

BRITISH EMIGRATION TO DURBAN,  
SOUTH AFRICA

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PREFACE

A social survey would not be possible without incurring the indebtedness of many people. This present survey has been no exception and I would like to express my thanks to a number of people who, in so many ways, have shown me kindness, given me help and offered me constructive criticisms.

I am deeply indebted to the staff of the 1820 Memorial Settlers Association not only for allowing me access to their records but also for their interest in the project and their help in tracing immigrants for me. Without the co-operation of this Association this work would not have been possible.

I am also most grateful for the many people who assisted me with the interviewing of immigrants over the eight months of the field work. They helped, in no small way, to lighten my burden and without them the number of interviews would have been greatly reduced.

Special thanks must also be given to the immigrants who were so willing to help me in my work and who provided me with many personal details of their lives without any hesitation. All the interviewers engaged in the research remarked on how kind and how pleasant the immigrants were to them and I consider that we were indeed fortunate in our choice of research topic.

Members of the Department of Sociology at the University of Natal have offered me helpful advice. I

am particularly grateful to my Supervisors, Mr. E. Higgins and later on Professor H.F. Dickie-Clark.

I must also express my thanks to Professor H.L. Watts, Director of the Institute for Social Research at the University of Natal for permitting me free use of so much of the Institute's equipment. Without this help the work would have taken longer and the costs would have been considerably higher.

I wish to record my deep appreciation for all the help given to me by my wife. During the field work she made visits twice a week to the 1820 Memorial Settlers Association and in addition made the initial contact with many of the immigrants and booked appointments for me to interview them. At a later stage she assisted me with the typing of the final draft.

I also wish to thank Miss L. Slogrove who typed the thesis and Mrs. R. Bowie whose artistry is to be found in the figures and maps presented in the thesis.

Finally I wish to mention that I have been awarded a Research Grant from the University of Natal from very limited resources, and this is gratefully acknowledged.

For many years sociologists have been divided amongst themselves about the relevance of values to the discipline. Far be it for me to offer a solution to such a complex problem but I believe that at the outset I should mention where my opinions lay when writing this thesis. My ideas may change over the years but at present I believe that it is impossible to be value free

as a sociologist. I think that to be completely free of values and uncommitted as a sociologist would mean that we would be prepared to sell our knowledge and talents to any master without showing any concern for the consequences. This does not appeal to me. In writing this thesis I most certainly held some very strong values. It is my hope that, in a modest way, this thesis will lead us to a better understanding of the immigration process and that this knowledge can be used for practical purposes for the betterment of mankind. More directly, it is my wish that the South African government will find it of some use, no matter how slight, when considering its immigration policy.

This means that for the time being I am a value laden and committed sociologist. However, it is my sincere hope that my values have not in any way marred my objectivity. Maybe this hope is forlorn but I have always tried to be completely objective in my findings and the assessment of them.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

There are three components of population change, one of them being migration. Up to the present time the other two components of fertility and mortality have been subjected to intensive investigation but migration, on the international level, has been left practically untouched. It is true that there have been some very fine writings dealing with migration to the United States of America in the nineteenth century, but they remain purely descriptive works and embody no sociological theory<sup>1]</sup>. I believe that migration is the most interesting of the three variables and that its importance until now has been overlooked. Certainly, fertility and mortality are the all important variables in respect of population size but migration can effect the character of the community to a far greater extent. The replacement of members of society by natural increase enables the society to train and educate them to its liking. They are exposed to the normative pattern subscribed to by their elders and the result is that in many ways they perpetuate the old way of life. Changes do occur from one generation to the next, but replacement of members of society by this method is more likely to make for social constancy than social change. On the other hand, immigration can be

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1] For example, O. Handlin's The Uprooted, Boston; Little Brown and Co., 1951. This is an absorbing account of the passage of the immigrants and their subsequent settlement in the United States of America.

a significant factor in social change. It is true that the receiving country admits immigrants that are likely to be absorbed into the society's way of life but the fit is unlikely to be perfect. Complete absorption would mean that the immigrants became indistinguishable from the general population but this is seldom, if ever, accomplished. Cultures in different societies vary for a host of reasons. One has only to examine the educational systems of a few nations to realise that there is bound to be a difference between the product of one nation and that of another. For these reasons the postulate, that the arrival of immigrants into any country will effect the country's national character, is a safe one. The size of this effect will depend on the number of immigrants the country receives and the personal characteristics of the immigrants. The amount of immigration should always be compared with the gain through natural increase and the loss through emigration. If all other things are equal, the higher the proportion of immigrants is to the gain through natural increase less emigration, over a given period of time, the more likely are the immigrants to be agents for social change. However, all other things are not equal for the effect of immigration will also depend on the personal qualities of the immigrants and this is the subject matter of this thesis. The problem which will be investigated is to find out the characteristics of British immigrants arriving in South Africa.

This study would not be necessary if the absorption of immigrants was complete, but it has been stated earlier

that it is believed that the immigrants never become completely indistinguishable from the general population. For this reason, the immigrants will, in one way or another, leave their mark on the receiving society. Thus before we discuss absorption it is necessary to examine the characteristics of the immigrant - this is of primary importance and the main task of this study.

This appears to be an aspect of immigration which has not been sufficiently stressed by Eisenstadt in his work on immigration. Eisenstadt looks at immigration as consisting of three stages the first being "the motivation to migrate - the needs or dispositions which urge people to move from one place to another". (1964; 1) Eisenstadt goes on to say that it is a feeling of inadequacy and frustration that motivates migration, not necessarily "in every main sphere of social life" (1964; 2) but in at least one of them. Eisenstadt gives four main spheres in which the individual might feel frustrated which he gives as follows:-

1. "He may feel that his original society does not provide him with facilities for and possibilities of adaptation, i.e. that he cannot maintain a given level of physical existence or ensure his, or his family's survival within it." (1964; 3)
2. "His migration may be prompted by the feeling that certain goals, mainly instrumental in nature, cannot be attained within the institutional structure of his society of origin." (1964; 3)

3. "The immigrant may feel within the old society he cannot fully gratify his aspirations of solidarity, i.e., to complete mutual identification with other persons and with society as a whole."  
(1964; 3)

4. "He may feel that his society of origin does not afford him the chance of attaining a worthwhile and sincere pattern of life, or of following out a progressive social theory, or at any rate does so only partially." (1964: 3)

Without disputing anything that Eisenstadt has said the criticism can be made that he does not go far enough. In the first place the immigrants may possess satisfaction and gratification in all four spheres mentioned but be driven by the love of adventure and the desire for a chance to settle in another country. Secondly, and this is important, the process of immigration is not solely in the hands of the individual but depends to a large extent on his acceptance by the receiving country. Eisenstadt has said that "it is the existence of some objective opportunity that makes it possible to realise the opportunity to migrate" (1964: 2) and it is presumed that he is referring to acceptance by the receiving country but he is not clear and he does not elaborate on what he means by objective opportunity. In the third place, Eisenstadt says quite rightly that the immigrant undergoes some feeling of frustration and inadequacy in his home country but he

lightly dismisses the fact that although most of us are frustrated and feel inadequate in some way or another not all of us choose migration as a solution to our problems. To use Eisenstadt's own words, "We shall not here inquire what are the conditions in which migration is found to be the best solution for this inadequacy, as compared with others, for example, rebellion". (1964: 2) He gives no reasons for his decision and yet it is a matter basic to immigration. The four spheres in which Eisenstadt suggests the individual might be frustrated are spheres which all imply a rejection of the sending society. All these people migrate but what about the frustrated people who choose to remain in their country? What characteristics do the frustrated people who choose to migrate possess? This question has not been answered by Eisenstadt and it is a serious omission.

Let us look again at the four spheres mentioned by Eisenstadt. In the first sphere there is not an absolute necessity to migrate. The individual could find other solutions to his problems such as working harder, sending his wife out to work, changing his occupation or attaining additional educational qualifications. The same applies for the second sphere. In the third sphere there is also no obligation to migrate for the alternative is to stay and try and reform the society from within or if he does not possess such qualities merely to remain unhappily in the society. In the fourth sphere the options of trying to reform society or stagnation are also open to the individual in the place of



migration. For these reasons Eisenstadt has not in fact adequately described the immigrant. He has failed to show what social characteristics the immigrant possesses. It is hoped that the present thesis will be a modest attempt to rectify this omission.

This thesis concerns British immigration to South Africa and I would like to make a few introductory comments. It has been mentioned that the effect of the immigrants is partially dependent on their number in relation to the natural increase less the loss through emigration. In South Africa, over the past few years, the number of immigrants has come very close to the natural increase of the White population and if emigration is taken into account the gain through immigration is greater. Comparisons are made with the White population in particular and not the country as a whole, because, due to the government's successful application of its policies, South Africa is developing into a number of separate societies based on race and to a lesser extent language. The immigrants are joining White South African society and it is with this society that they must be compared.

Details of immigration and emigration to and from South Africa will be given on the next page but let us take the year 1966 for examination. The White population at the end of 1966 was 3,522,149. During the year the gain through natural increase was 49,079 but emigration reduced this figure by 9,888 giving an overall gain of 39,191. In the same year 48,048 immigrants arrived in

1]  
South Africa .

Thus it can be said that immigration is providing White South Africa with about half of her natural increase. Such a sizeable contribution, helps in perpetuating White dominance in the political field but also has far reaching consequences for its social structure. It has been said earlier that a study of immigrants' characteristics and attributes is of importance to the receiving country. The writer considers it to be of tremendous importance to South Africa. If the Whites are to retain their political and economic power there must be immigration, there appears to be no alternative. If we accept this then we should know what effect the immigrants will have on our society and one step towards doing this is to find out some facts about them on their arrival.

This is the task of this study which contains the following sections. The next chapter will give evidence of how immigration has changed from a free to a controlled migration. In addition it will show that some countries are reluctant to supply immigrants and that in the receiving

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1] More precise details are as follows:-

Population of Whites at 1960 census = 3,067,638.  
Since then the following population changes have occurred,

Year	Immigration	Emigration	Natural Increase
last ¼ 1960	4,129	4,605	19,314
1961	16,309	14,894	48,717
1962	20,916	8,925	49,379
1963	37,960	7,151	48,284
1964	40,865	8,092	49,935
1965	38,226	9,206	46,291
1966	48,048	9,888	49,079
Total	206,453	62,761	310,819

Source:- Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, The Government Printer, Pretoria. June, 1961, January 1965, March, 1967.



country the immigrants are often disliked. It will be emphasised that immigration is not entirely the individual's decision but depends to a large extent on the willingness of the receiving country to accept the immigrant.

This will be followed by a chapter outlining some of the theoretical approaches that have been made to the subject. It will be shown that the conceptual framework of Richardson is useful in describing the characteristics of immigrants. The next chapter will report on the findings of the field work and the concluding chapter will discuss some of the findings and make suggestions for future research in this field.

For a number of reasons the field work is limited to British immigration to South Africa. The interviewing of immigrants from the continent of Europe might have involved the interviewers in language difficulties and, furthermore, the study was made possible only through the co-operation of the 1820 Settlers Memorial Association who deal mainly with immigrants from Britain. The extension of this thesis to include immigrants from other countries would increase the problems in analysis which would be too complicated for the scope of this thesis.

## CHAPTER TWO

### SOME ASPECTS OF MODERN MIGRATION

Some historians regard the 16th century as the beginning of the modern world. The Renaissance and the Reformation were both well under way and the voyages of discovery had opened up new areas. There was also a change in the character of migration from earlier times. There was no longer the movement of whole nationalities or tribes such as occurred with the Tartars or Vandals. The new migration was the result of colonization by families and single persons, and not the mass movement of whole groups of people. The migration occurred in two main directions. The one went across the Atlantic to North and South America and the other went southward to Africa and the Antipodes. The American colonization was the bigger, but in both cases the migrations took place without the consent of the natives of the various countries. It was the case of an aggressive and technically superior power overwhelming an inferior one.

Reliable records are not to hand but it does not appear that the migrations over the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries were very large. The movements over this period were religious, political and economic. The Mercantilist policy, which was in favour in Europe at the time, did not encourage emigration on a large scale as it was believed that this would weaken a country. In any case Spain and Portugal did not have big enough populations to support an intensive programme of colonization.

According to Sadie and Franzsen (1950: 122) in 1694 Spain had a estimated population of six million after the expulsion of the Jews and Moors. Britain was in a better position for the enclosure of the estates displaced many farm workers who moved to the new world and this is one of the reasons why the British became the largest European group in America. According to Ferenzi (1933: 430) about a million British subjects left England in the 17th and 18th centuries whereas the archives of Seville show that between 1509 and 1790 only about 150,000 Spaniards emigrated.

Religion was also an important factor in migration to the new world. It was an age where religious differences were not tolerated and the Puritans who left Britain to settle in America and the Huguenots who left France to come to settle in South Africa are examples of religious groups of people who were prepared to leave their country to be free to worship as they wished.

On the other hand mercantilism restricted migration. According to Sadie and Franszen (1950: 122) the European migration would have been much larger if it had not been for the importation of slave labour from Africa. Originally it was the policy of the colonizing power, in accordance with Mercantilist principles, to send out Europeans mainly in managerial positions and have the work done by natives of the country. It was found, however, that the Red Indians in America were not prepared to co-operate and the only alternative was to import large batches of Africans from across the Atlantic. The number of Africans that were taken as slaves is unknown but Ferenzi (1933: 433)

believes that in the three centuries preceding 1888 over twenty million made the forced journey.

By the 19th century the tempo of immigration had increased considerably. The industrial revolution increased the population of Europe by a large amount and seeing that the revolution came to Britain first and that Britain at that stage was the largest colonial power, it was not surprising that Britain led the way in the migration to the new countries. After the end of the Napoleonic wars the era of mass migrations commenced. The industrial revolution was followed by the rise of heavily populated towns in Europe, especially Britain, and this greatly increased the demand for foodstuffs which the colonies could provide. The revolution thus stimulated the economy of the new countries and immigration was no longer for political and religious reasons but for economic ones. It was mentioned earlier that the enclosures in Britain brought about a migration of farm workers but the industrial depressions and the unemployment caused through mechanization made immigration, at times, attractive for the industrial worker as well.

There were other reasons for the large scale migrations. The laissez faire policy of the 19th century gave the workmen a freedom of movement that they did not possess in feudal times. Furthermore it was only with the advent of more modern transport that large scale trans-Atlantic travel was possible and the invention of the telegraph and telephone and later air transport made the distances even shorter in the minds of the people if not in actuality.

