substantial. Both the average generalised  $\eta^2$  and average MNA coefficient for this variable on subjective adaptation are higher than for all other variables except country of origin (see Table 14.1). This is also true of the average generalised  $\eta^2$  for all objective adaptation measures in Table 14.2. In the multivariate results for objective adaptation (see Table 14.3), length of residence follows country of origin and age in terms of effect on the dependent variables.

Summarising the results for subjective adaptation, it can be seen that the longer an immigrant has been in this country, the more likely he is to be satisfied with life here, the more likely he is to identify himself as a South African, and the more likely he is to intend to settle permanently in South Africa. In contrast to this trend, those who have been here longer are less likely to seek South African citizenship. Given that those who have already become citizens are excluded from this study, it is understandable that those who have been eligible for citizenship for some time without taking this step are less likely to reverse their position on this issue. Thus, with the possible exception of citizenship, length of residence appears to have the expected effect on the subjective adaptation of immigrants in South Africa.

Turning to objective adaptation, the effect of length of residence on both cultural and social adaptation is quite strong. The longer an immigrant has been in South Africa, the more likely he is to speak English and/or Afrikaans fluently, and the more likely he is to socialise with members of the mainstream White community. This supports Stone's (1973: 158) finding of "strongly significant differences" in terms of social and cultural integration between those of short residence and those of longer residence. These trends are clear:

given time, immigrants are more and more likely to integrate into the broader culture of White society in South Africa.

For economic factors, too, length of residence is associated with increasing levels of relative success in terms of standards of living. Those who have been here the longest are most likely to report that their standard of living is higher in South Africa. However, this finding should be treated with some caution, considering the nature of the sample on which it is based. Given the high rate of re-migration from South Africa, it is likely that those least satisfied with their economic progress in this country may have already returned to their country of origin or migrated elsewhere, leaving those who are more satisfied behind.

The trends for political adaptation are less clear. Given the changing reactions of the international community to the political situation in South Africa over the many decades in which these immigrants came to South Africa, as well as major internal upheavals in this time, it is not surprising that the period in which an immigrant came to this country may have a profound effect on his reactions to the political dispensation he encounters upon his arrival. The observation that more recent immigrants are somewhat more conservative supports the contention that situational factors may be crucial in determining the direction and progress of an immigrant's adaptation. Given the increasing pressure on the South African Government from abroad, it is now less likely that the prospective immigrant will entertain naive expectations regarding the political climate in this country.

With these reservations in mind, the present findings appear to contradict those of two other studies in Southern Africa. Stone's (1973: 84, 224-229) hypothesis that length of residence is significantly related to political attitudes was subsequently supported by his data. In his study of British immigrants in South

Africa, he found an increasing level of support for apartheid over time. However, his study covered immigrants in their first five years of residence, and thus cannot be compared directly with the present one. In the second study, of Europeans in Southern Rhodesia in 1959, the authors found that "virtually all of the sub-populations seem to show a positive increase in conservatism the longer they live in the new society" (Frantz and Rogers, 1963: 53).

The contradictions between the findings of these two studies and those of the present study may lie in the dramatic changes in political relations that have taken place in the subcontinent in the time between these studies. It could also be argued that the exclusion of naturalised immigrants could bias the results of the present study. In examining the effects of political adaptation on citizenship, it was found that those in favour of the Government's race policies are more than twice as likely to become South Africans as those opposed to such policies. Finally, the changing composition of the immigrant population may also affect the higher level of conservatism among more recent immigrants. More than a third of the immigrants who have been here for less than five years are of British African origin, a group that was already noted for its support of the apartheid policies of the present Government.

Finally, regarding religious adaptation, Mol (1965: 137) notes that there is "considerable evidence that migration often has a negative effect on religious interest in general and church going in particular". In a South African setting, Steinberg (1978) found religious participation to decline with length of settlement for both Portuguese and Greek immigrants. These findings are generally supported by the present study.

Length of residence has been found to play a significant role in all areas of immigrant adaptation in South Africa. However, these results should be treated with caution. The precise nature of the relationship between this variable and

immigrant adaptation cannot be accurately determined in a study of this nature. Nevertheless, until a longitudinal study is undertaken to address these issues, the pivotal role of time in adapting to life in South Africa cannot be contested.

### 14.3 GENDER

In the discussion of previous findings in Chapter 3, it was seen that gender has been found to play a significant role in immigrant adaptation. This does not seem to be supported by the findings of the present study. Gender has virtually no effect on subjective adaptation, either when considered alone or when holding other factors constant.

The only objective adaptation dimension that is influenced to any degree by gender is economic adaptation, and this is primarily due to the fact that the occupation variables are highly sensitive to gender effects. Women are obviously much more likely than men to be classified as "housewives" and much less likely to be employed.

The results of previous studies seem to indicate that it is not necessarily gender per se that affects adaptation, but rather the effect of occupational status. It is argued that housewives are more isolated and therefore have a harder time adapting than those who are economically active. However, the results for the effects of occupational status as described in Chapter 10 do not reveal any strong effects for housewives in terms of subjective adaptation. There is thus no evidence in the present study that gender affects immigrant adaptation either directly or indirectly (through economic factors). A similar conclusion was reached by Stone (1973: 153) whose findings on British immigrants did not support the "conventional wisdom" that women do not adapt as well as men. He notes that "these findings are a warning against adopting the stereotype of

women as poor immigrants." The present study, based on a more diverse sample, further discredits this stereotype.

#### 14.4 MARITAL STATUS

As with gender, marital status does not appear to have much effect on either subjective or objective adaptation (again with the possible exception of economic adaptation). Those who are formerly married (divorced, widowed, etc.), as well as single immigrants, are much less likely to be housewives, and more likely to be employed. With regard to current work, single respondents are 5,2% more likely than the average to be professionals, and also slightly more likely (3,7%) to be blue-collar workers, but less likely (8,9%) to be managers or owners. Formerly married immigrants are more likely to be employed in clerical or other white-collar occupations.

Other effects of marital status on dimensions of subjective and objective adaptation discussed earlier do not appear to form any clearly discernible trends. The lack of effect may be in part due to the lack of variation in this variable (81,2% of respondents are married), but other variables certainly have much more powerful effects on adaptation than does marital status.

#### 14.5 EDUCATION

Education does not appear to have much effect on subjective adaptation measures: the average generalised  $\eta^2$  for these five variables is only 0,0033 and the average coefficient is 1,61%. However, it has already been seen that education has moderate effects on a number of objective adaptation measures. With regard to cultural adaptation, those with a low level of education (primary school or less) are much less (17%) likely (compared to the average for all educational levels) to speak Afrikaans fluently; 9% more likely to speak no Afrikaans at

all; 13% more likely to speak neither English nor Afrikaans at home; and 15% more likely not to read English or Afrikaans newspapers.

Concerning social adaptation, this group is 10% more likely to associate predominantly with English speakers and 6% more likely to mix socially with other immigrants. These immigrants are also slightly more likely to belong to exclusively immigrant/ethnic organisations and associations rather than host society institutions. It thus appears that those immigrants with a low level of education are more likely to occupy a marginal position in South African society in terms of cultural and social adaptation.

Turning to economic adaptation, those with a low level of education are more likely not to be economically active; more likely to be in blue-collar occupations and less likely to be in professional, managerial or white collar jobs; more likely to have had only one job since immigrating; less likely to have experienced upward mobility; less likely to be satisfied with their work; and less likely to be satisfied with their current living standards. It can be seen that low education has a negative effect on the economic adaptation of immigrants.

In terms of political adaptation, the low education group is 9% more likely to have no opinions on the race policies question, and 9% more likely to have no interest in politics in South Africa. Again, the marginality of this group can be seen. Finally, poorly educated immigrants are 5% more likely than the average to attend church on a regular basis.

These findings support Richmond's (1974a) conclusion that education is positively associated with all aspects of objective adaptation. However, little support is found for his claim that education is negatively associated with subjective adaptation. He found that the better educated immigrant is less

likely to settle permanently in Canada, is less satisfied with life in Canada, is less likely to be identified with Canada, and is less likely to become a citizen of that country (Richmond, 1974a: 17). These findings are not supported by the present data. In the South African context, an immigrant's level of education appears to have little effect on his subjective adaptation.

#### 14.6 AGE

The effect of age on subjective adaptation appears strong, especially looking at the multivariate results. The average MNA coefficient for this factor is 2,4%. Holding all other factors constant (including length of residence), older respondents are more likely to report positive host attitudes (a change of 15% from the youngest to the oldest group); more likely to say that, if they could decide over, they would still come to South Africa (a range of 19% from youngest to oldest); and more likely to report experiencing no prejudice or discrimination (a range of 18%). However, age appears to have little effect on satisfaction, identification and citizenship intentions. It is reasonable to expect that older immigrants would tend to be more settled in South Africa and less likely to move elsewhere. However, this does not appear to imply that this group is more satisfied with life in South Africa, or more inclined to identify themselves as South Africans or take out South African citizenship. These latter variables do not covary much with age.

For objective adaptation measures, the average generalised  $\eta^2$  for age is moderately high (0,0118), but when the multivariate results are examined, the predictive power of this variable becomes clear. Cultural, economic and social adaptation are all strongly affected by age, with average MNA coefficients of 4,7%, 4,6% and 4,3% respectively. Looking first at cultural adaptation, older immigrants are much less likely to be fluent in English (a range of 37% between the oldest and youngest groups) and in Afrikaans (a range of 27%); more likely

to speak neither English nor Afrikaans at home (a range of 30%); and more likely to want their children to speak a language other than English or Afrikaans (23% more likely than the youngest age group). It is thus clear that cultural adaptation in South Africa is slowest for older immigrants. This relationship is a linear one for all the language variables.

Economic adaptation also appears less successful for older immigrants. Those in the oldest group are less likely to have had three or more jobs in South Africa (21% less likely than the youngest group); much less likely to experience upwards mobility (a range of 42%); and somewhat less likely (9%) to say that their standard of living in South Africa is much higher than in their previous country.

Turning to social adaptation, it appears that older immigrants tend to be more isolated from members of the host society, and from other groups. Older immigrants are more likely (13% more than the youngest group) to associate predominantly with other immigrants rather than English or Afrikaans-speaking South Africans. This group is also more likely to belong to no clubs or organisations. Older immigrants are thus less integrated into South African society, in terms of both primary and secondary social adaptation. However, it does appear that older immigrants are more likely to attend church regularly. This may be attributable to a general decline in religiosity among the young rather than a contradiction in terms of social participation.

When the summary measures in Tables 14.2 and 14.3 are examined, the effect of age on political adaptation does not appear as strong as that on other dimensions of objective adaptation. However, this variable does produce sizeable coefficients for some of these variables. Specifically, older immigrants appear more likely to support the Government's race policies and to support the National Party. These findings run counter to Stone's (1973: 156) finding that

there were no statistically significant differences among age categories in terms of British immigrants' attitudes towards apartheid. This apparent contradiction should be seen in terms of the overall decline in support for the Government's policy of apartheid in the time between the two surveys. In fact, 76% of Stone's respondents reported favourable attitudes to apartheid in 1968, whereas only 22% of British respondents in the present study (conducted in 1985) felt that the Government's race policies were right. The important effect that the changing context of the host society has on the immigrant is clear from this comparison.

#### 14.7 URBANISATION

In a number of earlier studies on immigrant adaptation, the prior urban experience of the immigrant was found to affect subsequent adaptation. The effect of this variable on subjective adaptation appears negligible for all but settlement intentions. Here those immigrants from a rural background are more likely to want to settle in South Africa. The effect of URBAN on objective adaptation is also very slight, both in the bivariate and multivariate results. This supports the argument made earlier (see Chapter 3) that this variable is less important in modern society than it was in earlier times.

#### 14.8 NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Family size (measured here by the number of children) has been found by a number of researchers (see Chapter 3) to impact on immigrant adaptation. These findings receive no support in the present study. Number of children appears to have virtually no effect on any of the subjective or objective measures, either when considered alone or when holding other factors constant. Stone (1973: 156) also found that family size was not an important variable in the integration of British immigrants in South Africa.

#### 14.9 RELIGION

Given the predominantly Protestant nature of White South African society, and that society's antipathy towards out-groups, it may be expected that Catholic immigrants would have a harder time adapting to life in South Africa. This does not appear to be the case. Religion has little effect on subjective adaptation. Catholics are only slightly less likely than Protestants to become South African citizens.

Discounting the large effect of religion on religious adaptation, the effects of this variable on objective adaptation are slight, with the possible exception of cultural and social adaptation. Catholics are slightly less likely than the average to speak English and/or Afrikaans fluently, but not more likely to speak neither English nor Afrikaans at home. In terms of primary social adaptation, Catholics are slightly more likely to associate with other immigrants or with English speakers, but this effect is not strong.

It may be that because of the overlap between religion (especially Catholics) and country of origin, much of the effects of the former variable are being absorbed by the latter in the multivariate results. However, even the bivariate results for religion show little predictive power for this variable on either subjective or objective adaptation.

