

VOLUNTARY AND INVOLUNTARY MIGRATION IN A SELECTED

SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK SETTLEMENT :

ADJUSTMENT PROBLEMS AND PSYCHOLOGICAL CORRELATES

by

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A.S. MAGWAZA

November, 1987.

I hereby declare that this thesis, unless otherwise indicated in the text, represents my own work, both in conception and in execution.

A.S. MAGWAZA

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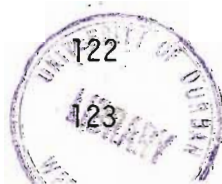
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CHAPTER ONE

VOLUNTARY AND INVOLUNTARY MIGRATION IN A SELECTED SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK COMMUNITY : ADJUSTMENT PROBLEMS AND PSYCHOLOGICAL CORRELATES

1. INTRODUCTION

Migration is a relatively permanent moving away of a collectivity, called migrants, from one geographical location to another, preceded by decision-making on the part of the migrants on the basis of hierarchically ordered sets of values or valued ends and resulting in changes in the interactional system of migrants (Mangalan, 1968).

The 'relatively permanent moving away' differentiates migration from population mobility; to be regarded as migration a movement must include a relatively permanent change of residence (Mangalan, *ibid*). This means that migration entails major psychosocial changes and role adaptations.

'Collectivity', which is of particular interest to the social scientist suggest that migration is not a movement of isolated individuals but a collective movement of people who are related as families and communities or share common status sets and normative orientation (Mangalan, *ibid*). This implies that a relative sense of identity and group solidarity can be maintained by migrants.

'Decision-making' is regarded as an essential component of the migration process. According to Eichenbaum (1970) migration can either be a 'function of volition or be completely influenced by the external societal decisions. However, Hansen and Oliver-Smith (1982) reiterated that voluntary decisions by individuals made completely independent of societal influence, are empirically nonexistent since "in all reality

decisions contain a superindividual component; the individual is an open system and his behaviour is subject to cultural and socio-political biases as well as other constraints originating in his environment" (p.6).

De Jong and Gardner (1981) cite the physical and cognitive availability of alternatives as important variables in decision making. Concerning physical availability of alternatives, it must be physically possible either to move or stay, and the person must be aware that it is possible to make a choice. Cognitively availability or nonavailability is more complex. It might imply that the person does not know of the existence of other places or is unable to conceptualise his own movement in space owing to lack of experience or inadequate mental ability. In other situations, the person may not give conscious consideration of alternatives because of the absence of positive motivation to uproot himself and settle elsewhere.

Thus it is evident that besides the universal characteristics of migration there are inherent differences in migration which are a function of individuals volition and other situational factors.

Hansen and Oliver-Smith (1982) drew a distinction between two types of migration - voluntary and involuntary migration - on the basis of the decision making power. In voluntary migration the migrant has greater decision making power. His migration is motivated by positive interest and is directed towards achieving personal goals. The migrant goes through an elaborate process before eventually converging into a final decision. He is responsible for what he does and has relative control over part of his own destiny; he tends to have an internal locus of control orientation. In involuntary migration, the migrant does not retain the power to decide on the move; he does not relish the eventual departure or move and the alternative choices are almost non-existent. The overriding interest of the external agent intrude and deny the involuntary migrant his right to remain in the area of his choice; the move is carried out to fulfill goals inconsistent with those of the migrant. The involuntary migrant is thus relatively subjected to external control



by the powerful others.

According to Berry (1977) the denial of decision-making opportunities present psychological problems related to external locus of control and learned state of helplessness. The inability to take personal responsibility of ones own life, lack of preparedness and commitment become potent sources of intensified psychological stress. Cross-cultural studies, conducted by Rumbart and Anis (1974) on Chinese, Hungarian and Vietnamese involuntary migrants indicate that involuntary migrants constitute a 'high risk group' in terms of the intensity of stressful events to which they are exposed.

The other unique characteristic which sets involuntary migration apart from voluntary migration is that it involves sudden change. According to Coelho and Stein (1977) an abrupt change can create psychological problems attributable to ones inability to effectively reduce or eliminate strains and stresses with known coping strategies. Such changes in the environment tend to be detrimental to the migrant; they deprive him of security and expose him to new threatening conditions.

For the voluntary migrant, migration might become a means of escaping from a threatening situation, whereas for the involuntary migrant it tends to be oriented towards retention or re-establishment of past conditions. According to Hansen and Oliver-Smith (1982), the balancing of cost and benefit in migration is often crudely expressed in terms of push and pull factors. In terms of push and pull theory involuntary migration occurs because of the strength of the push factors whereas voluntary migration is to a great extent motivated by pull elements.

Despite considerable efforts spent on the qualitative differences of voluntary and involuntary migration and despite considerable research devoted to clarifying the interrelationships between migration, psychosocial stress and psychological status (Fried, 1974; Gunderson and Rahe, 1974; Scheifer, 1979; Tucker, 1980; Stokolos and Shumaker, 1982) very little consensus has been reached on the nature and strength of this relationship. Secondly, very little empirical investigations have been undertaken to

ascertain the extent to which the migrant's psychosocial stress and psychological status are a function of the type of migration.

Generally, current research on adult migration remains incomplete in that there is limited data on the different types of psychological migratory experiences. In as far as children are concerned, very little empirical research has been done. This remains an unexplored area which can yield rich data on childrens experiences and reactions to migration. Because of childrens' unique developmental needs and experiences, it could be predicted that the impact of migration on children will yield qualitatively different behavioural outcomes. Finally, research on childrens' migration can yield invaluable data on childrens reactions to parents' migratory experiences and reactions.

1.1. Motivation

The present study has been motivated by :

- (a) Lack of conclusive research in this area : Empirical findings on the extent to which migration is stressful as well as on the psychological correlates of migration are still inconsistent and inconclusive. Generally migration stress and migrants' psychological status have been perceived as a function of culture, social class, sex and marital status (Cohen, 1980; Nair, 1978; Roskies, et al, 1973; Saran, 1975; Stokolos and Shumaker, 1980).
- (b) Existing research gaps. Most research studies in this area have sought to investigate the socio-cultural and general health correlates of migration. There has been very little focus on psychological correlates of migration. Secondly, most investigations on involuntary migration have taken the form of surveys and case studies which have yielded information on demographic and socio-economic variables only : Migrants' psychological dynamics and experiences have been neglected. Lastly, most studies have focussed on adult samples to the exclusion of children.

- (c) There is a virtual dearth of comparative research on different types of migration. Most studies have concentrated on either voluntary or involuntary migration.

In South Africa the unique opportunity for comparative studies of both voluntary and involuntary migration has been provided by the governments policy of separate development. In terms of this policy national states, based on racial and ethnic segregation, were created and involuntary mass relocation of blacks to specially designated areas fully launched. At the same time as when involuntary farm migrants were relocated, other farm tenants took this opportunity to move; they voluntarily migrated to some informal settlements which had sprung up on the edges of settlements where involuntary relocatees had been relocated.

Thus in terms of this policy different types of migrants (voluntary and involuntary) live in close neighbourhoods. (Details of this policy are presented in the next chapter.)

- (d) Finally, most studies have been conducted on overseas White, Asian, Chinese and Hispanic population groups. It is possible that because of deep-seated cultural differences, the impact of migration will vary on different groups. Also, most studies have focussed on immigration rather than internal migration. Since immigration and internal migration generally involve different degrees of cultural change and resocialisation, it could be expected that these two types of migration will have a different effect on migrants.

1.2. Aims of the Investigation

In view of the above considerations, a study was planned to investigate the extent to which perception stress, psychological status and perception of control are a function of different types of migratory experiences.

1.3. Hypotheses

Specifically, the following hypotheses were formulated :

1.3.1. There will be significant differences among adult groups in ;

- (a) perception of stress
- (b) psychological status
- (c) perception of control

as a function of ;

- (i) migratory versus non-migratory experiences
- (ii) different degrees of volition to migrate.

1.3.2. Similarly, there will be significant differences among childrens' groups in ;

- (a) perception of stress
- (b) psychological status
- (c) perception of control

as a function of ;

- (i) migratory versus non-migratory experiences
- (ii) being victims of different degrees of volition to migrate.

1.3.3. There will be a relationship between the findings of experimental and experiential data in ;

- (a) adult participant groups, and
- (b) children participant groups.

1.4. Summary

The general aim of this study was to investigate the extent to which stress, psychological status and perception of control are a function of different types of migratory experiences.

In terms of the above objectives, specific hypotheses were formulated.

Before these hypotheses could be subjected to rigorous empirical research, the theoretical background of migration, relevant empirical literature and the historical account of black migration in South Africa, will be presented in the next three chapters.

CHAPTER TWO

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Introduction

In the preceeding chapter a need was established for a systematic, explicit theoretical framework to help explain and predict the complex process of migration in its depth and totality.

There is no one psychological theory which can act as a frame of reference for the complex interplay of variables generated by the process of migration. Like many psychological and social phenomena migration can be analysed in terms of different theoretical models and paradigms.

Each theoretical model has its own unique implications for the process of migration depending on the variables it addresses. It therefore becomes necessary to examine several theoretical models to establish their possible utility in terms of descriptive functions, predictive capacities and practical applicability to the variables involved in this study.

Thus a broad overview of current psychological theories is presented briefly, in the foregoing section, to help to identify theoretical models and paradigms which will have a greater utility value for the present study.

2.2. Social Psychological Theories of Migration

From the social psychological perspective, the process of migration can be explained and analysed within the conceptual framework of two theories, that is, crisis theory and role adaptation theory.

2.2.1. Crisis Theory

2.2.1.1. Introduction

Recent work on stressful events has been conceptualised within the body

of crisis theory developed by Aguilera and Messick (1974).

