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BRITISH EMIGRATION TO DURBAN, SOUTH AFRICA

P. H. W. JOHNSTON

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BRITISH EMIGRATION TO DURBAN,

SOUTH AFRICA

A Sociological Examination of Richardson's
Conceptual Framework

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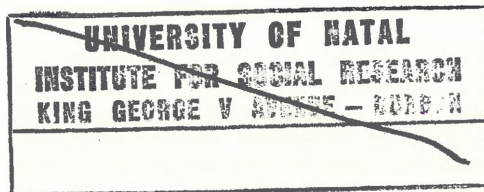
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1. OUTLINE OF PAPER:

This paper presents sociological research which indicates that British emigration to both Australia and South Africa is, in many ways, similar in respect to social attributes of the migrants. The data are presented within the conceptual framework devised by Richardson and it is propounded that the initial stage of the migration process can be fruitfully analysed by this approach.

The sequence of the paper is as follows: An outline of the conceptual framework used by Richardson in his study of British immigrants to Australia is given. This is followed by a condensed report on research undertaken by myself in 1967 of British emigrants on their arrival in Durban¹⁾. Comparisons are made, where possible, between Australian and South African immigrants, showing that certain similarities exist between the two countries. The paper concludes with a brief discussion on the findings and the efficacy of the framework used.

2. RICHARDSON'S CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK:

Richardson (1959) favours the study of the immigration process on a social psychological level. While in this paper it is neither practical nor pertinent to investigate the psychological level, the sociological concepts of Richardson's study are used as a conceptual and theoretical framework.

1. This paper is based on an unpublished M.Soc.Sc. dissertation by the author, entitled *British Emigration to Durban, South Africa*, presented to the University of Natal in November, 1968.

According to Richardson (1959: pp.328-329) the decision to emigrate can be studied under the following five headings:

(i) Disorganisation:

This concept covers the frustrations the immigrants experience in their country of origin prior to departure. Richardson sees land hunger, unemployment, religious or political persecution and social discrimination as factors which can frustrate certain individuals. He says that under these conditions some individuals will resort to rebellion, apathy, suicide or crime, while others will emigrate. Richardson goes on to say that disorganisation is not always a reason for migration. Some individuals simply become aware that another society provides easier means of attaining goals.

(ii) Dislodgement:

There are experiences in an individual's life such as war service or internal migration, to name but two examples, which tend to loosen the ties which attach him to his home region. Richardson refers to this as dislodgement.

There are many ways in which the individual can become dislodged from his home region, and perhaps the earliest experience of dislodgement for some would be attending boarding school. In adult life holidays away from home may also loosen the individual from his home region especially if they involve a visit to another country. The experience away from home during war time or national service has diminished as a dislodging factor in recent years in Britain. National service has been discontinued in Britain and war experiences are gradually receding into a more distant past. On the other hand more people travel abroad today in their private capacity, and until recently the experience of serving the British Government in one of her colonial possessions

has been available to many Britons.

(iii) Significant Contact:

Richardson points out that emigration depends on the knowledge of receiving countries. This is obtained from personal contacts and correspondence, and secondly through mass media of communication such as the wireless, television, films and newspapers.

(iv) Objective Opportunity:

This is the last sociological variable. It covers such aspects as the ease with which the individual can satisfy the medical, financial, occupational and race requirements of the receiving country as well as the social obligations in the receiving country. In the case of immigration to South Africa the occupational and race requirements are particularly relevant.

(v) Personality:

Richardson (1959: p.329) regards personality characteristics such as temperament, basic values and attitudes as important to the emigration process. The individual may be thoroughly frustrated, completely dislodged, possess numerous contacts and have objective opportunities to emigrate, yet the final decision depends on his personality, particularly those related to temperament and values.

This latter factor is not considered in this paper.

3. DATA COLLECTION:

During the last eight months of 1967 323 adult immigrants from Britain were interviewed on their arrival in Durban. The interview schedule (Johnston (1968: pp.117-128)) was designed to obtain

information concerning the first four variables mentioned by Richardson, and the findings are given in the pages which follow.

The sample is one in time, as an attempt was made to interview all British immigrants to Durban who arrived after 1st May 1967 up to the end of December in the same year. Names were obtained through the 1820 Memorial Settlers' Association of South Africa, as it appeared the best source of information. There is a possibility this source of respondents may have underrepresented immigrants who paid their own passages to South Africa, but there was no way of tracking them down other than when they made use of the services of the Association.

The response rate was good. Only one person refused to be interviewed, and 19% were not interviewed either because they had left town, or could not be traced, were returning to the United Kingdom (four cases), or death. The results thus probably are a reasonable reflection of the universe concerned.

4. BASIC FINDINGS:

Before discussing the influence of factors such as disorganisation, dislodgement, significant contact and objective opportunity, a few of the general characteristics of the British immigrant to South Africa will be given to demonstrate that they are not unlike other immigrants.

(i) Place of Birth and Place of Residence Prior to Departure:

Although only immigrants from the United Kingdom qualified for selection there were many who were born outside the British Isles. Details are as follows:

TABLE I
PLACE OF BIRTH OF IMMIGRANTS AND PLACE OF
RESIDENCE PRIOR TO DEPARTURE, BY COUNTRY.

Country	Percentage born in country	Percentage resident prior to departure
	N = 323	N = 496**
England	69.35	79.64
Scotland	11.45	10.68
Ireland	6.19	3.63
Wales	3.72	3.63
Elsewhere	8.67	0.40*
Unknown	.62	2.02
Total	100.00	100.00

* They came from Jersey.

** Number larger because children of respondents were included.

The distribution of the immigrants prior to departure is roughly in proportion to that of the British population¹⁾. An analysis of the English counties the immigrants lived in prior to departure reveals a greater variation. In a study of Australian immigrants by Appleyard (1964: p.114) it was found that the urban areas of England were overrepresented. Appleyard's study showed that the counties of Cornwall, Wiltshire, Sussex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Huntingdon, Cambridge, East Riding and Hereford were underrepresented. In the present survey that is not the case with Wiltshire, Herefordshire or for Yorkshire as a whole. In Map I and Table II it is interesting to observe that the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk and those adjacent to them, i.e. Cambridge, Huntingdon, Bedford and Northampton, are not represented at all.

-
1. England is 83.29 per cent of United Kingdom population
 Wales " 4.17 " " " " " "
 Scotland " 9.83 " " " " " "
 N.Ireland" 2.71 " " " " " "

Source of information: *Pears Encyclopaedia (1962-63)*.

TABLE II

POPULATION OF COUNTIES OF ENGLAND AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION, BIRTH PLACE AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE PRIOR TO DEPARTURE OF IMMIGRANTS PER COUNTY ALSO AS A PERCENTAGE.

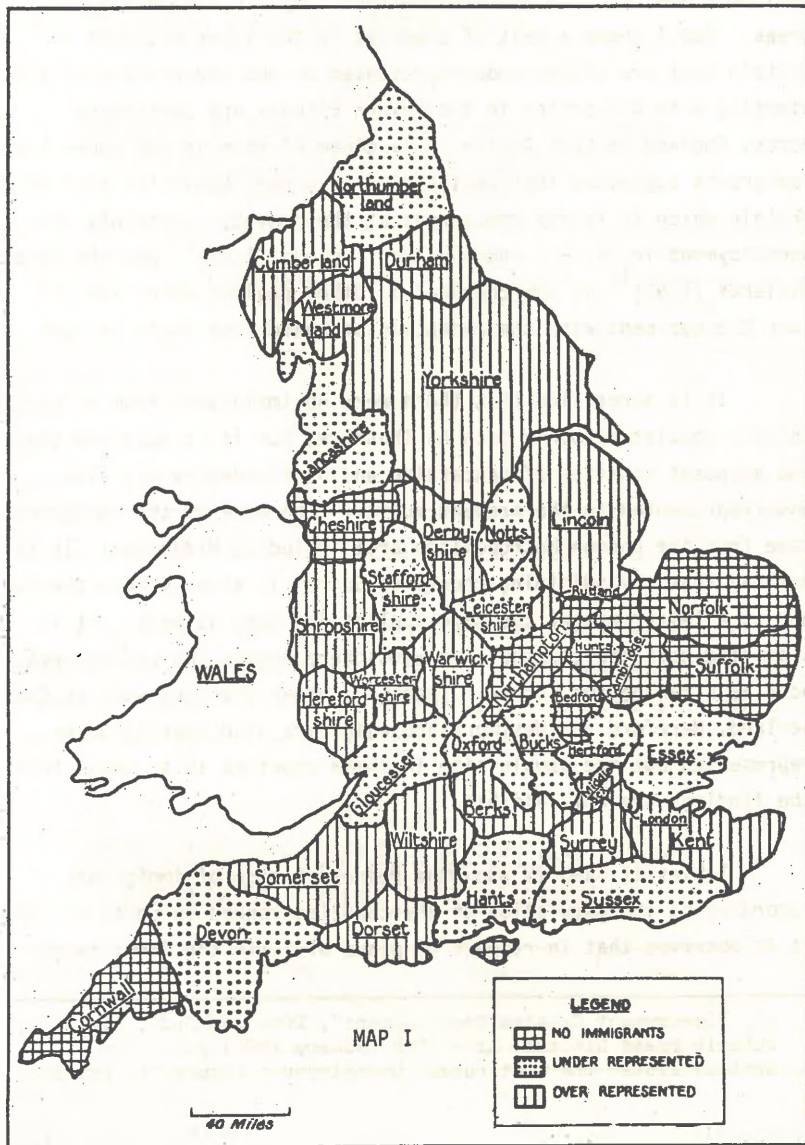
County	County Population as Percentage of total Population	Percentage of Immigrants born per County	Percentage of Immigrants in County prior to Departure
Greater London	17.64	19.64	23.54
Lancashire	11.49	12.95	9.87
Yorkshire	10.75	15.63	11.14
Warwickshire	4.61	3.57	4.81
Staffordshire	4.07	1.34	.51
Durham	3.41	4.46	4.05
Hampshire	3.23	3.13	2.03
Cheshire	3.22	1.79	-
Kent	2.88	2.68	4.55
Essex	2.71	2.23	1.27
Sussex	2.54	3.57	2.53
Gloucestershire	2.32	.45	1.02
Surrey	2.15	3.57	6.33
Nottinghamshire	2.10	1.34	.51
Derbyshire	2.01	3.13	3.06
Devonshire	1.91	1.34	1.02
Hertshire	1.91	.89	.51
Northumberland	1.84	1.34	1.27
Lincolnshire	1.72	1.34	2.27
Leicestershire	1.58	.45	1.02
Somerset	1.40	1.79	2.27
Worcestershire	1.34	2.68	1.77
Norfolk	1.29	-	-
Berkshire	1.27	1.79	3.06
Buckinghamshire	1.18	-	.51
Suffolk	1.13	-	-
Wiltshire	1.03	.45	1.27
Northants	.94	.45	-
Bedfordshire	.93	-	-
Cornwall	.77	.89	-
Oxford	.75	1.79	.26
Dorset	.73	1.79	1.53
Shropshire	.70	2.23	1.53
Cumberland	.66	1.34	3.29
Cambridge	.40	-	-
Huntingdon	.31	-	-
Herefordshire	.21	-	1.77
Isle of Wight	.15	-	-
Westmoreland	.06	-	1.02
Rutland	-	-	.51
TOTALS	99.99	100.04	100.10