It is difficult to get exact figures of the number of migrants during the so-called "century of emigration" (approximately 1800 - 1930) but Table 2:1 on the next page gives some idea of the picture. In the 20th century the migration of families and single persons for economic reasons has continued but some new features have emerged which are of interest.

There has been a move from free to controlled migration.

During the 20th century the governments of the receiving countries have taken an increasing interest into who they admit as immigrants. Let us look at four of these countries.

#### The United States of America

The United States of America has been the largest country of immigration the world has ever known. According to Rubin the immigration to America can be placed into three broad periods<sup>1]</sup>. These may be given as follows:-

- (1) 1790-1870. During this period the United States of America was an underdeveloped country. During the period 7.6 million immigrants were received, mainly of British and German stock. They were mainly agricultural or unskilled workers.

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<sup>1]</sup> cf. Economics of International Migration, B. Thomas (Ed.) (London. MacMillan, 1960) In Chapter Nine (p.133) E. Rubin states that the history of immigration to the United States of America can be fruitfully analysed according to the three economic periods in her development.



TABLE 2:1

Inter-continental Migration in the Nineteenth  
and Twentieth Centuries (Figures in Thousands)

Emigration			Immigration		
Country	Period	Total	Country	Period	Total
Austria/ Hungary	1846-1932	5,194	Argentina	1856-1932	6,405
Belgium	1846-1932	193	Brazil	1821-1932	4,431
Britain*	1846-1932	18,020	West Ind.	1836-1932	1,587
Denmark	1846-1932	387	Canada	1822-1932	5,206
Finland	1871-1932	371	Cuba	1901-1932	857
France	1846-1932	519	Gwatemala	1856-1924	42
Germany	1846-1932	4,889	Dutch Guin.	1856-1931	69
Italy	1846-1932	10,092	Mexico	1911-1931	226
Malta	1911-1932	63	Newfound'l	1841-1924	20
Holland	1846-1932	224	Paraguay	1881-1931	26
Norway	1846-1932	854	U.S.A.	1821-1932	34,244
Poland	1920-1932	642	Uruguay	1836-1932	713
Portugal	1846-1932	1,805			
Russia	1846-1924	2,253			
Spain	1846-1932	4,653			
Sweden	1846-1932	1,203			
Switzerland	1846-1932	332			
Total Europe		51,696	Total America		53,826
British Ind.	1846-1932	1,194	Phillipines	1911-1929	90
Cape Verde		30			
Japan		518	Australia	1861-1932	2,913
St. Helena		12	Fiji	1881-1926	79
			Hawaii	1911-1931	216
Grand Total		53,450	New Caledonia	1896-1932	32
			New Zealand	1851-1932	594
			Total Oceania		3,834
			Mauritius	1836-1932	573
			Seychelles	1901-1932	12
			South Africa	1881-1932	852
			Total Africa		1,437
			Grand Total		59,187

\* Presumably includes Ireland

Source: Sadie and Franszen (1950: 125)

- (2) 1871-1914. This was the period of industrialization. Over twenty-five million entered the country, but the type of immigrant changed. There were four million Italians, three and one third million Austro-Hungarians and two million Scandinavians in addition to British and German immigrants. They were mainly unskilled labourers for the new mines, factories, railways and steel plants.
- (3) 1915-1964. It was during this period that America changed from a debtor to a creditor nation. There was a tremendous drop in immigration with a little over four million people entering the United States between 1924-1954. The migration of this period was predominantly female and the immigrants tended to be older than before.

These three periods cover the change in America from a free to a controlled migration. In the early period the migrants were from the same countries of emigration as the Americans themselves. It was during the second period that the migration increased tremendously and the migrants ceased to originate from England and Germany only. This caused considerable alarm amongst the Americans who feared changes in the ethnic composition of the United States which resulted in legislation to stem the flow of immigrants. The first legislation prohibiting or restricting immigrants was passed in 1868 and anxiety about immigration increased steadily. In the 1890's the Immigration Restriction League was formed



and early in the 20th century a Congressional investigating committee known as the Dillingham Commission recommended, after hearing millions of words of testimony, that immigration should be restricted. Throughout the hearing there was an assumption by the American people that many of the immigrants were inferior because they were different to them in race and nationality. Typical of this attitude are the views expressed by the Junior Order, United American Mechanics, before the Committee on Immigration and Nationalization on 21st May 1910. (Leopold and Link ed., 1957: 418-419) Some of the remarks of this Order are of interest and I make a few extracts as follows:-

"We believe in immigration - that there has been a need for it, that there is still room for more - but only of a better sort..."

"It is not so much the number of immigrants that affects us, but the kind. This country has wonderful assimilating powers and can assimilate and distribute through its body politic a great army of worthy and industrious people and those of high moral type. But it can not assimilate the mass of lower Europe and protect its high standard of morality and good order."

"Visit the parks and groves near our municipalities in the summer time and on the Sabbath and observe the desecration of the Lord's Day, and you will find that 97 per cent are foreigners."

"In the years of the great industrial activity, as in 1905 and 1906, more than 2,300,000 immigrants passed our portals, but when the panic of industrial depression of 1907 and 1908 came upon our country, like locusts these millions ate our substance and left hundreds of thousands of our American working men on the verge of want..."

"This gentlemen, is the nation's peril and crisis..... It is the patriotic as well as Christian duty of our Congress to save this country from the bilge waters of foreign habits, vices and influences."

Protests such as these did not go unheard and the

United States of America passed a number of Acts restricting immigration culminating in the Quota Act of 1924. This act stated that immigrants should be admitted from countries of emigration in proportion to their representation in the American population at the census of 1890. In this way each country was given a quota of immigrants and when this was taken up no further immigrants could come to the United States until the following year. Quota allocations could not be transferred from one country to another. The act reduced the amount of immigration considerably. This step by the United States of America laid the foundations for a selective immigration policy by other nations.

#### Canada

The immigration policy of the Canadian government has also been very selective. The government decides on the number to be admitted each year; they must possess skills that are required by the country and socio-cultural traits similar to those of the Canadians. Up to 1914 the government gave priority to farm workers, farmers and domestic servants, but as the unoccupied land disappeared there was a greater need for workers in the industrial category. In the century preceding 1951 Canada had years of net migration losses as well as gains as Table 2:2 shows. During the last four decades of the nineteenth century there was a net immigration loss and Timlin<sup>1]</sup> points out that this coincides in time with the disappearance

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1] cf. Economics of International Migration, B. Thomas (Ed.) (London, MacMillan, 1960) In Chapter Ten Timlin discusses immigration to Canada. The point directly relevant to this note is made on page 147.

TABLE 2:2

## Immigration and Emigration - Canada 1851 - 1951

(Figures in Thousands)

Census Period	Immigration	Emigration	Net gain or loss
1851-61	209	86	+123
1861-71	187	377	-190
1871-81	353	439	- 86
1881-91	903	1,110	-207
1891-01	326	505	-179
1901-11	1,782	1,067	+715
1911-21	1,592	1,330	+262
1921-31	1,195	967	+103
1931-41	150	241	- 91
1941-51	548	380	+166

Source: (Thomas, 1958: 148)

of cheap land. There followed a period of net immigration gain until 1931 when Order in Council P.C. 695 passed by the Bennett government on 21st March virtually limited migration to close relatives of Canadian residents. According to Timlin (Thomas, 1958: 149) this was accompanied by heavy deportations which resulted in a net loss for the ensuing ten years.

The post-war migration policies of Canada are based on the attitude of the late MacKenzie-King. His long term policy was to build up the Canadian population by immigration and natural increase, but the short term policy was to bring in immigrants only at a rate in which they could be absorbed into the economy and culture of Canada. The Prime Minister was emphatic that immigration should not and would not alter the fundamental characteristics of the Canadian population. He divided his immigrants into two groups:-

(1) Whites from Britain and the Commonwealth, the United States and France who had sufficient means to keep themselves. They were allowed into the country.

(2) Immigrants from other countries who were only admitted into the country if they possessed useful occupational skills.

Immigration from Asia was stopped except for close relatives, but concessions were made to India, Pakistan and Ceylon (Commonwealth Countries) in that one hundred immigrants a year were admitted from these countries in addition to close relatives.

Nevertheless Canada remains a country of immigration. According to Van Staden (1964; 71) Canada admitted an average of just under 88,000 immigrants a year in 1960 and 1961 but her choice of immigrants remains selective.

#### New Zealand

In many ways New Zealand has been the most selective of all countries of immigration in that the bulk of her immigrants come from Britain and there is a total ban on Asian immigrants. Statistics are not readily available for New Zealand but the New Zealand Year Book does give the excess of arrivals over departures which is given in Table 2:3.

According to the New Zealand Year Book (1964; 76) immigrants from Britain and the Commonwealth make up about eighty per cent of the total and since the war the

TABLE 2:3

Excess arrivals over Departures,  
New Zealand, 1953 - 1963

Year	Excess of arrivals over departures.
1953	22,032
1954	15,441
1955	7,030
1956	8,092
1957	11,492
1958	15,408
1959	9,992
1960	3,213
1961	1,620
1962	18,832
1963	13,639

Source: (New Zealand Year Book, 1964; 74)

New Zealand government has operated a free passage scheme which has helped about five thousand immigrants a year. However, the government has been very selective in the immigrants it chooses. The assistance is limited to skilled tradesmen, experienced farm workers, and experienced workers required in essential industries. Before 1960 only single men, or married men with not more than two dependent children were given assistance, but this has since been increased to four dependents. People forbidden entry fall into one of the following categories:-

- (1) Idiots and insane persons.
- (2) Persons suffering from contagious diseases.
- (3) Persons who have been convicted of an offence for which they have been sentenced to a term of imprisonment or other form of detention for more than a year.



- (4) Persons who are considered by the Attorney General to be disaffected or disloyal, or of such a character that their presence in New Zealand would be injurious to the peace, order and good government of the country.

The last category gives the government very wide powers and for many years immigration has been restricted to Europeans only. According to Sinclair, (1959: 294) the policy of barring Asians from immigrating to New Zealand has been in force since the close of the last century. Many New Zealanders fear that their standard of living would be threatened by cheap Asian labour and there is also a fear that such immigration would introduce further racial problems in the country.

### South Africa

The South African government has also become more selective in its immigration policy over the years. During the last century immigration was unlimited and virtually unchecked. The discovery of diamonds and later on gold resulted in immigrants coming from all over the world. The exact number of immigrants was not recorded but, in the Jameson raid enquiry, Rhodes claimed that the Transvaal population comprised of eighty thousand foreign born men in the prime of their lives against sixty thousand people of both sexes and all ages in the original Transvaal population. (Thomas, 1958: 177) According to the Union Castle Line's Guide Book there were twenty-six thousand British immigrants who arrived in South Africa in 1895 and the following year it was thirty-six thousand which was higher than British immigration to North America

for these years.

The lack of records of immigrants before the Act of Union in 1910 is an indication that there was little control by the governments of what are now the four provinces of South Africa. Neither was the lack of immigration statistics rectified until 1924 when for the first time immigrants were separated from visitors. From 1924 onwards South Africa, for the first time, received a flow of immigrants from Central and Southern Europe due, in no small way, to the implementation of the Quota Act in the United States of America in the same year. The same people that made the United States of America pass its Quota Act were responsible for similar legislation in South Africa in 1930<sup>1]</sup>. In 1937 there was a further tightening of the control of immigrants when all foreigners were prevented from entering the country if they did not possess a permit either for temporary or permanent residence. A foreigner was defined as anybody not of British or South African nationality and Franszen and Sadie (1950: 137) have given evidence to show that the move was directed mainly against Jewish immigrants from Germany. In 1933 South Africa received 745 Jewish immigrants, in 1936 this had risen to 3,330 but by 1937 the Aliens Act had reduced the flow to 954 and the following year it was only 566.

#### Immigration to South Africa during the Second

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1] There were immigrants from Central and Southern Europe before 1924 but their numbers were not large enough to cause concern. According to Franszen and Sadie (1950: 137) from 1924 these immigrants flowed into South Africa in considerable numbers. ("in aansienlike getalle binne-gestroom het")



World War was restricted because of the shortage of shipping but after the war the South African government embarked on a policy of obtaining as many suitable immigrants as possible. Dr. Malan, the leader of the opposition, objected to the policy and complained that "immigrants in their tens of thousands are being invited... while for South Africa's own sons.....the door of apprenticeship and wage earning remained closed". (Thomas, 1960; 183) This statement is remarkably similar to the one mentioned earlier by the Junior Order, United American Mechanics who said :-

"When the panic of the industrial depression of 1907 and 1908 came upon our country, like locusts these millions ate our substance and left hundreds and thousands of our American working men on the verge of want". (cf. p. 15)

Thus, when the National Party was returned to power in 1948 the immigration policy of the previous government was stopped.

Since 1948 the government has reintroduced a programme to attract immigrants to South Africa. In 1961 the Department of Immigration was established to screen applicants and select immigrants. Since the establishment of this Department and the subsequent offer of an assisted passage and other help for immigrants the annual intake of settlers has increased noticeably. From 1949 to 1961 the annual intake never exceeded twenty thousand. In 1962 this figure was passed for the first time since 1948 and in more recent years it has always been over thirty thousand and in some years over forty thousand immigrants have arrived.

Nevertheless the policy has remained selective. The immigrant must possess an occupation for which there is a demand in South Africa and preference is given to small families or otherwise single people because of the housing shortage in South Africa. In addition every effort is made to ensure that the immigrants are free of any criminal record and have no leanings toward Communism. It goes without saying that the immigrant must be wholly of European descent<sup>1]</sup>. Preference has been given to immigrants from the so-called "stamlande" but the Minister of Immigration on the 3rd February 1967 made it clear that not enough immigrants came from our countries of origin and that recruitment of immigrants from "other healthy sources" had been undertaken by his department.

Some countries are reluctant to supply immigrants.

The optimum population for any country depends, to a large extent on economic opportunities. Whenever a nation is unable to expand economically, or, in some cases, when it is unable to maintain its present economic level, because of a lack of manpower, it will be reluctant to loose members of its population through emigration. Let us look at two countries.