#### 14.10 CONTACTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

This variable was included to measure the presence of family members and/or friends in the host country who may assist the new immigrant in adapting to life in South Africa. However, in the present study, this variable appears to have no effect on adaptation, whether subjective or objective. This would indicate

that chain migration, in which immigrants may prepare the way for later migration by other family members, does not appear to promote or hinder the adaptation of such immigrants in South Africa. Stone (1973: 172) reached a similar conclusion.

#### 14.11 VISITED SOUTH AFRICA

Findings of previous research led to the expectation that knowledge of the host country may prepare an immigrant for the transition to the new culture, and this may lead to faster adaptation. As an indirect indicator of such prior knowledge, respondents were asked how many times they had visited South Africa before migrating here. Contrary to expectation, this variable appears to have little effect on subjective and objective adaptation. The only dimension that seems to be affected by this variable is cultural adaptation, but no discernible trends for these coefficients can be found.

#### 14.12 LEVEL OF CONTACT WITH HOME

It is often argued that the greater an immigrant's contact with his home country, the lower his commitment to settling permanently in this country, and consequently the slower his adaptation to life in the new country. Assimilationists argue that an immigrant's ties to the old country should be severed as soon as possible in order to promote integration into the new society. Three variables were included in the analyses to measure such contact: VISITED HOME, CONTACT WITH HOME, and OWN PROPERTY.

None of these three variables appear to have much effect on subjective adaptation. However, there are moderate effects for both settlement and citizenship intentions. The greater an immigrant's contact with his home country (for all of these 3 variables), the greater the likelihood that he will not

settle permanently in this country. A similar result is found for citizenship. This supports the hypothesis that contact with home decreases an immigrant's commitment to stay in South Africa, but this does not affect an immigrant's satisfaction, identification or acceptance. Furthermore, the effects of these variables on objective adaptation measures are both weak and inconsistent. There is thus no strong support for the role of contact with home in immigrant adaptation.

It may be expected that the longer an immigrant is in South Africa, the lower is his level of contact with home. However, a cross-tabulation of these two variables reveals that the level of an immigrant's contact with home does not appear to decrease much with length of residence in South Africa. For those who have been here less than 5 years, 15,8% have a high level of contact, and this goes down to only 10,5% for those who have been here for 25 years or more.

#### 14.13 FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

As an indicator of migration auspices, the source of an immigrant's financial assistance (if any) in coming to this country was ascertained. This variable appears to have little effect on either subjective or objective adaptation. The only effect of any magnitude that can be discerned is for MOBILITY, with those who were assisted financially by employers being somewhat less likely to experience upward mobility, and more likely to experience no change in occupational status. This group is also slightly more likely to have had only one job since coming to this country, whereas those sponsored by the South African Government are more likely to have had three or more jobs. These findings thus do not support the hypothesis that those who paid their own passage to South Africa are more motivated to adapt to life in the new country.

#### 14.14 PRESENT LOCATION

The final two variables discussed here are the location of the immigrant in South Africa in terms of province and metropolitan area. It has already been seen that these two variables have a non-trivial effect on a number of subjective and objective adaptation measures. With regard to subjective adaptation, no clear trends are discerned for satisfaction and identification. It appears that immigrants in the Cape and Natal, and those in metropolitan areas, are more likely to report positive host attitudes, and more likely to report experiencing no prejudice. However, this same group is somewhat less likely to intend to settle permanently in South Africa, and less likely to become South African citizens.

With regard to cultural adaptation, immigrants in the Cape and Natal, and those living in metropolitan areas, are more likely to speak English fluently, less likely to speak Afrikaans fluently, and more likely to speak English at home. The opposite effects are found for those living in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, and those in non-metropolitan areas.

The effect of present location on social adaptation appears quite strong. Again, immigrants in the Cape and Natal and in metropolitan areas are all much more likely (a coefficient of 16,4% in the case of Natal) to associate predominantly with English-speaking South Africans, while those in the Transvaal and Orange Free State and in rural areas are more likely to associate with Afrikaners.

These two variables do not appear to have much effect on economic or religious adaptation, but strong effects are again observed for political adaptation. Those in the Cape and Natal and in metropolitan areas are less likely to support the Government's race policies and less likely to support the National Party, while those living in the other two provinces and in rural areas are more likely

to do so.

Although the trends for these two variables are quite clear, it has been noted that it is difficult to determine whether immigrants are attracted to particular locations where they feel more at home, or whether they adapt to fit in with those living around them. Given the spatially segregated nature of White South African society, the probability of associating with English-speaking South Africans is much higher for immigrants living in the Cape and in Natal than in the Transvaal and Orange Free State, and higher in metropolitan areas than in non-metropolitan areas. A cross-tabulation of PRIMARY SOCIAL ADAPTATION with RACE POLICIES reveals that those who associate with English speakers are much more likely to say that the Government's race policies are wrong (43,1%) than those who associate with Afrikaans speakers (14,2%). The direction of causality of these variables and the dynamics of the relationship between spatial location and adaptation is impossible to determine in a cross-sectional study such as this one. However, this does again indicate that situational factors should be taken into account when examining the process of immigrant adaptation. A study conducted in Cape Town, for example, may reach vastly different conclusions to one conducted in Pretoria.

#### 14.15 SUMMARY

This chapter has focused on a number of specific factors and their role in affecting both subjective and objective adaptation. It appears that the two key variables in immigrant adaptation are country of origin and length of residence, although other variables (particularly age and education) also play important roles in the adaptation of immigrants in South Africa. For the most part, the remaining variables analysed in this chapter do not appear to have a large impact on such adaptation.

CHAPTER 15  
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

In this the final chapter, an attempt will be made to tie up various loose ends and integrate the findings of the previous two chapters. First, the efficacy of the proposed multivariate model of immigrant adaptation will be evaluated. Secondly, the nature of immigrant adaptation in South Africa will be examined. Finally, some of the implications of the findings of this study, both for the immigrant and for the receiving society, will be discussed.

15.1 THE MULTIVARIATE MODEL OF IMMIGRANT ADAPTATION

A multivariate model of immigrant adaptation was proposed in Chapter 3. Immigrant adaptation was conceived of as a dynamic process with change taking place along a number of distinct dimensions. To what extent do the data support the model? It is not possible to answer this question conclusively based on the analyses undertaken here. The full model was not formally tested in its entirety, but was essentially used as a framework within which to study the adaptation process of selected immigrant groups in South Africa. Nevertheless, a number of conclusions can be drawn about the usefulness of the model in the South African context.

What about some of the alternative theoretical approaches to immigrant adaptation discussed in Chapter 2? To accept the proposed model as most appropriate, it is first necessary to evaluate some of the more popular theories. Elements of two of these theories will be evaluated here: Gordon's (1964) assimilation theory and Richardson's (1967) conceptualisation of the assimilation process.

Gordon regards cultural and structural assimilation as the most important of his seven stages of assimilation. He argues that cultural assimilation occurs first, and that once structural assimilation (analogous to primary and secondary social

adaptation as used here) occurs, "all other types of assimilation will naturally follow" (Gordon, 1964: 81). In other words, cultural and structural assimilation are necessary precursors to identificational, attitude receptional and behaviour receptional assimilation.

Richardson also takes a sequential view of adaptation, this time focusing on the experiences of the individual immigrant. The three stages identified by Richardson are satisfaction, identification, and acculturation (or cultural adaptation). For Richardson, identification precedes acculturation, whereas for Gordon it is the opposite.

Although these issues are not dealt with directly in Chapter 10, the findings discussed there provide somewhat more support for Gordon's argument than for Richardson's with regard to identification and acculturation in the South African context. It appears that identification is not necessary for acculturation to take place. For example, 30,5% of immigrants who still identify themselves in terms of their country of origin claim to speak Afrikaans fluently or averagely, and 41,4% associate predominantly with English or Afrikaans speaking South Africans. Conversely, there are few immigrants who identify themselves as South Africans without being acculturated to some extent: 62,3% of those who identify as South Africans speak Afrikaans fluently or averagely, and 69,4% associate with English or Afrikaans speaking South Africans. There appears to be little support for Richardson's argument that identification precedes acculturation.

Gordon's claim that acculturation is a necessary precursor to identification also does not receive strong support. In cross-tabulations of selected variables it can be seen, for example, that although identification as a South African is associated with greater fluency in English and Afrikaans and a greater tendency to associate with these groups, there are those who identify themselves as South Africans without the social and cultural adaptation deemed necessary by Gordon.

Keeping in mind that the overall percentage for identification as a South African is low (10,9%), it can be seen that 7,3% of those who speak no English and 4,7% of those who speak no Afrikaans nevertheless identify themselves as South Africans. The trend for attitude receptional assimilation (as measured by HOST ATTITUDES) runs counter to that expected according to Gordon's argument. More than half (56,1%) of those who speak no English still report experiencing positive host attitudes, compared to 35,5% of those who speak English fluently. Similarly, 40,4% of those who speak no Afrikaans at all report positive host attitudes, while 39,2% of those who speak Afrikaans fluently do so.

Richardson's argument that satisfaction precedes identification also receives only limited support in the present study. Although these two variables are clearly related, of those who say that they are less happy in South Africa, 4,8% nevertheless identify themselves as South Africans, while a further 13,8% identify themselves as hyphenated South Africans.

It is not possible to test sequential theories fully in a cross-sectional study such as this. Although it is clear that the variables discussed above (identification, satisfaction, acculturation and acceptance) are clearly related to some degree, there is insufficient evidence to suggest causal relationships among them. Thus, although there are many more immigrants in the present study who are satisfied with life in South Africa (and many more can be regarded as acculturated) than those who identify themselves as South Africans, this is not sufficient evidence to suggest that satisfaction and/or acculturation necessarily precede identification. A longitudinal study is needed to test the applicability of sequential theories of adaptation. However, the data presented here suggest that a multivariate approach is more useful than a sequential one in describing and understanding the process of immigrant adaptation in South Africa.

Moving on to the multivariate model of immigrant adaptation used as a framework for the present study, it was proposed that adaptation proceeds along a number of related but distinguishable dimensions. These dimensions were subdivided into the subjective (in which adaptation is assessed in terms of the immigrant's own experiences) and the objective (in which adaptation can be measured in terms of more external criteria). Three of the dimensions of subjective adaptation that were posited in Chapter 3 were examined here: satisfaction, identification and acceptance. It was shown in Chapter 10 that, although there are strong relationships among indicators of these three dimensions, there is sufficient independence to regard them as separate concepts rather than as indicators of the same phenomenon or process. It is argued that immigrants can feel accepted in South Africa without necessarily feeling satisfied or identifying with this country.

With regard to objective adaptation, five dimensions were examined in this study: cultural, social, economic, political and religious adaptation. Again, evidence is provided to support the claim that adaptation is not a unidimensional phenomenon. Immigrants do not simply proceed from a position of isolation to one of integration, as earlier theories of assimilation argued. Nor does it appear that progress or movement along any of these dimensions is inevitable. For example, it had been shown that there are immigrants who can be described as economically adapted while at the same time remaining socially and culturally isolated from mainstream White society. Similarly, cultural adaptation does not imply political adaptation, or that similar change along any of the other dimensions has taken place. Furthermore, it was also seen that the objective adaptation dimensions have different relationships to each of the subjective adaptation dimensions. The multivariate nature of immigrant adaptation has been clearly demonstrated in the South African context.

This is not to imply that the dimensions (both subjective and objective) discussed here are the only ones possible for use in describing the process of immigrant adaptation in South Africa. There may be many more that are not measured here. It may also be possible to split the dimensions further into subdimensions. Furthermore, the number of dimensions, and their relative importance, may vary from country to country, and from group to group within a particular country. What is clear, though, is that immigrant adaptation should not be seen as a single, all-encompassing process. The implications of this view will be discussed later in this chapter.

## 15.2 THE DIMENSIONS OF IMMIGRANT ADAPTATION

Although it has been argued that immigrant adaptation should be treated as a multidimensional process, there are those who would say that this approach does not go far enough. It could be argued that the framework used here is too loose and ill-defined, and that causal links should be established between the various concepts used in the model. In this way, it is argued, a more formal theory of immigrant adaptation in South Africa could be developed. However, it is felt that this approach has limited usefulness at this point. There are simply too many exceptions to any such generalisation that could be made. The development of "social laws" or prescriptive theories of immigrant adaptation in South Africa is at best premature. It is felt that the process of immigrant adaptation is too complex to be reduced to a single model that is applicable in all situations and for all people. Furthermore, the data on which these findings are based do not permit generalisation to all immigrants in South Africa, and the development of any theory based on this limited sample should be viewed with great caution. The disaggregation of the adaptation process into its component dimensions (as done here) should be viewed as a framework for the study of immigrant adaptation, rather than a prescriptive model of how immigrant adaptation in South Africa is supposed to work.

This approach views adaptation as a dynamic process. The relationships between the various components of adaptation may change from group to group and over time within each group. Of interest, then, is an examination of such relationships among dimensions of adaptation, and how these relationships vary, if at all, across subdomains of interest. Given the cautions expressed above, what general trends can be distilled from these findings regarding the relationships among the dimensions of subjective and objective adaptation identified here?