Notes: Total number of people born in counties N = 224

Total number of people resident prior to departure N = 395

Percentage population per counties calculated from *Whitakers Almanac* (1966: p.631). There are no figures given in *Whitakers* for Middlesex and it is presumed that it is included in Greater London. *Whitakers* list Monmouthshire under Wales, which is not correct but the county is Celtic in character.

IMMIGRANT REPRESENTATION: PER COUNTY
PRIOR TO DEPARTURE



These counties were underrepresented in Appleyard's study as well and there are definite indications that they are not emigration areas. Map I shows a belt of counties in the lower midlands of Britain that are either underrepresented or not represented at all, starting with Gloucester in the Severn Estuary and continuing across England to East Anglia. The cause of this is not known but immigrants suggested that East Anglia is a very beautiful part of Britain which is fairly prosperous at the moment; certainly the unemployment in Eastern and Southern England (1.9%)¹⁾ and the East Midlands (1.9%)¹⁾ is low compared to other regions which are all over 2.3 per cent with the exception of London and South Eastern.

It is surprising that there were no immigrants from a fairly thickly populated county such as Cheshire, but it is observed that the adjacent counties of Lancashire and Staffordshire are also underrepresented in the present survey. The bulk of the immigrants came from the London Metropolitan area including Middlesex. It is noticed that the adjoining county of Surrey is also overrepresented and to a lesser extent the same applies for Kent as well. It is suggested that the cosmopolitan atmosphere around the London area acts as a dislodging factor. There are other counties such as Cumberland, Hereford and Westmoreland which are also heavily overrepresented but the sample size in these counties is so small that the findings are not reliable.

Tables III and IV show the representation of immigrants according to the population of the counties ranked in units of ten. It is observed that in respect of place of birth the first twenty

1. cf. "Government Creates Unemployment", *Time and Tide*, (Ipswich, Suffolk Press Limited: 11 - 17th January 1968) p.9. The article listed the most recent unemployment figures in Britain.

counties include more that are underrepresented than overrepresented, while in the second twenty the reverse occurs.

TABLE III
COMPARISON OF POPULATION SIZE OF COUNTIES, RANKED
IN UNITS OF TEN, WITH IMMIGRANT REPRESENTATION
ACCORDING TO PLACE OF BIRTH.

Description of Counties	No representation among Immigrants	Under-representation among Immigrants	Over-representation among Immigrants
First ten in size	-	6	4
Second " " "	-	7	3
Third " " "	4	2	4
Fourth " " "	6	-	4
Total	10	15	15

It is obvious that the largest counties are slightly under-represented and that this persists in the second ten counties to an even greater degree. In the second twenty the counties are almost all either overrepresented or not represented at all.

TABLE IV
COMPARISON OF POPULATION SIZE OF COUNTIES, RANKED
IN UNITS OF TEN, WITH IMMIGRANT REPRESENTATION
ACCORDING TO RESIDENCE PRIOR TO DEPARTURE.

Description of Counties	No representation among Immigrants	Under-representation among Immigrants	Over-representation among Immigrants
First ten in size	1	4	5
Second " " "	-	7	3
Third " " "	5	1	4
Fourth " " "	3	1	6
Total	9	13	18

In Table IV it is to be observed that the pattern is slightly altered from Table III. In terms of place of residence the first ten counties are now overrepresented but the second ten remain as in the previous table. In the last twenty the general pattern is overrepresentation or no representation at all.

The above two tables suggest that there is a movement from the smaller counties to the ten most populous prior to emigration and that this initial internal migration serves as a dislodging factor. It must also be recorded that the fact that the smaller counties were either overrepresented or not represented at all suggests that the survey sample could have been larger. It must be borne in mind the sample results are, inter alia, subject to chance fluctuations. One large family from a small county could cause the county to be overrepresented, and a larger sample would have helped to reduce the influence of chance variations.

It is difficult to assess the rural/urban distribution of the immigrant sample because in Britain, especially, it is not easy to define what is urban and what is rural. In Great Britain four gradations of urbanisation are used. The most densely populated areas are the 'County Boroughs' and the 'Administrative County of London'. Next come the 'Municipal Boroughs', followed by the 'Urban Districts', and the least urban areas of all are referred to as 'Rural Districts'. However, the town of Eye in Suffolk, with a population of 1,580 is classified as a Municipal Borough, Felling in Durham, with a population of 16,928 is officially a rural district. (Pears, 1962: K58-K63). These are just a few of the anomalies in the classification. The older towns have a higher classification of urbanisation than the newer ones of the same size because decisions to re-classify often lag behind increases in population density. Table V gives details of the distribution of the immigrant sample according to degree of urbanisation and compares them with the sample of immigrants to Australia interviewed

by Appleyard. The table shows that the South African immigrants are more urbanised than their Australian counterparts, the largest number coming from County Boroughs (which are overrepresented).

TABLE V
RURAL-URBAN DISTRIBUTION : POPULATION OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND MIGRANTS TO AUSTRALIA
AND SOUTH AFRICA. (PERCENTAGES)

England and Wales	Population of England and Wales*	Sample migrants to Australia* (Appleyard)	Sample migrants to South Africa
			N = 425
County Boroughs	30.2	31.6	36.47
Municipal Boroughs	30.8	31.6	26.82
Urban Districts	19.2	22.1	26.35
Rural Districts	19.8	14.7	10.35
Totals	100.0	100.0	99.99
<u>Scotland</u>	Population of Scotland		N = 53
Counties of Cities	37.0	43.2	49.06
Large Burghs	16.8	20.6	32.08
Small Burghs	16.8	22.5	18.86
Landward Areas	29.4	13.7	- -
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.00

Note : From Northern Ireland 6 immigrants were from County Boroughs, 4 from Municipal Boroughs, 2 from Urban Districts and 6 from Rural Districts.

* Figures for Australian sample and British population obtained from Appleyard (1964: p.114)

Municipal Boroughs are underrepresented, which is unlike the Australian sample. With the two lowest forms of urbanisation the South African immigrants are similar to the Australian immigrants, i.e. overrepresented in the Urban Districts and underrepresented in the Rural Districts. Generally speaking the Australian immigrants adhere more closely to the distribution of the general British population than the South African migrants but a larger

sample for the latter could well have smoothed out such anomalies. In the case of Scotland it is obvious from Table V that the migrants come from the more densely populated areas. Indeed it was found that the Scots migrants came from only nine out of a possible thirty counties, but these nine counties accounted for 71.6 per cent of Scotland's population.

TABLE VI
CONURBATION DISTRIBUTION : HOME POPULATION (GREAT BRITAIN) AND SAMPLED MIGRANTS. (PERCENTAGES).