The United Kingdom

In the 19th century emigration from Britain was encouraged because of the surplus labour force resulting from the industrial revolution. The country was over populated and it was in Britain's interests to rid herself of hungry jobless people who were a burden to the community

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1] The above information was obtained in an interview with Mr. Boyce, who is an Attache at South Africa House, London. The interview took place on the 1st May. 1968

and potential trouble makers. After the second world war the position was considerably different. The losses incurred by Britain during the war made it essential to make maximum use of the labour available. The Economic Committee of the Royal Commission on Population concluded that "so long as Britain has a birth rate below replacement level, the maintenance of a large flow of emigration is neither practical nor desirable". (H.M.S.O., 1950: 59) In spite of this warning there has been a fairly large emigration from Britain since the war. The post war birth rate has been slightly above replacement level and it has been the opinion of several successive British governments that Britain owes a duty to Commonwealth countries to provide them with manpower. (Appleyard, 1964: 42) The Commonwealth countries such as Australia, New Zealand and Canada do not rely entirely on Britain for the supply of immigrants and Britain believes that the countries concerned might lose cultural community with Britain if the inflow is entirely foreign, thereby weakening the invisible links which hold the Commonwealth together.

Soon after the war Britain embarked on schemes to provide free fares and priority passages to Australia for ex-members of the forces and their dependents and gave assistance to other British emigrants selected by the Australian immigration authorities. The other Dominions did not require financial assistance but the British government helped in work connected with recruiting applicants. Over the years the British government has steadily decreased the amount of financial assistance

and today the contribution made by Britain is merely a token of good will.

To overcome the manpower shortage Britain has received immigrants from non-White Commonwealth countries, from the Republic of Ireland and from Europe. From the demographic and economic point of view this influx has offered a welcome compensation for losses incurred by Britain through immigration to other parts of the Commonwealth. According to Isaac<sup>1]</sup> this movement has resulted in Britain losing skilled workers who left to earn better wages elsewhere and have been replaced by unskilled workers who have come for better wages.

From the foregoing it can be seen that Britain supplies immigrants to the Commonwealth out of feelings of duty only and the loss through emigration is counter-balanced by immigration of unskilled people who, it is hoped, will become assimilated with the general British population. (H.M.S.O., 1949; 120)

### The Netherlands

After the war the Netherlands was a major country for emigration. In recent years the position has altered considerably and it appears that this is partially due to the attitude of the Netherlands government. According to Villers (Sunday Tribune, 15th January 1967) there has been full employment in the Netherlands and the government

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1] cf. The Economics of International Migration, B. Thomas (Ed.) London, MacMillan 1960. In Chapter five, p. 75, Isaac makes this statement.

has found it necessary to recruit foreigners in order to maintain the countries economic development. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that the Netherlands government has:-

- (a) Banned any private organisation from engaging in active recruitment of immigrants in the Netherlands. (Proceedings in Senate, 2nd February 1967: 303)
- (b) Insisted that all documentation pertaining to immigration be handled by the Dutch government. (Proceedings in Senate, 2nd February 1967: 302)

According to the Minister of Immigration for the South African government, the number of emigrants who left Holland to settle elsewhere in the world dropped from 32,000 in 1956 to 12,000 in 1962 and 8,683 in 1963. (Proceedings in Senate, 2nd February, 1967) According to Hofstee<sup>1]</sup> socio-psychological factors are more important determinants of emigration than economic ones and the feelings of depression in the Netherlands, immediately after the war, have now ended thereby attributing to the fall in emigration.

Immigration is often accompanied by xenophobia.

The feelings towards immigrants exhibited by certain people of the United States of America have persisted. It has already been mentioned that the

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1] cf. The Economics of International Migration, B. Thomas (Ed.) (London, MacMillan 1960) In Chapter seven E.W. Hofstee discusses emigration from the Netherlands. The remarks relevant to the note are made on page 104.



receiving countries tend to be selective. Attention is paid to race, occupation, criminal record and family size but in spite of this those who are admitted are often disliked. Logically, workers in one occupation should favour the immigration of workers to other occupations for this will increase the number of consumers. It has been found, however, that logic seldom enters the reasoning. There is a widespread belief that the number of jobs are fixed and as Sauvy put it "employment is a sort of common property to be shared out". (Thomas, 1958; 298) South Africa is no exception.

South Africa's present immigration policy has been in operation since 1st April 1961 when the Department of Immigration was established. It has been shown in the introductory chapter that the gain through immigration is about the same as the natural increase. Towards the end of 1966 letters about immigrants were written to newspapers throughout the country. The "Transvaaler" printed a number of letters while in Durban the "Daily News" was the main organ for the topic. The first salvo was fired by a correspondent named A.B. Grobler on the 23rd November, 1966. Referring to a statement made by the Minister of Defence that immigrants should volunteer for A.C.F. training the correspondent wrote as follows:-

Sir,

In regard to A.C.F. training I think that every young man should be compelled to do his whack, irrespective of whether he is an immigrant or not.

If a country is worth living in, then it is worth fighting for and as things stand in world affairs at the moment, we need to be ready for an emergency. The attitude of

some immigrants apparently, is to come here to escape military training in their own country, and to enjoy our high standard of living, and then I suppose, when the trouble starts, skip back to their own country.

The Minister of Defence should not request these people to do their military training but demand it. In this he will have the support of all loyal South Africans behind him one hundred per cent.

One other thing that is perturbing is the fact that these immigrants from overseas, are allowed to work here and enjoy all the benefits of South Africa and yet retain their foreign passports.

I feel that they should be compelled after six months residence to make up their minds one way or another as to whether they wish to become South Africans or not.

Divided loyalties can never be successful so a choice must be made. Many South Africans are walking the streets today while these parasites claim plum jobs.

(signed) A.B. Grobler

On the same day another correspondent wrote:-

Sir,

We continue to hear of the assistance offered to immigrants: that they should not criticise but try to understand us, that they are entitled to financial assistance and that they should not be liable to military training.

It would seem that the immigrants receive many privileges that are not accorded to the common born South African. Surely we could be more positive in following the policy of other countries where an oath of allegiance is taken and would be immediately applicable with regard to the laws of the country, military service etc.

Why is it that they are allowed years to become South Africans and yet we have thousands who still hold British passports? Do they only wish to draw a living from the country.

(signed) "Nicky" B. Haylett

The two letters provoked a flood of replies. It is not considered necessary to reproduce the letters in full. It should be mentioned, however, that the correspondence did point out some facts which Grobler and Haylett overlooked such as:-



- (1) Immigrants are not escaping military call-up in every case because quite often there is no military call-up in their country of origin.
- (2) That for some naturalization meant the forfeiture of a British pension.
- (3) That before doing military service they had a right to be accepted as citizens.
- (4) That the immigrants skills and knowledge are vital for the economic progress of South Africa and for this reason they can hardly be called parasites.
- (5) That loyal citizens will be acquired if immigrants become naturalised of their own free will and are not forced to do so.

This was the first sign of public discontent concerning the new immigration scheme. Had it appeared in isolation it might have passed and been forgotten by the public at large, but two further events occurred shortly after the letters appeared in the Daily News which brought the whole matter to the forefront again.

Firstly, in Springs, an Italian immigrant hair-dresser had an altercation with an Afrikaans speaking assistant. He told her that Afrikaans was a barbarous language and slapped her in the face when she persisted in its use. The immigrant was charged with assault and the magistrate advised him to leave the country. The action resulted in letters of protest to Afrikaans newspapers. (Sunday Tribune, 18th December 1966)

Secondly, in the beginning of 1967 the Federale

Raad van Skakelkomitees, an Afrikaans cultural body, sent a memorandum to the Prime Minister criticising the immigration policy. (Sunday Tribune, 8th January 1967) It was claimed in the memorandum that of the forty thousand immigrants who arrived in South Africa each year less than three per cent joined the Afrikaans community. The remainder aligned themselves with the English-speaking population which meant that the Afrikaner majority of 570,000 would be cancelled out within thirty years. The Federale Raad also mentioned in their report that of the thirty-five members of the department of Immigration overseas only six were in countries that were likely to supply immigrants who would join the Afrikaans group. According to the memorandum the natural increase of the English population was 12,000 per year to which 38,000 immigrants could be added. The natural increase among Afrikaners was 32,000 to which they could claim only 1,200 immigrants.

The Transvaaler under the heading "Immigrasie Verswak Kultuur" said that too many Southern Europeans were immigrating into the country. (Sunday Times, 8th January 1967.) The Secretary of the Federale Raad, Mr. J.J.F. du Toit, supported this view. He said that he did not oppose immigrants as such, not even from English-speaking countries as long as the population composition was not affected, but he was strongly opposed to immigration from Latin countries because they could never be assimilated to the Afrikaner group. "Although there are exceptions," he said "many of the people who have been coming in are scum and belong to the lowest social groups in Italy, Greece and Portugal". (Sunday

Times, 15th January 1967.)

Mr. du Toit's words are very similar to those used by the Junior Order of United American Mechanics who in 1910 said of the United States of America,..... "but it cannot assimilate the mass of lower Europe and protect its high standard of morality and good order". (Leopold and Link, 1958: 418) Whereas in the United States of America in 1910 these immigrants were described as bilge-water in 1967 in South Africa the term used was scum.

The past Minister of Immigration has stated that he does not intend to alter the present immigration policy, (Proceedings in Senate, 3rd February 1967) but the Minister of Defence, Mr. P.W. Botha said that immigrants who had been in the country five years and were under the age of twenty-five would be liable to military service. If the immigrant has no intention of becoming a South African citizen he would be deprived of his permanent residential permit and be issued with a temporary residence permit instead. (Natal Mercury, 3rd June 1967.) This measure has helped to placate the antagonists of immigration to some extent but there are many White South Africans who disapprove of the present policy. South Africa along with other receiving countries has shown signs of xenophobia towards her immigrants.

### Conclusions

Modern immigration is selective. Not only must the prospective immigrant possess a desire to leave one country and settle in another but he must be acceptable

as well. In the western world there are no countries known to the writer where the emigrant is forbidden to leave but in some countries it is made difficult. Furthermore it has been shown that in most of the receiving countries there is a xenophobic reaction towards immigrants.

### CHAPTER THREE

#### THEORIES OF IMMIGRATION

Judging from the material available, it would appear that immigration has interested the economists more than the sociologists and social demographers rather than social theoreticians. Most of the theories that I have come across are outside the frame of reference of this present thesis and for this reason will be mentioned only briefly, but the study can borrow from the work of Richardson who has suggested a conceptual framework within which the variables relevant to voluntary immigration can be conveniently analysed. This conceptual framework will be outlined towards the latter part of the chapter but before this is done some other theories on immigration will be mentioned. This will not be an attempt to list all theories on the subject matter but serves merely as a selection of theories which have some bearing on the present research.

#### Sociological Theories

##### Durkheim

Durkheim makes very brief references to migration in The Division of Labour in Society. (1933: passim) He claims that it is easier for migration to take place from a society that is held together mainly by mechanical solidarity because the removal of a part of that society does not effect the whole since they are not dependent on one another. In an organic society migration is

more difficult because the loss of a segment of the population can affect the survival of the remaining part. (Durkheim, 1933: 148) Durkheim goes on to mention societies with little organic solidarity where naturalization was a simple process such as North American tribes and ancient Rome and he makes the claim that such societies could take on new members from outside so easily because they were not strongly united within themselves. With societies with a more complex organic structure Durkheim claims it is harder for strangers to gain admission and assimilation and naturalization takes longer than with the more simple societal structure.

This theory is of little help in the present study. It may be easier for migration to take place between societies that are predominantly mechanical in their solidarity but the question which can be asked is whether it is at all useful for migration to take place between such societies? I suggest that if the members are unspecialised in their talents then gains through immigration are no more effective than gains through natural increase. On the other hand, it would appear that it is the more specialised societies that benefit through migration because they can "import" new members with skills that are lacking in the society. Conversely the sending society may benefit by ridding itself of an over supply in a certain occupational skill. The present study concerns migration between two countries which are both predominantly organic in their solidarity<sup>1]</sup>.

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1] I regard all modern societies as predominantly "organic" in Durkheim's sense.



South Africa requires skilled immigrants immediately to maintain the present rate of economic growth but if the society was mainly "mechanical" in its structure this need would not exist. Furthermore Durkheim mentions that immigration is easy to a society that is not strong within itself. However, in the case of White South Africa British immigration was greatly restricted by the National Party in the years immediately after 1948 because the society was so divided within itself. It was only in the sixties, when the government considered White South Africa to be more united, that British immigration was recommenced on a large scale. This does not support Durkheim's theory.

#### Eisenstadt

Whereas Durkheim mentioned immigration in passing Eisenstadt has paid special attention to it in The Absorption of Immigrants. Eisenstadt (1954: 1) divides the immigration process into three stages as follows:-

- (1) the need to migrate
- (2) the social structure of the actual migratory process
- (3) the absorption of immigrants within the social and cultural framework of the new society.

The first stage has been discussed in chapter one and will not be repeated. The second stage involves the actual migratory process and Eisenstadt points out that this involves a shrinkage in the amount of social participation in primary group relationships on the part of the individual. In his society of origin he played many roles but in his new society, to begin with, his

role playing is considerably reduced and his sphere of social participation is also narrowed. (1954: 4,5,6)

The third stage involves the absorption of the migrant into the receiving society. Eisenstadt (1954: 12-13) says that from the literature there appear to be three main indices of absorption, namely, acculturation, personal adjustment and immigrant dispersion. Eisenstadt does not believe that any of these indices are adequate as a measure of absorption. He does not consider that any immigrant groups should have their identities obliterated by the receiving society and says that in fact this rarely happens. He is of the opinion that a true measure of the absorption of any immigrant group into a society is the development of what he terms a pluralistic structure within the society. Eisenstadt defines a "pluralistic structure" as a society which develops different sub-systems within it; these sub-systems being composed of people maintaining a separate identity. They must accept the universal roles of the society, which are incumbent on all members but outside these roles they must be given the opportunity to develop roles peculiar to their sub-system. Thus the amount of absorption of immigrants can be measured by the ability of the receiving society to accommodate these new sub-systems within the broad framework of the general society. (1954: 15-20)

In the South African setting some observers may regard Eisenstadt's observations as being particularly true. It is possibly a vain hope that the newcomers will become completely absorbed within the White South

African society within a short period of time. We must expect them to continue with some of the manners and customs pertinent to the country from which they have come. It will suffice if they accept the universal roles existing within the new society but they should be expected to form their own separate sub-groups and the White South African society should be prepared to accommodate these extensions to the pluralistic society. The Secretary for Immigration has stated that he has no objection to Roman Catholic immigrants. (Sunday Tribune, 10th March, 1968) On this matter the Secretary said the following:-

"If a man is a skilled worker and qualified his religion does not enter into the picture. We look at the individual. If he is acceptable then it is okay. We do however discriminate against atheists because we are a Christian country. As a rule atheists are maladjusted people and we want adjustable people."