Regarding the dimensions of subjective adaptation, it appears that satisfaction and identification are strongly related. Most immigrants who are identified with South Africa also express some level of satisfaction with life in this country. In general terms, there are more respondents who are satisfied (50,0%) with life in South Africa than identify themselves wholly or partly as South Africans (43,5%). This appears to indicate that those who identify themselves as South Africans are likely to be satisfied with their life here. However, there are enough exceptions that it cannot be said that such people are necessarily satisfied. Also, there are more people who are satisfied and/or identified than there are those who report experiencing positive host attitudes (39,6%). This appears to indicate that a feeling of acceptance by members of the host society is not a necessary condition for either satisfaction or identification.

The multidimensional nature of adaptation becomes even more complex when the dimensions of objective adaptation are examined. It has been shown that cultural and social adaptation cannot be considered along a single continuum. In South Africa it is not simply a case of moving from a situation of complete social isolation to one of complete integration in the host culture. The immigrant in South Africa is confronted with two dominant host cultures. In this respect, South Africa shares much in common with Canada. However, in addition to the dual culture of the White minority, the immigrant to South Africa also faces to a

greater or lesser degree the many languages and cultures of South Africa's heterogeneous population. Given the number of different orientations facing the immigrant, it does not make sense to describe immigrants as being socially or culturally adapted or unadapted. The direction rather than the degree of an immigrant's cultural or social orientation is of interest here.

In the same way, the immigrant is faced with a number of choices regarding his political adaptation in this country. A pro-Government orientation, for example, should be no proof of "successful" adaptation, nor should an anti-Government stance be evidence of failure. The full range of political attitudes found in the host society may be echoed in the immigrant population. The same is true of religious adaptation. Not only is it of interest to know whether there have been changes in religious participation for the immigrant, but also the nature of the institutions in which such participation takes place is important. Economic adaptation is somewhat more straightforward than the other objective adaptation dimensions. The economic progress an immigrant has made in this country can be conceived of in terms of a single continuum.

It is argued that it is not a useful enterprise to attempt to distinguish "successful" immigrants from those who are less so. Success is an arbitrary concept, and can be defined in many different ways. Categorising or ranking immigrants in such a way makes a value judgement about the criteria for such success or failure. This approach should be avoided, as it does not contribute to an understanding of the dynamic process of immigrant adaptation in South Africa.

The differential impact of objective adaptation on the various dimensions of subjective adaptation has already been discussed in Chapter 10. Some of the more pertinent findings will be briefly summarised here. It was found that economic adaptation appears to be strongly related to satisfaction. This confirms the

importance of economic factors in the adaptation of immigrants to life in a new country. Most immigrants who have come to South Africa have done so primarily for economic reasons. It appears that many subjectively evaluate the success of their migration in terms of their economic progress here. However, it does appear that economic adaptation is neither a necessary nor sufficient condition for satisfaction with life in South Africa. A simple causal link cannot be established between these two variables. Subjective adaptation is a complex process that is affected by a variety of factors, only some of which can be subsumed under the dimension of economic adaptation. Cultural and social factors also appear to play a significant role in an immigrant's satisfaction.

Identification appears to be most strongly affected by cultural factors. It makes sense that the more likely an immigrant is to speak either or both of South Africa's official languages (particularly Afrikaans) and mix with members of the host society, the more likely he is to identify with that society. Economic factors do not appear to play a strong role in identification. In other words, an immigrant may make great economic strides in this country without feeling any greater sense of commitment to South Africa.

Acceptance is associated with indicators from all five objective adaptation dimensions, although none very strongly. The complex nature of the immigrant adaptation process is again clear from an examination of these relationships. It is not possible to reduce such relationships to a simple set of stages that an immigrant may pass through, as Richardson (1974) and others do, or to group immigrants into various categories on the basis of their responses on these various dimensions, as Stone (1973) and others do.

### 15.3 SETTLEMENT AND CITIZENSHIP

In addition to the dimensions of adaptation identified in this study, settlement and citizenship intentions are treated here as concepts distinct from the adaptation process. This is contrary to a number of studies (e.g. Taft and Doczy, 1962) in which they are regarded simply as indicators of adaptation. It has been argued that these be treated as separate concepts to take into account the particular nature of modern immigration to South Africa. However, the South African situation is not unique in this regard, and similar situations can be seen in other countries regarding both the permanent settlement and naturalisation of immigrants (see for example Kunz, 1980; Lukomskyj and Richards, 1986).

The question of immigrant naturalisation has long been of central concern to policy makers in South Africa. In debate after debate in Parliament, the low rate of immigrant naturalisation in South Africa is deplored, and the need to encourage immigrants to become citizens emphasised (see Chapter 5). Implicit in much of this debate is the assumption that citizenship implies loyalty. Naturalisation is seen as the ultimate act of identification with South Africa (for example, see Hansard, 1975: 7982).

Contrary to these common beliefs, the results of this study reveal that citizenship cannot be considered evidence of identification, or vice versa. In Section 6.4.2 it was seen that, although these two concepts are related, they can in no way be considered coterminous. For example, 42,2% of those who identify themselves as South Africans do not intend to become citizens. Put differently, only 23,0% of those who intend to become citizens identify themselves as South Africans. This supports the finding from Jaunzems and Brown's (1971) study of Latvians in Australia, in which they conclude that naturalisation is a poor index of identification. Thus, naturalisation cannot be viewed as "the final step in

the overall commitment to the new country or as the final loss of identity" (Wearing, 1985: 397).

There are many reasons why immigrants become citizens of their new country or, conversely, why they decide not to do so. Such a decision may be made on the basis of considerations unrelated to loyalty or identification with the new country. For many, naturalisation may be seen as "principally a matter of expediency and convenience" (Martin, 1975: 74). Many immigrants may have come to South Africa for relatively short-term economic gains without having any intentions of becoming citizens of this country, or even of settling here permanently. South African citizenship offers the European immigrant few advantages relative to, say, that of the United States. The benefits obtained from South African citizenship appear to be outweighed by its limitations. Military obligations and restrictions on travel are but two of the potential drawbacks associated with South African citizenship. However, for those from former colonies in Africa (particularly Zimbabwe, Mocambique and Angola) who may have lost their claim to citizenship elsewhere, or who have nowhere else to go, South African citizenship may offer more advantages. This is echoed in the rates of citizenship intentions reported here.

The point is, there are many reasons why immigrants want to settle permanently in South Africa, and/or become South African citizens, but these are not necessarily related to their adaptation in this country. For example, an immigrant could be described as well-adapted to life in South Africa in economic, social, etc., terms, yet be reluctant to become a citizen because it may deprive him of opportunities to travel to other countries or even return to his own country at some point in the future. Similarly, immigrants may desire South African citizenship for various reasons (such as government employment), but have no intention of staying in this country forever. The factors that affect subjective and objective adaptation are not the same as those that affect

settlement intentions or those that affect decisions about citizenship.

Citizenship should thus not be considered the ultimate goal of immigrant adaptation. Nor should permanent settlement be seen as proof of successful adaptation. These are different processes operating on different levels and should be treated as such.

The findings of the present study support those of studies conducted elsewhere that citizenship cannot be regarded as evidence of successful adaptation, nor does it imply identification with or loyalty to the new country. The factors that affect an immigrants's decision to become a citizen of South Africa are different from those that affect his adaptation in this country. This is also true of immigrants in other countries (particularly Australia and Canada).

Given this finding, it is important to divorce concerns of immigrant naturalisation from those of adaptation. These should be regarded as two different processes. Urging immigrants to become citizens, or even forcing them to do so (as the South African Citizenship Amendment Act of 1978 now does), does not make them better adapted to life in South Africa. In fact, such pressures may even have detrimental effects on immigrants, forcing them to reconsider their commitment to life in South Africa and their ties to their home country. The success or otherwise of immigrant adaptation (whether considered in objective or subjective terms) in South Africa should not be measured in terms of their rates of naturalisation.

The same is true of settlement intentions. Richmond (1974: 2) writes: "a successful immigration policy ... should recognize that not all immigrants intend to settle permanently." Richardson (1968: 221) also notes that the context of modern international migration is such that it "provides opportunities for many more people than ever before to reverse or modify their decision to settle in

another country." The intention to become a citizen is not the same as the intention to settle permanently in the new country. It was shown in Chapter 6 that whereas 58,7% of all immigrants intend to settle permanently in South Africa, only 17,2% express intentions of becoming citizens. This finding is echoed in Jupp's (1966) study of immigrants to Australia. He found, for example, that 38% of Dutch immigrants to that country were naturalised, while 68% intended to live there permanently. Similar trends were also observed for Greek and Italian immigrants.

It was seen in Chapter 11 that satisfaction is strongly related to intentions of permanent settlement. This is in part due to the finding that settlement intentions are much more strongly related to relative economic well-being than are citizenship intentions. This supports the argument that the decision to migrate no longer has the finality it once had. Immigrants whose economic progress in the new country has not been as expected are more likely to move elsewhere or to return to their country of origin. The importance of political factors in the decision to settle in South Africa are also quite clear from the findings discussed in Chapter 11. Political instability and uncertainty is simply not conducive to plans for long-term residence in this country. Coupled with the economic problems facing this country over the last few years, it does not seem surprising that many immigrants consider the possibility of leaving. It is important to recognise, however, that the decision to remigrate not be seen as a failure to adapt on the part of the immigrant. The same point was made about immigrants in Canada:

... we cannot assume that a person who intends to settle in Canada permanently is necessarily "better adapted" to Canadian life than one who decides to leave. ... These persons may be very successful in adapting to Canada by any objective measure, but they may still not indicate a desire to settle here permanently. (Canada, 1974: 14)

Cultural, social and religious factors do not play as large a part as may be expected in the immigrant's decision to settle permanently in South Africa or not. In other words, those who can be described as well-adapted in terms of

these dimensions are not significantly more likely to settle permanently in South Africa than those who are less so.

#### 15.4 FACTORS AFFECTING IMMIGRANT ADAPTATION

Using multivariate analysis techniques, a number of factors that have been previously identified as playing a role in the process of immigrant adaptation were examined here. These findings were discussed in detail in Chapters 12 to 14. Only some of the key conclusions will be mentioned here.

Firstly, it is clear that country of origin plays a central role in immigrant adaptation in South Africa. This remains true even when such factors as age, education, occupation and length of residence are controlled. Given the nature of White South African society, it should come as no surprise that the nature of the receiving society acts together with the national, linguistic and/or ethnic background of the immigrant to play a crucial role in determining the speed and direction of his/her adaptation in South African society. Any study of immigrants in this country must take such national differences into account. Few studies of national differences in immigrant adaptation have been conducted, whether in South Africa or abroad. The few exceptions (e.g Chimbos, 1972) support the finding of the present study that an immigrant's country of origin and/or previous residence is critical in understanding his/her adaptation in the new country.

The important role that length of residence plays in immigrant adaptation is also clear from this study. Adaptation is not an all-or-nothing phenomenon, but rather a dynamic process. Change takes place over time. How the concept of "immigrant" is defined can thus have a major impact on the conclusions reached. For reasons related to ease of data collection, many studies have focussed only on immigrants in the first few years of residence in the new country. Although

such studies may provide rich data on the initial adjustment experience, they fail to take account of the more long-term changes that are associated with the process of immigrant adaptation. Some studies go even further, and take a generational approach, focussing on the adaptation of second and even third generation immigrants (for example see Connor, 1977; Masudo, Matsumoto and Meredith, 1970). The importance of time can only be properly understood in a study that includes both recent immigrants and those who have been in the new country for many years.

Two other variables with relatively substantial effects on immigrant adaptation are age and education. The effect of these variables appears stronger in the case of objective adaptation than subjective adaptation. It may be that the objective adaptation measures play an intervening role between these two variables and subjective adaptation. An immigrant's education and age affect his economic, social and political adaptation, which in turn affect the level of satisfaction, acceptance and identification felt by the immigrant.

It is noteworthy that education is not strongly related to settlement intentions. It does not appear from these analyses that the more highly educated immigrant is more likely to leave South Africa. However, such a conclusion should be treated with caution. This variable may be interacting with others (such as age and country of origin) in determining settlement intentions. A more detailed analysis of the relationships among these variables is necessary before such a conclusion can be stated with more certainty. Nevertheless, it was also seen that those with higher education do not exhibit greatly lower levels of satisfaction, identification or acceptance than their less-educated counterparts, providing further support for the above conclusion.

For the most part, the effects of the remaining variables examined in Chapter 14 are weaker than may have been expected. This is especially true in the case

of gender. Women do not appear significantly less adapted than men on most of the subjective and objective adaptation indices. Nor does the fact of being a housewife appear to hinder the adaptation of such women in any way. It may be that the nature of modern immigration has resulted in a change in the role of the immigrant woman, who is now less confined to the home and has greater opportunities for interaction and participation in the broader host society than was once the case. Other variables that may impact on the woman's role in society (such as marital status and family size) also do not appear to play a significant role in the adaptive experiences of immigrants in South Africa.