Conurbation	Distribution of British population	Sample Immigrants, South Africa	Sample Immigrants Australia (Appleyard)*
		N = 425	
<u>England and Wales</u>			
Outside conurbation	62.6	58.22	63.2
Greater London	18.2	24.41	18.4
South Est Lancs.	5.4	4.46	5.6
West Midlands	5.1	4.93	3.8
West Yorkshire	3.7	5.16	4.3
Merseyside	3.1	1.17	3.4
Tyneside	1.9	-	1.3
Not known	-	1.64	-
Total	100.0	99.99	100.0
<u>Scotland</u>			
Outside conurbation	65.4	84.91	61.4
Clydeside	34.6	15.09	38.6
Total	100.0	100.00	100.0

* Figures for Australian sample and British population obtained from Appleyard (1964: p.118).

The more densely populated areas are referred to as conurbations, that is a number of towns that have grown to such an extent as to merge into an urban conglomeration. There are seven

conurbations in Britain containing 37.4 per cent of the population. In Table VI the distribution of the sampled migrants for both South Africa and Australia in respect of residence before departure is shown. It can be observed that the South African immigrants have a higher number who lived in conurbations prior to departure than in the case of Australian immigrants, in Appleyard's survey.

The difference for England and Wales is about four per cent, being 63.2 per cent of Australian immigrants compared with 58.22 per cent for South African immigrants who lived outside conurbations. These small differences may not be statistically significant. The South African immigrants who came from conurbations were mainly from the London area which suggests that the South African immigrant may be more cosmopolitan in character than the immigrants going to Australia. All the conurbations are represented with the exception of Tyneside for which no explanation can be offered. Yorkshire is overrepresented in the South African survey and many of these came from the East Riding. In Scotland the migration from the Clydeside conurbation underrepresented the population of that area. This can be partially explained by the fact that 25 per cent of the migrants came from the county of Angus.

(ii) Age Distribution:

The sex distribution among dependent children of migrants gave a masculinity rate of 112.5 which could easily be a chance variation from about parity, and is not considered important enough to discuss further. However, age differences are of importance, and these are shown in Table VII where the age distribution of the general British population is compared with migrants going to both South Africa and Australia. It is observed that the bulk of the immigrants come from the younger section of the British population. In the South African sample 68.75 per cent were under the age of forty whereas this group formed only 43.54 per cent of the

population of the United Kingdom.

TABLE VII
AGE : POPULATION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM AND
SAMPLED IMMIGRANTS TO SOUTH AFRICA AND
AUSTRALIA. (PERCENTAGES).

Age	United Kingdom		South African sample	Australia sample (Appleyard)*
	1958*	1967*		
			N = 496	N = 2,512
0 - 4	7.69	8.44	14.11	13.10
5 - 9	7.55	7.34	9.48	14.29
10 - 14	8.07	7.31	5.04	11.10
15 - 19	6.43	7.82	6.05	5.09
20 - 24	6.23	6.40	19.76	7.60
25 - 29	6.47	6.23	14.31	11.58
30 - 34	6.79	6.30	9.68	11.23
35 - 39	7.28	6.54	6.25	12.34
40 - 44	6.60	7.01	4.23	5.85
45 - 49	7.21	6.30	4.23	3.11
50 - 54	6.93	6.73	2.22	1.59
55 - 59	6.13	6.33	1.01	.80
60 +	16.62	17.25	3.23	2.12
Unknown			.40	
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

* Australian sample and British figures for 1958 taken from Appleyard (1964: p.120).
Figures for 1967 taken from *Annual Abstract of Statistics for Great Britain* (1967).

Another observation to be made is that the children of immigrants tend to be younger than those in the general population. This can be partially accounted for by the fact that the adults are also younger than those in the general population of Britain. The table shows that 34.07 per cent of the South African immigrants are in the 20-29 year group whereas this group makes up only 12.63 per cent of the British population. This age group makes up 19.18 per cent of the Australian migrants in Appleyard's study, which is also

higher than found in the British population but not nearly as high as the South African sample. The Australian immigrants are found more in the 30-45 year group than the South African immigrants; nearly thirty per cent of the Australian immigrants are in this group whereas with their South African counterparts it is just over twenty per cent. From 45 years onwards the numbers again favour South Africa with 10.69 per cent of South African immigrants falling into this category compared with 7.62 per cent for Australian immigrants. According to Appleyard (1964: p.119) assisted passage immigrants to Australia must be under forty-five years of age, but no requirements like this exist for South Africa and this might be the reason for the small difference. The dissimilarity between the two countries is very noticeable from the age of 55 years upwards. It was, in fact, found that the research sample contained many older people who had come out to join their adult children and, possibly even more important, their grandchildren. This phenomenon has been found in Australia as well, but South Africa also has many migrants from former colonies who come here with the sole purpose of retiring and have no relatives in this country.

(iii) Family Size:

The size of the family is important from the sociological point of view because it has been mooted that the migrant families tend to be large ones. The present study makes it difficult to compare family size with that found in the general British population because self-supporting children are not included in the migrant family and furthermore many of the migrants have not completed their family yet. A qualified answer can be obtained by comparing the size of the migrant families with the number of children born to women aged 16 to 49 years in the United Kingdom as enumerated in the 1951 Census. In Table VIII it is noticed that the South African sample has more single immigrants than the

Australian sample. It is also observed that the British immigrants to South Africa tend to have smaller families.

TABLE VIII
FAMILY COMPOSITION : SAMPLED MIGRANTS (AUSTRALIA
AND SOUTH AFRICA) AND GREAT BRITAIN. (PERCENTAGES).

Family Composition	Sampled migrants South Africa		Sampled migrants Australia (Appleyard)*		Number of Children born in Great Britain to married women aged 16-49 years of age*
	Persons	Families	Persons	Families	
	N = 496	N = 121	N=2,474	N = 579	
<u>Single</u>	16.30	-	11.40	-	
<u>Married</u>					
No children	15.69	32.23	10.9	23.3	21.3
1 child	12.07	16.53	14.8	21.1	30.4
2 children	33.00	33.88	24.6	26.3	25.9
3 children	13.08	10.74	21.2	18.1	11.9
4 children	8.45	5.78	10.2	7.3	5.2
5 children and over	1.41	.83	6.7	4.0	5.3
	100.00	99.99	100.00	100.00	100.00

* Information obtained from Appleyard (1964: p.122)

In Table VIII it is shown that over four-fifths of the sampled immigrant families to South Africa have a family size of either two, three or four whereas with the Australian immigrants, families of four or less comprised only 70.7 per cent of the total. With families of five and more the proportions all favour Australia. This could be due to the present housing shortage in Durban which could have deterred large families, but a more likely explanation is that adult immigrants to South Africa have a larger proportion in the 20 to 29 year group than their Australian counterparts, and therefore there is every possibility that there are more uncompleted families in the case of South African immigrants than

Australian immigrants. This explanation is supported by the fact that far more immigrant families had no children (32.23 per cent) than is found in the general British population. The table reveals that there is evidence that families of five children and more do not emigrate as much as smaller families. In the Australian sample the percentage of immigrants in this group is well below that of the British general population while with South Africa it is only about one-fifth of that found with Australia. Most immigrant families to South Africa have either no children or two children but it has already been pointed out that family size may increase after arrival in South Africa.

(iv) Analysis of Working Wives:

Many of the wives were working full-time or part-time before emigrating. The figures in the survey show that 50 per cent of the wives were employed, which is very similar to that of the general

TABLE IX
THE WORKING WIFE: IMMIGRANT WORKING WIVES IN
RESPECT OF DURATION OF MARRIAGE, NUMBER OF
CHILDREN AND OCCUPATIONAL CLASS OF
HUSBAND. (PERCENTAGES)

A		B		C	
Duration of Marriage		Number of Children		Occupational Class of Husband	
Years	Percentage	No.	Percentage	Class	Percentage
Under 1 yr.	21.31	0	45.90	Professional	6.56
1 to 3 yr.	22.95	1	14.75	Intermediate	21.31
4 to 7 yr.	14.75	2	24.59	Skilled	72.13
8 to 12 yr.	13.11	3	9.84	Semi-Skilled	- -
13 to 20 yr.	19.67	4	4.92	Unskilled	- -
20 yr. +	8.20	5			
Total	100.00 N = 61	Total	100.00 N = 61	Total	100.00 N = 61

British population (52 per cent in 1960 : Klein, 1965: p.14). Table IX throws some light on the characteristics of working wives of immigrants.

From this table it can be observed that duration of marriage does not appear to have much effect on the percentage of wives who work. It is true that the number drops considerably for those married over twenty years but according to Klein (1965: p.14) it was not as acceptable for wives to work prior to 1948 as it is today. Therefore, the low figure for women married over twenty years, may not represent modern practice and in a few years time, when women who were married in the "fifties" have completed twenty years of marriage, the number may show a considerable increase.

The second part of the table shows that 45.9 per cent of the working wives have no children. The number of working wives drops considerably when there are children and it is noticed that there are very few wives with four children who were working before leaving the United Kingdom. Many of the wives interviewed said that they would work later on when their children had grown a little older. In Table VII it was shown that of the immigrants surveyed 34.68 per cent were dependent children and 14.11 per cent were under the age of five. This would make it difficult for any of the mothers to go out and work. However, it can be stated, that more wives of immigrants will work in the future when their children grow older.

In a study Klein (1965: p.37) made of a representative sample of the British working wives, she found that 73 per cent said they worked for financial reasons. Many of them also said that it gave them a mental stimulus which they needed. Their husbands gave similar replies. It will be shown later that the main reason the immigrants gave for migrating was to improve their

position financially. A working wife can help to attain such a goal, but it must be remembered that the percentage of working wives in the sample is not very different from the general British population.