This statement can be discussed within the framework of Eisenstadt's theory. The Secretary has stated that immigrants must accept one of the universal roles within South Africa's White society, namely, he must have a belief in God. Outside of this universal role the new immigrant is allowed some freedom. For example he is permitted to be a Roman Catholic in a predominantly Protestant society and this could lead to the development of sub-systems within the society. However, it was shown in the previous chapter that the Federale Raad van Skakelkomitees is most concerned about the development of such sub-systems, and expect the immigrants to be completely absorbed by the receiving society.

Thus the third stage of Eisenstadt's immigration process has some direct relevance to South Africa's controversial immigration policy but it is outside the scope of the present study.

### Demographic Theories

#### Malthus's Theory

Malthus held the view that population and subsistence were linked to one another. He argued that emigration would relieve population pressure and raise the population above the subsistence level for a short period of time but that losses through emigration would soon be made up by earlier marriages and increased fertility. If a population were below optimum size, then immigration would enable that country to exploit its untapped resources as well as increasing its population capacity in the long run in excess of those brought in by migration. However, if a population were at optimum size and all its resources were being exploited, then migration would lead to population pressure. (Isaac, 1947: 171)

#### R. Pearl's Theory

Pearl's theory, although it is different in detail from that of Malthus, also contends that immigration plays little part in population growth. Pearl carried out experiments with animals and concluded that the patterns found in their growth rate represented a law that could apply to all living creatures including humans. Pearl said that the increasing density of the population will

affect both the birth rate and the death rate. The rate of increase will at first be slow, until a certain density is reached. After this it increases rapidly for a time to be followed by a period of decreasing growth until it is checked altogether and the population remains constant. Thus immigration to a country can increase the density and so have an effect on the birth and death rates, but, if immigration had not occurred, the same increase would take place at a later stage. (Isaac, 1947: 172-173)

#### C. Gini's Theory

Gini holds that every nation is subject to a cycle of growth similar to that of the individual. It starts with rapid growth in the nation's youth, then it settles down to a lower rate when it reaches maturity to be followed in time by a period of senility when the numbers in the population get less and less; unless this is checked by migration, the nation will eventually disappear altogether. A nation reaching senility may be rejuvenated by people from a growing country. In this way, its growth will be maintained and it is, for this reason, vital for every ageing country to have a sound immigration policy if it is to maintain itself. (Isaac, 1947: 174-175)

All these theories have some evidence to support them but at the same time the writers have shown a certain bias in the selection of their facts. Thompson (1943: 39) has stated that population is governed by a number of factors such as environment and even physiological factors. "Hence" he says "it is folly to



search for a simple law of population growth; what should receive attention is rather the factors that determine growth in a particular community at a particular time". This argument appears to be a sound one. Malthus, it seems, assumed that agricultural production would remain constant for a given area and, therefore, disregarded modern technological developments in this field which increase the yield per acre. It is hard to compare human beings with *Drosophila* as Pearl has done and his theory pays little attention to the new discoveries of precious metals or other sources of wealth. Gini's theory does have some historical support but at the same time there are cases which refute his theory as well. If we are to believe Gini's theory, we would consider Britain as a country reaching senility. Emigration of such people to other countries would thereby accelerate the senility of the receiving country. Such a thought seems absurd.

### Economic Theories

#### The Optimum Theory of Migration

This is a general economic theory on migration. It is assumed that the individual moves from one country to another in order to better his position and that his economic self-interest coincides with the general interest. For this reason the state must leave migration to proceed unchecked for there will be a natural adjustment of population in the various countries until they are of optimum size. Under such a system the duty of the state is purely to increase the amount of each individual



income. The state will have an optimum population size in direct relation with the resources available which will be, as the name implies, a level of population whereby the greatest income per head will be derived. At this optimum level, any increase or decrease in the population through any means will lower the standard of living. If a country is above optimum size then it will benefit from emigration. If it is below optimum size then it will benefit from immigration and if it is at its optimum level then it will benefit from neither. This effect from migration is more immediate than would be gained by an increase in the birth rate because with the latter method it would be at least fourteen years before these members become economically active.

This theory greatly oversimplifies reality. It assumes rationality on the part of the individual. Sometimes this may happen, but the individual only reacts rationally according to the facts available to him and some private decisions to emigrate are made with extremely scanty knowledge of the country of immigration and little real forethought about the proposed move. It also assumes that the wishes of the individual coincide with that of the state. This does not appear to be so, especially when considering the actions of the British government to prevent Kenya Asians from entering the United Kingdom as immigrants<sup>1]</sup>.

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1] On the 29th February 1968 a Bill was passed by the British House of Commons to curb immigration. The bill was rushed through Parliament following a general exodus of Kenya Asians to Britain.

## Colonization Theories

### Wakefield's Theory

Wakefield's theory no longer applies to modern immigration but it did have an influence on British Colonial policy in the past. A group of writers and politicians called the "Colonial Reformers" tried in the eighteenth century to invigorate British colonial policy and to encourage the foundation of new settlements. The man behind the colonial reformers was E.G. Wakefield who talked about the art of colonization and hoped to develop it into a science. (Sinclair, 1959: 56-58) In England there was unemployment, discontent, poor living conditions and threats of revolution. Wakefield claimed that this situation could be overcome if the surplus labour was exported to the colonies. The labour left in England would become a scarce commodity and real wages would rise. He believed that the sale of cheap land in the colonies was a mistake because it meant that everybody could own a farm but not have sufficient labour to work it. Wakefield maintained that if the price of Crown Lands increased it would limit the number of buyers and those who could not purchase a farm would be available as labourers. In time the news that labour was abundant would attract further waves of settlers who had sufficient funds to buy farms and so the whole process would snowball. Moreover revenue obtained from Crown Lands could be used to pay the passages of subsequent immigrants.

Wakefield's theory did not apply to South Africa as much as it did to the other colonies because Bantu

labour was available. However, his general theory was adopted by Britain at the time and attempts were made to increase the White labour force in South Africa.

The theories that have been outlined so far are of interest but are too general for useful application to the present research. On the other hand it is believed that the conceptual framework that follows is most helpful in understanding the immigration process in its initial stage.

#### Richardson's Conceptual Framework

Richardson favours the study of the immigration process on a social psychological level. While in this study it was neither practical or pertinent to investigate the psychological level, this does not mean that Richardson's sociological concepts cannot be used. Indeed they were most useful in analysing the sociological attributes of the immigrants who were interviewed in the present study.

According to Richardson (1959: 328-329) the decision to immigrate can be studied under the five headings which follow.

#### 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 reaching goals.

I agree that the individual is often motivated to immigrate because of some frustration in the sending society and I believe further that disorganisation can be caused by at least two other factors. Firstly there are social conditions that may prevent the individual from attaining his ends but secondly the individual may be frustrated, not from any failing of society but by his own personal inadequacies. The first could be thought of as social disorganisation while the second can be referred to as personal disorganisation. Certainly, the two will in most cases be hard to separate but one will have primacy. It could be important for the receiving country to distinguish between the two for immigrants who are entirely personally disorganised will not solve their problems through immigration and will be a burden to the receiving country.

#### 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 it involves 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.

#### 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.

In my opinion this concept does not effect the basic decision to emigrate as much as the direction the immigration takes. This will be discussed at greater length in due course when it will be shown that prior knowledge of the country and the existence of friends and relatives were important factors in determining the choice of South Africa in preference to other countries.

#### 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.

I have mentioned in the introduction that I believe that Eisenstadt has not given this variable sufficient consideration. In the case of immigration to South Africa the occupational and race requirements are particularly relevant.

### Personality

Richardson (1959:329) regards personality characteristics such as temperament and basic values and attitudes as important to the immigration 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. However, this study is restricted to the sociological variables.

This conceptual framework will be applied to the present study. The introduction suggested that I believe that immigration could be a significant factor in social change. The type of social change brought about in this way will depend largely on the characteristics of the immigrants themselves. The next chapter will report on the findings of a survey of British immigrants to Durban, South Africa conducted during the last eight months of 1967. The chapter will, first, report on the basic characteristics on the immigrants such as place of residence prior to departure, marital status,

age and other factors. This will be followed by an investigation of the influence of the concepts of disorganisation, dislodgement, significant contact and objective opportunity.

#### CHAPTER FOUR

##### **THE BRITISH IMMIGRANT TO SOUTH AFRICA; A REPORT ON THE RESEARCH FINDINGS.**

The present chapter reports the findings of the survey conducted by the writer in Durban during 1967. Where possible comparisons will be made with immigrants to Australia and with the general British population to observe any similarities or differences. The findings are discussed within the conceptual framework suggested by Richardson which was outlined in the last chapter. The interview schedule used in the survey is given in Appendix A while details of the research techniques used are to be found in Appendix B.

#### 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. Their place of residence prior to departure and their place of birth, their degree of urbanisation, the percentage coming from conurbations, their age, size of family and the number of working wives will be discussed in this section and it will be shown that they do not deviate considerably from the immigrant to Australia or alternately with the general British population.

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 4:1

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 approximately in proportion to that of the British population<sup>1]</sup>. 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 (1964:114) it was found that the urban areas of England were over-represented. Appleyard's study showed that the counties of Cornwall, Wiltshire, Sussex, Suffolk,

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

Norfolk, Huntingdon, Cambridge, East Riding and Hereford were under-represented. In the present survey that is not the case with Wiltshire, Herefordshire or for Yorkshire as a whole. In Map 4:1 and Table 4:2 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. These counties were under-represented in Appleyard's study as well and there are definite indications that they are not an immigration area. Map 4:1 shows a belt of counties in the lower midlands of Britain that are either under-represented 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%)<sup>1]</sup> and the East Midlands (1.9%)<sup>1]</sup> 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 under-represented in the present

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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.



TABLE 4:2

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

Number of people born per county N = 224

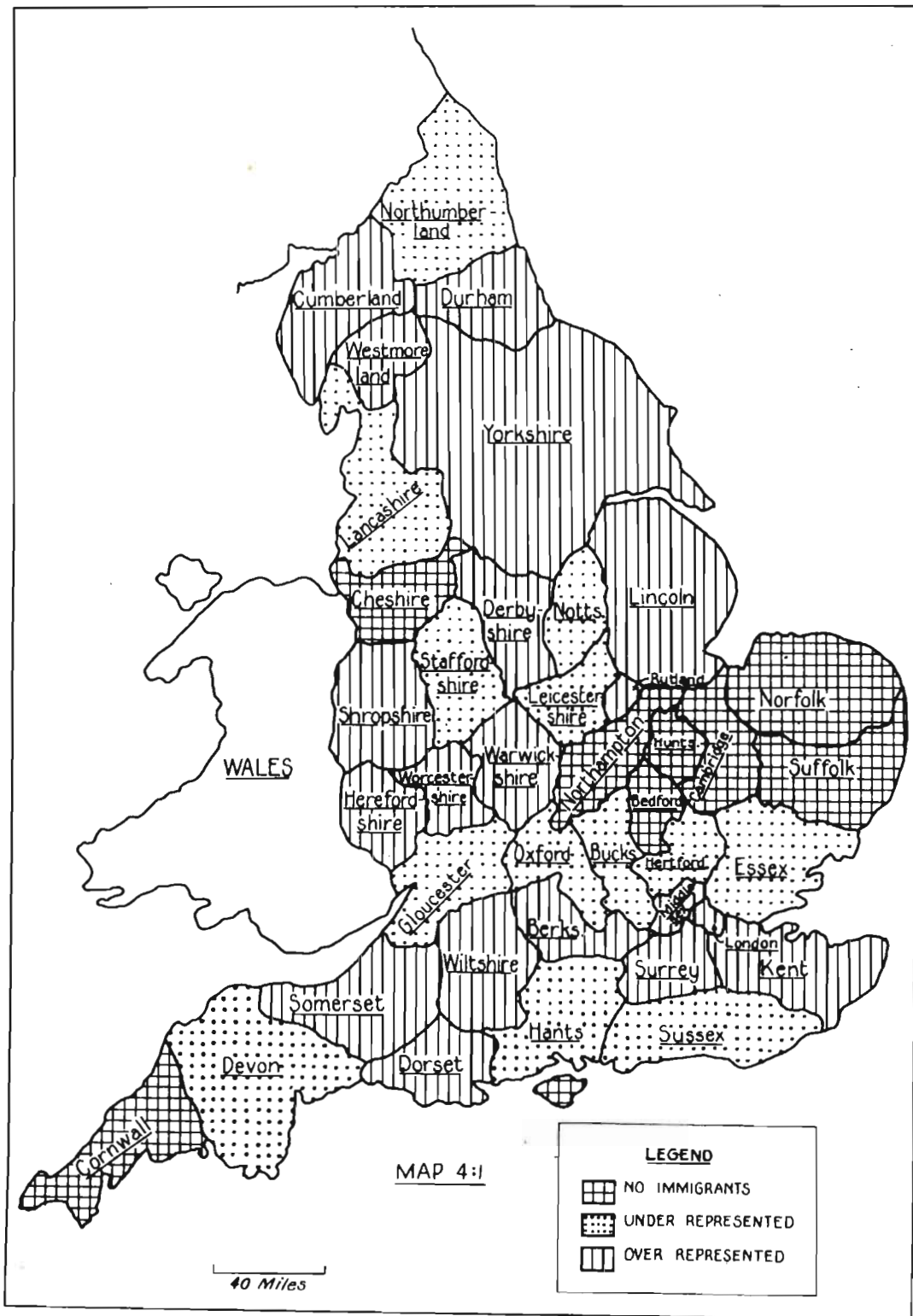
People resident prior to departure N = 395

Percentage population per counties calculated from Whitakers Almanac, (London: J. Whitaker and Sons, 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



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 over-represented 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 over-represented but the sample size in these counties is so small that the findings are not reliable.

Table 4:3 and 4:4 show the representation of immigrants according to the population of the counties in units of ten. It is observed that in respect of place of birth the first twenty counties have more that are under-represented than over-represented while in the second twenty the reverse occurs.