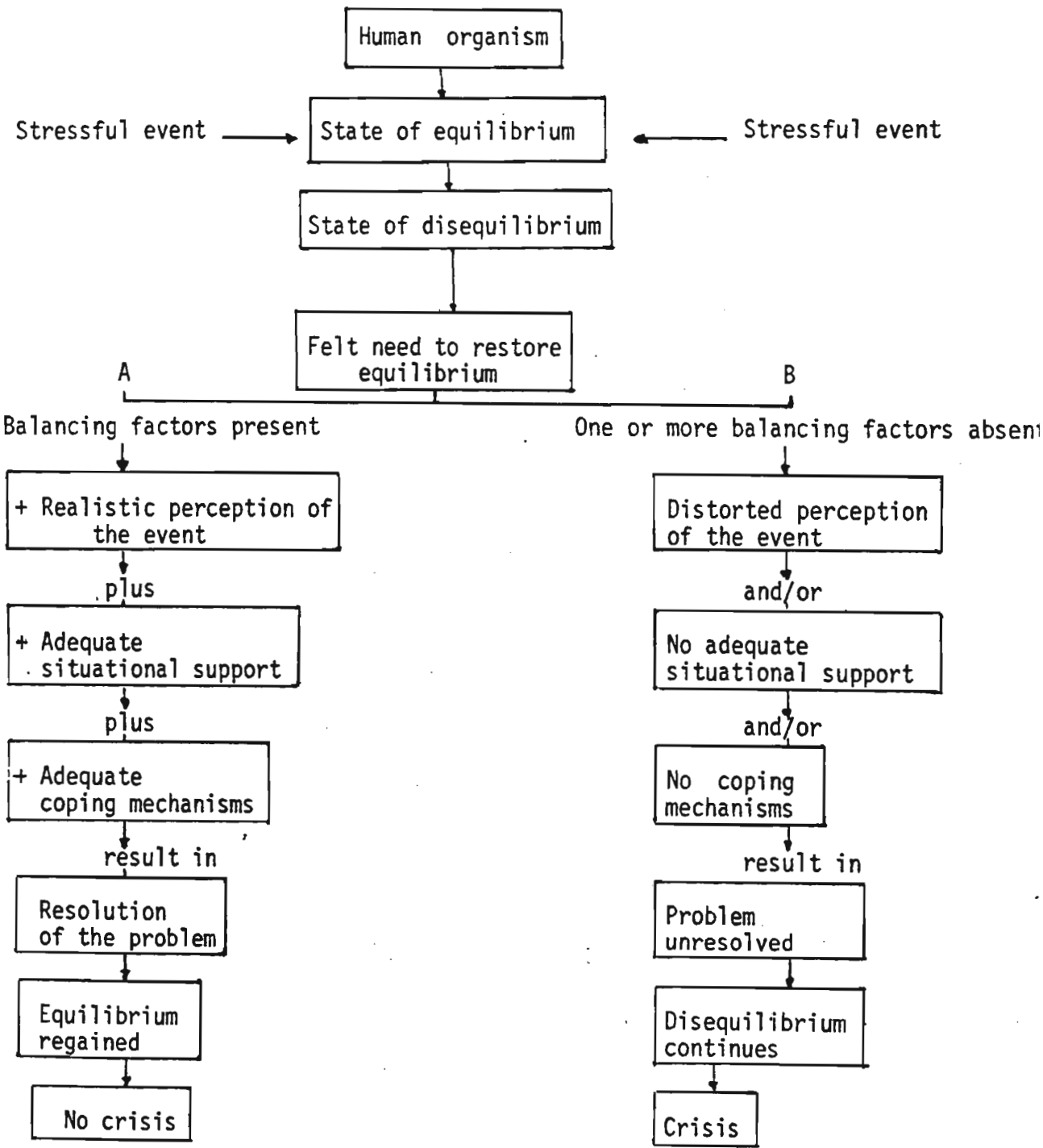
According to Aguilera and Messick (ibid) "a crisis occurs when a person faces an obstacle to important life goals that are, for a time, insurmountable through the utilisation of customary methods of problem-solving. A period of disorganisation ensues, a period of upset, during which many abortive attempts at a solution are made." p.5.

In terms of this definition, an individual is viewed as living in a state of emotional equilibrium with his goal always to return to or maintain that state. When customary problem-solving techniques cannot be used to meet the daily problems of living, the balance or equilibrium is upset. The individual must either solve the problem and return to a precrisis situation or adapt to nonsolution. According to Aguilera and Messick (ibid) in either case a new equilibrium will develop; in the former situation positive mental health is restored, whereas in the latter situation feelings of anxiety, insecurity and lowered inefficiency may erupt into states of active equilibrium and stable life organisation. This new life organisation may be deficient in a way which leads to a new stable state of permanent deficit (Aguilera and Messick ibid).

2.2.1.2. Paradigm of Crisis Theory and Intervention

The paradigm outlined in Table V below is a graphic representation of the sequential steps involved in resolving or failing to resolve a crisis. Column A refers to the balancing factors which help to resolve the crisis. Column B indicates the absence of one or more of the balancing factors that help to block the resolution of a crisis, thus increasing disequilibrium and precipitating crisis.

TABLE V : THE EFFECTS OF BALANCING FACTORS IN A STRESSFUL EVENT



Source: Aguilera and Messick (1974)

+ Balancing Factors

In terms of Aguilera and Messicks' (*ibid*) crisis theory, whenever a stressful event occurs in a person's life situation, a state of disequilibrium leading to a crisis ensues.

Three balancing factors - the perception of an event, situational supports and coping mechanisms - can effect the positive balance of the equilibrium and the absence of one or more of these factors could lead to a state of disequilibrium.

2.2.1.2.1. Perception of an event

This refers to the way the problem or situation is viewed or defined by an individual and the meanings it carries for him.

The cognitive style and subjective meaning of a stressful event play an important role in determining an individual's coping responses to that event. According to Aguilera and Messick (*ibid*) the cognitive style of an individual helps to set limits on information seeking in stress situations, it strongly influences perception of others, interpersonal relationships and various types of interventions. Thus if an event is perceived realistically, there will be recognition of the relationship between the event and the feeling of stress. Problem-solving can be appropriately oriented toward reduction of tension and successful solution of the stressful situation becomes more probable.

According to Aguilera and Messick (*ibid*), the important mediating cognitive process is the individuals appraisal of the situation. When a threatening situation exist, firstly, primary appraisal is made to evaluate the perceived outcome of the event in relation to one's future goals and values. This is followed by secondary appraisal whereby one perceives the range of coping alternatives available either to master the threat or to achieve a beneficial outcome. As coping activities are selected and initiated, feedback cues from changing internal and external environment lead to ongoing reappraisals or to changes in the original perception.

If, in the appraisal process, the outcome is judged to be too overwhelming or too difficult to be dealt with using available coping skills, an individual is more likely to resort to use of intrapsychic defensive mechanisms to repress or distort the reality of the situation. An appraisal of a potentially successful outcome, however will lead to the use of progressive coping mechanisms aimed at mastering the environment.

If the perception of an event is distorted, there may be no recognition of a relationship between the event and feelings of stress. Thus attempts to solve the problem will be ineffective and tension will not be reduced.

2.2.1.2.2. Situational Supports

Situational supports refer to people, resources and institutions in the environment which can be depended on for the solution of one's problems. By nature, human beings are social and dependent on others in the environment to supply them with reflected appraisals of their own intrinsic and extrinsic values.

When a situation is perceived as particularly threatening the individual is in need of and seeks support and reassurance from the social networks in the environment. The feedback and reflective appraisal from the environment form the basis of one's self-esteem. The lower the self-esteem, the more threatful the situation becomes, and the greater are the possibilities of the individual's withdrawal from the environment and its support systems.

The perceived failure to obtain adequate situational support to meet the individual's psychological needs may provoke, or compound a stressful situation and thus lead to a state of disequilibrium and possible crisis.

2.2.1.2.3. Coping Mechanisms

According to Aguilera and Messick (ibid), critical issues arise in a crisis situation over the choice of adaptation patterns and coping mechanisms. On the one hand these mechanisms may be prominently regressive and defensive, functioning primarily to protect the self from disintegration. On the other hand they may represent progressive efforts to master the environment, restructure the task ahead and deal with problems posed by the novel situation. In most crisis situations, the adaptive process is a complex and a changing mix of both regressive and progressive components. Aguilera and Messick (ibid) distinguishes two types of coping : Coping I which refers to the individual's capacity to cope with opportunities, challenges, frustrations and threats in the environment and Coping II