(v) Disorganisation:

Disorganisation can be looked at from at least two angles, i.e. personal disorganisation and social disorganisation. In practice the two are hard to separate. For example low income could be the fault of the individual who is an inefficient worker, or a structural defect in the society that offers a low reward for certain occupations. This inability to distinguish between social and personal disorganisation would be serious if it were not for the fact that the immigrants sampled did not appear to be badly disorganised on either level. Let us look at some indices of disorganisation.

(a) Inadequate Earnings:

The income of the immigrants prior to departure from the United Kingdom was higher than that of the general British population. Some of the immigrants were retired before emigrating but the earnings of the remainder are given in Table X.

A recent Ministry of Labour Family Expenditure Survey in Great Britain (Natal Mercury, 14th October 1967) revealed that *family income* was an average of £27.4.0d, of which the head of the household contributed 72 per cent. Thus, the sample of immigrants earn, on the average, higher wages than the average Britisher - the average wage for immigrant men being only eight shillings lower than the mean *family income* in Britain. This is to be expected when we consider the fact that hardly any semi-skilled or unskilled people enter South Africa as migrants. Nevertheless the survey shows that although the immigrants are not the poorest paid

section of the British community they might believe that they are underpaid in respect of the work they do. It would appear that the frustration of the immigrants comes from the knowledge that they could do better for themselves in South Africa rather than from feelings of dissatisfaction with their wages in Britain¹⁾.

TABLE X
INCOME OF IMMIGRANTS PRIOR TO DEPARTURE.
(PERCENTAGES).

Income Group (weekly)	Male	Female
	N. = 152	N = 94
£ 1 - 5		14.49
£ 6 - 10	.65	23.40
£11 - 15	9.15	31.91
£16 - 20	16.99	26.59
£21 - 25	22.22	1.07
£26 - 30	22.22	-
£31 - 35	11.76	1.07
£36 - 40	3.28	-
£41 - 45	4.58	1.07
£46 - 50	5.23	-
£50 +	3.92	-
Total	100.00	100.00

Note: Mean for men = £26.16.4d. Mean for women = £11.16.2d.
Nine males and sixty females did not work prior to departure. There was no information for four males and three females.

-
1. In Great Britain the average monthly family income, calculated from a recent survey (*Natal Mercury*, 14th October, 1967) was just under R206. Latest estimates for South Africa show that average family income for Whites is R384 per month, in the ten major urban areas. (*Republic of South Africa, Bureau of Statistics, 1967: p.22*).

(b) Accommodation:

According to Appleyard (1964: p.135) it is commonly believed that the poorly housed sections of the population are more prone to emigrate than the well housed. With the South African sample this does not appear to be true. In Table XI it is observed that the majority of immigrants lived in semi-detached houses before emigrating, while only 13.8 per cent lived in terraced houses which

TABLE XI
TYPE OF ACCOMMODATION PRIOR TO DEPARTURE
FROM BRITAIN. (MARRIED PERSONS ONLY).

Type of Dwelling	Percentage of Couples
	(N = 123)
Detached House	19.51
Brick Bungalow	11.38
Semi-detached	33.33
Terraced House	13.82
Flat	18.70
Hostel/Boarding House	2.40
Caravan	.81
	99.95

Note: Two married couples stayed in separate dwellings prior to departure.

are older and less desirable. In Appleyard's study (1964: p.137) it was found that 54 per cent of the immigrants were living in detached or semi-detached houses prior to departure. In the present study over 64 per cent lived in such accommodation (bungalows included) and suggests that the immigrants to South Africa were even better housed than those going to Australia.

It was also found that most of the immigrants to South Africa lived in houses outside council schemes prior to departure, as Table XII indicates. Many of the immigrants owned their own

houses or were in the process of doing so (47.93 per cent), which is higher than the Australian sample where only 34.37 per cent were home owners. In both the present study and the Australian study

TABLE XII
HOUSE TENURE IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.
(MARRIED COUPLES).

Type of Tenure	Per cent Couples S.A. Sample	Per cent Britain	Per cent Australian Sample (Appleyard).
	N = 121		
Owned	47.93	47	34.37
Rented from council	11.57	30	32.64
Rented otherwise	33.06	20	30.40
Rent free	7.44	3	1.73
No reply			.87

Sources: Appleyard (1964: p.133) and Nevitt (1967: p.460).

a large number of the immigrants lived in rented accommodation outside the public sector.

The average migrant was paying less for his accommodation in Britain, prior to departure, than he paid or expected to pay on arrival in South Africa. In Table XIII it can be seen that the average migrant was paying £4.18.4d per week in rent or mortgage repayments before leaving the United Kingdom for South Africa, the mode being £3 to £4 per week, which is very reasonable, due to some extent, to the large number of council estates in Britain.

In comparison, housing in South Africa, and more particularly Durban, is more expensive. In Table XIV it can be observed that the average rent that migrants are paying or expect to pay after leaving their initial hotel accommodation is R66.24, which is

considerably more than what they paid in the United Kingdom. In

TABLE XIII
RENTS AND REPAYMENTS ON MORTGAGE PER WEEK
OF MARRIED COUPLES PRIOR TO DEPARTURE TO
SOUTH AFRICA, EX GREAT BRITAIN.
(PERCENTAGES).

Rent or repayment on Mortgages, in Britain, (weekly)	Per cent of Married Couples
	N = 121
Rent free	8.26
Under £1	2.48
£1+ to £1½	3.31
£1½+ to £2	4.13
£2+ to £3	11.57
£3+ to £4	15.70
£4+ to £5	9.09
£5+ to £6	6.61
£6+ to £7	5.79
£7+ to £8	2.48
£8+ to £9	3.31
£9+ to £10	.83
£10+	9.92
House fully paid	11.57
Not applicable	4.13
No information	.83
Total	100.00

Note: Mean weekly rent or repayment £4.18.4d.
(Converted to monthly payments £21.1.4d; and
converted to South African currency R37.89.)

general the immigrants were paying more in rent in the United Kingdom than their counterparts who settled in Australia. According to Appleyard (1964: p.138) only one migrant out of a total of 579 was paying more than £5 a week prior to departure. Nevitt (1967: p.460) discloses that in recent surveys in Britain it was found that 78 per cent of the population have weekly housing costs

of £5 or less. In the present study only 54.1 per cent of the immigrants were paying £5 or less per week. Compared with South Africa it would seem that housing costs in Britain were very reasonable.

TABLE XIV
RENTS IMMIGRANTS ARE PAYING OR EXPECT TO PAY IN
SOUTH AFRICA, PER MONTH, AFTER LEAVING INITIAL
ACCOMMODATION. (PERCENTAGES).

Rent	Percentage
	N = 121
Under R40	4.96
R21 to R50	14.05
R51 to R60	14.88
R61 to R70	16.53
R71 to R80	15.70
R81 to R90	4.13
R91 to R100	2.48
R100 +	3.31
Not applicable	20.66
No. answer	3.31
Total	100.01

Note: The table relates to married couples only.
Mean rental per month is R66.24.

A useful index of housing conditions is the number of rooms in relation to the number of people in the household. Unfortunately, the present survey compared the number of bedrooms with the number of people per house and this makes comparison with housing in Britain difficult. However, if we assume that every house has two rooms which are not used as bedrooms, a pattern emerges which is illustrated in Table XV. It can be seen from the table that there are more households in which rooms exceed people and fewer households where people exceed rooms; the only exception being the case where rooms exceed persons by four and over. With the figures available it can be claimed that the migrants did not live

in overcrowded conditions before emigrating.

TABLE XV
NUMBER OF ROOMS IN RELATION TO NUMBER OF PERSONS
PER HOUSEHOLD : GREAT BRITAIN 1951 AND SAMPLED
MIGRANTS. (PERCENTAGES).

Relation of rooms to persons	Great Britain Households*	Per cent South African Migrants
		N = 197
Rooms exceed persons by_ 4	7.3	2.54
3	8.9	9.64
2	18.4	25.38
1	23.4	33.50
Rooms equal persons	22.4	19.80
Persons exceed rooms by- 1	11.3	6.60
2	5.4	.51
3	3.0	2.03
Total	100.0	100.00

* Information from R.T. Appleyard (1964: p.136). In the South African survey, two married couples lived separately prior to departure; for two respondents there was no information and for five the subject matter was not applicable.

The information given in Table XV is for the state of housing in Britain in 1951 and was obtained from Appleyard's study. No similar information could be found for the 1960 Census in Britain. This is most unfortunate because there was a crash housing programme in Britain throughout the "fifties". The most recent figures that could be obtained are given in Table XVI and these are compared with the Britishers who emigrated to South Africa.

Table XVI gives a more up-to-date picture of housing

conditions in Great Britain. It can be seen that the immigrants come mainly from the middle group of British house dwellers. Those

TABLE XVI
NUMBER OF ROOMS PER HOUSE - ESTIMATED FOR GREAT
BRITAIN, 1967 AND SAMPLED IMMIGRANTS IN DURBAN.