TABLE 4:3

Comparison of Population Size of Counties  
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

The next table shows the place of residence of immigrants before departure and it is obvious that the largest counties are slightly under-represented and that this persists in the second ten to an even greater degree. In the second twenty the counties are either over-represented or not represented at all.

TABLE 4:4

The same as in Table 4:3 but Enumerating immigrants 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 4:4 it is to be observed that the pattern is slightly altered when considering place of residence. The first ten counties are now over-represented but the second ten remain as in the previous table. In the last twenty the general pattern is over-representation or no representation at all. The 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 over-represented or not represented at all suggests that the survey sample could have been

larger. One large family from a small county could cause the county to be over-represented and a larger sample would have ironed out these irregularities.

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 to 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 4:5 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 over-represented. Municipal Boroughs are under-represented 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. over-represented in the Urban Districts and under-represented 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 might have smoothed out such anomalies. In the case of Scotland it is obvious from Table 4:5 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.

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 4:6 the distribution of the sampled migrants for both South Africa and Australia in respect to 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 with 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. 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

TABLE 4:5

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
County 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)

immigrants going to Australia. All the conurbations are represented with the exception of Tyneside for which no explanation can be offered. Yorkshire is over-represented in the South African survey and many of these came from the East Riding. In Scotland the migration from the Clydeside conurbation under-represented 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.

#### Age Distribution

The sex distribution among dependent children of

TABLE 4:6

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 (1964:118).

migrants gave a masculinity rate of 112.5 which is not significant and it is not considered important to discuss it further. However, age differences are of importance and these are shown in Table 4:7 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. 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 in the 30-45 year group more 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, (1964:119) 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 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.

TABLE 4:7

Age : Population of the United Kingdom and  
Sampled Immigrants to South Africa and  
Australia. (Percentages)

Age	United Kingdom		South African	Australian
	1958*	1967*	sample	sample (Appleyard)*
			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 R.T. Appleyard, British Immigration to Australia, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1964, p. 120)  
Figures for 1967 taken from, Annual Abstract of Statistics for Great Britain, (London: H.M.S.O., No. 102, 1967)

#### 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 4:8 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. In Table 4:8 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. Table 4:8 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. Table 4:8 shows that most immigrant families to South Africa have either no children or two children but it

TABLE 4:8

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	
Single	N = 496	N = 121	N=2,474	N = 579	
Married	16.30		11.40		
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 R.T. Appleyard, British Emigration to Australia, (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1964) p. 122

has already been pointed out that family size may increase after arrival in South Africa.

#### 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 British population (52 per cent) in 1960. (Klein, 1965:14) Table 4:9 throws some light on the characteristics of working wives of immigrants.

From Table 4:9 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

TABLE 4:9

The Working Wife. Immigrant working Wives  
in respect to 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		100.00 N = 61		100.00 N = 61

according to Klein (1965:14) it was not as acceptable for wives to work prior to 1948 as it is today. Therefore, the low figure for woman 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 4:7 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 by Klein (1965:37) 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 and 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.

### Disorganisation

It was agreed in chapter three that 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 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.

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 4:10.

TABLE 4:10

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.

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. Table 4:10 when compared with the information just given shows that the 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 to 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 Britain<sup>1]</sup>.

#### Accommodation

According to Appleyard (1964:135) 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 4:11 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 are older and less desirable. In Appleyard's study (1964:137) 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

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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 shows that average family income for Whites is R384 per month, in the ten major urban areas. (Survey of family expenditure, November 1966 Report No. 11-06-01 Pretoria; Bureau of Census and Statistics, Table 1.11. p.22.)

TABLE 4:11

Type of Accommodation prior to Departure.  
(Married Persons Only)

Type of dwelling	Percentage of couples
	(N = 123)
Detached house	19.51
Brick Bungalow	11.33
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.

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 4:12 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 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 4:13 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,

TABLE 4:12

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, British Emigration to Australia.  
 (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1964) p. 133.  
 D. Nevitt, "The State of Social Services :  
 Housing", New Society, (5th October 1967) p. 460.

TABLE 4:13

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  
 Converted to South African currency R37.89.

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 4:14 it can be observed that the average rent that migrants are paying or expect to pay after leaving their initial

TABLE 4:14

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 cents.

hotel accommodation is R66.24 cents which is considerably more than what they paid in the United Kingdom. In general the immigrants were paying more in rent in the United Kingdom than their counterparts who settled in Australia. According to Appleyard (1964:138) only one migrant out of a total of 579 was paying more than £5 a week prior to departure. Nevitt (1967:460)

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.

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 4:15. 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.

The information given in Table 4:15 is for the state of housing in Britain in 1951 and was obtained from Appleyard's study. Unfortunately 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 4:16 and these are compared with the Britishers who emigrated to South Africa.



TABLE 4:15

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, British Emigration to Australia, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1964) p. 136 In 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.

TABLE 4:16

Number of Rooms per House - Estimated for  
Great Britain 1967 and Sampled Immigrants.

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 D. Nevitt, "The State of Social Services: Housing", New Society, (5th October, 1967) p. 460 In South Africa 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.

Table 4:16 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 living in four rooms or less are slightly under-represented among the immigrants and the same applies for dwellings of six and seven rooms. On the other hand dwellings of five rooms are over-represented 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 that would make them want to emigrate.

#### Reasons for emigrating that suggest disorganisation

Some of the reasons given by the immigrants in regards to their decision to settle in South Africa suggest disorganisation. These are given in Table 4:17.

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

TABLE 4:17

Reasons for Emigrating that suggest  
disorganisation (Per cent)

Reasons for emigrating	Married			Single		
	First	Second	Third	First	Second	Third
	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

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 choose 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 4.17.

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 immigrant being asked how many positions they held since the time of leaving school to the time of emigrating. The results are given in Table 4:18 below. It can be seen from the table that the median number of posts held by the immigrant

TABLE 4:18

Median Number of Positions held by Immigrants  
before arrival 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	6.1	N = 29
35 - 39	4.9		N = 15
40 and over	5.1		N = 45

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 is no comparative data but it would appear as if some of the immigrants had occupied a number of positions since leaving school which suggests a possibility of disorganisation in this respect.

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

#### 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 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 (1959:330) who did not regard disorganisation as a major factor in the immigration process.

#### Dislodgement

It was mentioned in chapter three that there are many experiences in an individuals 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.

#### 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 breakdown of immigrants, in relation to overseas travel is given in Table 4:19. 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

TABLE 4:19

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

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 Appleyard's study (1964:143) 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 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 4:19 is that overseas travel is a strong factor of dislodgement for many in the sample.

#### 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 to 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 4:19 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 (1966-87-88) 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 with the immigrants sampled. Table 4:20 gives details of the number of dwellings lived in by immigrants prior to departure. The figures in Table 4:20 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

TABLE 4:20

Number of Dwellings lived in since Starting  
Work if Single or since Married if Married.  
(Per Cent)

Age or length of marriage.	Number of dwellings						Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	6 or more		
<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 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.

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 4:20 reveals that the number of dwellings lived in increases with length of marriage which 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 moves 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.

The number of towns the respondents had worked in was also reasonably low, as can be seen in Table 4:21 which follows:-

TABLE 4:21

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 or more	
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

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 to change of occupation, (discussed under disorganisation) change of dwelling and change of town is given in Table 4:22. From the table it can be observed 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 worked in

TABLE 4:22

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

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 (1964:143) 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.

#### 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.

#### 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 (1964:155). Table 4:23 shows that the largest difference between the two countries is in the number of Australian immigrants who

TABLE 4:23

Emigrant's 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	100.0	100.00	100.00

Source: R.T. Appleyard, British Emigration to Australia  
(London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1964) p. 155.

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" 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 4:19 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 hypothesise 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 source of information is their respective Embassy 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 (1959:330) 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 4:23. 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 (62.87 per cent) to South Africa said they had not considered any other country. In Appleyard's study (1964:159) the percentage who had made no enquiries about settling elsewhere was even higher at 72.5 per cent.

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 4:24 which follows.

TABLE 4:24

Reasons for Emigrating that suggest  
significant contact (Per cent)

Reasons for emigrating	Married			Single		
	First	Second	Third	First	Second	Third
	Reason	Reason	Reason	Reason	Reason	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 the Table it is observed that significant contact would appear to be a stronger reason among single people. However, it is debateable if "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 a hotel. She chose South Africa in preference to other countries because her sister was living here 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 has 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 4:19 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.

### 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 observed in Table 4:25.

TABLE 4:25

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
Total	42.68
All other Reasons	57.33
Total	100.01

From the table it can be observed that 42.68 per cent of the reasons given suggest significant contact. Under "better immigration scheme" are the facts 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 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 as I mentioned in the last chapter 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.

### Objective Opportunity

It was mentioned in the last chapter that 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.

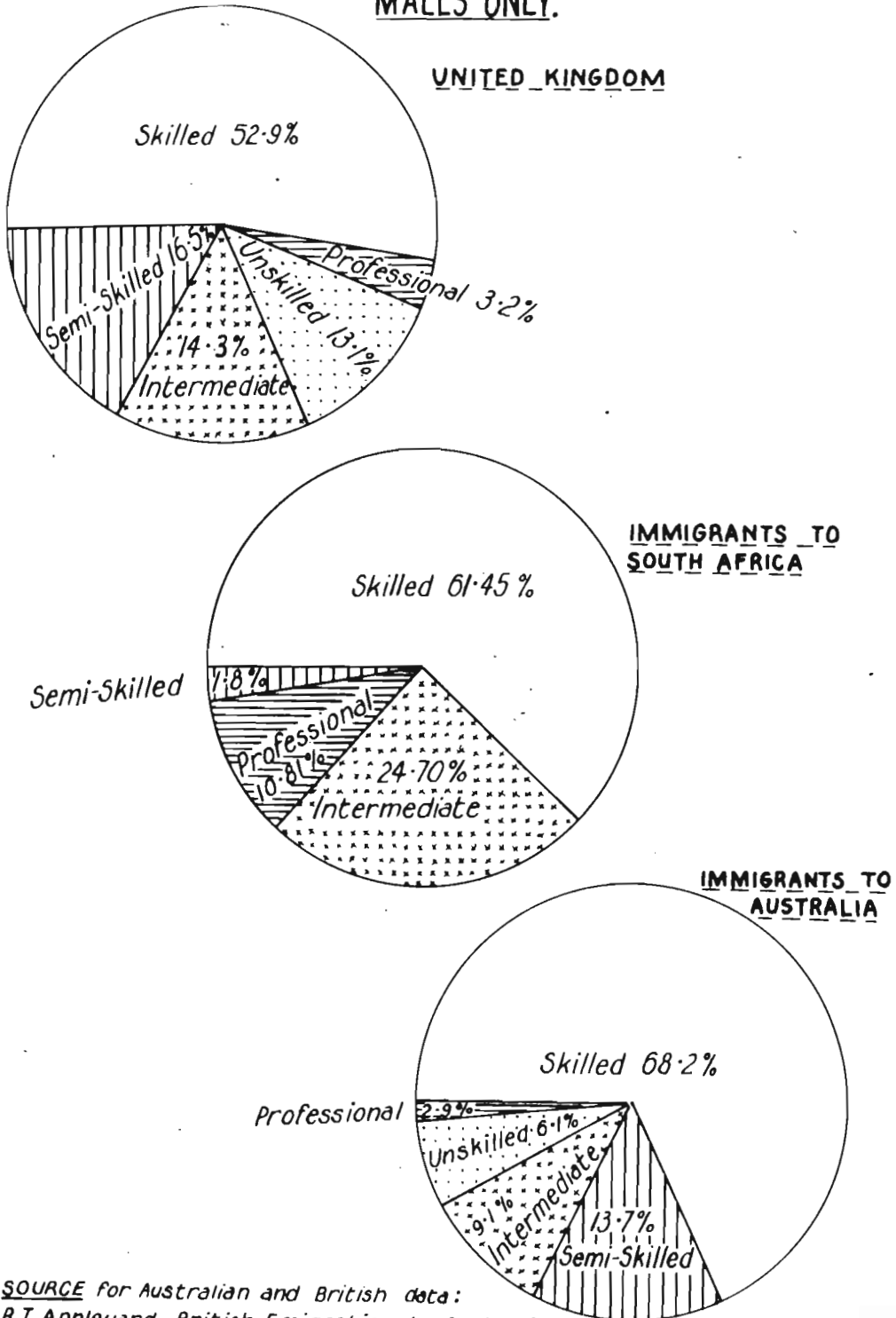
### Occupation of Immigrants

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, 1964:124) but accepting this limitation the comparisons make interesting reading as shown in Figure 4:1<sup>1]</sup> on the next page. From the diagrams in Figure 4:1 it can be 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

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1] 1.2 per cent of South African immigrants could not be classified under occupation.

**FIGURE 4:1 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.



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 of this category. Nearly one quarter of the immigrants in the present survey were classified as intermediate - over ten 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 over-represented 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.

Family considerations

It is possible that family size, place in family order, and whether parents are alive or not are all factors that effect 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 ageing 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 4:26 lists the migrants according to family size in family of orientation and whether parents are alive or not.

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 4:27. It can be seen from Table 4:27 that the mode is one and two children per family and falls away very sharply after families of three children. With the immigrants on

TABLE 4:26

Immigrants according to Family of Orientation  
and whether Parents are alive or not. (Percentages)

Parents alive or	Number of children in family of orientation							Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 and more	
<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	11.1	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 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 4:27 families of three or less children make up 76 per cent of the total. An interesting feature of Table 4:26 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 7.6 per cent. In regard to family orientation it would appear that immigrants come from larger families than average, especially with females. In the study by Richardson (1959:331) it was found that significantly more immigrants to Australia came from families of three or more.

TABLE 4:27

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/>
	100.2

Source: D.H. Wrong, Population and Society, (New York: Random House; 1962) p. 53.

It is impossible to make comparisons with the United Kingdom and the immigrants in respect to 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 4:26 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 4:28. From the table it is to be

TABLE 4:28

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

observed that with the males the immigrants tend to come from the younger 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.

#### 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 (1966:107) 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 and it was mentioned in the previous chapter that atheists were not considered for immigration 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.

### Conclusions

The findings were very similar to those of Richardson (1959). I will quote some of Richardson's (1959:336) 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.

2. "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.

3. "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.

4. "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.