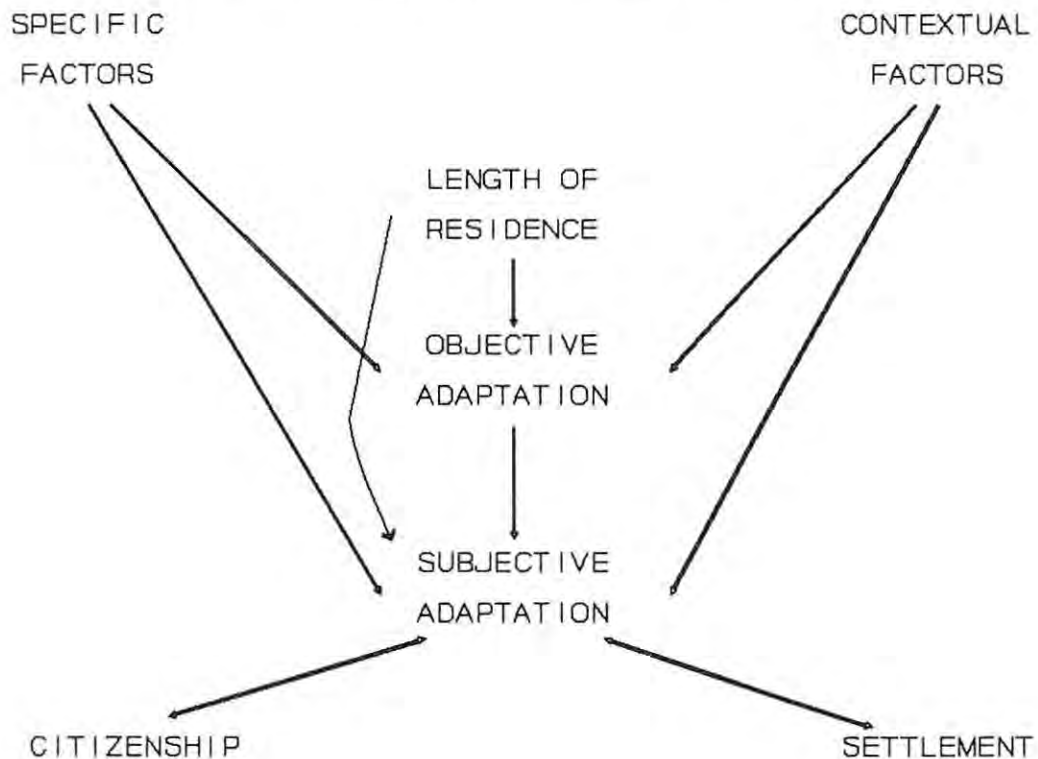
The variables relating to prior knowledge of or contact with South Africa prior to immigration, or the financial assistance received in migration, all appear to have relatively weak effects on the subsequent adaptation of immigrants. This would appear to suggest that the individual circumstances under which an immigrant comes to South Africa are not as important as broader events in the sending country or in the receiving country in determining the direction and speed of adaptation. However, motives for migration were not explored in this study, and it might be possible that the factors that propel an immigrant to come to this country may impact on his adaptation.

Finally, two indicators of situational factors in the receiving country, (PROVINCE and METRO) were included in this study. The results for these two variables suggest that such contextual factors play an important role in the adaptation of immigrants. Furthermore, the results for social, cultural and political adaptation, particularly as they are affected by country of origin, support the view that an appreciation of the context in which immigrant adaptation takes place is central to understanding the nature of that process. Although contextual factors were not dealt with explicitly in the analyses undertaken in this thesis, their importance in the process of immigrant adaptation should again be underscored.

## 15.5 KEY FEATURES OF THE MULTIVARIATE MODEL

Some of the key features of the multivariate model of immigrant adaptation have already been discussed in this chapter, as have some of the factors affecting this process. A framework for the analysis of immigrant adaptation has been proposed, and the relationships among dimensions have been analysed within this framework. The model on which the analyses in this thesis are based is repeated here in Figure 15.1.

FIGURE 15.1  
MULTIVARIATE MODEL OF IMMIGRANT ADAPTATION IN SOUTH AFRICA



Some of the key elements of this framework or model can now be summarised as follows:

- (a) Immigrant adaptation is multidimensional in nature. Two groups of dimensions are distinguished here, the subjective and the objective, each with its own separate dimensions.
- (b) Adaptation as conceived in this thesis is ultimately subjective (see Thomas and Znaniecki, 1958: 5). Although reverse causality is not ruled out, it is argued that the objective adaptation experiences of immigrants determine (together with the other factors discussed) the subjective adaptation experiences of immigrants.
- (c) Immigrant adaptation is a dynamic process. It does not operate on a single continuum, nor in a single direction. Change may be uneven across dimensions, and may even reverse direction at various points.
- (d) Immigrant adaptation takes place over time. Length of residence is included as a separate concept in the above model to indicate its role both as a control variable and as a predictor variable. Furthermore, immigrant adaptation is regarded as a long-term process that takes place over many years, if not the entire lifetime of the immigrant. This process should be distinguished from that of the initial adjustment of an immigrant in the first few weeks and months in the new country.
- (e) Permanent settlement and naturalisation are concepts that are distinguishable from, rather than synonymous with, the process of immigrant adaptation.
- (f) The proposed framework should not be seen as prescriptive. No assumptions are made about the direction, speed or order (sequence) in which any change may take place.
- (g) Contextual factors play an important role in immigrant adaptation. Any study of such adaptation should take into account the nature of the receiving society and its impact on the adaptation of its immigrants.

Having outlined the framework of immigrant adaptation in South Africa, the next step is to discuss some of the implications of this approach and the findings discussed here for the adaptation of immigrants in South Africa. Before this is done, some of the limitations of the present study need to be reiterated.

#### 15.6 LIMITATIONS OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The survey on which these findings are based has a number of shortcomings. It is important to again emphasise these so that any generalisations based on these data can be treated with the appropriate caution.

The single most important flaw in this study can be found in the poor response rate achieved. Despite a variety of efforts designed to encourage participation in the survey, the final response rate is such that these data can in no way be regarded as representative of the seven groups sampled. The low rate of return was in large part due to inadequacies in the address list provided by the Department of Home Affairs. This raises the question of whether probability samples of immigrants in South Africa are at all feasible without an enormous investment of resources. The combination of incomplete or outdated lists, and the need to use mail surveys for reasons of cost, seriously reduce the possibilities for sample-based studies of South Africa's White minority populations.

Another drawback of the present study lies in the definition of immigrant used here. For practical reasons, the sample was restricted to include only holders of permanent residence visas currently living in South Africa. By restricting the sample in this way, two important groups of immigrants were excluded, namely those who have already remigrated and those who have become South African citizens. These represent possibly the two extreme groups in terms of adaptation experiences in South Africa. In any study of this kind, there will inevitably

be some groups excluded from the sample. Also not included here were members of the smaller immigrant groups, such as the Greeks, the French, and those from various Eastern European countries. Nevertheless, the present study is more inclusive than any other conducted in South Africa to date.

The present study is also limited in the depth with which the issues are covered. Because a wide range of topics are dealt with in the questionnaire, many of the dimensions or factors are represented by a single indicator. The use of multiple indicators for each concept would be expected to improve the reliability and validity of the measurement.

In spite of the wide range of issues included in the questionnaire, a number of the questions were not addressed in this study. To keep the study within manageable proportions, only a subset of the data could be used in this thesis. There remains a vast amount of data, both quantitative and qualitative, that has not been examined here.

Despite these various limitations, the sample represents the largest and most diverse group of immigrants yet to be studied in South Africa. Although reliable generalisations to the immigrant population in South Africa cannot be made, this sample nevertheless permits analyses never before possible in South Africa. In this respect, this study goes beyond other studies conducted in this country (and elsewhere) in permitting the examination of a wide range of issues on a wide diversity of people.

## 15.7 IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS

This study has focussed primarily on developing a theoretical framework for the study of immigrant adaptation in South Africa and elucidating the relationships that exist among various factors and concepts pertaining to this process. The emphasis has not been on making generalisations about immigrants and their progress in South Africa. In closing, however, a few comments can be offered about the implications of these findings, both for immigrants and for the receiving society.

Official policy towards immigration in South Africa rests on the assumption that immigration from White South Africa's countries of origin is desirable, because such persons are better able to assimilate into White South African society. Immigrants from the Netherlands and Germany are particularly encouraged in order to swell the ranks of Afrikaners in this country. The findings of this study show that this assumption has little empirical foundation. To be sure, Dutch and German immigrants are more likely to associate with Afrikaans-speakers and to speak Afrikaans than any of the other immigrant groups studied here. However, the level of social interaction between these two immigrant groups and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans would be considered disappointingly low by those advocating such a policy.

There are a number of possible reasons why the expectations regarding these two immigrant groups are not being met. It was seen in Chapter 5 that Afrikaners are not particularly friendly towards immigrants, even those from the historical source countries ("stamlande") of the Afrikaner. One reason for this may be that the development of Afrikaner identity and cohesion has been gained at the expense of a broader sense of community with other groups in South Africa. In contrast to Afrikaner cultural and language-group exclusiveness, the English-speaking community "has no sharply drawn edges" (O'Dowd, 1979: 118), and

is less cohesive and thus more open. Given these factors, immigrants are less likely to gravitate towards the Afrikaans-speaking community. Political differences between Afrikaners and Europeans (especially the more recent immigrants) may act to further isolate the former. Finally, the majority of immigrants come to South Africa with at least some knowledge of English, and tend to settle in the larger cities and obtain employment in the private sector where English speakers dominate.

It also appears that public attitudes and official policy towards immigrants can be characterised as expecting too much too soon (see Hansard, 1970: 5008). For example, immigrants are expected to become citizens of this country as soon as they become eligible. When this does not happen to the desired extent, legislation is passed to force citizenship upon certain immigrants. Immigrants are also expected to become bilingual (Hansard, 1970: 4984). Again, when this does not happen, legislation is considered to force immigrants to become bilingual (Hansard, 1972: 7824). Instead of coercion, ways should be sought to make the conditions conducive for immigrants to acquire such language skills, and generally to adapt more easily to life in this country. Otto (Hansard, 1971: 5437) notes that

In order to realise these high expectations and requirements imposed on immigrants, it must be realized that immigration also places a mutual task on the shoulders of the established inhabitants.

Adaptation is thus not solely the responsibility of the immigrant. The receiving society has a major role to play in the adaptation of immigrants.

A further erroneous assumption that underlies both official policy and public attitudes towards immigrants is that naturalisation is seen as the ultimate proof of successful adaptation, and that failure to become a South African is evidence of a lack of loyalty to and identification with South Africa. Again, such views are not supported by the findings of this study. Furthermore, the view presented here is supported by findings of other studies conducted in such

countries as Canada and Australia.

It has been seen in this thesis that the definition of what constitutes "successful" immigration or adaptation rests in large part on the dimension of adaptation being considered at the time. For example, if identification were the criterion, it would be argued that British African immigrants are best adapted to South African society. However, if satisfaction were the criterion, Portuguese and Portuguese African immigrants would be highly rated, as they would if permanent settlement was considered the key indicator of successful adaptation. Each of the groups studied here could in turn be praised or denigrated if evaluated along a single dimension of adaptation. Making such evaluations only serves to detract from the rich contribution immigrants have made to South African society and to heighten differences between groups.

Furthermore, it is felt that more is expected of immigrants than is so of citizens of this country. Although empirical evidence is not readily available, it is safe to say that not all White South Africans (and certainly not all South Africans) are satisfied with all aspects of their lives in this country. Similarly, it was seen in Chapter 4 that White South Africans have not developed the broader South African identity that is often expected of immigrants. In a 1984 survey, only 17% of Afrikaans speakers and 33% of English speakers identified themselves as South Africans, compared to 11% of immigrants included in the present study. The high rate of emigration of White South Africans from this country provides further evidence that the standard against which immigrants are judged may be too harsh.

When considering the adaptation of immigrants in South Africa, it is thus essential to consider the context of such adaptation, namely that South Africa is a deeply divided society in which concepts such as "national culture" or "national identity" are almost impossible to define. Ethnic and linguistic

differences within the White community are not trivial, and these differences impact on all aspects of life in this country, including the social, cultural, religious, political and economic facets of White society. It should therefore come as no surprise when such differences are reflected within the immigrant population.

At the same time, generalisations based on immigrants' national origins should be made with caution. The comparison of immigrants from various countries of origin can detract from the individual nature of immigration to South Africa since the Second World War. This was no mass migration of cohesive clans or village groups as may have taken place in the United States around the turn of the century. Rather, it has been (and continues to be) primarily a stream of individuals or single family units making the decision to come on their own, and seeking to improve their own lives rather than those of a group of which they are arbitrarily considered a part.

Taking a group approach to immigrant adaptation only serves to heighten differences between groups and detract from individual successes and failures in adapting to life in South Africa. To make such statements as "... the Portuguese are not easily assimilated" (Hansard, 1980: 7671) only serves to drive a wedge deeper between communities, rather than facilitating greater understanding and interaction. The perpetuation of ethnic stereotypes with regard to immigrants (or any other group for that matter) serves no useful purpose in our society.