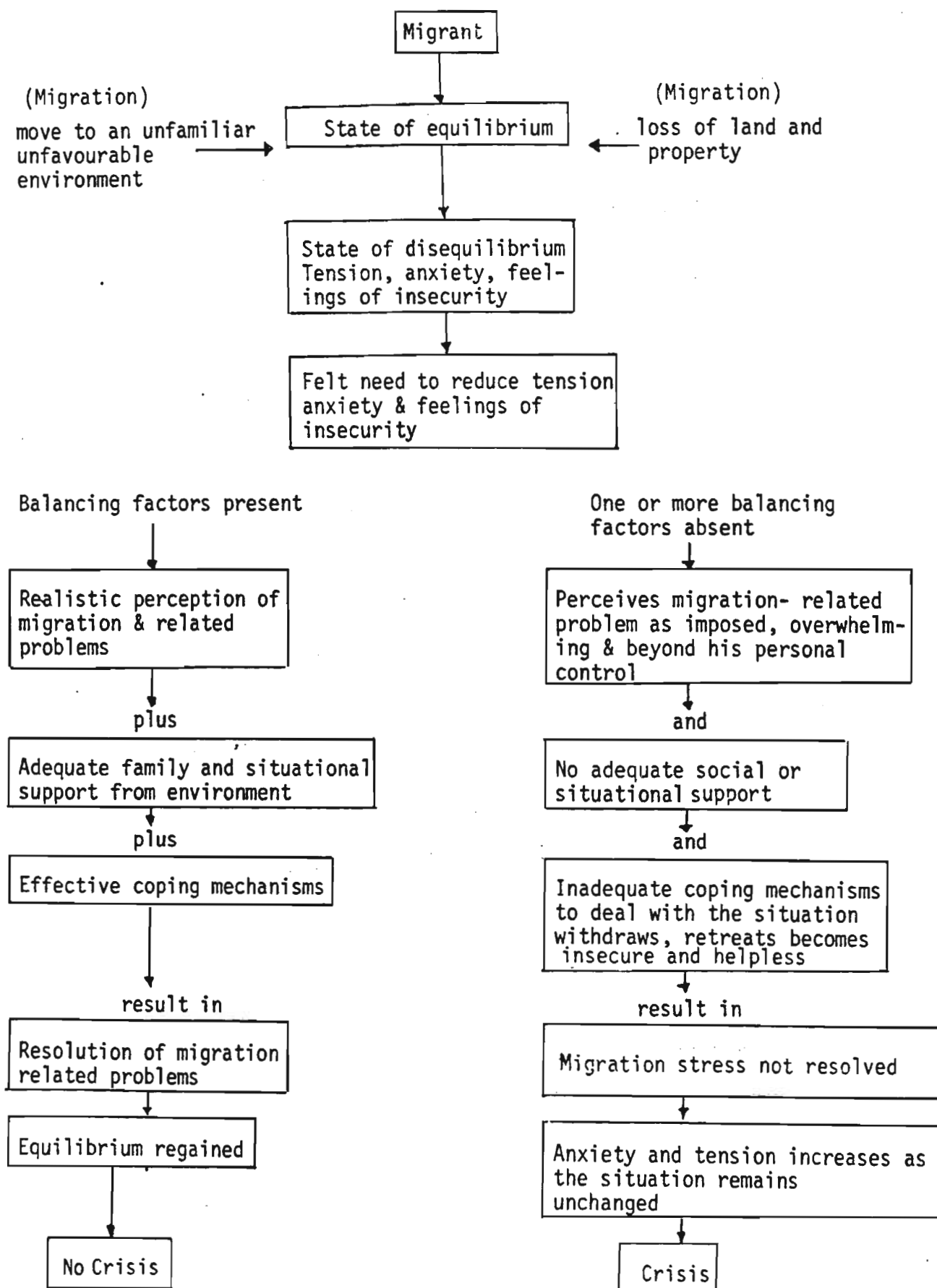
which is the maintenance of internal intergration, that is, the capacity of an individual to manage ones relations to the environment, so as to maintain integrated functioning.

In stressful situations the individual is required to simultaneously cope with many changes and new adaptational tasks within a time framework. He has to develop an array of diversified effective patterns (coping mechanisms) to meet stressful environmental encounters. According to Aguilera and Messick (*ibid*), the key to coping with stressful events is to develop strategies to relieve or minimise the impact of stressful changes or life strains, thereby keeping tension within manageable limits. The effectiveness of coping strategies depend not only on intrapsychic mechanisms but also on social and institutional supports as well as restoration of problem-solving skills.

2.2.1.3. Implications of Stress Paradigm for Migration

In the following section an attempt is made to extend the stress paradigm developed by Aguilera and Messick (1974) to the process of migration (c.f. Table VI overleaf).

TABLE VI : STRESS PARADIGM - THE EFFECTS OF BALANCING FACTORS ON
MIGRANTS



In terms of the stress paradigm the migrants perception of the migration is influenced by his subjective experiences and cognitive appraisal of the migration process. If the process of migration is too threatening, too stressful and has been given a negative appraisal by the migrant, he might find it too overwhelming and beyond the control of his personal resources. This may subsequently lead to the perceptual distortion of one's own ability to cope with the migration-related stressors.

The important mediating factors likely to influence the migrants perception of migration, are his preparedness for the migration move, his decision-making power or volition to move as well as his pre- and post-relocation experiences.

The subjective perception of the migration process is to a large extent influenced by the absence or presence of adequate situational supports. Migrants' adaptation to new situations is greatly enhanced if he has access to networks of institutional and group support. These networks are usually face to face primary relationships that provide emotional support to the individuals and help to restore his sense of security and confidence. Inadequate situational supports might lead to strong feelings of alienation and uncertainty, create an existential crisis and overburden the migrants' coping strategies.

Coping behaviour becomes a function of the migrants' social situation. Thus the effectiveness of coping strategies depends not only on intrapsychic mechanisms but also on situational and other institutional support systems.

As a source of life strain migration can require the migrant to cope with the process of adapting to new ecological conditions of transferring old skills and experiences into a new situation. Each of these can create stress, necessitating the use of coping strategies.

Since coping strategies are developed to deal with life strains posed by a specific environment in which one resides, resettlement to a new and sometimes unfamiliar ecological setting could produce irreconcilable problems attributed largely to one's inability to effectively reduce or eliminate stresses with known coping strategies. Stresses produced by

involuntary migration can be so overpowering that the migrants' behaviour can become maladaptive and at times destructive.

In terms of this paradigm the involuntary migratory experience can be made less stressful by pre-orientation to prepare the residents for the move. This could take the form of providing adequate information on the basis of which the residents can make their own decisions. Secondly, should the residents decide to move adequate social systems should be provided in the new environment to facilitate the transition and help the migrant adapt his coping mechanisms to the new environment.

2.2.1.4. Summary

The overall implication of crisis theory, is that a stressful event can lead to a state of disequilibrium which can either dissipate or develop into a crisis depending on the presence or absence of three balancing factors - perception of an event, situational supports and coping mechanisms. If an individual has a realistic perception of an event, has access to support systems and his coping skills are adequate, he will effectively deal with the stress and return to a stable state of equilibrium. However, where one or more of the balancing factors are absent a crisis might develop.

The process of migration may be perceived as a stressful event that can lead to a state of disequilibrium. The negative appraisal of the migration process, coupled with a lack of adequate social supports in the new environment and inadequate coping skills, can result in an unresolved crisis situation for the migrant and intensify stress.

2.2.1.5. Conclusion

The crisis theory provides a useful conceptual model that can be used to analyse the migrants' interaction with his ecological environment. The utility value of this theory lies not only on its descriptive functions, but also on its predictive powers as well; it provides a viable theoretical base for the prediction of events. This theory also sets out an explicit, concrete paradigm which can be translated into pragmatic intervention strategies.

This theory presents a useful conceptual framework for the analysis of both voluntary and involuntary migration although involuntary migration seem to create more stress than voluntary migration. However the conceptual framework of this theory may not be comprehensive enough to encompass the experiences of young children who comprise half the sample of the present study.

2.2.2. Theory of Social Change and Role Adaptation

2.2.2.1. Introduction

Fried (1982) encapsulated forces involved in social change within the conceptual framework of role theory and the process of psychosocial adaptation which will be discussed in the section below.

2.2.2.2. Role Theory

Fried (ibid) defined the role as a set of behaviours and associated norms that subserve specific institutional or societal functions and through which individuals fulfill physiological, psychological and social strivings. Roles are therefore defined through the normative expectations of society about the responsibilities, prerogatives and boundaries of a set of functions performed by individuals in social systems. These expectations provide some guarantee that essential societal functions will be fulfilled and will mesh with the roles and functional activities of other individuals. Although the definition of roles must be traced to social norms, behavioural performance of roles reflect the actual situation, and for many descriptive and analytic purposes is a more accurate indicator of social structure and process.

According to Fried (ibid) roles and role behaviour are internally structured in a hierarchical fashion according to the contribution of each component of role behaviour to the overall social functioning. This is referred to as different levels of integration of role behaviour. At each level, role activities are influenced by specific individual needs or broad environmental factors which can be measured as either desirable or undesirable and role functions which can either expand or contract depending on the individuals participation or investment in different roles.

Each successive level of integration involves increasing ties to other individuals, networks, groups and organisations. Lower levels of integration permit greater individual variability without provoking disjunctions with or deviations from social norms. Although reactions to stress initially occur at the lower levels of role integration, they may successively invade higher levels, generating both individual and social problems of a more serious nature (Fried, ibid).

Role integration generally provides a useful background for analysing the process of psychosocial adaptation.

2.2.2.3. Role Integration and Psychosocial Adaptation

Fried (ibid) defined psychosocial adaptation as the process of modification of role behaviour in response to changes in the psychological or physiological functioning of an individual or to changes in sociocultural and environmental processes. This definition includes changes within the role system itself which may result from the impact of events outside the role system.

According to Fried (ibid) several assumptions lie behind this definition. Firstly, that most behaviours can be relegated to different social roles whether they are central or peripheral to these roles. Secondly, that change may occur in psychological, physiological or social levels requiring psychosocial adaptation. Such a change impinges on individual functioning and entail minor or major adaptations. Thirdly, that through prior adaptations, individuals develop relatively stable patterns of role behaviour, which tend to resist adaptational change. Fourthly, that stable role behaviour represents the establishment of some degree of concordance between individual and environment, and only those internal or external changes that produce discordance beyond an individual tolerance threshold entail adaptational effort (Fried, ibid).

For evaluative purposes, Fried (ibid) designated effective adaptational efforts, bonadaptation and ineffective adaptational efforts maladaptation. In terms of the role theory bonadaptation and maladaptation are regarded as the degrees of role satisfaction or dissatisfaction respectively, weighted by the subjective importance of that role.