5. "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 immigrants 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.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### CONCLUSIONS

The previous chapter was devoted entirely to a report on the findings of the research undertaken. It was shown that the British immigrant to South Africa is influenced by all four of the sociological variables under discussion. In this, the concluding chapter, some of the implications arising from the findings will be considered.

#### Disorganisation

It was shown that there are many people in Britain today who are less fortunate than those who decide to emigrate. This was also found by Appleyard (1964:144) which suggests that it could be a common characteristic of modern migration. The immigrant would appear to be the kind of person who is relatively well off but sees the opportunity of doing even better in another country. Thus, it is suggested that frustration comes, not from the lack of material possessions but the disparity between what people want and what they possess. With the migrants to South Africa their possessions were relatively substantial but they craved for more.

In Britain, at the moment, due to political, economic and social circumstances, there are factors that will bring frustration to a greater number of people than in normal times. A brief outline of the

present situation in Britain will illustrate this point.

There are Britishers who believe that they cannot live under a Labour government. Over twelve per cent of the married immigrants and eight per cent of the single immigrants mentioned it as a reason for their migration. It is interesting to note that Appleyard (1964:165) did not list this as a reason for immigrating to Australia. Appleyard's survey was undertaken in 1959 when the Conservatives held office. It was shown in the last chapter that in many respects the immigrants to South Africa and Australia were alike. Why then is politics mentioned by the one group and not by the other. It could be that the Labour government is markedly worse than the Conservative government of previous years but I do not believe this to be so. On the other hand it is quite possible that there are people in Britain today who firmly believe that the Labour party is completely incapable of running the affairs of state, but the supporters of the Labour Party do not appear to feel the same way about the Conservatives. The evidence suggests that there will always be a fringe of people who will emigrate from Britain when the Labour party holds office.

The economic circumstances are evident for all to see. The British balance of payments showed a deficit of £393 million in 1964. The Labour Party came into power in October of that year and since then has been doing its utmost to change the annual deficits



into surpluses<sup>1]</sup>. To obtain this end it has been necessary to impose unpleasant economic restrictions. There has been a freeze on wages in spite of rising prices, an increase in taxation and in 1967 Britain was forced into the humiliating expediency of devaluing the pound sterling. The government has been forced to cut its expenditure and to urge the public to do likewise while at the same time boost the export industry. All this amounts to the fact that the general standard of living in Britain is lower than it was previously and the Labour government has become the general scapegoat for all the present economic difficulties. Under such conditions it is logical to suppose that there are more frustrated people in Britain at the moment than at more prosperous times.

Another factor causing disorganisation is the rapid social change that is taking place in Britain at the moment. With such rapid change there will always be a section of the population which will lag behind the new order. An acute anomic situation will exist with the older generation considering the new ways to be either improper or immoral. For such people, migration to another country that is not progressing at such a fast pace would appear to be the answer. It has been remarked that the inhabitants of Dunedin, in New Zealand have retained much of their 19th century

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1] cf. Britain in Brief, H.M.S.O., RF.P. 5503/67. In 1965 the deficit dropped to £109 million and in 1966 to £31 million. The deficit for 1967 has been provisionally estimated at £514 million, according to the British Consulate-General in Durban.

Scottish culture. In South Africa the White society has retained much of the past without adopting some of the new trends in western culture, there being little laxity in the old normative system. The popular appeal of singing groups such as the "Beatles" and the "Rolling Stones" in Britain over the past few years and the drug charges laid against them have shocked the more conservative British who see them as representative of the youth of today. The award of an M.B.E. to the "Beatles" has added to the chagrin of the more staid section of the community who did not contemplate the possibility of such an award. For such people the old England appears to have gone for ever and migration to a country which has retained some of the old values and standards is inviting.

The strength of these three factors of disorganisation is likely to diminish in time. Public opinion polls at the moment indicate that the Labour government will not be returned to power at the next general election, but even if they are successful they should be more acceptable than hitherto. A win by the Labour party would be an endorsement by the British public of their policies during their term of office and such endorsement will only come if the measures they have taken bear fruit. On the other hand if the Conservative Party regains office at the next election, which at present appears likely, the present feelings of unrest that are always prevalent during a Labour administration should fall away. Likewise, the economic plight being experienced at present, should improve. Adequate steps have been taken in this direction and in time Britain

may once again experience the prosperity of 1959. The social change that is taking place at the moment is the last break with the Victorian era. In time there will be a general acceptance of the new standards and values in Britain. All those who do not like the new order will have emigrated or have decided to remain and thus the immigrants influenced by this source will diminish.

However, Richardson describes disorganisation as frustrations of one kind or another. There are many people who have an intense dislike for cold and wet weather and the reason is most likely more of a physical nature than a sociological one. Nevertheless this dislike is mentioned frequently as a reason for emigrating and it must be considered. In the present survey 69.87 per cent of the married immigrants and 53.39 per cent of the single immigrants mentioned it as one of the reasons for emigrating. For these people immigration to South Africa will most certainly help to solve their problems. The average annual rainfall in Britain and Wales is 36.46 inches per year, in Scotland it is 52.37 inches annually and in Northern Ireland the figure stands at 41.90 (H.M.S.O., No. 102, 1967:4) In comparison Pretoria has an annual rainfall of 28.3 inches on average while in Cape Town it is even lower at 24.7 inches (South African Year Book, 1960:24) Not only does South Africa get less rainfall on average but there are many months of the year when hardly any rain falls at all. For example, in Pretoria five months of the year have an average of less than one inch. In Britain the average rainfall is never under two inches. The mean hours of sunshine are also considerably longer in South Africa

than in the United Kingdom. In the latter the mean number of hours of sunshine per day is never over seven hours, even in summer, while in winter it is often below two hours per day (H.M.S.O., No. 108, 1967:5) Compare this with South Africa where in the South Western Cape the daily average hours of sunshine per year stand at 8.2, in the South Cape Coastal area it is 7.7, in the East Coast area it is 6.4, in the Highveld area it is 9, in both the Lowveld and West Coast areas it stands at 8 and in the Karroo it is as high as 9.5 (Department of Immigration, 1967:Passim) South Africa is also a much warmer country. The mean annual temperature in England and Wales is 50.3 degrees fahrenheit, in Northern Ireland it is colder at 48.5 degrees and in Scotland it is still colder at 47.6 degrees (H.M.S.O., No. 102, 1967:1) This is in tremendous contrast with the three major towns in South Africa, namely Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban all of whom have an annual mean temperature of over seventy degrees fahrenheit (South African Year Book, 1960:30-32) Indeed it can be seen from the figures given that people who suffer from the cold and wet climate in Britain must see South Africa in a most attractive light. The South African government is well aware of this and have printed a booklet entitled "Land of Sunshine" copies of which are freely available in the South African Embassy in London. For such people this factor of disorganisation will never alter and consequently the supply of immigrants so influenced will remain unchanged.

We can conclude, from the foregoing discussion that the influence of disorganisation as a factor will

lessen in time but the climate in Britain compared with that of South Africa will always influence people of a certain physical make up who dislike cold.

### Dislodgement

It was shown in the previous chapter that nearly seventy-five per cent of the immigrants had experienced travel outside Britain before immigrating. Over thirty-eight per cent of these had seen parts of the world outside Europe and nearly one-fifth of the sample had been to South Africa before. In this respect the immigrants were severely dislodged. It was also shown that many of the immigrants had changed occupational positions frequently before arrival which is another index of dislodgement. On the other hand there appeared to be little movement from one dwelling to another or from one town to another. The information available indicates that dislodgement was important as a factor for a section of the immigrants namely, the former colonial and the former merchant seaman. The survey showed that 26.5 per cent of the adult immigrants could be described as Ex-Colonial and 7.4 per cent were former merchant seamen or their wives. In other words for over  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the immigrants studied there were definite factors of dislodgement which influenced them. Britain will always have merchant seamen who become attracted to South Africa while on their travels but the numbers of Ex-Colonials who immigrate are bound to fall away. Many of the immigrants came from other parts of Africa, especially Kenya which had a relatively high White population before independence. There was heavy immigration of Whites directly from Kenya in the early sixties. The present immigration constitutes a second



wave who decided to resettle in Britain but at a later stage decided to return to Africa and considered that South Africa was the only country where the White man could still live in a privileged position. The transition period is now complete. Ghana was the first African state to obtain independence in 1960. In the years that have followed other African states have also received their right to govern themselves until finally in September 1968 Swaziland was the last country to emerge as a self-governing nation. Thus, in time, all the former White Ex-Colonials will have resettled themselves in new countries. Consequently dislodgement as a factor of immigration will not be as important.

#### Significant Contact with receiving Country

In the previous chapter it was shown that significant contact influenced the immigrant in the decision on where to immigrate. Disorganisation and dislodgement are factors that cause the individual to emigrate. Significant contact gives the migration direction. It was shown in Table 4:25 that 42,68 per cent of the reasons why immigrants choose South Africa in preference to other countries indicated significant contact. Nearly one-sixth of the immigrants said that they choose South Africa in preference to other countries because there were relatives living here, and almost ten per cent said that they had heard of generally good reports about South Africa. In this concluding chapter the suggestion has been made that disorganisation and dislodgement will diminish as factors in the immigration process. If this is the case the course that lies ahead for the South African government is not so much

to persuade people to migrate from Britain but to ensure that a substantial share of those who want to migrate come to South Africa. This can be done if the immigrants have not only significant but positive contact with South Africa. The survey has shown that many of the migrants had this positive contact. What is not shown are the number of migrants who choose other countries because of a negative contact with South Africa. The South African Embassy in Britain will always play its part in attracting immigrants but there is evidence to suggest that a big influence on the immigration process is the influence of friends and relatives in South Africa. Some of the letters written by immigrants to prospective settlers are given in Appendix C. It can be seen from these letters that whereas the South African Embassy emphasises the positive side of immigration the contacts in South Africa give a more balanced picture. One letter concludes by imploring the prospective immigrant not to expect too much. The newly arrived immigrant warns his friend of the housing shortage and the higher price to be paid for household goods in South Africa. On the other hand there is reassurance that the apartheid policy of the South African government is "not a quarter as bad as people make it out to be". It would have been helpful to have had more letters to get a better picture of the position but there is evidence to show that contacts in South Africa are of enormous importance to the potential immigrant in reaching a decision where to go. If the contact is to be positive it is of vital importance for the South African government and the people of South Africa to make the process of absorption and assimilation as pleasant as possible. It was mentioned in chapter two

that a certain amount of xenophobia was shown towards the immigrants on arrival. Such feelings of hostility can have very negative effects on immigration in the future. In the present survey it was found that 36.3 per cent of the immigrants had contacts in South Africa before arrival. The immigrants of today are the contacts of tomorrow. It is in South Africa's interests to see that the contact is positive.

### Objective Opportunity

The outlook at the moment is that the degree of objective opportunity with regard to occupational skills will remain the same. However, at the moment the number of immigrants is insufficient to meet the needs of the expanding economy<sup>1]</sup>. In 1967 the net gain through immigration was under thirty thousand which is well below the objective of the South African government. If this situation persists then South Africa has no alternative than to open up the semi-skilled occupations to the Non-Whites in South Africa. It follows that only the more skilled occupations will be available for the Whites and consequently the objective opportunity to come to South Africa will be reduced even further.

In the last chapter it was shown that the immigrants tended to come from larger families than normal. The influence of this kind of objective opportunity depends on the changes in family size in

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1] Dr. A.S. Jacobs, Director of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut calculates that there should be a net gain of at least 40,000 per year through immigration. (cf. Volkshandel, July, 1965, p. 17)

Britain during the next generation. Although certain trends are evident in this respect prognostications are mainly conjectural and do not justify further discussion.

### Spurious Immigration

It has been suggested that immigration from Britain may fall away in the future. It is also important to mention that much of the present immigration is of a spurious nature. In the present study nearly forty per cent of the total were single people. Some of these were genuine immigrants but many of them freely admitted that they were in South Africa purely for a working holiday at the expense of the South African government and would return to Britain in due course. There is also a large block of South Africans who are returning as immigrants after a few years abroad. Until last year they were entitled to assisted passages and included in the immigration figures. The former Minister of Immigration, Mr. A. Trollip mentioned in the Senate (2nd February, 1967) that of the 314,320 immigrants who came to South Africa between 1921 and 1964 nearly 157,000 of these were South Africans by birth. In other words nearly half the total are returning South Africans and not immigrants in the true sense of the word.

### The South African Dilemma

The Whites in South Africa are faced with a dilemma. With most countries of immigration the main purposes behind the policy are to bring the country up to optimum size and to strengthen the country against the pressure from other nations. These purposes apply

to South Africa as well, but, in addition, the South African government is intent on strengthening the White group in the country against the Non-White groups, for no Non-Whites are permitted entry as immigrants. On the other hand it was shown in chapter one that the gain through immigration when compared with the gain from natural increase in relatively large and there is every possibility that the Afrikaners will loose their overall White majority within thirty years as predicted by the Federale Raad van Skakelkomitees (Sunday Tribune, 8th January 1967) This is the South African dilemma. At present the government regards immigration as essential for the survival of the White society in South Africa. Supporters of the National Party who oppose the policy have been told quite bluntly that they will have to change their ideas. Dr. Piet Koornhof said on the 9th May 1967 (Natal Mercury, 10th May 1967) that the Afrikaners attitude towards immigration would have to change radically and that their present negative approach was to their own detriment. He said there were two alternatives, either immigration or integration and the latter meant the end of the Afrikaaner as a nation. The Minister of Transport, Mr. Ben Schoeman said a few days later (Natal Mercury, 11th May 1967) that Afrikaans cultural leaders had been guilty of "unfounded insults" to immigrants and he told them to "shut their mouths". During 1967 the Minister of Immigration assured several National Party Congresses that the government would not allow immigration to alter the country's cultural or religious balance, (Natal Mercury, 14th September 1967) and early in 1968 the Secretary for Immigration was bold enough to announce that Roman Catholics were not discriminated against (Sunday Tribune, 10th March 1968)



This is the position as it stands at the moment. The critics of the government policy are unlikely to leave the matter there and claim that their own party is following the work of Milner and Smuts and enthusiastically organising the Afrikaners suicide. (Sunday Tribune, 10th March, 1968) On the other hand the facts concerning the rapid Non-White increase compared to the Whites are there for all to see. Between June 1961 and June 1967 the natural increase of South Africa's Non-White population was more than 2,010,000 while for the Whites it was only 446,000. (Sunday Tribune, 24th March, 1968)

At present the South African government favours a policy that will maintain a reasonably rapid growth of the White population even if it is at the expense of loosing the Afrikaaners majority in White South Africa. In other words it favours immigration. From the above it can be seen that immigration to South Africa is not only followed for economic considerations but for political expediency as well.