Rather than criticising immigrants for a "failure" to adapt, or a reluctance to integrate into White South African society or become citizens of this country, attention should instead be focused on the circumstances in the receiving country that mitigate against such adaptive actions on the part of immigrants. Instead of lamenting the low naturalisation rate and high remigration rate and

blaming it on the immigrants themselves, efforts should be aimed at making the political and economic circumstances in South Africa more conducive to permanent settlement. As long as South African citizenship continues to hold as many disadvantages as it currently does relative to other countries, immigrants will not become naturalised in large numbers. As long as immigrants are resented and made to feel unwelcome by members of the host society, they will be reluctant to integrate fully into the social and cultural life of this country. As long as South Africa continues to suffer economically as a result of its racial policies, immigrants will remain disenchanted with their progress in this country. As long as the political climate in South Africa remains tense, it will continue to be a less desirable destination for prospective immigrants.

## APPENDIX A

## IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION STATISTICS

TABLE A.1  
IMMIGRANTS AND EMIGRANTS, 1945 TO 1985

Year	Immigrants	Emigrants	Gain/loss
1945	2 949	4 881	- 1 932
1946	12 030	9 095	+ 2 935
1947	29 827	8 040	+ 21 787
1948	36 734	7 623	+ 29 111
1949	15 576	9 403	+ 6 173
1950	13 663	14 956	- 1 293
1951	15 890	15 546	+ 344
1952	18 975	9 877	+ 9 098
1953	17 267	10 324	+ 6 943
1954	16 719	11 461	+ 5 258
1955	16 684	12 636	+ 4 048
1956	15 238	13 031	+ 2 207
1957	14 631	11 034	+ 3 597
1958	14 701	8 954	+ 5 747
1959	12 598	9 502	+ 3 096
1960	9 805	12 705	- 2 900
1961	16 373	15 046	+ 1 327
1962	20 972	9 162	+ 11 810
1963	38 013	7 272	+ 30 741
1964	40 896	8 293	+ 32 603
1965	38 337	9 479	+ 28 858
1966	48 051	10 289	+ 37 762
1967	38 937	11 289	+ 27 648
1968	40 548	10 945	+ 29 603
1969	41 446	9 313	+ 32 133
1970	41 523	9 278	+ 32 245
1971	31 845	8 407	+ 27 438
1972	32 776	7 884	+ 24 892
1973	24 016	6 401	+ 17 615
1974	35 910	7 428	+ 28 482
1975	50 464	10 255	+ 40 209
1976	46 239	15 641	+ 30 598
1977	24 822	26 000	- 1 178
1978	18 669	20 686	- 2 017
1979	18 680	15 694	+ 2 986
1980	29 365	11 363	+ 18 002
1981	41 542	8 791	+ 32 751
1982	45 784	6 832	+ 38 952
1983	30 483	8 247	+ 22 236
1984	28 793	14 833	+ 13 960
1985	17 284	8 713	+ 8 571

TABLE A.2  
 VARIOUS IMMIGRANT GROUPS AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL IMMIGRANTS: COUNTRY OF PREVIOUS  
 PERMANENT RESIDENCE

Year	Total Europe %	United Kingdom %	Germany %	Nether- lands %	Italy %	Portu- gal %	Greece %	Rest of Europe %
1945	60,4	48,2	1,1	0,4	2,6	0,3	0,5	7,4
1946	78,6	65,9	0,9	2,1	3,6	0,3	0,8	5,1
1947	85,6	72,2	0,9	3,1	3,4	0,2	0,8	4,9
1948	88,5	73,2	1,2	5,5	2,0	0,2	0,5	5,8
1949	84,8	57,3	4,0	11,1	2,9	0,4	0,5	8,6
1950	81,1	35,6	13,7	15,8	4,9	0,5	0,7	9,9
1951	84,9	35,7	14,7	16,0	7,2	0,6	0,8	9,8
1952	87,4	35,2	12,8	23,3	5,1	0,5	0,7	9,8
1953	81,5	30,6	16,6	19,9	5,1	1,0	0,7	7,6
1954	78,8	28,1	13,1	19,3	7,9	2,0	1,1	7,4
1955	77,5	26,9	11,6	17,2	9,3	2,6	1,5	8,4
1956	78,0	29,7	11,0	11,7	11,3	3,0	1,9	9,3
1957	76,5	32,9	8,3	8,3	8,5	1,8	1,9	14,8
1958	70,4	32,1	8,7	12,9	6,2	1,9	1,3	7,2
1959	71,5	31,8	9,6	13,5	5,2	2,1	1,9	7,4
1960	65,6	25,7	9,1	5,2	7,3	5,3	4,0	8,9
1961	46,7	17,9	5,5	2,5	5,8	4,0	4,6	6,3
1962	50,9	27,7	6,7	2,7	3,5	2,0	2,9	5,4
1963	49,7	29,8	5,9	2,1	1,6	2,6	3,1	4,6
1964	60,8	34,1	7,6	2,7	1,9	4,5	4,3	5,7
1965	72,0	31,6	9,4	3,5	4,0	11,2	4,7	7,6
1966	69,7	29,3	6,9	2,9	4,9	14,9	3,3	7,6
1967	70,8	35,0	8,5	4,5	4,0	7,4	2,5	8,8
1968	75,2	40,3	9,7	4,0	4,0	4,7	2,6	10,0
1969	76,9	41,6	8,2	3,6	3,5	3,5	2,1	17,9
1970	81,1	51,3	7,4	3,4	2,4	3,7	1,6	11,4
1971	81,7	49,4	8,2	3,4	2,2	2,8	2,3	13,3
1972	82,9	55,3	7,1	3,5	2,2	2,7	2,1	10,2
1973	76,7	47,6	7,7	3,6	2,0	2,0	1,6	12,2
1974	76,3	52,1	6,5	2,5	1,6	1,9	1,2	10,6
1975	75,9	51,0	5,9	1,8	1,3	4,7	0,8	10,5
1976	70,0	48,1	4,1	1,6	1,4	5,6	0,7	8,5
1977	56,3	36,3	3,1	1,3	1,5	6,6	0,9	6,5
1978	47,4	30,7	2,7	1,6	1,4	2,6	0,8	5,0
1979	34,0	22,0	2,3	1,0	1,0	3,4	0,5	3,7
1980	50,5	37,7	2,6	1,5	1,0	2,6	0,6	4,5
1981	56,0	45,0	2,6	1,2	0,6	1,5	0,5	4,7
1982	66,0	48,4	3,6	1,5	0,6	1,8	0,5	9,9
1983	58,5	41,5	4,4	2,1	0,8	2,3	0,7	6,8
1984	56,9	37,5	4,0	2,0	0,9	4,1	0,8	7,6
1985	59,2	33,8	4,5	1,9	1,2	7,8	1,0	8,9

TABLE A.2 (continued)  
 VARIOUS IMMIGRANT GROUPS AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL IMMIGRANTS: COUNTRY OF PREVIOUS  
 PERMANENT RESIDENCE

Year	Total Africa %	British Africa %	Portuguese Africa %	Rest of Africa %	Rest of world %
1945	9,3	3,5	1,7	4,2	30,2
1946	5,9	1,3	0,6	3,9	15,5
1947	3,5	0,9	0,4	2,3	10,9
1948	2,9	0,7	0,4	1,8	8,6
1949	4,0	1,0	1,0	2,0	11,2
1950	7,2	1,1	1,4	4,7	11,7
1951	6,2	1,0	1,2	4,2	8,9
1952	6,3	1,0	1,6	3,6	6,3
1953	9,0	1,7	1,8	5,5	9,6
1954	14,9	3,5	2,5	9,0	6,3
1955	15,2	2,1	3,3	9,8	7,3
1956	15,6	3,0	6,6	6,0	6,5
1957	18,3	4,6	2,5	11,3	5,2
1958	24,3	6,6	2,4	15,3	5,4
1959	22,3	5,6	2,9	13,7	6,2
1960	28,1	8,9	4,2	15,1	6,3
1961	47,5	14,6	6,0	26,9	5,8
1962	44,2	14,0	4,4	25,8	4,9
1963	46,6	16,6	1,9	16,6	3,7
1964	35,3	12,4	2,8	20,1	4,0
1965	23,6	6,8	3,0	13,8	4,4
1966	25,8	8,2	3,1	14,5	4,5
1967	24,8	8,2	2,3	14,3	4,4
1968	20,9	5,8	2,1	13,0	3,9
1969	18,8	6,2	1,3	11,3	4,3
1970	14,7	5,0	0,4	9,3	4,2
1971	12,9	4,1	0,4	8,3	5,4
1972	11,0	3,9	0,7	6,4	6,1
1973	16,4	6,3	0,7	9,4	6,9
1974	17,3	7,1	0,8	9,4	6,5
1975	18,8	5,6	4,6	8,6	5,3
1976	23,2	10,0	4,3	8,9	6,7
1977	25,5	18,7	5,1	1,6	18,2
1978	47,4	24,6	3,7	19,2	5,2
1979	61,8	23,3	2,2	36,3	4,2
1980	44,6	24,4	1,4	18,8	4,9
1981	40,2	31,7	0,7	7,7	3,8
1982	30,7	21,4	0,6	8,6	3,4
1983	37,2	25,7	0,7	10,8	4,3
1984	37,3	26,1	1,0	16,2	5,8
1985	33,5	23,1	2,2	12,6	7,3

TABLE A.3  
 OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES OF IMMIGRANTS TO SOUTH AFRICA, 1956 TO 1985

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 Column A = Total economically active  
 Column B = Professional, technical  
 Column C = Managerial, administrative  
 Column D = Clerical  
 Column E = Sales  
 Column F = Production  
 Column G = Other  
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Year	A %	B %	C %	D %	E %	F %	G %
1956	49,5	11,4	0,8	4,6	3,6	21,3	7,9
1957	44,2	11,2	0,8	4,8	4,0	16,9	6,6
1958	43,3	11,1	0,7	5,2	3,6	15,7	7,0
1959	43,7	12,1	1,1	5,3	4,2	14,4	6,7
1960	46,3	10,5	1,1	5,5	4,3	15,7	9,3
1961	40,4	7,9	3,5	5,5	1,9	13,6	8,0
1962	39,4	9,3	2,8	5,7	2,2	12,9	6,5
1963	36,9	7,7	2,2	4,9	1,9	16,4	3,8
1964	38,1	7,8	1,7	5,2	2,2	17,8	3,4
1965	41,3	8,3	1,6	5,4	2,6	20,7	2,7
1966	41,9	8,4	1,8	5,6	2,5	21,2	2,4
1967	40,7	9,6	2,1	6,1	2,4	18,2	2,3
1968	38,4	9,5	1,9	6,2	1,9	17,0	1,9
1969	42,5	11,2	2,0	7,8	2,1	17,2	2,3
1970	45,0	12,2	2,1	9,2	2,3	16,8	2,4
1971	46,1	11,9	1,9	8,8	2,2	18,7	2,5
1972	44,5	12,3	2,0	6,8	2,0	17,6	3,7
1973	45,5	14,2	1,7	8,1	2,7	15,6	3,3
1974	50,2	17,3	2,3	9,1	2,7	16,3	2,6
1975	39,8	11,3	1,9	6,7	2,0	16,1	1,8
1976	42,8	12,9	3,4	7,8	2,4	13,9	2,4
1977	41,9	12,6	3,5	7,8	2,6	9,8	5,6
1978	42,7	12,4	2,8	7,8	3,6	10,5	5,8
1979	42,4	12,4	2,7	8,3	3,8	9,1	6,0
1980	43,3	12,8	3,0	7,9	3,2	10,6	5,8
1981	41,1	12,0	2,7	7,0	2,4	12,9	4,2
1982	48,9	12,8	2,9	7,1	2,4	16,7	7,0
1983	45,9	12,9	3,6	7,6	3,0	13,0	5,9
1984	46,7	13,6	4,2	7,5	3,1	12,7	5,7
1985	45,2	13,2	4,2	7,0	3,1	12,6	5,1