Fried (ibid) conceived adaptation as 'satisficing' rather than an 'optimizing' process including costs and benefits entailed by adaptational processes. In this context bonadaptation signifies that, given the available external options and constraints as well as the internal resources and expectations that guide decisions the net benefit : cost ratio is favourable. According to Fried (ibid) total satisfaction with an outcome of choice behaviour frequently occurs under the best conditions. However, in the face of limited options and narrow constraints the choices adopted tend to be unrealistic and may result in dissatisfaction inspite of objective achievements.

According to Fried (ibid) in analysing the process of adaptation it becomes important to develop methods of studying the specific costs and benefits that lead to a net result of bonadaptation and maladaptation. Concepts of bonadaptation and maladaptation and the use of operational corollaries such as satisfaction and dissatisfaction provide a reasonable basis for social indicators. But a more refined analysis is possible on the basis of component costs and benefits implied by the contractions and expansions of role functioning.

The expansion or contractions of desirable, central, shared and high-priority role activities is a primary measure of the process of adaptation. The expansion of these role attributes is the benefit component of adaptation and the cost is represented by contraction of these role attributes. Naturally, both may occur simultaneously, so that the contractions or the costs must be weighed against the expansion or the benefits to produce an individual cost : benefit ratio (Fried ibid).

According to Fried (ibid) the cost and benefits of adaptation must be estimated for the entire array of roles. Although a given stress is likely to affect one role initially and directly, its repercussions may lead to role alterations of diverse form. This is due to the fact that a single individual whose psychological and physiological attributes are affected, directly or indirectly, by stress is the link between different concrete roles in the role array. The critical dimension of actual or potential malfunctioning is the level of resultant discrepancy between the total behavioural array of roles and the subjective significance of the set of roles.

Fried (ibid) stated that one way of evaluating the hypothesis, that links role contractions to cost and role expansion to benefits, involves an examination of the relationship between stress and changes in role behaviour. To the extent that increments of stress lead to increased probability of malfunctioning one should expect, increased stress to result in role contractions. In a fashion similar to the development of stress : strain ratio some people would show marked contractions and others expansion of role behaviour as a consequence of stress. The direction and degree of deviation would be a relative measure of bonadaptation or maladaptation.

From another vantage, the level of role integration provides a viable framework concerning the process by which stress impinges on the organism and produce different degrees of bonadaptation or maladaptation. Since each successively higher level of role integration is more closely co-ordinated as an endogenous system and is bolstered by constraints and supports within the system, higher levels of role integration are less responsive to the immediate impact of stresses that might affect the individual (Fried ibid).

According to Fried (ibid) the process of invasion implies that there are successive incursions of stress over time on different levels of role integration. As the forces which denote stress manifest themselves with greater severity or regularity, and the level of strain increases, there is a gradual modification of higher levels of role functioning. This spread from lower to higher levels of role integration is the invasion process itself. At each successive level, the problems of maladaptation become more serious because a wider set of activities, more central functions and a larger number of people become involved. However, at any point in the sequence other factors may enter to modify the invasion process and impede or accelerate its progress (Fried ibid).

Fried (ibid) expanded his theory of role adaptation to the phenomena of residential relocation which is assumed to have more or less the same meaning as migration and will thus be presented in the following section.

2.2.2.4. Implications of Role Adaptation Theory for Residential Relocation

According to Fried (ibid) differences in the strain engendered by a common stress, relocation are largely due to the extent to which role relationships and the role arrays have been concentrated within a local area. Although it is possible to describe the differences either in psychological terms

or in terms of the intensity of investment in a local area, the variation in role functioning is most strongly associated with differences in reaction to the relocation.

According to Fried (ibid) residential relocation and subsequent role adaptation involve at least four major phases of change : initial awareness of developments that entail residential relocation, a situation of imminent change while planning resettlement, relocation itself and postrelocation adaptations to a new environment.

Fried (ibid) has stated that the degree to which there is a net bonadaptation or maladaptation to relocation is a function of the extent and types of role alterations required and of the internal and external resources available for the facilitation of the transition. A weighted analysis of the forgone role opportunities due to the loss of former residence and the achievements or failures in the role adaptation, in the new environment, is thus critical.

The major prelocation factors that account for differences in the stress : strain ratio are firstly, differences in the extent of anticipated loss due to differences in the concentration of role behaviour in the local area. Secondly, differences in immediate coping behaviours entailing role expansion or role contraction. Thirdly, differences in the economic psychological or social 'support' resources during the early transitional process (Fried ibid).

According to Fried (ibid) prior to relocation as well as after relocation, a qualitative difference occurs when the level of strain precipitates a process of role invasion so that the changes, particularly the contraction of role activities, lead to contraction in role function, role relationships or in array of roles. Under these conditions, the alterations in role behaviour develop some degree of functional autonomy from situations that originally produced them, and begin to involve processes of adaptation within the role systems other than those associated with local relationships. The risk of pathological development increases correspondingly (Fried ibid).

According to Fried (ibid), the many differences in prelocation role patterning, particularly in working class areas which are most frequently

the targets of redevelopment, can be comprehended within four major types. Each of these types presents a different potentiality for post-relocation adaptational success. Moreover, the relative potency of prelocation role patterns compared with post-relocation situations as determinants of adaptation is different for each type.

Fried (ibid) has stated that, one type of prelocation role generally more familiar in middle-class and higher-status neighbourhood than in working class, involves a dispersion of role behaviours in both local and nonlocal areas. Frequently, the people who manifest this pattern are already socially mobile and their spatial mobility is a reflection of social transition. The fact that they may continue in a working-class area despite occupational and economic achievements that place them at a new-status level itself suggests role commitments that they do not want to relinquish. But the fact that they have already broadened the geographic base of their role behaviours also implies that the alterations in role behaviours required by relocation affect only a limited set of the total role array. On the surface they may reveal a characteristic pattern of bonadaptation to the new environment and direct their efforts to expanding role behaviours in the new situation to correspond as closely as possible to their former local involvements (Fried, ibid).

Similar to this type, but different in crucial ways, are those people who have never developed the concentration of role activities in the local area to the same degree, or are quite ambivalent about their local commitments. Like the previous group, they are likely to show more spatially dispersed role patterns (Fried ibid). He further remarks that in some instances the spatial dispersion of role behaviour is a desire rather than an accomplishment and thus, the relocation serves an enabling function. In contrast to the previous type, role adaptations can be achieved fairly readily. Although a short-term contraction of role-relationships may be involved, these are generally compensated for by an expansion of role activities and role functions in new spatial and social directions.

According to Fried (ibid) the third type of prelocation role poses some very specific problems by virtue of the fact that the total pattern of role behaviour is, from the very outset contracted and the disruptions of relocation frequently force an even greater contraction. In most cases this occurs in people who have never been truly invested in the pre-relocation

residential area. While their role activities may have been concentrated locally, they may not have maintained this localism because of any intrinsic subjective desirability of local interaction, but rather as a matter of convenience. Thus, though the difficulties they often experience after relocation appear to classify them among those who suffer severely from the process, it tends to be an exacerbation of long-term problems rather than one that can be directly traced to the adaptational demands associated with relocation. In many cases, however, the endemic strain is sufficiently great that the small increment in relocation stress encourages a new process of role invasion and serious social or psychological problems.

A fourth type, and the one to which Fried (ibid) devoted his greatest attention are those for whom the prelocation neighbourhood can truly be described as 'home'. Predominantly working-class in origins and current status, these are the people whose total array of roles is largely bounded by the local area. Not only are their role activities predominantly local, but their relationships in different role complexes are also influenced by the dominance of the local neighbourhood in their lives. Thus, though family ties might be close, most of their time will tend to be spent with neighbours and local friends rather than with family members. As a consequence, regardless of the opportunities available in the new residential area, the experience of relocation will tend to be an experience of major disruption, dislocation and strain. A marked improvement in some of the post-relocation conditions may compensate for the loss and ameliorate the strain. Fried (ibid) further states that more often than not the level of bonadaptation or maladaptation can be traced to the possibility of major role alterations within the conjugal unit. To the extent that husband and wife, particularly, can engage in expanded role relationships, to compensate for role contractions in other spheres, the successful adaptation can be increased. Conversely, when the altered situation increases role demands of one spouse upon the other beyond the possibility of ready adaptational response, increased strain and a process of role invasion generally occur. Sometimes this can be limited to family disruption. Occasionally this can extend to major maladaptations in physical or mental illness. Thus for this type, a typical grief reaction can result from relocation changes. Regardless of new opportunities offered by a new environment, the losses and the contractions of role behaviour tend to be noncompensable (Fried ibid).

According to Fried (ibid) the confluence of stresses that stem from structural economic and socio-political processes and the stresses of daily life often create a widespread condition of strain for all types of relocatees, particularly the last group. The fact that macrolevel stresses are only minimally affected by individual efforts in itself implies a constraint on the possible forms of role adaptation. Individuals may participate in movements to resist forced relocation but the upward impact on bureaucratic processes or legislation, is at best, slow. Their efforts, thus, may be valuable, but can only produce effects from which they are themselves unlikely to benefit. A major impetus to voluntary migration is the disjunction between individual striving for improved life conditions and the availability of local opportunities for fulfilling these strivings. If potential migrants are to pursue their strivings, they have little choice but to escape into new opportunities. Those who cannot confront so major a set of role alterations suffer the restrictions in their residential environment.

2.2.2.5. Summary

According to Fried (ibid) any environmental change is most likely to bring about major role alterations which may in turn lead to ineffective adaptational efforts, depending on the individuals' coping abilities.