Number of Rooms	Great Britain per cent*	South Africa per cent
		N = 197
Three and less	14	13.20
Four	22	19.29
Five	32	47.71
Six	19	13.20
Seven and more	13	6.60
Total	100	100.00

* Information from Nevitt (1967: p.460).

In the South African survey, two married couples lived separately prior to departure, for two respondents there was no information and for five the subject matter was not applicable.

living in four rooms or less are slightly underrepresented among the immigrants, and the same applies to dwellings of six and seven rooms. On the other hand dwellings of five rooms are overrepresented in the immigrant sample. It would appear that the immigrants come from the broad middle section of the population. There does not appear to have been any frustration in Britain concerning housing conditions which would make them want to emigrate.

(c) Reasons for Emigrating that Suggest
Disorganisation:

Some of the reasons given by the immigrants in regard to their decision to settle in South Africa suggest disorganisation. These are given in Table XVII.

TABLE XVII
REASONS FOR EMIGRATING THAT SUGGEST
DISORGANISATION. (PER CENT).

Reasons for Emigrating	Married			Single		
	First Reason	Second Reason	Third Reason	First Reason	Second Reason	Third Reason
	N=121	N=103	N=63	N=81	N=64	N=26
Better opportunities for self	29.75	19.42	15.87	13.58	12.50	23.08
Bad climate in the United Kingdom	16.23	29.13	23.81	9.88	28.13	15.38
General disgust with the United Kingdom	14.88	8.74	14.29	9.88	12.50	11.53
Better opportunities for children	6.62	10.68	6.35	-	-	-
Domestic trouble in United Kingdom	4.96	2.91	3.17	18.52	7.81	3.85
Dislike government in United Kingdom	4.13	3.88	4.76	1.23	3.12	3.85
SUB-TOTAL	76.57	74.76	68.25	53.09	64.06	57.69
All other reasons	23.45	25.25	31.74	46.91	35.93	42.30
TOTAL	100.02	100.01	99.99	100.00	99.99	99.99

It is to be observed from the table that the majority of reasons given for emigrating indicate 'disorganisation', especially with married couples. With married couples the most frequently mentioned first reason is "better opportunities for self" and it is also the second highest for the next two choices. The bad climate in the United Kingdom and the good climate in South Africa were also mentioned frequently, especially as a second and third reason, and can be regarded as a special type of disorganisation. Immigrants often expressed a general disgust with the United Kingdom. One said that a Pakistani family had come to live next door to them. Some of the immigrants disliked the race policies of the United Kingdom, and there were also complaints about the welfare state. They said that social security was given to people who did not want to work,

such as Pakistanis and West Indians and also White layabouts who congregated in towns where no employment could be offered. Married immigrants mentioned, in some cases, that they did it for their children. It is suggested that this reason can be coupled with better opportunities for self, as the immigrants may feel that a motive such as the interest of the children would sound less mercenary than personal gain. Apart from general disgust with the United Kingdom there were a number of immigrants who directed their hatred at the present Labour government and blamed it for all the current difficulties in the United Kingdom.

Single immigrants frequently mentioned that they had domestic problems in their country of origin. In some cases it was a broken romance, while in others it was a desire to get away from parents. In general, the reasons given by the immigrants for migrating showed clear signs of disorganisation. When asked why they chose South Africa in preference to other countries, 13.71 per cent said it was for economic reasons, and 11.84 per cent said it was a better climate than the other countries of immigration. This gives support to the findings in Table XVII.

(d) Number of Positions held Prior to Departure:

It is possible that disorganised people have filled more occupational posts than those who are not. This was investigated in the survey, the immigrants being asked how many positions they held since the time of leaving school to the time of emigrating. The results are given in Table XVIII below. It can be seen from the table that the median number of posts held by the immigrant increased proportionately with the age of the immigrant. However, over half the sample is under the age of thirty years, and 24.1 per cent had held five positions or more since leaving school. In the total sample 49.2 per cent had held four positions or more.

Unfortunately there are no comparative data, but it would

appear that some of the immigrants had occupied a great enough number of positions since leaving school to suggest the possibility of disorganisation in this respect.

TABLE XVIII
MEDIAN NUMBER OF POSITIONS HELD BY IMMIGRANTS
BEFORE ARRIVAL IN SOUTH AFRICA, ACCORDING TO
AGE AND SEX. (WIVES EXCLUDED.)

Age Group	Male Median		Female Median	Total
20 - 24	3.2		3.3	N = 62
25 - 29	4.1		3.4	N = 46
30 - 34	4.1	30 and)	(6.1	N = 29
35 - 39	4.9	over)	(N = 15
40 and over	5.1)	(N = 45

The immigrants were not asked if they experienced a period of unemployment prior to departure, but three of them volunteered the information.

(e) Summary:

Although there is evidence that the migrants were occupationally mobile, the survey does not show any strong reasons for feelings of frustration. On the contrary there is evidence that they earned more than average in Britain prior to departure, and that they lived in adequate accommodation at a cost which was considerably less than they were paying or expecting to pay in South Africa. Nevertheless the reasons they gave for emigrating intimate that they were disorganised both socially and personally. They said that they immigrated to better their economic position, to rid themselves of domestic troubles or to provide better opportunities for children - all reasons of a personal nature. At the same time they showed a general dislike towards the United Kingdom, and in some cases a special dislike of the Labour government, which indicates a social

disorganisation. In addition it must be mentioned that climate, for some people, is an important factor. Continuous spells of bad weather frustrate these people just as much as bad social conditions, and this should be considered as a special type of disorganisation.

The general conclusion to be reached is that although the immigrants showed no obvious material signs of disorganisation, they displayed it when giving their reasons for emigrating. This partially supports the findings of Richardson (1959: p.330) who did not regard disorganisation as a major factor in the immigration process.

(vi) Dislodgement:

There are many experiences in an individual's life which tend to loosen the ties which attach him to his home region. Some of these "dislodging" experiences were investigated in the present survey.

(a) Prior Overseas Travel:

Most of the immigrants had travelled outside the United Kingdom before and some had been to South Africa. Many of the immigrants interviewed had lived in Kenya, returned to Great Britain and subsequently migrated to South Africa. The analysis of immigrants, in relation to overseas travel, is given in Table XIX. It can be readily observed that most of the immigrants have experienced overseas travel; 74.30 per cent in fact. Generally speaking the men have travelled more than the women. This can be accounted for by the fact that thirty-two of the males had travelled abroad on military service while others had been in the merchant navy. In Applevard's study (1964: p.143) only 29.53 per cent of the total immigrant sample had travelled overseas prior to departure, but 58.19 per cent of the males had done so on military service while with the females a mere 1.78 per cent had experienced travel outside the United Kingdom. Compulsory

military training was abolished in Britain a few years ago, and the

TABLE XIX
PRIOR OVERSEAS TRAVEL OF SAMPLED IMMIGRANTS.
ADULTS ONLY. (IN PERCENTAGES).

Overseas Travel	Male	Female	Total
	N = 166	N = 157	N = 323
No previous travel	19.28	32.48	25.70
To Europe only	33.13	38.85	35.91
Outside Europe but not South Africa	24.70	14.01	18.89
Outside Europe including South Africa	22.89	14.65	19.50
TOTAL	100.00	99.99	100.00

younger immigrants in the present survey would not have had the opportunity to serve abroad in the armed forces. This can partially account for the greater number of Australian immigrants who had undergone military training. The main conclusion to be reached from Table XIX is that overseas travel is a strong factor of dislodgement for many in the sample.

(b) Mobility:

Another factor of dislodgement is mobility. This occurs in many ways, such as change of place of employment, change of town and change of dwelling place. Such movements are often the forerunners of international migration. The individual breaks away from the old established primary contacts and starts afresh elsewhere. A migration to a nearby town or even a change of residence in the same town will serve as a means of severance of old ties, but it will be cushioned by the thought of close geographical proximity which would enable the individual to renew ties at a moment's notice. In time less and less importance is placed on these primary group affiliations and the individual may feel completely dislodged from his

old society. Often the individual undergoes changes in his living standards and interests and finds, on returning to his old friends, that he no longer has anything in common with them. Thus, it would be expected that the migrants would tend to be individuals who had already broken some of their ties with the social environment they were brought up in. This is strongly supported by the findings in Table XIX, where it is shown that 74.3 per cent of the migrants had experienced travel outside the United Kingdom prior to departure.

According to Miller (1966: pp.87-88) there has been increased mobility on the part of the British during the last decade. In 1960, according to figures published by the Registrar General, over five million people changed their addresses, and less than half of these stayed in the same local authority. The movement has been mainly from the North of Britain to the Midlands and the South, but there are counter movements in all directions. However, this mobility is not obvious amongst the immigrants sampled. Table XX gives details of the number of dwellings lived in by immigrants prior to departure. The figures show that the number of dwellings lived in increases with age or length of marriage, whichever the case may be. Nearly three-quarters of the twenty to twenty-four year group have lived in two dwellings or less, while the number for the twenty-five to twenty-nine year group is just a little under 50 per cent (47.4 per cent). In this group there are also a large number of migrants who have lived in six or more dwellings. This group includes widows and widowers which partially accounts for the high number. Among the married migrants Table XX reveals that the number of dwellings lived in increases with length of marriage - this is to be expected. However, in the first years of marriage nearly three-quarters of the couples had only lived in one dwelling. The mode remains at two dwellings in the four to twelve year group, and only rises to six dwellings or more for couples who have been married thirteen years and over. Some of these couples had been in the Colonial Service, and had positions which necessitated changing

dwellings frequently.