#### The future

In the words of Dr. Koornhof South Africa has two choices, that of immigration or integration. This thesis will not decide which is the most desirable of the alternatives but it will discuss some of the implications pertinent to the present policy of immigration. It has been argued in this chapter that the factors of disorganisation and dislodgement will have slighter effects on the decision to emigrate in the future. Furthermore if the immigration to South Africa does fall away the government will be forced to train Non-Whites

for more responsible occupational positions in the society. This will further reduce the objective opportunity of many immigrants who intend coming to South Africa. It follows that South Africa must do its utmost to attract as many immigrants as possible from the potential of immigrants in Britain. In other words they must be enticed away from other countries of immigration to South Africa. Certain people are attracted to South Africa by the climate but it has been suggested that a vitally important factor is personal contact with people in South Africa. The importance of this factor has already been shown and it was pointed out that whereas positive contact was extremely beneficial to South Africa negative contact was equally damaging. Therefore it is in the South African government's interests to engender a positive contact. This is done through the efforts of South Africa House in London but it is also necessary to develop such positive contacts on a personal level. This can be done in two ways.

The first step is by studying immigrants to ensure that we admit only those who are likely to have a positive outlook. There is a need for an intensive study to be done on immigration whereby some knowledge will be gained concerning the character and social background of the immigrants who do not settle down well in South Africa. Whether these immigrants remain in South Africa or return to Britain they do immense damage to South Africa's image. If the potentially bad immigrant can be detected beforehand the South African government would save a considerable sum of money. Far more important than this are the intangible

advantages that will be gained by the elimination of negative personal contact with potential immigrants of the future. Thus the present thesis suggests the path that a future study can take.

The second method is through the personal effort of White South Africans to assist the immigrants in the process of assimilation. The survey is pertinent to the British immigrant to South Africa who makes up about one-quarter of the total immigration to this country. However, the remarks that are being made concern the attitude of South Africans to all immigrants coming to South Africa. Hostility has been shown against immigrants in recent years. This can have serious effects on future immigration to South Africa. If the immigrant develops a negative attitude towards South Africa then the contact with overseas will be negative as well. The way ahead for South Africa, if it is to make a success of its immigration policy, is to take positive steps to make the immigrants feel that they are welcome. However, before this is accomplished it is necessary, as a first step to eliminate all feelings of hatred towards the newcomers. In this direction the Prime Minister has paved the way when in reply to critics of immigration within the party he was reported to have said at Heilbron on 16th August 1968 (Natal Mercury, 17th August 1968) :-

"I want to ask the pardon of every immigrant for the expressions certain people have used in criticising their presence in South Africa."

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## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A

## THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

BRITISH IMMIGRANT SURVEYUNIVERSITY OF NATALINDICATIVE DATA

## 1. Marital Status:

- {1} Single  
 {2} Married  
 {3} Separated  
 {4} Widowed  
 {5} Divorced

Insert Number

## 2. How many years have you been married? \_\_\_\_\_

## 3. Where were you born?

(1)

Respondent

Wife

Town	County	Country

## (ii) Before emigrating did you live in :-

## ENGLAND/WALES

## SCOTLAND

1. County Borough  
 2. Municipal Borough  
 3. Urban District  
 4. Rural District

- County of Cities  
 Large Burghs  
 Small Burghs  
 Landward Area

Insert Number	
Respondent	Wife

## 4. Up to the age of 16 did you live at home with your parents?

Respondent

YES/NO

Wife

YES/NO

(If "no") Specify: \_\_\_\_\_

(If "yes") how many brothers and sisters did you have  
and where did you come in the family order?

Respondent	Brothers		Wife	Brothers	
	Sisters			Sisters	
	Place in family order			Place in family order	

5. Are your parents still alive?

1. Both
2. Father only
3. Mother only
4. Neither

Insert Number	
Respondent	Wife

Interviewer to record all comments about attitude  
of parents:

6. What is/was your father's occupation

Respondent \_\_\_\_\_

Wife \_\_\_\_\_

Military Service and Overseas Travel

1. Have you or your wife travelled abroad before coming  
to South Africa on military service or any other  
reason.

\_\_\_\_\_



If "yes" specify:-

RESPONDENT

Country	Length of stay	Reason for travel

WIFE

Country	Length of stay	Reason for travel

ASSOCIATION ACTIVITY AND INTEREST

1. Were you or your wife members of any organisation in the United Kingdom?

e.g. Trade or Professional organisation, Church, Sporting Clubs, Social Clubs, Political Parties, Cultural Society, Civic or Community group, Fraternal or Mutual Aid.

Name of Organisation	Member		No. of years a member	Office held
	Resp.	Wife		

2. What other interests did you have?

PROMPTS

	Respondent		Wife	
	No prompt	With prompt	No prompt	With prompt
1. Listening to the radio				
2. Watching television				
3. Reading at home				
4. Cinema				
5. Car outings				
6. Hiking and Cycling				
7. Watching sport				
8. Home hobbies				
9. Non-associational sport (specify)				
10. Any other interests (specify)				

3. Do you expect to follow the same interests in this country?

---



---

4. (a) Do you intend to purchase a motor car in South Africa?

---



---

- (b) Did you own one in England? \_\_\_\_\_

---

5. Do you hope television will be introduced into this country in due course?

1. Yes  
2. No  
3. Don't know.

Respondent	Wife

CONTACTS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

1. Did you or your wife have any friends or relations in South Africa before arrival? \_\_\_\_\_

If "yes" list them:

---



---



---

2. What sort of information did they give you about South Africa before arrival?

---



---



---



---

3. Have you any close friends or relatives who have emigrated to any other country? (This will include any relatives or friends who returned to England, including South Africa.)

---



---

EMIGRATION DECISION

1. How long did you think about emigration before you decided to leave? \_\_\_\_\_

2. How did you finally make up your mind to emigrate?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

3. What would you say were your main reasons for emigrating?

Respondent: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Wife: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Can you list these in order of importance.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT SOUTH AFRICA

1. From what sources have you received most of your information about South Africa?

Prompt

1. Magazines
2. Newspapers
3. Books
4. Friends and relatives in South Africa.
5. South Africa House publicity.
6. Films
7. Television
8. South Africans visiting United

Respondent		Wife	
No prompt	With prompt	No prompt	With prompt

2. Why did you choose to come to South Africa in preference to other countries? \_\_\_\_\_

---



---



---

3. Did you make enquiries about emigrating elsewhere?

---



---

4. Why did you decide to come to Durban? \_\_\_\_\_

---



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#### RELIGION

1.

Religion	Respondent	Wife
Anglican		
Presbyterian		
Methodist		
Roman Catholic		
Congregational		
Baptist		
Other (specify)		
None		
No reply		

2. Do you attend church?

RESPONDENT \_\_\_\_\_ Wife \_\_\_\_\_

1. Often
2. Seldom
3. Never



HOUSING

- (i) In the United Kingdom what type of dwelling did you live in?

1. Detached house
2. Brick bungalow
3. Semi-detached
4. Terraced
5. Flat
6. Residential Hostel/  
Boarding House

Insert Number	
Respondent	Wife

- (ii) How many bedrooms did you have? \_\_\_\_\_

- (iii) How many people lived in the dwelling? \_\_\_\_\_

- (iv) Was the dwelling:-

1. Owned by you
2. Rented from Council
3. Rented otherwise
4. Rent free

Insert Number	
Respondent	Wife

- (v) If rented how much per week was your rent? \_\_\_\_\_

If owned by you and you were making weekly repayments on a loan, how much did this amount to? \_\_\_\_\_

- (vi) What type of accommodation do you expect to live in when you leave the hotel?

1. Detached house
2. Brick bungalow
3. Terraced house
4. Block of flats
5. Semi-detached house
6. Residential hostel/  
boarding house
7. Undecided

Insert Number	
Respondent	Wife

- (vii) What do you expect to pay for this accommodation?
- \_\_\_\_\_

- (viii) How long do you intend living in this accommodation?
- \_\_\_\_\_

(ix) What are your future plans in regard to accommodation?

1. Move to another flat
2. Build a house
3. Buy a house
4. Rent a house
5. Other (specify)

Insert Number	
Respondent	Wife

(x) If you intend to buy or build a house do you intend to:-

1. Pay cash for the whole amount
2. Make a cash deposit or loan
3. Borrow all the funds required

Insert Number	
Respondent	Wife

(xi) Do you intend to build up some capital before making this purchase? \_\_\_\_\_

(xii) How many bedrooms do you want to have? \_\_\_\_\_

(xiii) Do you intend to do any of the construction yourself?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

(xiv) How much do you expect the house you have in mind will cost? \_\_\_\_\_

(xv) If you intend to rent a house what rent do you expect to pay? \_\_\_\_\_

#### EMPLOYMENT AND RESIDENCE

1. Since leaving school how many full-time billets have you held? \_\_\_\_\_

2. How many years did you spend in each?  
(Just give number of years e.g. 1, 5, 2)

\_\_\_\_\_

3. Did you have the same occupation in all these billets?  
YES/NO

If "NO" specify: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

4. In what town/towns did you hold these billets?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

5. Since entering civilian employment, if single, or  
since marriage, if married, how many different  
dwellings have you lived in? \_\_\_\_\_

6. How long did you spend in each? (answer the same as  
in question 2)

\_\_\_\_\_

7. What types of dwelling units were they? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

8. In each case what was the reason for your move?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

PERSONAL DATA

1. Age of respondent \_\_\_\_\_

2. Age of wife \_\_\_\_\_

Dependents

Relation to Respondent			Age Group	
"	"	"	"	"
"	"	"	"	"
"	"	"	"	"
"	"	"	"	"
"	"	"	"	"

3. EDUCATION OCCUPATION AND INCOME

(i)

Respondent

Wife

Occupation in United King- dom	Standard of education	Income Group

Education: Primary (1) Secondary modern (2)Technical (3) Grammar (4) University (5) Other (6)  
specify.

(ii) Does your wife intend to work in South Africa?

\_\_\_\_\_

(iii) Do you intend to follow the same line of work in  
South Africa as you did in the United Kingdom?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

TO BE COMPLETED AFTER INTERVIEW

1. Name of respondent \_\_\_\_\_

2. Where did the interview take place?  
    (a) Lounge (hotel) \_\_\_\_\_  
    (b) Bedroom (specify) \_\_\_\_\_
3. What was the general attitude of the couple during the interview?  
Respondent \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Wife \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
4. Who took the lead in answering the questions?  
\_\_\_\_\_
5. In your opinion who took the lead in deciding to emigrate? \_\_\_\_\_
6. Date of interview \_\_\_\_\_
7. Date of arrival \_\_\_\_\_
8. Time taken \_\_\_\_\_
9. Time interview commenced \_\_\_\_\_
10. Other remarks:
11. Interviewer's signature \_\_\_\_\_



## APPENDIX E

## DETAILS OF THE RESEARCH SURVEY

The plan of action was to contact and interview two hundred "immigrant units" (families and single people) arriving in Durban from Britain. Needless to say it was essential that the selection of immigrants was as unbiased as possible and this raised some difficulties. The local offices of the Department of Immigration said they were unable to give information about immigrants to private individuals but did not mind if such information was obtained from any of the immigration agencies who were continually advised of new arrivals. The 1820 Settlers Memorial Association 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 from the Department of Immigration. In addition, the names of persons calling on the Association for help and advice of any kind were noted. Only immigrants arriving after the 1st May 1967 were included and the survey was completed by the end of December in the same year. In this way an attempt was made to obtain the names of all the immigrants arriving from Britain over eight months. The completeness or otherwise of the list will remain unknown but there are indications that it was reasonably accurate. According to a newspaper report (Natal Mercury, 11th January 1968) the closure of the Suez Canal in June of 1967 resulted in fewer immigrants arriving in Durban. From June to December 1,507 immigrants disembarked in Durban and if we allow

a proportional addition for May the number for the eight months covered by the survey would be approximately 1,720. About one-quarter of the migrants are British. For example in 1966 there were just over forty-eight thousand immigrants of which thirteen thousand came from the United Kingdom. This would mean that about 450 to 500 British immigrants should have arrived in Durban for the period under question which compares favourably with the number interviewed (including children) which was 496. The completeness of the list was discussed with an official of the Department of Immigration who was of the opinion that well over 90 per cent of the immigrants should have been contacted by this method<sup>1]</sup>. It must be mentioned, however, that immigrants who paid their own passages to South Africa may be under-represented in the survey. There was no record of them at the Department of Immigration and they may not have had any need to call at the offices of the 1820 Settlers Memorial Association. There is, for this reason, a possibility that a certain number of immigrants with private means were missed in the survey but the numbers involved are not known.

The names of the immigrants were given to the field staff or retained by the writer and interviewed as soon as possible; this was essential as immigrants often change addresses quite frequently during the first few weeks after their arrival and the immigration

---

1] Interview with Mr. Von Gas on 11th January 1968.

hotels seldom had forwarding addresses available. The Department of Immigration refused to help in tracing immigrants to new addresses but the 1820 Settlers Memorial Association were sometimes able to be of assistance. Details of the fieldwork for the eight months in question, are as follows:-

Names obtained	264
Left town before contact could be made	18
Were returning to the United Kingdom	4
Not eligible	12
No trace of respondent	26
Killed before contact was made	1
Refused to be interviewed	1
Interviewed	<u>202</u>
	<u>264</u>

There was only one refusal and the letter declining the interview is included under Appendix D. Generally speaking, the interviews were enjoyable. The respondents were willing to be interviewed and some mentioned that they were pleased to be able to help anybody who took an interest in them. All the questions were answered without any hesitation. At the beginning the respondents were handed a sheet of paper and asked to name the age and income categories into which they fell. This was soon found to be unnecessary. The interviewer in nearly all cases was treated with great civility. The refusal rate of under 0.5 per cent is very low and compares with Appleyard's (1964:111) Australian survey when 81 per cent of his sample replied to his first letter.

Whenever possible the respondents were contacted by telephone or otherwise they were visited and an appointment made to see them at a convenient time. In some cases the interview was conducted immediately. On average, the interview lasted twenty minutes but the interviewer quite often spent some time with the respondent after the interview because in most cases they appeared pleased to talk to somebody. The short interviewing time was satisfactory as it meant that nothing was lost through fatigue, which could happen over longer periods.