Fried (ibid) extended his conceptual framework to adaptational demands associated with residential relocatees which can produce discordance (strain) between individual and the social system, thus rendering him vulnerable to stress.

2.2.2.6. Conclusion

Fried's (ibid) theory of social change and role adaptation lends itself well to the study of voluntary migration, particularly where migration is due to pull factors, such as better opportunities in a new area. It also provides a broad analytic framework of the migrants interaction with his environment.

However in terms of the present study this framework presents problems in several aspects. Firstly, it does not adequately address dynamics

involved in voluntary migration in terms of push factors as well as dynamics involved in involuntary migration. Secondly, it does not deal with the psychological dynamics and intrapsychic correlates of maladaptation. Thirdly, this theory provides a frame of reference for one developmental group, that is, adults: It ignores the role adaptation behaviour of children who form an important part of the present study. Lastly, although this theory has relatively good descriptive powers, it is not pragmatic in a sense of formulating operational intervention strategies to ameliorate the negative outcomes of migration.

Thus in terms of the broad aims of this study, presented in chapter one, role adaptation framework has major limitations which tend to decrease its utility value.

2.2.3. Theory of Uprooting

2.2.3.1. Introduction

The proponent of this theory, Marris (1974) argued that uprooting cannot be understood merely as a phenomenon of physical relocation. He remarks that uprooting is psychic ; it disrupts, however temporarily, the sense of security and self-continuity of an individual moving through a changed social and physical environment. Most of all it produces emotional stress by disrupting the structure of meaning.

2.2.3.2. Structure of Meaning

According to Marris (ibid) the structure of meaning refers to organised structures of understanding and emotional attachments by which people interpret and assimilate the environment on which the sense of continuity rests. It consists of the unique meanings, which the individual forms out of his experiences and the shared knowledge about the socio-cultural environment (Marris, 1974).

Marris (ibid) further states the structure of meaning involves the general elaboration and confirmation of ones personal and social history, an understanding of life which is unique because it derives from some experiences which one has not shared. According to Marris (ibid) one

can never say exactly what life means to him yet the stability of that sense is crucial to the meaningfulness of life. The power of the structure of meaning to assimilate an enormous variety of new events depend upon this sense of stability. Paradoxically, ones versatility - the ability to learn and adapt - also rest on the fundamental conservatism of stability.

From the beginning of life the human being acts upon his environment and confirms the predictability of social and physical objects, grasps the conceptual meaning of structures in his environment and develops a stable sense of being. Since nothing can be meaningful until it is placed in the context of relationships and attachments these variables provide a nurturant environment in which the being continues to learn, accumulate insights and competencies which may not be reproduced in a substitute setting.

Through interaction with the environment the human being creates and develops generalisable regularities which enable him to predict and manipulate the environment, and to make sense of his own unique evolution of social, physical and conceptual relationships to objects and situations. As this conceptual grasp develops he is able to impose his own structure of meaning and control his environment (Marris, ibid)

According to Marris (ibid) every human being lives in a condition of relatedness that is both inward and social. Inwardly he needs to relate to a life philosophy that is meaningful and adequate to the vicissitudes and absurdities of mortal existence. Socially, he has to relate intimately to individuals and groups to develop a sense of humanity. The result is a deep feeling of security and protection within the community. The society becomes a source of sustaining strength. Such a 'being' is rooted in his world through a feeling of confidence and unity. He is 'at home in the world' and this gives meaning and structure to his existence (Marris, ibid).

Since meanings are learned in the context of specific relationships and circumstances one may not be able to extrapolate from them or translate them to a totally different context. The way one has learned to

interpret one kind of situation may not necessarily be compatible with the principles by which another situation is interpreted. The structure of meaning may be highly specific in its unique emotional attachments and commitment to people and objects. Like roots it may be sensitively adapted to a particular setting in which it is embedded ; like roots too it may transplant from the established setting only at the risk of wilting and stunting (Marris, ibid).

Metaphorically, the roots of the 'being' are the structures which give meaning to life. Since ones stability and security depends on the 'roots' of meaning anything which threatens to invalidate the conceptual structures of interpretation, understanding and meaning is profoundly disruptive. Since the construction of meaningful perceptions is cumulative, the more fundamental the revisions are, the more the structure must be dismantled and the more disruptive the revision may become (Marris ibid).

2.2.3.3. Uprooting of Meaning

According to Marris (ibid) uprooting represents any severe disruption of the structure of meaning. It may come about through loss of any of the elements on which structure depend, that is, purpose, attachment, regularity in events or conceptual coherence. Like the death of the loved one, change or loss of a home can undermine the sense of life meaningfulness by robbing the structures of a crucial relationship, disrupting the continuity of both structure and purpose and by producing contradictions, incompatibilities and conflicts which institutional and ideological structures cannot accommodate.

If what has been said about roots and relatedness holds, then the converse becomes true, namely the individual who is uprooted and deficient in relatedness, inwardly and outwardly, is like a plant with a poorly developed root system. He may suffer from a condition of psychological uprootal, that is, a state of being no longer 'at home' in the world; of being unable to maintain a sense of life as meaningful. Faced with annihilation of ones basis of existence, the individual may develop existential distress and despair - a painful state of helplessness and hopelessness as one fails to find a new meaning of life - and grief

which dramatically expresses the search for a way to recover meaning (Marris ibid).

As a result of the irrevocable painful disruption of meaning, the uprooted may take refuge in the past, reliving the time when his life was vital with meaning or try symbolically to act as though the structure of meaning is still with him. He may cling to memories and associations and repeat as rituals the old routines. But this retrospective meaning is only reassuring so long as the illusion of the past still present can be sustained, and the illusion is continually shattered by abrupt reminders of 'uprootedness' (Marris ibid).

Thus whenever the structure of meaning is or threatens to disintegrate as a result of uprooting, the individual may direct his efforts at retrieving meaning from annihilation, reformation to restore the thread of continuity and reintegration of the structure of meaning strong enough to sustain life.

On the other hand an individual may seem adjusted in the sense of having developed a protective front towards the outside world or might show signs of pseudorootedness through over-reliance on other people to meet his security needs.

One of the important components of uprooting is the fragmentation of the sense of social and spatial identity. Theoretically group and spatial identity are the critical foci of the sense of continuity of the structure of meaning.

Marris (ibid) has stated that uprooting should not only be seen as a disruption or disintegration of the structure of meaning, but also as a crisis of reintegration, where relationships and attachment have to be restructured in a complex transformation which maintains an underlying continuity. If life is to go on, a sense of continuity must somehow be maintained.

However, Zwingmann (1969) holds a different view and states that people who suffer from 'uprootal' and react negatively are in a 'borderline state' and their behaviour cannot be measured and judged by norms of an ordered intact society.

2.2.3.4. Implications of the Theory of Uprooting for Migration

It is assumed that the paradigm of 'uprooting' can be extended to study the uprooting that may occur due to migration. For the migrant the structure of meaning is uprooted and the thread of continuity in life interpretation attenuated, as he leaves familiar places which have the character of a 'home', familiar people whose pattern of behaviour and responses are predictable and social networks that have been established over years. In addition to these factors, the realities of post-relocations experience may affect the depth and quality of the migrant's structure of meaning (Marris, ibid).

The task of adapting to uprooting caused by migration, involves learning or modification of behaviour so that the migrant can cope with subjective feelings of threat to his self-esteem. Where, the move is abrupt such as in involuntary migration, loss of ones neighbourhood can overwhelm the continuity of purpose, and the migrant might find it difficult to make sense out of his life.

According to Marris (ibid) the migrant is torn between powerful contradictory impulses, that is, the need to find roots and re-establish the new structures of meaning and the need to restore the previous established structures which gave so much meaning to his life. Failure to resolve the demands of the conflicting needs may result in serious existential problems of 'lasting uprootedness', helplessness and the migrant might find it difficult to make meaning out of life.

2.2.3.5. Summary

According to Marris (ibid) all individuals function in terms of structure of meaning which develop in the course of their interpersonal relationships and attachment to people and objects.

This structure of meaning can be uprooted, thus separating the individual from meaningful attachments, relationships as well as broad accustomed social, cultural and environmental support systems.

The uprooting of structure of meaning is particularly observed in situations where the individual has to migrate from one area to another.

Under such circumstances the migrants' structures of meaning can be uprooted, thus leading to a possible lasting state of uprootedness, often associated with a variety of psychological and existential problems.

2.2.3.6. Conclusion

Marris's (ibid) theory of uprooting provides a useful broad analytical framework into the subjective experiences of all types of people who have been uprooted. This theory has a great utility value for the present study in that it can provide a useful conceptual framework for the study of different types of migratory experiences. Secondly, it may provide a framework for organising and interpreting experiential data; it can be expanded to analyse a field of study which has been ignored by most researchers, that is, childrens' migratory experiences. Lastly, this theory can provide an appropriate theoretical framework for analysing the dynamics of involuntary migration which involve forced movements of people from their stable indigeneous homes.

2.3. Psychodynamic Theories of Migration

2.3.1. Introduction

Social psychological theories have indicated that migration entails major psychosocial transitions and environmental changes. These changes can be experienced as loss and separation. Thus it seems appropriate to use the theory of loss and separation to analyse the process of migration.

2.3.2. Theory of Loss

The concept of loss plays a central role in theories of personality especially those developed by psychoanalytic writers. Traditional psychoanalysts such as Freud (1953) and Klein (1952) have discussed loss within the narrow framework of object relations, that is, development of symbiotic bond with personalised animate or inanimate love objects.

Thus the loss of the symbiotic object signify the loss of an aspect of self, that is, that part of self representation which reflects the relation to the object.