TABLE XX
NUMBER OF DWELLINGS LIVED IN SINCE STARTING
WORK, IF SINGLE, OR SINCE MARRIAGE IF
MARRIED. (PER CENT.)

Age or Length of Marriage	Number of Dwellings						Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6+	
<u>Single</u>							
<u>Age</u>							
20 - 24	51.1	22.2	11.1	6.7	6.7	2.2	100.0 N = 45
25 - 29	26.3	21.1	21.1	-	5.3	26.3	100.1 N = 19
30 +	-	18.8	25.0	6.3	12.5	37.5	100.1 N = 16
<u>Married</u>							
<u>Length of</u>							
<u>Marriage</u>							
Up to 3 yrs.	74.4	20.1	2.6	-	-	2.6	99.7 N = 39
4 to 12 yrs.	10.3	38.5	20.5	7.7	7.7	15.4	100.1 N = 39
13 and over	4.7	23.4	14.0	14.0	4.7	39.5	100.3 N = 43

Note: One unmarried migrant not applicable for table.

The number of towns the respondents had worked in was also reasonably low, as can be seen in Table XXI below.

In some of the age groups the numbers are small but there is no marked increase in the number of towns the respondents worked in with increase in age. In the 30 to 34 age group and the 40 to 44 age group the mode is two towns but in the 45 to 50 age group the mode is five towns. With all the other age groups the mode is one town - even with the fifty and over age group. It would appear that the bulk of the immigrants have not worked in many towns in spite of the fact that many of them had travelled overseas before migration.

A consolidation of data in respect of change of occupation,

TABLE XXI
NUMBER OF TOWNS OR CITIES RESPONDENTS HAVE
WORKED IN BY AGE. (PER CENT.)

Age Group	Number of towns and cities respondents have worked in (Percentages)						Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6+	
20 - 24	61.3	24.2	8.1	3.2	-	3.2	100.0 N = 62
25 - 29	39.1	21.7	10.9	17.4	10.9	-	100.0 N = 46
30 - 34	13.8	48.3	13.8	3.4	13.8	6.9	100.0 N = 29
35 - 39	40.0	13.3	6.7	6.7	20.0	13.3	100.0 N = 15
40 - 44	15.4	38.5	15.4	7.7	7.7	15.4	100.1 N = 13
45 - 49	21.4	21.4	7.1	14.2	28.6	7.1	99.8 N = 14
50 +	35.0	25.0	5.0	5.0	20.0	10.0	100.0 N = 20

(discussed under disorganisation), change of dwelling and change of town is given in Table XXII. From the table it can be seen that some immigrants appeared to have changed their occupational positions a number of times, more of them having six or more positions than one only. On the other hand the remaining indices of mobility show, on average, a fairly low frequency. The majority (66.3 per cent) had

TABLE XXII
MOBILITY OF IMMIGRANTS IN RESPECT OF
OCCUPATIONS, DWELLINGS AND TOWNS.
(IN PERCENTAGES).

Variable	Frequency						Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Positions held	15.1	17.1	18.6	15.1	14.6	19.6	100.1 N = 199
Towns worked in	39.2	27.1	9.5	8.0	10.6	5.5	99.9 N = 199
Dwellings since began work (single)	35.0	21.3	16.3	5.0	7.5	15.5	100.1 N = 80
Dwellings since marriage	28.9	27.3	12.4	7.4	4.1	19.8	99.9 N = 121

worked in two towns or less; the single migrants had mostly lived in two dwellings or less (56.3 per cent); and 56.2 per cent of the married couples had lived in two dwellings or less since marriage. However, it is to be observed that over 15 per cent of the single immigrants and 19.8 per cent of the married immigrants had lived in six dwellings or more. From the foregoing we can conclude that in general the immigrants have not experienced much mobility and therefore, in this respect, show little dislodgement.

The survey has shown that in some ways the immigrants had experienced dislodgement while in others they had not. It has been shown that they had travelled more widely than the immigrants sampled by Appleyard (1964: p.143), and that occupational mobility appeared to be high (although comparative data is not available for the United Kingdom in general). On the other hand there is evidence that there was no excessive changes from one dwelling or from one town to another.

(vii) Significant Contact with Receiving Country:

It would be irrational for an immigrant to leave his country and settle in another if he was unaware of what the new country had to offer. The immigrant, should, in other words, have significant contact with the receiving country. In the present survey some of these contacts were examined to assess the amount of contact the immigrants had had with South Africa prior to departure.

(a) Source of Information about South Africa:

The immigrants were asked what sources of information concerning South Africa they had prior to departure. It was found that the sources were very similar to those found by Appleyard (1964:p.155). Table XXIII shows that the largest difference between the two countries is in the number of Australian immigrants who have received information from friends and relatives in the United Kingdom. With migrants to

South Africa the number receiving information from this source was so small that it was listed under "other". Also listed under "other"

TABLE XXIII
IMMIGRANTS' SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT SOUTH
AFRICA, COMPARED WITH AUSTRALIAN IMMIGRANTS.
(PERCENTAGES).

Source	Married		Single	
	South Africa	Australia	South Africa	Australia
	N = 231		N = 154	
Magazines	1.20	2.6	5.20	0.4
Newspapers	5.63	1.8	7.79	1.4
Books	6.49	6.0	7.14	7.1
Friends/relatives in S.A./Aus.	24.68	23.6	23.38	31.8
Friends/relatives in U.K.	-	16.4	-	15.5
S.A./Aus. House publicity	40.26	43.0	31.82	33.2
Films/T.V.	3.03	.2	1.29	.7
S.A./Aus. in Britain	8.66	5.0	9.09	7.1
Other	9.96	.2	14.29	-
None/no reply	-	1.2	-	2.8
TOTAL	100.01	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Appleyard (1964: p.155).

in the present study are those who said that their information was from personal knowledge of the country after having been in South Africa before. It should be pointed out nevertheless, that in Table XIX it was shown that 19.5 per cent of the immigrants had been to South Africa before, and it is obvious that not all of them mentioned that they had personal knowledge of the country when asked their main sources of information.

A greater proportion of South African immigrants get information from newspapers and magazines, which is to be expected if we

hypothesize that the reading of newspapers and magazines is higher in the professional and intermediate group than the unskilled, for it will be shown later on that the former is more heavily represented in the South African sample than in the Australian one. With both South Africa and Australia the main sources of information are their respective Embassies, or their publicity in the United Kingdom; and the next highest source of information is from friends and relatives in the receiving countries. In the case of South Africa 59.5 per cent of the married couples had friends or relatives in South Africa prior to arrival, and for single immigrants the figure was as high as 66.67 per cent. In the study by Richardson (1959: p.330) it was found that 73 per cent of the migrants had contact with friends or relatives in Australia prior to departure, while only 41 per cent of a control group of non-migrants had such contacts. It is possible that if there were a control group for the present study the same would apply.

Information was received from a number of additional sources which are listed in Table XXIII. What has not been mentioned is the fact that their decision to come to South Africa was often brought about by their knowledge of unfavourable conditions in other countries. For some, Australia and New Zealand were too far away from Britain, while Canada was too cold. In addition the immigrants mentioned that in the United States of America and Australia they could be sent to fight in Vietnam. In a few cases the immigrants had heard stories about the poor conditions in Australia and of the number who returned to Britain. When asked why they chose South Africa in preference to other countries 28.04 per cent said they disliked the other countries of immigration for some reason or other. The majority of the immigrants to South Africa (62.87 per cent) said they had not considered any other country. In Appleyard's study (1964: p.159) the percentage who had made no enquiries about settling elsewhere was even higher at 72.5 per cent.

(b) Reasons for Emigrating that Suggest Significant Contact:

The reasons given by the immigrants for settling in South Africa suggest that significant contact had an important influence on the decision. Reasons considered to be showing this influence are given in Table XXIV:

TABLE XXIV
REASONS FOR EMIGRATING THAT SUGGEST
SIGNIFICANT CONTACT. (PER CENT)

Reasons for emigrating	Married			Single		
	First Reason	Second Reason	Third Reason	First Reason	Second Reason	Third Reason
	N=121	N=103	N=63	N=81	N=64	N=26
Outdoor life, sport, open spaces	-	.97	3.17	-	3.12	7.69
Adventure	7.44	7.77	7.94	25.93	21.88	7.69
Relatives/friends in South Africa	4.96	3.89	1.59	11.11	3.12	-
Good reports about South Africa	6.61	4.85	7.94	6.17	1.56	7.69
Want to get back to South Africa	3.31	.97	3.17	-	-	3.85
SUB-TOTAL	22.32	18.45	23.81	43.21	29.68	26.92
All other reasons	77.70	81.56	76.18	56.79	70.31	63.07
TOTAL	100.02	100.01	99.99	100.00	99.99	99.99

From this table it is observed that significant contact would appear to be a stronger reason among single people. However, it is debatable whether "adventure" can be regarded under significant contact. It has been included under this section because it is reasoned that the immigrants must have had some contact with South Africa to believe that the decision to settle would be an adventure. It is noticed that this reason features very prominently with single immigrants for although the immigrants were looking for adventure, at

the same time they also wanted the security of friends and relatives. A typical case was living in South Africa with her sister who was the proprietress of an hotel. She chose South Africa in preference to other countries because her sister was living there and also because the country had always appealed to her. Asked her reasons for emigrating she fully admitted that it was purely for adventure and that she had no intention of staying longer than a year or two. A small percentage of married immigrants said that they wanted to get back to South Africa. It should be recalled that in Table XIX it was revealed that 19.5 per cent had been to South Africa before. Many, in fact, could be regarded as ex-Colonial, making up over one quarter of the sample (26.5 per cent). In some of these cases there was significant contact with Africa in general, if not South Africa in particular.