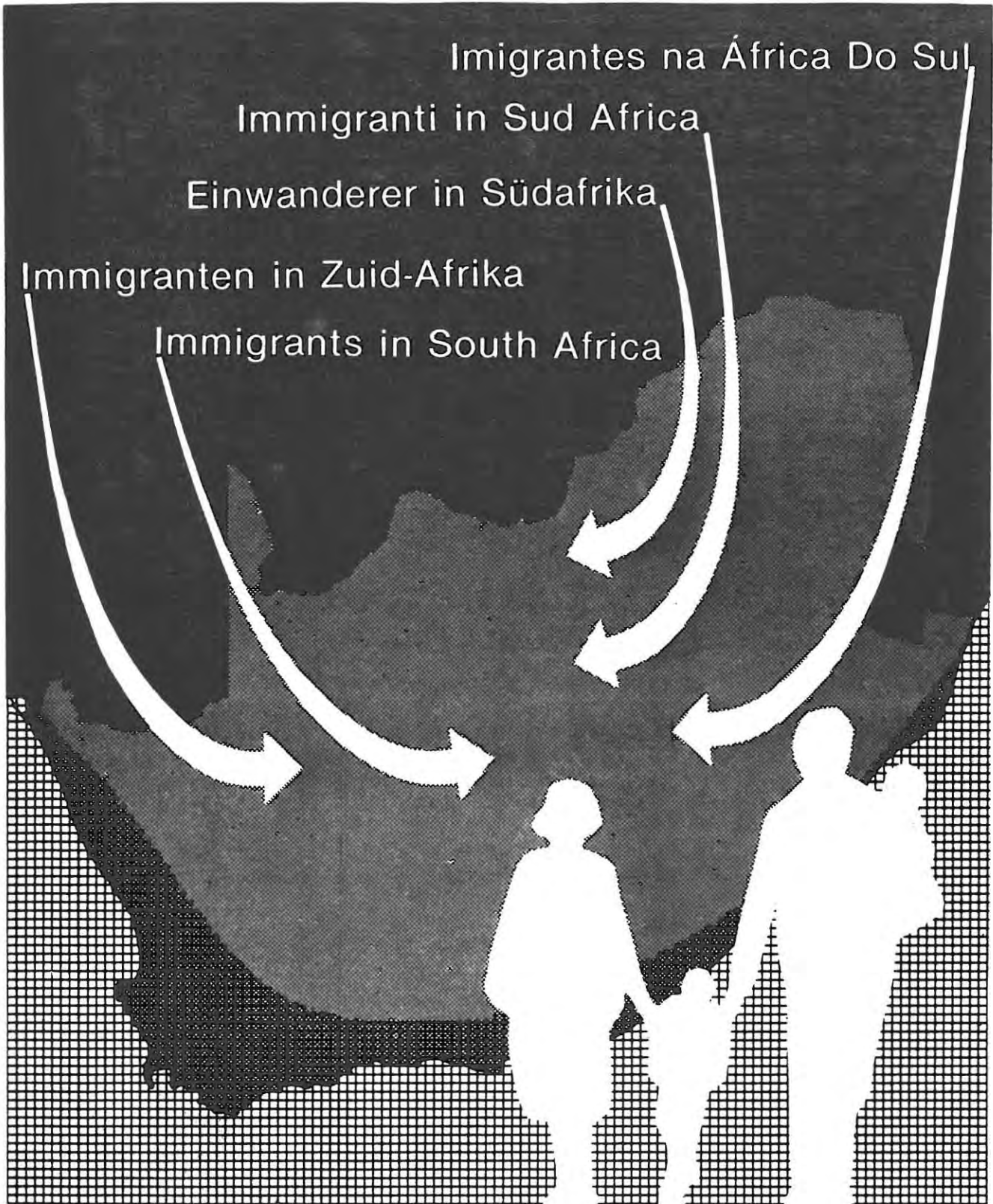
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TABLE A.4  
DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS IN TERMS OF GENDER AND MARITAL STATUS

Year	Gender distribution		Marital status		
	Male %	Female %	Never married %	Married %	Other %
1945	46,2	53,8	37,7	59,0	3,3
1946	47,4	52,6	42,1	53,5	4,4
1947	57,6	42,4	44,0	51,3	4,7
1948	50,8	49,2	45,2	49,8	5,0
1949	50,1	49,9	47,1	47,4	5,5
1950	48,9	51,1	49,5	45,3	5,2
1951	51,2	48,8	46,8	48,6	4,6
1952	52,4	47,6	47,8	48,2	4,0
1953	52,4	47,6	50,5	46,1	3,4
1954	54,8	45,2	52,1	44,2	3,7
1955	54,6	45,4	51,7	44,5	3,8
1956	55,1	44,9	53,1	43,1	3,8
1957	52,6	47,4	51,7	44,7	3,6
1958	52,3	47,7	51,7	44,3	4,0
1959	50,5	49,5	50,8	44,7	4,5
1960	53,0	47,0	51,1	44,8	4,1
1961	56,0	44,0	52,1	44,0	3,9
1962	54,0	46,0	51,4	44,7	3,9
1963	54,0	46,0	50,8	46,3	2,9
1964	54,9	45,1	51,5	45,6	2,9
1965	55,0	45,0	51,6	45,5	2,9
1966	54,8	45,2	49,7	47,2	3,5
1967	53,3	46,7	49,6	46,8	3,6
1968	53,5	46,5	49,2	47,5	3,3
1969	53,6	46,4	49,0	47,6	3,4
1970	52,5	47,5	49,0	48,0	3,0
1971	53,3	46,7	49,1	48,4	2,5
1972	52,0	48,0	47,7	49,7	2,6
1973	52,1	47,9	46,8	49,7	3,5
1974	51,9	48,1	-	-	-
1975	53,2	46,8	-	-	-
1976	51,1	48,9	-	-	-
1977	50,1	49,9	-	-	-
1978	50,0	50,0	-	-	-
1979	49,6	50,4	-	-	-
1980	51,0	49,0	-	-	-
1981	52,8	47,2	-	-	-
1982	51,6	48,4	-	-	-
1983	51,6	48,4	-	-	-
1984	51,5	48,5	-	-	-
1985	50,4	49,6	-	-	-

TABLE A.5  
AGE DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS

Year	0 - 19 %	20 - 34 %	35 - 64 %	65+ %
1945	22,0	48,7	27,5	1,8
1946	22,7	45,2	29,3	2,7
1947	21,4	38,9	36,4	3,3
1948	25,8	34,5	36,2	3,4
1949	27,0	32,2	36,1	4,7
1950	29,1	33,0	34,2	3,7
1951	26,3	36,0	34,2	3,6
1952	28,9	37,7	30,7	2,6
1953	29,4	40,6	27,4	2,6
1954	29,0	41,9	26,6	2,8
1955	29,6	43,6	24,3	2,5
1956	29,0	45,2	23,4	2,3
1957	32,2	41,3	24,1	2,4
1958	35,0	37,9	24,3	2,8
1959	33,2	39,1	24,5	3,2
1960	31,2	41,1	24,8	2,8
1961	35,1	37,2	25,0	2,7
1962	36,2	35,2	25,6	2,9
1963	37,6	34,3	25,8	2,3
1964	35,9	37,9	24,2	1,9
1965	33,2	41,9	22,7	2,2
1966	32,8	42,0	23,1	2,1
1967	32,0	43,3	22,2	2,4
1968	30,6	45,9	21,0	2,4
1969	30,4	46,7	20,5	2,4
1970	31,6	46,1	20,0	2,3
1971	30,7	49,7	17,8	1,8
1972	31,6	48,6	17,7	2,1
1973	29,5	48,6	19,4	2,5
1974	25,9	46,4	22,9	2,7
1975	32,6	43,9	21,2	2,3
1976	31,1	43,6	22,1	3,2
1977	31,2	38,2	25,3	5,3
1978	30,0	35,5	27,8	6,6
1979	30,7	33,0	29,1	7,3
1980	31,1	35,5	27,7	5,7
1981	34,8	34,6	26,2	4,4
1982	28,9	39,8	27,1	4,2
1983	27,3	38,1	28,9	5,7
1984	27,2	39,6	28,0	5,2
1985	27,5	40,2	27,0	5,2



DIVISION: GROUP INTERACTION

## QUESTIONNAIRE : IMMIGRANTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

### INSTRUCTIONS:

\* Apart from English, this questionnaire is available in the following languages:

Dutch	1
German	2
Portuguese	3
Italian	4

Should you rather complete the questionnaire in one of the other languages listed above, please circle the number next to the language you prefer and return the questionnaire in the envelope provided. We will send you another questionnaire in the language of your choice.

- \* Only the person to whom the questionnaire is addressed should complete it. Please do not give it to someone else to complete.
- \* There are no right or wrong answers, therefore please give only your honest and personal opinion. The numbers appearing opposite each question are not marks that will be awarded, but are only codes for the computer.
- \* Please feel free to write any comments you may have next to the question concerned. If you are not sure how to answer a particular question, or your answer differs from those provided for the question, please write your answer alongside the question. Space is also provided at the end of the questionnaire for any general comments you may have. However, do not write anything in the column marked FOR OFFICE USE ONLY. Please complete the questionnaire in pencil.
- \* Where the question consists of a numbered block for each answer, simply indicate your answer by drawing a circle around the number provided for that answer. .

For example:

What is your sex?

Male	①
Female	2

- \* Where the question is followed by a dotted line, please write your answer as fully as possible in the space provided.

For example: In what year did you arrive in South Africa? 1984

- \* Please return the completed questionnaire in the enclosed envelope as soon as possible.

1

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FOR OFFICE USE ONLY	CARD NUMBER	1	1
	RECORD NUMBER		2-7

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. In what country were you born? ----- 

--	--	--

 8-10
  
2. What is your nationality? (Of which country are you a citizen?)  
----- 

--	--	--

 11-13
  
3. In what year did you arrive in South Africa?  
----- 

--	--

 14-15
  
4. In what year did you receive permanent residence status in South Africa? ----- 

--	--

 16-17
  
5. What was your previous country of residence (in which country did you live permanently before you came to South Africa)?  
----- 

--	--	--

 18-20
  
6. In your previous country, did you live:
 

In a city	1
In a town	2
On a farm	3

--	--

 21
  
7. What is your sex?
 

Male	1
Female	2

--	--

 22
  
8. In what year were you born? ----- 

--	--

 23-24
  
9. What is your marital status?
 

Single	1
Married	2
Divorced/separated	3
Widowed	4

--	--

 25

IF YOU ARE OR WERE MARRIED, PLEASE ANSWER QUESTIONS 10, 11, 12 AND 13. IF YOU HAVE NEVER BEEN MARRIED, CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 14.

10. In what year were you married? -----

26-27

11. What is/was your husband's/wife's nationality?  
-----

28-30

12. How many children do you have? -----

31-32

IF YOU HAVE NO CHILDREN, CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 14

13. For each child please give their year of birth and sex (in order from oldest to youngest):

	Year of birth	Sex (M or F)
1.	-----	-----
2.	-----	-----
3.	-----	-----
4.	-----	-----
5.	-----	-----
6.	-----	-----

33-35

36-38

39-41

42-44

45-47

48-50

14. What is/was your father's nationality? -----

51-53

15. What is/was your mother's nationality? -----

54-56

16. Where do the following members of your family live at the present time?

	Not applicable - e.g. deceased, not married	South Africa	Elsewhere (Please specify)	
Your parents	0	1	-----	57-59
Your brothers and sisters	0	1	-----	60-62
Your children	0	1	-----	63-65
If you are married, your husband's wife's parents	0	1	-----	66-68
If you are married, your husband's/wife's brothers and sisters	0	1	-----	69-71

1 & 2

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY	PROJECT NUMBER	S	D	A	E	5	R	1
	CARD NUMBER							

74-80

1

2-7

17. What is your highest educational qualification?

-----

--	--

8-9

IMMIGRATION TO SOUTH AFRICA

18. What were your main reasons for deciding to leave your previous country?

-----

-----

-----

--	--	--

10-12

--	--

13-14

--	--

15-16

19. What were your main reasons for choosing to immigrate to South Africa rather than another country?

-----

-----

-----

--	--	--

17-19

--	--

20-21

--	--

22-23

20. If you could make these decisions over again, knowing what you know now, would you:

Decide not to emigrate	1
Choose another country to emigrate to	2
Still come to South Africa	3

24

2

21. How important were each of the following factors to you in your decision to immigrate to South Africa?

	Not applicable/ not at all important	Slightly important	Im- portant	Very important	
Job opportunities	1	2	3	4	25
Wages and salaries	1	2	3	4	26
Job security	1	2	3	4	27
Cost of living	1	2	3	4	28
Education system	1	2	3	4	29
Housing	1	2	3	4	30
Climate	1	2	3	4	31
Political circumstances	1	2	3	4	32
Religious circumstances	1	2	3	4	33
Family circumstances	1	2	3	4	34

22. What do you miss the most about your home country?

-----  
 -----  
 -----

			35-37
			38-39
			40-41

23. How often do you and/or your wife make/send any of the following to your home country?

	Regularly	Often	Seldom	Never	
Telephone calls	1	2	3	4	42
Letters	1	2	3	4	43
Newspapers/magazines	1	2	3	4	44
Gifts	1	2	3	4	45

24. How often do you and/or your wife receive any of the following from your home country?

	Regularly	Often	Seldom	Never	
Telephone calls	1	2	3	4	46
Letters	1	2	3	4	47
Newspapers/magazines	1	2	3	4	48
Gifts	1	2	3	4	49

25. Do you currently own any property in your home country?

Yes	1	
No	2	50

26. Did you have any close family, relatives or friends living in South Africa before you came to settle here?

	Yes	No	
Close family	1	2	51
Other relatives	1	2	52
Friends	1	2	53

27. How often had you visited South Africa before settling here?

Never	1	
Once	2	
Twice	3	
Three or more times	4	54

28. How often have you returned to your home country since settling in South Africa?

Never	1	
Once	2	
Twice	3	
Three or more times	4	55

29. Would you like to settle permanently in South Africa?

Yes	1	
No	2	
Not sure	3	56

IF YOU ANSWERED "NO" OR "NOT SURE" TO THE PREVIOUS QUESTION, PLEASE ANSWER QUESTIONS 30 AND 31.