Bowlby (1969, 1973) related loss to attachment, defined as the affectional tie that one person forms with another specific person, thus binding themselves together in space and enduring over time. When this strong human bond is severed or disrupted it is experienced as loss. Rutter (1972) broadened this definition of loss and applied it to both children and adults. He clearly distinguished between deprivation of a parent or spouse (loss) and privation (lack) and believed that lack (or privation) had different consequences from deprivation or loss.

Recently, Parkes (1983) used the earlier definitions of loss as a conceptual base for his all-embracing theory of loss. He identified four major categories of loss; loss of significant love or valued person, loss of part of self, loss of external objects and developmental loss. Parkes (*ibid*) theory can therefore be applied to people of different developmental ages, objects and situations.

Parkes (*ibid*) added a dimension of internal assumptive world of the bereaved person in his theory and remarked that during the time of loss the bereaved persons' old assumptive world is rendered redundant. He has to restructure his life pattern and emerge with a new identity. Parkes (*ibid*) theory therefore has several implications; firstly, that loss is not only affective but it also brings about cognitive restructuring, secondly, that loss is experienced not only in terms of disruption of ties with people, but also in relation to objects and situations. Thirdly, that loss has to be analysed in terms of the individual developmental stages. Lastly, Parkes (*ibid*) concurs with his predecessors that loss normally occurs when there has been a previous attachment.

2.3.2.1. Reactions to Loss : Bereavement, Grief and Mourning

The latest and most comprehensive definition of grief and mourning is that provided by Parkes (*ibid*). He defined bereavement as the act of separation or loss that results in the experience of grief. As such it becomes a precipitating event that starts off the grief reaction.

Parkes (ibid) defined grief as an emotional suffering caused by loss, disaster or misfortune : It can be anticipatory grief, that is, deep sadness expressed in advance of a loss when the loss is perceived as inevitable, acute grief, that is, intense sadness which immediately follows a loss or chronic grief which refers to sorrow maintained over a considerable period of time.

According to Parkes (ibid) mourning is the process following loss, of which grief is part, but extending beyond the first reactions into the period of reorganisation of the new identity and reattachment to new interests and people. It is behaviour prescribed by customs and mores of a given society, which determines how a person should conduct himself after the death of another.

Reactions to grief tend to be interpersonal, combining both physiological and psychological reactions, while those of mourning are cultural and socially dictated by what is considered accepted and normal in that particular system to which the individual belongs.

Starting from Freud's (1953) 'grief work' to Bowlby's early work on childrens' mourning, Parkes (1983) writings on widows in London and Fried's (1979) research on widows, amputees and urban relocatees, a profile was developed to delineate various phases of the grieving process in adult life. Although the process of grief has been conceptualised in the same manner by different theorists, there has been slight variations in the use of terms, transitions and intervals. In line with his general views, Parkes (1983) conceptualised the process of grief and mourning in broad terms and delineated the following sequential phases :

- (a) Phase of Numbness. This is the initial reaction to loss. It is one of incredulity, of feeling stunned and unable to 'take in' the news. When the event is entirely unexpected, the element of shock and numbing enters, as the person's response mechanisms fail to react. Along with this numbness are outbursts of intense distress, anger and aggressive behaviour. Attacks of panic may alternative with periods of restlessness and other efforts to avoid cognisance of the loss.

- (b) Phase of Yearning and Searching for the Lost Object. Within a short time the numbness begins to wear away and the bereaved starts to register the reality of loss. Restlessness increases, along with pining and preoccupation with thoughts of the lost person or object in the environment. The bereaved person may develop a perceptual 'set' for the lost person or object and reject potentially new objects in his environment.

The predominant features of this period are weeping, anger and hostility often directed to people perceived to be in some way responsible for the loss. Some of the anger, mixed with guilt and self-reproach is self-directed. Guilt is often centered on some small act of omission or commission connected with the loss to which the persons thoughts return again and again. A person may blame himself for the way he behaved before, during and after the loss. With the lost person or object irretrievably gone, the person feels intense separation anxiety as a natural and inevitable response. This may even lead to panic attacks as the reality of loss is brought home, again and again.

- (c) Phase of Disorganisation and Despair. During the latter part of the first year, phase two imperceptibly merges into phase three, during which there is deepening and prolongation of sorrow and despair aspects of mourning. The acuteness of loss passes as the person struggles repeatedly to face the reality of living without the lost person or objects. However, a person may continue with his preoccupation with thoughts of loss, feeling a compulsion to talk about the lost person or objects and try to retrieve the lost person or object. A person may feel disorganised, confused, unable to initiate any activity, as though life could never be worthwhile again. He may develop psychosomatic symptoms, and sometimes there is actual deterioration in physical health. Symptoms of serious depression may also be evident at this time. Feelings of apathy and aimlessness are prevalent.

During this period, the bereaved person may experience contradictory, irrational feelings that he may begin to worry whether he is

going crazy. He may block out the 'bad' parts and idealise anything related to the 'lost' person or object. Again and again he recalls the past, sometimes with such vivid intensity that he may report the actual physical presence of the lost person or objects. Intermingled with this are deep feelings of inability to communicate with others in the real world.

Gradually, the pangs of grief become more intermittent and are followed by periods of relative calmness. The bereaved person develops his own patterns of mitigation which include partial disbelief in the reality of external events, inhibition of painful thoughts by selective forgetting, idealisation and evocation of pleasant or neutral thoughts in order to deliberately occupy the mind.

- (d) Phase of Reorganisation. Progress through this phase is often marked by turning points, events associated with major changes or revision in feeling, attitude and behaviour. According to Parkes (*ibid*) whenever a major change occurs in an individual life, he needs to restructure his ways of relating to the world.

The area in which change occurs lies first of all in that part of the external world which impinges the person's 'life space', that is, those parts of the environment with which the self interact and in relation to which his behaviour is organised : other persons, material possessions, the familiar world of home and even the individual's own body and mind.

The second change is in the individual's internal assumptive world; the total set of assumptions and interpretation which he builds up on the basis of his interpretation of past experiences in dealing with the outside world and his expectations of the future. Since loss is a major change, it necessitates a major restructuring; the abandonment of one set of assumptions and the development of a new set, to enable bereaved persons to cope with the altered life space.

Parkes (ibid) uses the term 'psychosocial transitions' for the major changes incurred as a result of loss in life space. Such changes are lasting, take place over a relatively short period of time and affect large areas of the assumptive world. In order to cope with these changes, the bereaved person is impelled to set up a cycle of further internal and external changes aimed at improving the fit between himself and his environment. At the same time, since he is tied to his assumptive world by affectional bonds, he may resist change whenever it requires giving up part of his accustomed life space.

Since the individual's assumptive world contains models of both the actual world as he perceives it and the ideal world as he thinks (hopes or dreads) it to be, he becomes aware of his discrepancies between the two. If the gap is anticipated, transition tends to be easy. If on the other hand the loss is abrupt and the change unexpected, it may open wider gaps and deficits in the person's ability to cope with the new situation.

Sometimes the reconstruction of one's internal assumptive world is so incomplete that the bereaved person retains two incompatible worlds side by side. He is torn between two contradictory impulses, that is, the conservative impulse which seeks to restore and deny the loss and the will to adapt to losses associated with change. This may lead to severe psychological distress expressed in chronic affective disturbance as well as feelings of helplessness and hopelessness. On the other hand complete denial of loss can lead to an acute sense of betrayal caused by failure to acknowledge the meaningfulness of attachment which made the loss so painful. Acknowledging the meaning of loss and the emotional attachment which give meaning to what has been lost helps the bereaved person to tie the past, present and future together again with reweaved strands of meaning. It also helps the bereaved person to emerge with a new identity consistent with his life space.

Finally, Parkes (ibid) noted that changes in the person's life space tend to affect his assumptive world more than other

These changes include the psychosocial transitions leading to changes in personal relationships, changes in loved possessions such as the loss of a home and changes in familiar environments such as slum clearances or urban relocations.

2.3.2.2. Implications of Theory of Loss for Migration

Fried (1974) expanded the theory of loss to situations and experiences related to moving from one area to another. He remarked that people often experience deep feelings of loss on leaving their homes, close friends and physical environment. In all such moves people have to deal with loss of the old and known to adjust to the strange and the unfamiliar environment, and to cope with stress generated by both tasks.

Fried (ibid) remarked that forced moves create special feelings (not associated with voluntary moves) of helplessness, depression, anger, longing and tendency to idealise the lost place. "Such affective reactions can be precisely described as grief reactions showing most of the characteristics of grief and mourning of a lost person" p. 198. Fried (ibid) further stated that realities of post-relocation experiences are bound to affect the perpetuation, quality and depth of grief.

According to Fried (ibid) one of the most important components of grief reaction is the fragmentation of the sense of spatial identity. This is manifest, not only in the prelocation experience of the spatial area as an expanded 'home', but in the varying degrees of grief following relocation, arising from variations in pre-location orientation to and use of local spatial regions.

Another component, of equal importance, is the dependence of the sense of group identity on stable, social networks. Dislocation necessarily leads to the fragmentation of group identity which is based to a large extent on the availability and overt content with familiar groups of people (Fried ibid).

Fried (ibid) further stated that associated with these cognitive components described as the sense of spatial identity and the sense of group identity are strong affective qualities which generally fall into

the realm of feelings of insecurity, depressive reactions and commitment to external spatial and group patterns which are tangible, visible aspects of these identity components. For the working class people these concrete, external resources and the experience of stability, availability and familiarity which they provide are essential for a meaningful sense of continuity.

Thus, dislocation and the loss of the residential area represents a fragmentation of some of the essential components of the sense of community, particularly in the working class.