In general the reasons for emigration suggest that significant contact plays a small but none the less important part in the general migration process.

(c) Reasons for Choosing South Africa which Suggest Significant Contact:

The reasons for emigrating intimated that significant contact did effect the decision to emigrate. When the respondents in the survey were asked to give their reasons for choosing South Africa in preference to other countries the influence of significant contact was very noticeable. This can be seen in Table XXV.

The table shows that 42.68 per cent of the reasons given suggest significant contact. Under "better immigration scheme" is the fact that in the case of South Africa there is no insistence that the assisted immigrant stay in the country for two years as in the case of the schemes operating for Australia and New Zealand. This can also be discussed under "objective opportunity". In fact many of the reasons for migrating and the social characteristics of the

immigrants can be discussed under more than one of the concepts used, and it is often difficult to decide which has primacy. In the

TABLE XXV
IMMIGRANTS' REASONS FOR CHOOSING SOUTH AFRICA
IN PREFERENCE TO OTHER COUNTRIES, WHICH
SUGGEST SIGNIFICANT CONTACT.

Reasons given	Percentage of Reasons
	N = 321
Relatives in South Africa	16.51
Generally good reports heard about South Africa	9.97
Prior knowledge of country	7.17
Better immigration scheme	4.36
Friends in South Africa	2.18
Approve of South Africa's race policies	2.49
SUB-TOTAL	42.68
All other reasons	57.33
TOTAL	100.01

present study it was decided to discuss it under "significant contact" because it indicates that there has been such contact through the publicity of South Africa House in London.

The survey has shown that significant contact has a strong influence on the decision where to go. I believe that disorganisation and dislodgement are the two main factors in the immigration process, but significant contact appears to give the immigrant the ability to choose his country of adoption. The evidence clearly shows that relatives and to a lesser extent friends play an important part in the decision to immigrate to a particular country. It would appear that they provide the necessary security until the immigrant is settled. "Adventure" is a strong attraction to single immigrants. The decision to place "adventure" under significant

contact is partially based on what the immigrants said to the interviewers. Records have not been kept, but a large number said that they had read or heard about South Africa in one way or another, and had conjured up a picture of the wonderful adventure offered in immigration to South Africa. This indicates that there has been significant contact. Finally there is something that Appleyard and Richardson seem to have missed. This is "negative contact" with other countries. That is, the immigrants know facts about other countries which are unappealing and South Africa is chosen by a process of elimination.

(viii) Objective Opportunity:

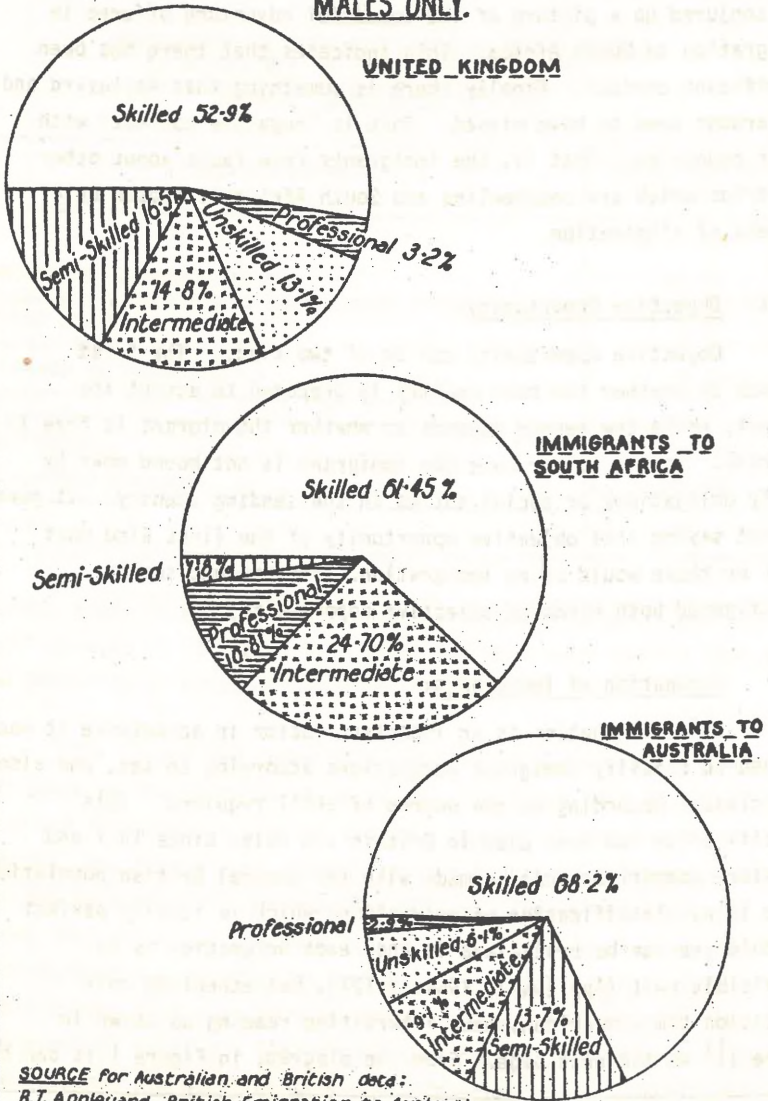
Objective opportunity can be of two kinds. The first depends on whether the host country is prepared to accept the migrant, while the second depends on whether the migrant is free to emigrate. In the latter case the immigrant is not bound down by family obligations or social duties in the sending country. It goes without saying that objective opportunity of the first kind must exist or there would be no immigration. The present survey investigated both kinds of objective opportunity.

(a) Occupation of Immigrants:

Since occupation is an important factor in acceptance it was decided to classify immigrant occupations according to sex, and also into classes according to the degree of skill required. This classification has been used in Britain and Wales since 1911 and therefore comparisons can be made with the general British population. There is no classification of occupations which is ideally perfect and this one can be criticised in that each occupation is an indivisible unit (Appleyard, 1964: p.124), but accepting this limitation the comparisons make interesting reading as shown in Figure 1¹⁾ on the next page. From the diagrams in Figure 1 it can be

1) A total of 1.2 per cent of South African immigrants could not be classified under occupation.

**FIGURE 1 OCCUPATIONAL CLASS : UNITED KINGDOM
POPULATION AND MIGRANTS TO AUSTRALIA AND SOUTH AFRICA.
MALES ONLY.**



SOURCE for Australian and British data:
R.T. Appleyard, *British Emigration to Australia*
(London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1964.) p. 124.

seen that over 10 per cent of the migrants to South Africa can be classified as professional, whereas they make up just over 3 per cent of the general British population and slightly under 3 per cent of the migrants to Australia. It is also to be observed that although skilled workers make up 52.9 per cent of the British work force, the percentage of workers in this category amongst the immigrants to South Africa and Australia is higher than this, being 61.45 and 68.2 per cent respectively. Semi-skilled workers make up only 1.81 per cent of the immigrant force to South Africa but it comprises 16.5 per cent of Great Britain's workers. No male immigrant to South Africa can be classified as unskilled, but 6.1 per cent of the immigrants in the Australian survey are in this category. Nearly one-quarter of the immigrants in the present survey were classified as 'intermediate' - over 10 per cent higher than in the British general population and 15 per cent higher than the sampled migrants to Australia. The figure shows that both Australia and South Africa are tapping off a greater than proportionate number of skilled workers from Britain, and in the case of South Africa this applies to the professional and intermediate group as well. The absence of unskilled workers to South Africa is explained by the fact that the South African government will not accept them since most unskilled jobs are done by the Bantu.

Like Australia, South Africa's female migrants were greatly overrepresented in the intermediate section, being mainly typists, clerks and secretaries. In both countries many of the migrants were young women who freely admitted they were out on a working holiday. Some of the respondents, in fact, had been on working holidays to both Australia and South Africa.

(b) Family Considerations:

It is possible that family size, place in family order, and whether parents are alive or not are all factors that affect the objective possibility of migration. With a large family of

orientation it is much easier for one member of the family to migrate than with smaller families where adult children have a responsibility towards their aging parents. There are also cases when the oldest, or sometimes the youngest child of the family feels duty bound to look after the parents, enabling the others to be free to leave. Furthermore, the death of a parent can sometimes free the individual of responsibilities while at other times it can increase them. Not only does duty hold the prospective migrant in the country of orientation but ties of affection may also make them reluctant to leave their parents. Table XXVI lists the migrants according to family size in family of orientation and whether parents are alive or not.