IF YOU ANSWERED "YES" TO THE PREVIOUS QUESTION, CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 32.

30. What are your main reasons for not wanting to live permanently in South Africa?

-----				57-59
-----				60-61
-----				62-63

31. Where do you plan on going to when you leave South Africa?

-----			64-65
-------	--	--	-------

32. Do you intend to become a South African citizen once you qualify for citizenship?

Yes	1	
No	2	66

33. If you had a choice, in what country would you like to retire?  
 -----   67-68

34. Did you receive any financial assistance for your immigration to South Africa?

Yes	1	
No	2	69

IF YOU ANSWERED "YES" TO THE PREVIOUS QUESTION, PLEASE ANSWER QUESTION 35.  
 IF YOU ANSWERED "NO" TO THE PREVIOUS QUESTION, CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 36.

35. From whom did you receive assistance?  
 -----   70-71

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY	PROJECT NUMBER	S	D	A	E	5	R	1	74-80
	CARD NUMBER							3	1

2-7

36. Have the following been of any assistance to you in your settlement in South Africa?

	Yes	No		
Immigration officials	1	2	8	
The 1820 Settlers' Association	1	2	9	
The European Immigration Company	1	2	10	
Other immigrant assistance organisations (specify) -----	1	2	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> 11-12
Private welfare organisations (specify) -----	1	2	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> 13-14
Employers	1	2	15	
Sports or other clubs or associations (specify) -----	1	2	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> 16-17
Church	1	2	18	
Neighbours	1	2	19	
Other immigrants	1	2	20	
Relatives	1	2	21	
Other (please specify) -----	1	2	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> 22-23

3

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37. Do you feel that enough is being done to make immigrants feel at home in South Africa?

Yes	1
No	2

24

IF YOU ANSWERED "NO" TO THE PREVIOUS QUESTION, PLEASE ANSWER QUESTION 38.

IF YOU ANSWERED "YES" TO THE PREVIOUS QUESTION, CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 39.

38. Do you have any specific ideas or recommendations about what could be done to make immigrants feel more at home in South Africa?

-----

-----

-----

			25-27
			28-29
			30-31

LIFE IN SOUTH AFRICA

39. What is your current occupational status? Are you:

An employer (other people work for you)	1
An employee (you work for someone else)	2
Self-employed (you work for yourself)	3
A housewife	4
A student	5
Unemployed	6
Retired/disabled (unable to work)	7
Other (please specify) -----	8

32

40. If you are currently working (employer, employee or self-employed), please describe fully what type of work you do (e.g. teacher, salesman, shopkeeper, driver):

-----

		33-34
--	--	-------

41. How many different jobs have you had since coming to South Africa (including your present job)? -----

		35-36
--	--	-------

42. If you have had two or more different jobs, please describe what type of work you did in your first job in South Africa: -----

		37-38
--	--	-------

43. Please describe what type of work you did in your last job in your previous country: -----

		39-40
--	--	-------

44. Do you belong to or attend any organisations or clubs, such as sports clubs, social clubs, or any other type of club?

Yes	1	
No	2	41

45. If yes, please name all the organisations or clubs which you belong to or attend (including organisations or clubs exclusively for people of your own nationality):

- 1. -----
- 2. -----
- 3. -----
- 4. -----
- 5. -----

			42-44
			45-46
			47-48
			49-50
			51-52

46. What church or religious denomination do you belong to (e.g. Roman Catholic, Methodist)? -----

		53-54
--	--	-------

47. How often do you attend church?

Regularly (once a week or more)	1	
Often (two or three times a month)	2	
Seldom (once a month or less)	3	
Never	4	55

3

48. How active is your present social life compared to what it was like in your home country?

Much more active now	1
More active now	2
About the same	3
Less active now	4
Much less active now	5

56

49. Thinking about your close friends, how many are of the same nationality as yourself?

All	1
Most	2
Some	3
None	4

57

50. How many of your close friends are English-speaking South Africans?

All	1
Most	2
Some	3
None	4

58

51. How many of your close friends are Afrikaans-speaking South Africans?

All	1
Most	2
Some	3
None	4

59

52. How many of your close friends are immigrants of other nationalities?

All	1
Most	2
Some	3
None	4

60

53. How do you rate the attitude of South Africans in general towards immigrants?

Very positive	1	
Positive	2	
Neither positive nor negative	3	
Negative	4	
Very negative	5	61

54. Please list all the newspapers you read, and circle how often you read each one (Please include publications from your home country that you read).

Name of newspaper	How often do you read this newspaper?				
	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Occasionally	
1. _____	1	2	3	4	62
2. _____	1	2	3	4	63
3. _____	1	2	3	4	64
4. _____	1	2	3	4	65

55. Do you have a television set in your home?

Yes	1	
No	2	66

56. How often do you watch news programmes on television?

Regularly (every day)	1	
Often (a few times a week)	2	
Seldom (about once a week)	3	
Rarely (about once a month or less)	4	67

57. What languages could you speak before coming to South Africa?

1. _____			68-69
2. _____			70
3. _____			71
4. _____			72

3 & 4

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FOR OFFICE USE ONLY	PROJECT NUMBER	S	D	A	E	5	R	1	74-80
	CARD NUMBER							4	1

2-7

58. How well do you speak English now?

Fluently	1		
Averagely	2		
Poorly	3		
Not at all	4		8

59. How well do you speak Afrikaans now?

Fluently	1		
Averagely	2		
Poorly	3		
Not at all	4		9

60. What language do you speak most at home?

-----

		10-11
--	--	-------

61. What language would you prefer your children to speak at home?

-----

		12-13
--	--	-------

62. What language(s) do you generally speak at work?

-----

		14-15
--	--	-------

63. Have you attended any language courses (in English or Afrikaans) since your arrival in South Africa?

Yes, in English	1		
Yes, in Afrikaans	2		
Yes, in English and Afrikaans	3		
No	4		16

IF ANSWERED "YES" TO THE PREVIOUS QUESTION, PLEASE ANSWER QUESTIONS 64 AND 65.

IF YOU ANSWERED "NO" TO THE PREVIOUS QUESTION, CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 66.

64. IF YES, which organization presented this course?  
 -----   17-18

65. How useful did you find this course?

Very useful	1	
Useful	2	
Not at all useful	3	19

66. People identify themselves in many different ways. For example some people would regard themselves as Portuguese, English and so on, others may see themselves as South Africans, and yet others as Greek-South Africans, German-South Africans, etc. How would you identify yourself?  
 -----   20-21

IF YOU HAVE CHILDREN, PLEASE ANSWER QUESTION 67.  
 IF YOU DO NOT HAVE ANY CHILDREN, PLEASE CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 68.

67. How would you like your children to identify themselves?  
 -----   22-23

68. Approximately how long have you lived at your present address (if less than one year, how many months)?  
 ----- years or ----- months    24-26

69. Is your present accommodation temporary or permanent (temporary means that you are living in a hotel, boarding house, etc. and are looking for a house or flat to buy or rent)?

Temporary	1	
Permanent	2	27

IF YOU ANSWERED "TEMPORARY" TO THE PREVIOUS QUESTION, PLEASE ANSWER QUESTION 70.

IF YOU ANSWERED "PERMANENT" TO THE PREVIOUS QUESTION, PLEASE CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 71.

4

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70. If temporary, for how long have you been looking for more permanent accommodation? \_\_\_\_\_ years or \_\_\_\_\_ months

--	--	--

28-30

71. How satisfied are you with your present accommodation?

Very satisfied	1	
Satisfied	2	
Mixed feelings	3	
Dissatisfied	4	
Very dissatisfied	5	31

72. How satisfied are you with your present job?

Not applicable - do not work	0	
Very satisfied	1	
Satisfied	2	
Mixed feelings	3	
Dissatisfied	4	
Very dissatisfied	5	32

73. How satisfied is your husband/wife with his/her present job?

Not applicable - not married or husband/wife does not work	0	
Very satisfied	1	
Satisfied	2	
Mixed feelings	3	
Dissatisfied	4	
Very dissatisfied	5	33

74. How satisfied are you with your general standard of living in South Africa?

Very satisfied	1	
Satisfied	2	
Mixed feelings	3	
Dissatisfied	4	
Very dissatisfied	5	34

75. How does your general standard of living in South Africa compare with that in your home country? Is your general standard of living in South Africa:

Much higher than in your home country	1	
Higher than in your home country	2	
About the same as in your home country	3	
Lower than in your home country	4	
Much lower than in your home country	5	
Uncertain or do not know	6	35

76. Compared with your life in your home country, how happy are you with your life in South Africa? Are you:

Much more happy in South Africa	1	
More happy in South Africa	2	
About the same	3	
More unhappy in South Africa	4	
Much more unhappy in South Africa	5	36

IF YOU ARE MARRIED, PLEASE ANSWER QUESTIONS 77 AND 78.

IF YOU ARE UNMARRIED, PLEASE CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 79.

4

77. How happy is your husband/wife with life in South Africa?

Very happy	1	
Happy	2	
Mixed feelings	3	
Unhappy	4	
Very unhappy	5	37

IF YOU HAVE CHILDREN, PLEASE ANSWER QUESTION 78.

IF YOU HAVE NO CHILDREN, CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 79.

78. How happy are your children with life in South Africa?

Very happy	1	
Happy	2	
Mixed feelings	3	
Unhappy	4	
Very unhappy	5	38

POLITICAL ATTITUDES

We realise that the next few questions may be sensitive. However, we require this information to make a scientific analysis of the data. We wish to remind you that you remain completely anonymous and your answers are treated as strictly confidential.

79. In your view, is there more or less racial discrimination in South Africa than what you expected when you arrived in this country? Is there:

More discrimination than you expected	1	
Just as much as you expected	2	
Less discrimination than you expected	3	
Uncertain or do not know	4	39

4

80. How do you generally feel about the race policies of the South African Government? In your opinion, are these policies:

Totally right	1	
Right	2	
Neither right nor wrong	3	
Wrong	4	
Totally wrong	5	
Uncertain or do not know	6	40

81. Have you changed your opinion regarding the South African Government's race policies since coming to this country? Are you now:

More in favour of the Government's race policies	1	
More opposed to the Government's race policies	2	
Unchanged in your opinion of the Government's race policies	3	
Uncertain or do not know	4	41

82. If the South African Government were to decide on a system of one person one vote for all race groups in South Africa, how would you feel? Would you:

Welcome such a move	1	
Oppose such a move	2	
Neither welcome nor oppose it	3	
Uncertain or do not know	4	42

83. Some people feel that people of your nationality are still faced with prejudice and even discrimination in South Africa. How often would you say these things happen to you?

Often	1	
Sometimes	2	
Seldom	3	
Never	4	
Don't know	5	43

84. How do you feel about the extension of compulsory military service to immigrants (permanent residents) in South Africa? Do you:

Strongly approve	1	
Approve	2	
Neither approve nor disapprove	3	
Disapprove	4	
Strongly disapprove	5	44

85. How interested were you in politics in your previous country?

Very interested	1	
Fairly interested	2	
Slightly interested	3	
Not at all interested	4	45

86. How interested are you in South African politics?

Very interested	1	
Fairly interested	2	
Slightly interested	3	
Not at all interested	4	46

87. Which political party in South Africa do you favour the most?

None	01	
National Party	02	
Progressive Federal Party	03	
Conservative Party	04	
New Republic Party	05	
Herstigte Nasionale Party	06	
Other (please specify) -----		
Uncertain or do not know	07	47-48

GENERAL COMMENTS

88. What is the biggest problem you have faced as an immigrant in South Africa?

-----  
-----  
-----  
-----

			49-51
			52-53
			54-55

89. What advice would you give to someone from your previous country who was considering emigrating to South Africa?

-----  
-----  
-----  
-----

			56-58
			59-60
			61-62

90. Do you have any further comments, suggestions or problems you feel may be of importance to those working with immigrants in South Africa?

-----  
-----  
-----  
-----  
-----  
-----  
-----  
-----  
-----  
-----

			63-65
			66-67
			68-69
			70-71
			72-73

THANK YOU FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION IN THIS PROJECT

PROJECT NUMBER	S	D	A	E	5	R	1	74-80
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Instituut vir Sosiologiese  
en Demografiese Navorsing  
(ISODEM)

Institute for Sociological  
and Demographic Research  
(ISODEM)

Navrae **M.P. Couper**  
Enquiries

Telefoon (012)708052 Bylyn **2513**  
Telephone 704206, 709089 Extension

Verwysing **SDAE/5/R/1**  
Reference

U verwysing  
Your reference



RGN·HSRC

Dear Sir/Madam,

The Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) conducts research on a wide range of social matters among all groups in South Africa, for example research on family planning, educational matters, unemployment, the problems of the aged, intergroup relations and so on.

At the request of a number of organizations involved in assisting immigrants in South Africa, the HSRC is undertaking an extensive program of research into the problems experienced by immigrants, and how these problems can best be overcome. The enclosed questionnaire forms part of this program. By completing it you can be of great assistance to us in this project.