Some of the names contacted were not eligible. Many were South Africans who were returning from abroad and others did not emigrate from Britain and for this reason did not qualify. Some of the immigrants had left the Durban Metropolitan area before they could be interviewed whilst others had made definite plans to return to the United Kingdom. Twenty-six of the immigrants could not be traced and it is important to consider whether this could have biased the study. On reflection it would appear that there is a possibility that it was the less stable section of the immigrants who could not be traced; that is those who changed address very frequently and did not advise anybody of where they were going. Thus there is a chance that the survey did not cover the higher echelons of the immigrant community nor the lowest ones.

The interviews were conducted by the writer and eleven fieldworkers. The writer did 112 out of the 202 interviews and the fact that over 55 per cent of the interviews were by one person must have reduced the

interviewer bias quite considerably.

It was suggested by an immigrant that bias could be introduced into the survey by not conducting it over a full year. It was mentioned that there was an annual recession in the building trade in Great Britain in January and that a survey not covering this period would result in an under representation of this occupational group. This was discussed with a member of the Department of Immigration who studied the occupations of immigrants for each month of arrival and the writer is satisfied that no bias was involved. It should be mentioned in support that immigration officials assured Appleyard (1964:111) that no seasonal bias would enter into his study of British emigrants bound for Australia if the survey lasted less than a year.

The ease with which the interviews were obtained, with only one refusal can be attributed to two factors. The subject matter appeared to appeal to the immigrants as they were pleased to think that somebody was taking an interest in what was most probably the most important step in their lives; secondly, the survey was conducted under the aegis of the University of Natal, a reputable institution, which gave the project greater acceptance.

The interview schedule is adapted from that used by Appleyard in British Emigration to Australia (1964:220) The immigrants were asked why they decided to come to Durban. Their replies did not indicate that the immigrant to Durban was any different from other immigrants settling elsewhere in South Africa.



## APPENDIX C

LETTERS TO INTENDING IMMIGRANTS FROM CONTACTS  
IN SOUTH AFRICA.

28th March 1967.

Dear Workmates Ex,

So far so good, at times I would like to come home at a minutes notice and others it could not be better. (layed in the sun) My first full week I got £8 tax from £53-15-0, I spent it all of course. Accommodation is very dear but food is cheap. I have had three jobs so far I just can't settle down in one. The biggest rate I have had was 11/- per hour but I am thinking of going to Zambia and getting 17/6 per hour and board and lodge paid. I am going to save a bit and come home next year. See you.

Best of luck,

B-----

24th April 1967.

Dear M-----,

Indeed a very pleasant surprise to receive a letter from you. Could not make it out at first but then it suddenly clicked. Just as well I received your letter this week, because from the first of May there will be a change of address but will tell you about it later. I will try my best to give you the information you have asked for. But as you know my English grammar is atrocious so please forgive me the mistakes I am making. I am very concious of it. We have been here

nearly ten months now. I love every minute of it, for us women this is the life. J----- had a bit of a battle at first at work he is working for the X----- Gold Mine. They wanted him to go underground, he went for one day but refused to go any more it is of course a lot more money if you are in with the right people that is but it is not worth the risk. Also the Afrikaans speaking people were not very pleasant towards him but if you grin and bear it for a few months they eventually come round. Mind you they are all stupid and can't see further than their noses but once you get used to their way of life and thinking it is all right, you just ignore them.

The cost of living is about the same as in the U.K., meat is fairly cheap and so is fruit, but soap-powder, shampoo, stockings and all the imports such as Heinz beans for instance is expensive but then if you just look around the shops you find different makes which are cheaper and just as good. R----- and A----- are both going to school of course. R----- is in Std. 1 and A----- is in Std. 111. From Std. 1 they have to learn Afrikaans and are both doing very well. Ro----- won't have any trouble in picking it up but for E----- it will be hard because she will have to start from the beginning too but at exams they have a special printed paper for immigrants and it won't be too difficult. Of course a lot depends on the person itself some can pick up another language easy were others have to work very hard indeed.

They have English and Afrikaans high schools here. A----- and R----- are going to an Afrikaans

school with English classes attached to it and all lessons are in English apart from the Afrikaans lesson of course. The weather is beautiful although we are now going towards winter, and in the mornings and evenings it can be very cold. So, should you decide to take the plunge don't forget to bring all your winter clothing and if you can afford it bring all your other belongings too it will still be cheaper than having to buy new here.

Don't forget I am only talking about the Free State where we are living at the moment. If you were to go to Natal it is much warmer in the winter and the Transvaal is a different climate again.

We have a three bedroomed bungalow at the moment a mine house, here they call bungalows houses and bungalows as we say are very small shacks at the seaside. We only pay £4-10-0 per month in rent and about the same for water and light. I have got a girl working for me three days a week and manage quite well. A lot of people have these native girls living in but I am not very keen. We bought our second car a month ago, our first was a Volkswagen but a small car like that is not much use for long distances here. So now we have a Cortina and is much better. As I said at the beginning of my letter we are going on the 1st May. J--- has got himself another job at a sugar plantation also as a maintenance electrician. This is about 500 miles from W----- and is about 140 miles north of Durban. R----- the village is called and is in Zululand, still in Natal where you have a sub-tropical climate. We will get a free two bedroomed house. After six months we can apply for a three bedroomed one, free

water, light, medical treatment, medicine and free coal. And instead of a girl we will have a Zulu boy and pay 12/6 for him a week and what is more we don't have to feed him the firm does that. (thank goodness) Can they eat you have never seen anything like it the amount of food they consume. So we are going to give this place a try if we don't like it we just move on again. We are hoping to buy our own house again maybe in one or two years time depending which place we like best.

As regards to the natives you don't have to worry about them they live by themselves and are not allowed in the streets after nine o'clock at night. At first you notice them of course, walking around but after a few weeks you just take it for granted that they are there. And believe you me this apartheid business is not a quarter of what they overseas make it out to be.

Well I think I have covered about everything if there is anything else you would like to know please write me again and I will try and help you.

All the best for now.

M-----, J-----, A-----, R-----.

12th May 1967.

Dear R----- and M-----,

I am writing to you to let you know a few things about the country, actually I don't know how the best way one puts this kind of letter over to you both, not wanting to disappoint you and to put you off coming, but still hear we go.

Firstly bring as many household goods as you can, furniture, fridge, washers, carpets, all your bedding and pots and pans, in fact everything you possibly can. As regards packing we had L.E.P. transport to do ours and they were very good we had only two glasses and two cups broken, and the packing case came 2,000 miles and if you can see the number of cups and saucers M----- you would expect a lot more would have been broken. Now housing, this I am afraid is a big problem here, the rent for a three bedroomed house (as you know it a bungalow) is a minimum of £30 up to £40 or £45 a month and the wages are not all that good. You still have to work overtime when you have to pay rent like that, but thing is where you are going is like I am doing, is to get a job with a house, and then you are going. The job I have is at a sugar mill, free house, three bedrooms and a hell of a big garden, free water and free electricity which is a big asset, the wages well, my earnings are £1850 a year plus you get a bonus of £60 to £80 at Christmas which is not too bad, of course my wages include overtime and shift work.

R----- I do not know what qualifications you have but whatever you have before you can get an engineers post here you have to sit a government certificate which takes three years to complete and if and when, you obtain this you are allowed to be in charge of factory maintenance and men.

If you like I can put in a word for you here, for a job as a fitter and also you can write here yourself the engineers name is A----- and it is the same address as ours, you see why I suggest this to you is you realise that every penny you bring will be needed,



and if you can get a job with a free house or at least a house with a low rental, much the better it will be for you both. These people have a place where you can stay while you are waiting for your goods to come from overseas which is a big thing though you must have a car, we got one after only three weeks because public transport is non-existent and without a car you battle.

You ask about snakes and insects well if you end up in Durban the only snakes you will see are in the snake park so I shall not worry about that. Too much insects? Well you do get this quite a lot, especially the area around Durban because it is sub-tropical. Transferring your money well, I suggest that you clear it through Barclay's Bank because it appears to me that they have the most branches in South Africa.

Medical in this country is not run on the same basis as in the old country, you find that most firms run their own but it still runs very expensive, there again I score because all my medical is free and believe you me that alone is worth £3 a week especially when you have small children there is no dental or optical treatment under any national health scheme so your living can run quite expensive.

Please do not let me put you off from coming but believe me if I had had advice it would have been a big help. Now that we have moved down here I do not think I will move anywhere else in a hurry, the place R----- is beautiful actually. If you look at the map and find St. Lucia's bay we live 18 miles inland from the bay, Durban is 150 miles away  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 3 hours ride in the car so you see we are quite near civilisation,

previously to this we lived just about in the desert. The life out here for our women is fantastic and all they do all day long is sit and cook the meals, the cleaning of the house and the washing are all done by the servant mind you my garden is also done by a boy so you just don't worry about anything.

Well this is what I have had to say if you can draw anything from this letter that will help you I shall be very pleased, but please and I mean please do not expect too much.

I don't think I have written such a long letter in years and last ones I wrote like this would be when I was courting M----- so I think you are honoured.

Now if there is anything else I can do for you, all you have to do is shout and I shall see what I can do for you at this end. There is one thing, if you let me know what time you will be arriving in Durban I will only be too glad to meet you, so please let me know. Well you have had your lot for now.

Yours sincerely,

J-----, M----- and kids.

15th August 1967.

Dear Mrs. G-----,

Many thanks for your air letter. My wife and I were delighted with your news, especially the fact of your husband's position with X----- Co. Ltd. This company has been very much in the news lately, for they have secured substantial contracts, and the government is subsidising them and encouraging them, because of the government's desire to establish a well founded

shipping industry here in South Africa, in order to be independent on foreign shipbuilders. I understand that X----- are keen to enlist emigrant skilled workers, and that promotion can be rapid for those with real ability.

The shipbuilding yards are situated at the Bayhead, which is some five miles distance from the centre of Durban. I understand that transport is provided by the company for workers living in town, but alternatively some workers live in flats on the Bluff, which is a promontory and a real geographical feature of Durban's landscape. This area is more in the vicinity of the Bayhead yards. It is a working class area with very nice houses and I believe blocks of flats. Unfortunately my company do not own or administer flats in this area, but if you want to live there, I will do my best to contact the various estate agents who operate in the area. Alternatively I would try to give you a flat in town within easy reach of the central Post Office, from whence transport to the Bayhead leaves.

Schools for the children (how many?) should be no problem, for they are situated in all parts of the city and its environs.

I have passed on your husband's name to the X-----'s Personnel Officer Mr. G. W-----, who will no doubt do his best to smooth out your initial settling down problems, and they may even meet you on arrival.

Any way I will try to meet you at the docks, always depending on my business appointments, but if by some mischance I am unable to be there, you may telephone me at the office ..... or at home ....., when

convenient.

Dare I now ask you a favour? You will remember my wife purchasing shoes at Hammonds. Well she has been so delighted with her "Metros" suede bootees, that she would love another pair. The size is 5, and the colour could be stone or biege. Do you know this type of shoe? They were all suede, with crepe sole and heel almost flat. The side of the shoe has a little cutaway section. If you could bring her a pair of these shoes we would be very grateful, and would of course recompense you on arrival.

Tot siens for now, and have a lovely voyage. Do not hesitate to write again, if you require any further information.

Sincerely,

J.----- J.-----

17th July 1967.

Dear M-----, and R-----,

Thank you for your letter which we received last Friday. We were wondering what had happened to you people. Pleased to here that everything is settled and that you have been so fortunate to sell the house so quickly. But one thing I am going to say and that is that you are both silly not bringing more things such as your washing machine, fridge and carpets. Those things are very expensive here. You may please yourselves of course but if we had known what we know now we would have brought everything including furniture. We have spent about £450 in a lounge suite, (repossessed one) table and six chairs, carpet and underfelt, two single beds,

small dressing table and chest of drawers and a double bed and dressing table for ourselves. Curtains which I had made cost R89. Then of course we had to buy bedding because when we landed it was bitter cold and didn't have anybody who could lend me anything until our things arrived by sea which took a little over three months. Now of course I have plenty of bedding but at the time I begrudged having to buy all this. Anyway that is now past and we can get over that. You are really lucky because whatever you bring will go with you on board ship and won't have to wait for anything when you arrive here. If we can we will try and meet you in Durban, you won't feel quite so lonely. I hope you will find somewhere to live although the immigration people will look after you for a few weeks. Anyway if we can help you with anything we will be only too pleased to do so. Do you know the W-----'s. They are great friends of ours. He was a technical author at Blackburns. Well they arrived in Johannesburg at the end of March and are living there. T----- is now working for A----- A-----, We have seen them a few times when we were living in Welkom but they haven't been up here yet.

As soon as you get settled in you must all come over for a weekend, it is only 154 miles from Durban and if you don't like the job you are going to you can always try here at R-----, at least you will get a free house. Although the hourly rate is lower we are still better off than most people, because the rent you have to pay in Durban is terrible unless of course you are lucky and can find something cheap. R105 is not much to pay in rent but at least you have a job to start with.

About my shoe size, 5 or  $5\frac{1}{2}$  broad fitting if you can bring a few pairs sandals (high heels 2 to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inch) and will square up with you later, stocking size  $9\frac{1}{2}$ . Must close now hope to hear from you soon. All the best for now.

M----- and J-----



## APPENDIX D

## LETTER FROM THE ONLY REFUSER

Dear Mr. Johnston,

Thank you for sending on your questionnaire, but I am afraid I can be of no use to you in this matter as when I originally agreed to help with your investigations I had no idea that the questions would be so numerous or so very personal. I realise that you need a great deal of data for the work you are doing but having studied the questionnaire I feel that in my position the answers would be of no value to you as so much I am not prepared to answer, nor at this stage do I know for certain what my future plans will be.

Even though I have your assurance of anonymity I could not possibly entertain the idea of disclosing details, such as my financial position to anyone, either in the U.K. or South Africa. My wife also would never permit me to disclose her personal details and feels that it is a great intrusion on her privacy. In England few people will ever agree to this type of survey or allow themselves to be interviewed, as in general people of my age group guard our privacy rather jealously.

I am sorry to be so unhelpful and hope you will forgive my lack of co-operation,

Yours sincerely,

X-----