2.3.2.3. Summary

Loss is experienced when a strong attachment bond to a love object or person is disrupted or severed. Loss can also be experienced as one passes from one phase of development to another. It is often followed by affective responses described as grief-reaction.

Grief reaction and mourning are normal reactions to loss and dissipates with time. However these reactions may become exaggerated, prolonged, thus leading to serious, chronic psychological distress.

Loss and subsequent grief reactions and mourning are universal processes which can also be experienced by people who have lost their homes and places through residential relocation.

2.3.2.4. Conclusion

The theory of loss provides a useful analytical framework for a broad range of psychological dynamics and experiences of people who have incurred various types of losses.

The usefulness of this theory for the present study lies in that it provides a viable conceptual framework for multiple losses suffered by masses of people who have been moved forcibly and abruptly from their original residence. Thus migration, particularly involuntary migration involves experiences of loss as well as the psychological reactions to loss such as protest, grief reaction and phase of readjustment.

Unlike other theories, the theory of loss provides a broad analytic conceptual framework that could be used with both adults and children. Lastly it gives insight into both subjective and objective psychological dynamics of loss and migration.

This theory therefore has a great utility value for analysing the process of migration.

2.3.3. Separation

Like loss, the concept of separation is central to psychoanalytic personality theories. Bowlby (1960), Klein (1952) and Rutter (1969) developed the concept of separation together with that of loss. The two concepts have sometimes been used interchangeably and mostly in relation to child development. However separation from love objects is often interpreted within a broader framework than loss of significant love objects.

According to Zwingmann (1973) the crisis in man's existence provoked by separation constitutes one of the salient problems in social, psychological and behavioural sciences. While the consequences of separation from affective reference objects, primarily as applying to individuals separated from their homeland, and children separated from their parents, have been investigated, the reactions to separation in its superordinate aspect of change and fear of change, have so far received no adequate attention.

According to Rutter (1969) a number of factors influence the degree of disturbance that may follow separation. The most important factors are duration, intensity of concomittant external stressor and subsequent experiences, that is, experiences which are reinforcing or ameliorating of separation trauma.

It has been hypothesized that the severity of the impact of separation is directly related to its duration; the shorter the period of separation the less serious its effects. Rutter (ibid) further stated that gradual

separations tend to be less traumatic than abrupt, unpredictable separations.

Secondly, the experience and meaning of separation depend to a large extent on the context within which it occurs. Separation in an unfamiliar environment tend to be more distressful and the presence of a concomittant external stressor is likely to intensify the disturbing nature of separation experience.

Thirdly, the nature of experiences following separation are of major significance for the long term effects ; post-separation experiences may in varying degrees reinforce or ameliorate the initial stress.

There are several varieties of separation experiences and reactions with vastly different implications. As in the case of loss, reaction to separation is grief and mourning (Bowlby, 1960). However according to Zwingmann (1969) separation from love objects often leads to a psychic reaction experienced as the nostalgic phenomena. Zwingmann (ibid) expands this concept, based on Bowlby's theory of loss, to include reactions to spatial separations.

2.3.3.1. Nostalgic Phenomena

Zwingmann (1973) defined the nostalgic phenomenon as the symbolic return to or psychological reinstitution, of those events of personal (real) past and/or impersonal (abstract) imagined past which affords optimal gratification. In terms of orthodox psychoanalytic interpretation, nostalgic reaction can therefore be regarded as conscious or preconscious desire to return to the secure protected past environment. According to Zwingmann (ibid) the characteristic nostalgic reaction operative during emotional climitisation crisis of the migrant is the psychosocial representation of the milieu left behind and a wish to return to it.

Broadly-speaking nostalgic reaction is seen not only as an affect reaction to spatial separation from reference love objects, but also as a reaction to change in a multi-dimensional sense, involving series of abrupt unpredictable events of negative personal significance.

Zwingmann (ibid) discussed the nostalgic reaction in terms of temporal gratification and goal-orientation. He states that in terms of subjective time-table, gratification can be derived from all psycho-temporal activities, that is participation (in the present), projection (into the future) and retrojection (from the past). In which dimension gratification is primarily sought and the distance over which a temporal involvement has operational significance is a matter of cultural, ideological and other kinds of conditioning and personal factors.

Nostalgic reaction occurs when participation in the present (reality) becomes uncomfortable or painful and/or projection into the future offers no adequate gratification because an obstacle (real or imagined) blocks the progression towards the goal. The long-range future therefore has little or no attraction value because it is limited by egocentric preoccupation with its inevitable finality. This often leads to feelings of insecurity, powerlessness and helplessness. Since progression into the future causes more threat perception than comfort, the gratificational emphasis lies in the past - a refuge to which an individual retires and in which he psychologically 'lives' (in a situation of chronic stress). In a situation defined by threat, fear and anxiety, nostalgia has an important affective function (Zwingmann, ibid).

Dynamically the nostalgic reaction can therefore be analysed in terms of three variables; time progression, goal orientation and gratification (See Figure 1 and Figure 2 presented below.)

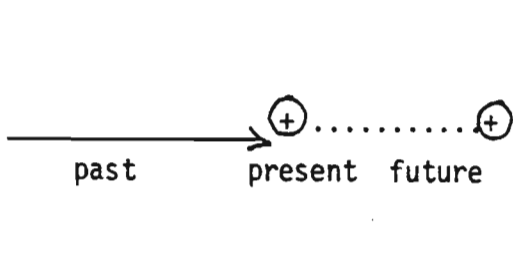


Figure 1: Projected Activity

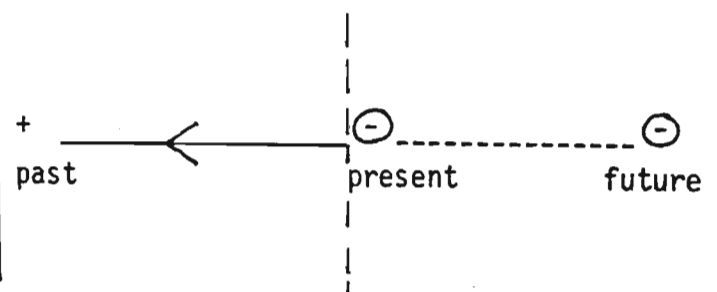


Figure 2: Nostalgic Reaction

Source : Zwingmann & Pfister-Ammende (1973)

Figure 1. represents progression towards gratifying activities and goals (projective activity).

Figure 2. represents a disruption of the progression by unaccustomed change (eg. separation) which is experienced as upsetting the gratificational structure. The unfamiliarity of the new situation causes a gratificational reversal, that is, gratification is no more sought in the present and in the future, but in the past. For instance, familiar objects, persons and institutions towards which the individuals attitude was - prior to separation - ambivalent, are in the post-separation phase loved and valued. Features of conditions which prior to migration were unnoticed merged into the foreground of perception (Zwingmann, ibid).

2.3.3.2. Nostalgic Illusion

By nostalgic illusion is meant the modification of the individuals retrospective subjective experiences, that is, perceived changes in space and time. Such modifications may lead to distorted dimensional foreshortening or prolongation of experience. For example, the distance from the referent objects and the period of separation may appear longer and larger respectively, the reference objects themselves are perceived as more important than before and unpleasant incidences of the past tend to be exalted. The greater the discomfort and feelings of insecurity experienced, the more distorted is the nostalgic perception (Zwingmann ibid).

Retrospective distortion and idealisation of reference - objects, so typical of nostalgic reaction may have negative consequences for the migrant. Subjective over-estimation of reference objects and their loss may result in the identity crisis and the deterioration of human relationships because of the heightened contrast-effect. The negative interplay of nostalgic behaviour, negative attitudes to the new environment are likely to provoke a negative attitude on the part of people who constitute the new milieu. This in turn strengthens the nostalgic behaviour because the negative attitude shown towards the nostalgic individual serves as legitimation for his own rejection of others (Zwingmann, ibid). The nostalgic individual may not be aware of these negative reinforcements. Intensified nostalgic illusion can lead to nostalgic fixation.

2.3.3.3. Nostalgic Fixation

This refers to a pathological condition in which the individuals obdurate clinging to the past is so intense that it prohibits successful adaptation to the present thus rendering the individual incapable of meeting the world as it is. According to Zwingmann (ibid) intense nostalgic behaviour and nostalgic fixation are due to change which is abrupt, forced and irreversible (or perceived as irreversible), which contrasts strongly with the pre-change situation, and in which isolation, pain, severe threat and hopelessness are dominating features. The symptoms are strong withdrawal behaviour, strong idealisation of reference persons, objects and situations, heightened threat perception, fear of loss, feelings of helplessness and psychosomatic difficulties. The individual lives in the past; he experiences the present from a distance and seems unrelated to him. Of particular psychological and social significance is aggression which is often a concomitant of nostalgic behaviour. External and personal difficulties, the inability to obtain a rational grasp on the new environment often cause such frustration that a nostalgic individual may adopt an aggressive defense behaviour. Such aggression can be understood in the light of the function of the nostalgic illusion in that through glorification the contrast between the frame of nostalgic reference and the new environment is intensified to such an unbearable degree that the only abreaction seems to lie in hostile activities. Such affect escalation may result in open aggressive acts (Zwingmann, ibid).

Generally pathological fixation may be difficult to identify when the individual lives in the past and refuses to communicate.

2.3.3.4. Implications of the Nostalgic Phenomena for Migration

According to Zwingmann (ibid) nostalgic behaviour and its intensity is dependent upon various external and internal factors. One of the important external factors is spatial separation.

Spatial separation refers to physical interruption of contact with primary (family) secondary (social groups) and tertiary (community institutions) objects of reference. These reference objects constitute,

together with other factors like geography, topographic and climatic factors, the content of nostalgic imagery (Zwingmann ibid).