Your name has been selected by chance as one of more than 10 000 holders of permanent residence visas included in this project. Your opinions are important to the researchers as you speak on behalf of many other people who have similar feelings on these matters. Please complete the enclosed questionnaire whether you have lived in South Africa all your life, or whether you have recently arrived in this country. Whatever your circumstances are, we are interested in learning about your life in South Africa. All the information that you provide will be treated with the strictest confidentiality. We are not interested in your name or address, and such personal references are erased from the computer as soon as the completed questionnaire has been received.

Kindly read the instructions on the first page of the attached questionnaire before answering the questions.

We appreciate your co-operation in this important research project.

Yours faithfully

MICK COUPER  
SENIOR RESEARCHER: DIVISION GROUP INTERACTION

HEAD OFFICE:

2nd FLOOR VELRA HOUSE  
BUREAU AVENUE  
P O BOX 1283  
PRETORIA  
0001  
TEL: 21-1906/7

# MAATSKAPPY VIR EUROPESE IMMIGRASIE EUROPEAN IMMIGRATION COMPANY

(REG. NO. 05/34847/08)

INGELYFDE VERENIGING SONDER WINSOOGMERK  
INCORPORATED ASSOCIATION NOT FOR GAIN  
FO 02 200053 0008

HOOFKANTOOR:

VELRAHUIS 2e VLOER  
BUREAULAAN  
POSBUS 1283  
PRETORIA  
0001  
TEL: 21-1906/7

The European Immigration Company is an organisation responsible for assisting immigrants in overcoming their settling-in problems in South Africa, no matter how small or how big such problems may be. We have for some time now, been under the impression that a thorough scientific research of the problems which immigrants experience in settling happily in South Africa, is required. We have, therefore, requested the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) to undertake such research to enable us to render a better and more thorough service to immigrants in this regard. As a consequence, a questionnaire was posted to you by the HSRC during October 1985, seeking your co-operation in filling in the questionnaire.

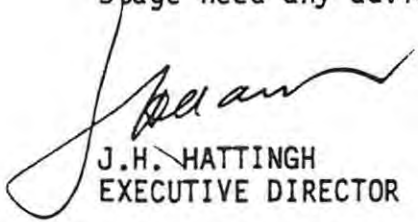
If for some reason, such questionnaire

- (a) did not reach you, or
- (b) was mislaid by you, or
- (c) thought of as not important enough to give any attention to, or
- (d) is required in another language, we would like to hear from you.

If, on the other hand you did receive the questionnaire, may we please urge you to complete same and return it to the HSRC in the envelope provided as soon as possible.

May we point out again that, by filling in the questionnaire, you will be supporting a very important scientific research project. The information gathered in this way will only be used for drawing scientific conclusions in order to provide a better settling-in service to immigrants. You will also note that you are not required to indicate, either in the questionnaire itself or on the envelope, who completed and returned the form. Thus, the information gathered will be used for scientific deduction only and will under no circumstances be made available to any other person or party.

Thank you in advance for your co-operation in this regard. We trust that your stay in South Africa will be a happy and prosperous one and should you at any stage need any advice or assistance, please do not hesitate to contact us.



J.H. HATTINGH  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

P.S. If you have already returned the questionnaire, we would like to thank you for your participation in this project.

HOOFKANTOOR: 2de Vloer Velrahus Bureaulaan Posbus 1283 PRETORIA 0001 TEL 21-1906/7	STREEKKANTOOR: DURBAN Protea-huis 417 Weststraat Posbus 5392 DURBAN 4000 31-2182	GERMISTON: HF Odendaal- straat 2 Posbus 235 GERMISTON DURBAN 1400 51-5614	JOHANNESBURG Hv Agste & Solomonstraat Vrededorp Posbus 8701 JOHANNESBURG 2000 837-8323	KAAPSTAD Groote Kerk- gebou 818 Adderleystraat Posbus 1089 KAAPSTAD 8000 46-5083	P ELIZABETH Natal Bouvereniging- gebou 711 Hootstraat 30 PORT ELIZA BETH 6001 2-4544	PRETORIA Velrahus 2de Vloer Bureaulaan Posbus 2556 PRETORIA 0001 323-1428	SPRINGS Colonial Mutual gebou 304 Derdelaan Posbus 843 SPRINGS 1560 56-9977	VDBLJLPARK Exspagebou 217 Allie Fourrestraat Posbus 1050 VDBLJLPARK 1900 33-2661	WELKOM Saambou gebou 110 Siateway Posbus 387 WELKOM 946C 2-5166	UITENHAGE Amarysistr 14 Fairbridge Heights UITENHAGE 623C 2-6230
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APPENDIX C  
VARIABLES FOR ANALYSIS

<u>CULTURAL ADAPTATION</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>
<u>ENGLISH FLUENCY:</u>		
Fluently	70,1	2 469
Averagely	22,9	807
Poorly	5,0	177
Not at all	1,2	41
Not ascertained	0,7	26
<u>AFRIKAANS FLUENCY:</u>		
Fluently	19,4	683
Averagely	22,1	778
Poorly	29,6	1 041
Not at all	28,0	984
Not ascertained	1,0	34
<u>HOME LANGUAGE:</u>		
English	56,1	1 974
Afrikaans	6,7	237
Both	1,5	54
Neither	34,9	1 227
Not ascertained	0,8	28
<u>WORK LANGUAGE:</u>		
English	45,4	1 599
Afrikaans	5,5	192
Both	5,2	183
Neither	29,4	1 034
Not ascertained	14,5	512
<u>CHILD LANGUAGE:</u>		
English	61,8	2 175
Afrikaans	6,9	242
Both	15,4	543
Neither	2,4	84
Not ascertained	13,5	476
<u>NEWSPAPERS:</u>		
English papers	77,0	2 711
Afrikaans papers	5,4	189
Both	8,4	296
Neither	9,2	324
<u>WATCH TV:</u>		
Regularly	63,1	2 222
Often	25,0	879
Seldom/rarely/never	11,9	419

SOCIAL ADAPTATION

PRIMARY SOCIAL ADAPTATION:

English	40,4	1 422
Afrikaans	8,8	310
Immigrants	20,9	734
Mixed	29,9	1 054

ACTIVE SOCIAL LIFE:

More active	25,3	889
Same	31,9	1 124
Less active	35,7	1 256
Not ascertained	7,1	251

CLUBS:

Host only	36,0	1 268
Host and immigrant	4,5	160
Immigrant only	5,9	209
None	53,5	1 883

ECONOMIC ADAPTATION

TENURE:

Less than 5 years (1-59 months)	49,3	1 734
5-9 years (60-119 months)	23,0	808
10 or more years	26,3	927
Not ascertained	1,4	51

SATIS ACCOMM:

Very satisfied	52,9	1 861
Satisfied	35,3	1 244
Other (mixed, dissatisfied)	10,8	380
Not ascertained	1,0	35

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS:

Employer	11,0	388
Employee	51,4	1 809
Self-employed	12,9	455
Housewife	17,2	604
Other not working	6,4	225
Not ascertained	1,1	39

CURRENT WORK:

Professional	10,2	359
Manager, owner small business, farmer	29,4	1 036
Clerical, white collar	18,0	633
Skilled and semi-skilled blue collar	17,3	610
Not ascertained/not working	25,1	882

NUMBER OF JOBS:

None	7,5	264
One	28,5	1 002
Two	21,2	745
Three or more	33,1	1 166
Not ascertained	9,7	343

<u>MOBILITY:</u>		
Downwards	17,7	622
No change	45,7	1 608
Upwards	36,6	1 290
<u>SATIS WORK:</u>		
Very satisfied	35,3	1 243
Satisfied	31,5	1 109
Mixed feelings/dissatisfied	11,1	391
Not ascertained/not applicable	22,1	777
<u>SATIS LIVE STD:</u>		
Very satisfied	24,4	858
Satisfied	50,9	1 793
Mixed feelings/dissatisfied	24,3	855
Not ascertained/don't know	0,4	14
<u>COMPARE LIVE STD:</u>		
Much higher in S.A.	11,5	406
Higher in S.A.	31,1	1 094
About the same	37,1	1 307
Lower in S.A.	13,2	465
Not ascertained/don't know	7,0	248
<u>POLITICAL ADAPTATION</u>		
<u>RACE POLICIES:</u>		
Right	30,3	1 067
Neither right nor wrong	24,9	875
Wrong	33,6	1 182
Not ascertained/don't know	11,3	396
<u>INTEREST IN POLITICS:</u>		
Very interested	26,5	932
Fairly interested	41,4	1 457
Slightly interested	21,5	757
Not at all interested	9,8	346
Not ascertained	0,8	28
<u>CHANGE IN INTEREST:</u>		
More interested	43,6	1 534
Same	43,2	1 522
Less interested	9,3	329
Not ascertained	3,8	135
<u>POLITICAL PARTY:</u>		
None	21,9	771
NP	41,0	1 444
PFP, NRP, etc.	17,4	611
CP, HNP, etc.	3,3	116
Not ascertained/don't know	16,4	578

RELIGIOUS ADAPTATION

ATTEND CHURCH:

Regularly	21,3	751
Often	10,9	382
Seldom	38,2	1 345
Never	28,6	1 005
Not ascertained	1,1	37

DENOMINATION:

Afrikaans churches	7,2	253
Anglican (CPSA)	6,5	230
Church of England	7,7	271
Methodist	5,5	192
Presbyterian	4,1	145
Catholic	38,2	1 346
Lutheran	8,4	296
Other	9,8	345
None/not ascertained	12,6	442

SUBJECTIVE ADAPTATION

(a) SATISFACTION

HAPPY:

Much more happy in S.A.	14,4	506
More happy	35,6	1 254
About the same	37,6	1 323
More unhappy/much more unhappy	7,6	269
Not ascertained	4,8	168

DECIDE OVER:

Not emigrate	12,0	424
Another country	14,8	520
Still come to S.A.	67,4	2 374
Not ascertained	5,7	202

(b) IDENTIFICATION

IDENTIFICATION:

South African	10,9	382
Hyphenated	32,6	1 147
National origin	49,6	1 745
Other	3,2	113
Not ascertained	3,8	133

(c) ACCEPTANCE

HOST ATTITUDES:

Positive	39,6	1 394
Neither positive nor negative	41,7	1 467
Negative	16,8	591
Not ascertained	1,9	68

PREJUDICE:

Often	4,6	163
Sometimes	17,9	629
Seldom	30,2	1 063
Never	42,1	1 482
Not ascertained/don't know	5,2	183

RELATED VARIABLESSETTLEMENT:

Yes	58,7	2 066
No	7,5	264
Not sure/not ascertained	33,8	1 190

CITIZENSHIP:

Yes	17,2	605
No	68,0	2 394
Not sure/not ascertained	14,8	521

PREDICTOR VARIABLESCOUNTRY OF ORIGIN:

Britain	19,8	696
Germany	18,6	654
Netherlands	20,7	757
Italy	15,5	544
Portugal	8,6	304
British Africa	11,1	391
Portuguese Africa	5,8	204

GENDER:

Male	61,3	2 158
Female	38,7	1 362

MARITAL STATUS:

Single	10,4	367
Married	81,2	2 859
Divorced/separated/widowed	8,4	294

EDUCATION:

Primary school or less	10,9	382
Secondary	63,2	2 224
Tertiary	26,0	914

AGE:

30 or younger	12,7	448
31-40	29,0	1 021
41-50	31,8	1 121
51-60	16,2	571
61 or older	8,1	285
Not ascertained	2,1	74

URBAN:

City	50,2	1 766
Town	40,9	1 441
Farm	8,4	296
Not ascertained	0,5	17

CHILDREN:

None/not ascertained	21,1	744
One	13,6	480
Two	38,0	1 338
Three or more	27,2	958

<u>RELIGION:</u>		
None	10,4	442
Catholic	38,2	1 346
Protestant	41,8	1 470
Other	9,6	262
<u>CONTACTS IN S.A.:</u>		
Close family	26,6	938
Other relatives and/or friends	33,1	1 164
No-one	40,3	1 148
<u>VISITED S.A.:</u>		
Yes	33,7	1 185
No	65,7	2 312
Not ascertained	0,7	23
<u>VISITED HOME:</u>		
Never	18,1	636
Once	18,9	667
Twice	16,2	571
Three or more times	46,2	1 625
Not ascertained	0,6	21
<u>CONTACT WITH HOME:</u>		
Low	40,3	1 419
Moderate	45,9	1 617
High	13,8	484
<u>OWN PROPERTY:</u>		
Yes	15,0	529
No	83,8	3 950
Not ascertained	1,2	41
<u>FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE:</u>		
None	60,9	2 144
S.A. Government	20,1	708
Employers	11,7	413
Other	7,2	255
<u>PROVINCE:</u>		
Cape	14,3	505
Natal	15,9	559
Transvaal	66,2	2 329
Orange Free State	3,2	111
Not ascertained	0,5	16
<u>METRO:</u>		
Metro	48,7	1 715
Non-metro	50,9	1 792
Not ascertained	0,4	13
<u>LENGTH OF RESIDENCE:</u>		
0-4 years	17,8	626
5-14 years	25,6	902
15-24 years	30,8	1 083
25 or more years	25,4	895
Not ascertained	0,4	14

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