TABLE XXVI
IMMIGRANTS ACCORDING TO FAMILY OF ORIENTATION, AND
WHETHER PARENTS ARE ALIVE OR NOT. (PERCENTAGES).

Parents alive or Deceased	Number of Children in family of Orientation							Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7+		
<u>MEN</u>	N=17	N=47	N=35	N=31	N=14	N=10	N=13		
Parents both alive	10.6	32.9	25.9	17.6	2.4	4.7	5.8	99.9	N=85
Father alive only	13.3	60.0	13.3	-	6.7	-	6.7	100.0	N=15
Mother alive only	12.2	12.2	19.5	29.3	12.2	12.2	2.4	100.0	N=41
Both dead	4.0	20.0	12.0	16.0	24.0	-	24.0	100.0	N=24
No information	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	10.2	28.3	21.1	18.7	8.4	5.4	7.8	99.99	N=166
<u>WOMEN</u>	N=17	N=45	N=34	N=17	N=10	N=10	N=24		
Parents both alive	10.3	35.6	18.4	12.6	4.6	3.4	14.9	99.8	N=87
Father alive only	40.0	30.0	20.0	-	10.0	-	-	100.0	N=10
Mother alive only	9.7	19.3	32.3	16.1	6.4	3.2	12.9	99.9	N=31
Both dead	3.7	18.5	22.2	3.7	11.11	22.2	18.5	99.9	N=27
No information	(2 immigrants only but no information about family size)								
TOTAL	11.0	29.0	21.9	11.0	6.5	6.5	14.3	100.2	N=155

The family size appears to be larger than that of the average British family. In the present study it was found that the average

age of the immigrant was 32.6 years, from which we can assume that they were products of marriages which took place in the mid-thirties in Britain. Information has not been obtained for this period, but for marriages that took place in 1925 the family distribution is given in Table XXVII. It can be seen from the table that the mode is

TABLE XXVII
NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER FAMILY FOR MARRIAGES
TAKING PLACE IN UNITED KINGDOM IN 1925 WITH
NO ISSUE EXCLUDED.

Number of Children	Per cent Distribution
1	29.7
2	29.7
3	16.6
4	9.5
5	5.9
6	3.6
7	2.4
8	1.2
9	.7
10	.5
10+	.4
	<hr style="width: 10%; margin: auto;"/> 100.2

Source: D.H. Wrong (1962: p.53)

one and two children per family and falls away very sharply after families of three children. With the immigrants, on the other hand, the distribution is more evenly spread along the whole length of the table. Male immigrants coming from families of three children or less constitute 59.6 per cent of the total while the corresponding figure for female immigrants is 61.9 per cent. In Table XXVII families of three or less children make up 76 per cent of the total. An interesting feature of Table XXVI is that 14.3 per cent of the female immigrants come from families of seven children or more whereas for males this figure is nearly half the size at 7.8 per cent (but the difference is probably not significant). In regard

to family orientation it would appear that immigrants come from larger families than average, especially with females. In the study by Richardson (1959: p.331) it was found that significantly more immigrants to Australia came from families of three or more.

It is impossible to make comparisons with the United Kingdom and the immigrants in respect of whether parents are alive or not. I doubt if such figures are known for the general British population. However, the average age was 32.6 years for adult immigrants and with life expectancy in the United Kingdom at around seventy years there is a fair chance, all other things being equal, that the parents of the immigrants will be still alive. If the survey showed results to the contrary then it could be said that death of parents created objective opportunity to migrate. It can be seen from Table XXVI that this is not the case, and one can conclude that this is not an important factor in the immigration process.

The mean place of the immigrants in their family of orientation was calculated and the results are given in Table XXVIII.

TABLE XXVIII
MEAN PLACE OF IMMIGRANTS IN FAMILY OF
ORIENTATION, MALE AND FEMALE.

Sex	Number of Children in Family of Orientation									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	9+
<u>Male</u>										
N = 166										
Mean place	1.0	1.7	1.9	2.3	3.0	3.5	4.0	2.5	2.0	4.9
<u>Female</u>										
N = 155										
Mean place	1.0	1.3	1.8	1.9	2.6	4.2	4.5	3.5	3.8	6.5

Amongst the males the immigrants tend to come from the older members

of the family of orientation in families of up to and including seven children. With the females this appears to be the case as well, the only exception being with families of four children. However, the differences are so small they cannot be significant.

(c) Other Factors of Objective Opportunity:

There are other factors that have not been discussed. It was mentioned earlier that the immigration offer of the South African Government presented objective opportunity to many who could not otherwise afford the passage. It has also been shown that the immigrants to South Africa come predominantly from the professional, skilled and intermediate occupational groups. This is supported by the fact that according to Millar (1966: p.107) 66 per cent of the school children in Britain are placed in Secondary Modern or Technical schools at the age of fourteen years, whereas only 49.84 per cent of the sampled immigrants had this type of education. It goes without saying that all the immigrants had to be wholly of European descent to be acceptable by the South African Government.

Since the study took place in Durban it was only to be expected that the immigrants had objective opportunity of the one kind, i.e. they satisfied the requirements of the South African Government. The research has also revealed findings, similar to that of Richardson, that immigrants tend to come from larger families.

5. CONCLUSIONS:

The findings are very similar to those of Richardson (1959). I will quote some of Richardson's (1959: p.336) conclusions and compare them with the present study.

- (1) "The typical skilled manual worker who decides to emigrate to Australia is a person who does

not find life in Britain impossible through actual or potential hardship of an economic or any other kind."

In the present chapter it was revealed that the average British immigrant to South Africa earned more than the average Briton and was well housed in not overcrowded conditions and was paying a moderate rental.

- (ii) "He has moved around more and probably has a wider circle of acquaintances than the non-emigrant."

It is not known how many acquaintances the immigrant to South Africa possessed prior to departure and whether this was in excess of normal. It was shown that the immigrant to South Africa has travelled widely, and more than his Australian counterpart.

- (iii) "From his contact with people in Australia and from other sources he comes to view Australia as relatively more attractive than Britain."

The present survey has shown that many of the immigrants had friends and/or relatives in South Africa prior to arrival. There were other sources of information as well, most important of which was the publicity by South Africa House in London.

- (iv) "Undoubtedly his decision to emigrate is influenced by his image of Australia as a free and easy land of sunshine where great opportunities exist for himself and his children to have a high standard of living."

In the present study the three major reasons given for emigrating were better opportunities for self, better opportunities for children and either bad climate in Britain or good climate in South Africa.

- (v) "He is likely to come from a family in which there are at least two other siblings and this may lessen his sense of personal responsibility to his parents and make the decision to emigrate an easier one. It is also likely that his relations with his family may not always be of the best."

In the present study it was shown that the immigrant's family of orientation tended to be larger than that of the general British population. It was also mentioned especially with single immigrants that there had been domestic difficulties at home.

The findings are indeed very similar. The main difference is that there are constant reminders of the fact that the immigrants to South Africa come from a higher socio-economic level than their counterparts to Australia. This can be explained by two facts. The first is that there was a difference in time between the two studies. The Australian study was carried out in 1959 when Britain was prosperous, the South African study in 1967 when it was not. It would be logical to assume that less people in Britain felt disorganised during the first study than the second. The second is that there is no opportunity for unskilled Whites in South Africa because of the plentiful supply of Bantu labour.

The present study, along with Richardson's, has shown that the "push" factors are relatively unimportant in modern migration. The immigrant is not a person who is badly off but one who has "awareness" that he can do even better elsewhere. This awareness comes when he is dislodged from his environment and when there is significant contact with the country of immigration. Over and above these two factors the prospective immigrant must have the objective opportunity both to leave his country and be accepted by the receiving one.

In brief the individual must be aware and able to migrate. In

some cases the immigrant may take positive steps to reach this position, but it is suggested that in many cases the opportunity and willingness to migrate comes about merely through the social circumstances to which the individual is exposed. This leaves us with the disconcerting thought that our actions are not caused primarily by our rational assessment of the situation, but by the social circumstances in which we find ourselves.

* * * * *

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APPENDIX ARESEARCH METHODS USED.

The plan of action was to contact and interview two hundred "immigrant units" (families and single people) arriving in Durban from Britain. The local offices of the 1820 Memorial Settlers' Association of South Africa agreed to help in this direction, and twice a week a member of the field staff called at the offices of the Association and obtained names that had been sent to them by the Department of Immigration. In addition the names of persons calling on the Association for help and advice of any kind were noted. In this way an attempt was made to obtain the names of all immigrants arriving in Durban after the 1st May 1967. The completeness or otherwise of the list will remain unknown, but an official of the Department of Immigration was of the opinion that well over 90 per cent of the immigrants should have been contacted by this method.

The immigrants listed were interviewed as soon as possible after arrival, using an interview schedule. Immigrants returning to the United Kingdom immediately were not included. Eighteen left the Durban district before they could be contacted, and twenty-six could not be traced, while one was killed before an interview could take place. There was only one direct refusal, and two hundred and two interviews took place - all of them before the end of December 1967. The Department of Immigration was of the opinion that no seasonal bias would occur through not extending the survey over a full year. Appleyard (1964: p.111) was given the same assurance by immigration officials in Britain at the time of his study of Australian immigrants.



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