According to Zwingmann (ibid) migration is one of the important processes which involve spatial separation. Factors which influence the intensity of nostalgic reactions to migration are :

- (a) Circumstances of migration: Voluntary or forced, time and opportunity afforded for making decisions about ones future and degree of control over what happens.
- (b) Type of separation, that is, from whom and from what is the migrant separated. Generally separations from the primary group evoke more intense nostalgic reactions than separations from the secondary groups. In a capitalistic society separation from personal possessions is also of nostalgic importance since personal property acquires an affective value not infrequently equal to or greater than that of attachment to members of the primary group.
- (c) Degree of contrast between pre-migration and post-migration situations.
- (d) Extent to which the structure of the individual goals (that is, his aims in life) are affected by migration.
- (e) Actual possibilities of communication with familiar persons and his new environment.
- (f) Attitude of the new environment towards the migrant.
- (g) Reversibility of the situation, that is, is there any hope of returning to the pre-migration situation.

Thus, depending on whether migration is voluntary or involuntary, whether the migrant was prepared for the move, whether the situation is reversible or not, and whether the pre-migration and post-migration experiences

compare favourably; the migrant will be subjected to different degrees of nostalgic reactions.

The nostalgic reactions can be prevented by ensuring smooth transition from prelocation to post-location environment, whereas the painful separation from previous attachments can be compensated by favourable and supportive post-relocation environment so that gratificational emphasis is in the present rather than the past.

2.3.3.5. Summary

In terms of the nostalgic theory, separation from ones familiar environment can evoke nostalgic responses of different levels of intensity(nostalgic reactions, nostalgic illusion and nostalgic fixation) all characterised by preoccupation with the past, painful participation in the present and a threat perception of the future.

Such nostalgic behaviour can lead to psychological problems experienced as anxiety, feelings of helplessness, withdrawal and open aggressive acts.

These nostalgic reactions also apply to spatial separation, particularly migration, and they tend to intensify where migration is not voluntary.

2.3.3.6. Conclusion

The theory of the nostalgic phenomenon broadly addresses physical and psychological separation involved in migration. Separation is experienced by all migrants and reactions to the process of separation become important where masses of people migrate. Secondly, the nostalgic theory provide an in-depth analysis of the dynamics involved in involuntary and to a lesser extent voluntary migration. Thirdly, it is easier to expand this theory into children's experiences since separation and reactions to separation are a developmental crisis for most children. This theory may provide a conceptual framework for an area generally neglected by most theorists, that is, childrens' reactions to spatial and psychological separation. Lastly, it is much easier to operationalise this theory in terms of its temporal and physical dimensions and to formulate intervention strategies.

2.4. Developmental Theory

2.4.1. Introduction

Developmental theory which seeks to explore life-long individuals' behavioural changes and experiences has been a central focus of study for various theorists over decades.

For the purpose of this study the focus will be on Eriksons (1960, 1969) paradigm of psychosocial developmental crisis and Levinson's (1979) developmental theory. These theories will further be delimited to two developmental stages (childhood and middle age) which are relevant to the age range of the present sample.

2.4.2. Developmental Tasks and Crisis in Childhood

Erikson's (1960, 1966) theory of psychosocial development delineates a series of crisis which occur in response to demands that society places on the development individual, that is, demands to conform to societal expectations.

In terms of Erikson's (*ibid*) theory, a child within an age range of six to eleven years experiences a psychosocial crisis known as industry *vs* inferiority. According to Erikson (*ibid*) industry includes feelings of being interpersonally competent, that is, of being confident that one can exert positive influence on the social world.

During this stage the child becomes fairly competent at initiating his own activities. He can be taught to mobilise his energies in a constructive manner. However, if the caregivers thwart the child's efforts towards independent exploration of the world around him he may develop feelings of inadequacy.

Also at this stage the child begins to break off accustomed family ties. The world of peers assume a position of importance and peers serve as a criterion for measuring the child's own competency and success; they act as intermediaries in a society in which the child eventually finds his own inner identity. The child therefore requires a full status alongside his peers in society. However, the social status and

prestige depend not only on belonging to a group, but on winning approval and acceptance from the group that matches the child's specific social needs and aspirations.

The need to be accepted and to conform to peer group pressure is very strong at this stage since peer rejection often results in negative group experiences, negative concept of self or even serious problems of maladjustment.

As the child broadens his interactions, society admits him to its institutions particularly, the school. The focus shifts from dependence upon parents to extrafamilial identification not with only peer groups but also with other adults outside the family. At this point institutions and extrafamilial relationships provide a meaningful broader structure for the child and prepares him for adequate functioning in a wider society. Rejection by societal institutions and failure to establish meaningful relationships with other individuals outside the family may have serious consequences for the child.

The danger of this stage therefore lies in the potential development of a sense of inferiority and rejection. For example if a child doubts his status among his peers and other relationships, he may lose confidence and develop a strong sense of inferiority. Secondly, the sense of rejection by the outside world could be too threatening to the child. According to Levinson (1978) there is no developmental group more sensitive to the overt and covert intimations of rejection than a child. If parents, peers, institutions and community at large cannot accept and sustain the child's development such a child is bound to experience serious psychological and developmental problems.

2.4.3. Developmental Tasks and Crisis in Middle Age

In terms of Erikson's (1960, 1966) theory, the psychosocial task and crisis facing the middle aged individual is that of generativity vs stagnation (self-absorption). Generativity means that one seeks to attain a sense of sharing, productivity or creativity, shows care for the world in which one lives, and shows concern for the welfare of the next generation as well as for the nature of society in which that generation will live.

The fully functioning individual will seek to channel his efforts into the most productive means possible to reap satisfaction. His life fulfillment is well measured by knowing that one has contributed to the growth of others through personal and social commitments. Thus the individual perceives himself as an effective agent for change and works towards generating experiences that will give life depth and meaning.

Generally, from generativity emerges the strength of care, that is, the feeling that something and someone matters. Generativity is a psychological opposite of apathy. According to Erikson (ibid) those people who fail to establish a sense of generativity slip into a state of stagnation and self-absorption in which their personal needs and comforts are of dominant concern. Lacking generativity such people cease to function as productive members of society, live only to satisfy their own needs and are interpersonally impoverished. This is commonly known as the "crisis of middle-age" - a sense of hopelessness, helplessness and a feeling that life is meaningless.

According to Levinson (1978) the primary task of this stage is the individual's evaluation of the past, present and the future. A review of the past goes on in the shadow of the present and the future and the integration of the past and present achievements provide the base for the prospects of a secure future. When the time dimensions cannot be positively integrated, the individual may suffer from corrosive doubt and insecurity. Memories may no longer vitalise and enrich his life instead feelings of emptiness and uncertainty may predominate his life. This lack of accrued ego integration may signify fear of the future; the feeling that the time is too short to start another life and try out alternate roads to life goals (Levinson, ibid).

Finally, Levinson (1978) highlighted the importance of person - environment interaction which suggest an interdependence between people and their settings. According to Levinson (ibid) the environment can either enhance or inhibit the individuals mid-life self-actualisation and fulfillment. Some settings can be abandoned or altered if they do not meet the individual's needs. Any self-productive, self-actualising middle aged individual should be in a position to leave or to discover some ways of influencing an unsuitable setting in such a way that it

meets his needs adequately and enhances his overall development. In situations where a negative social setting can neither be abandoned nor altered, the individual is forced to remain in an environment which is contrary to his personal and self-actualising needs. His psychosocial development might be seriously diminished and he might experience process reversal, that is from growth to deterioration.

2.4.4. Implications of Developmental Theory for Migration

According to Marris (1980) developmental variables may aggravate the emotional burdens of the migrant : If migration occurs during a major developmental transition, that is, if changes in the environment and personal life cluster at critical developmental periods and other turning points in the life cycle, the change is likely to produce a high-risk situation and the migrant is likely to experience aggravated stress behaviour.

Many environmental changes that take place in moderate degrees throughout the life span have a minimal impact on the individual. However, severe, catastrophic changes such as involuntary migration, occurring during critical stages of development can overload the adaptive capacities of the individual, thus lowering resistance and increasing his vulnerability to stressful situations.

The double stress of moving and growing up is an extreme challenge, particularly to the immature ego of the young child. When the family moves, the need to establish a sense of security in the face of uncertainties, to relieve tensions inspite of stress and disorientation tends to conflict with the child's ability to experiment and secure his sense of autonomy and competence. The child's developmental achievements may subsequently be undermined. The child may experience social frustration since he is in a developmental stage at which self-doubt and uncertainty are already high and any added pressure may exhaust his adaptive energies.

During the process of migration the child's peer relationships are often disrupted. Loss of peer attachments, that is, loss of old peers and rejection by new peers may cause intense feelings of inferiority,

anxiety and insecurity. The loss of an important social 'peer' base, the ambiguous and marginal status of the child may mean that he has to function without stable referent points. The child may experience an empty 'homeless' feeling. As the need to belong becomes a priority, his self-mastery and achievement might be undermined (Levinson, 1978).

At a broader social level, the norms, values and skills which meant acceptance and status in the previous social system may not easily transfer to the host social system. This sudden conflict of personal standards, norms and values may undermine the self-confidence and sense of self that the child requires to negotiate his status alone with his peers in a new setting. Also, loss of continuity may, for the child, create problems of acceptance to host institutions, particularly the school. As the child fails to measure up to the standards of the institution, he may feel rejected and subsequently develop feelings of inferiority.

For the middle-age adult, migration might diminish the creative and productive elements of generativity especially if the environment does not provide an opportunity for the realisation of his developmental needs. This is particularly the case with involuntary migrants who, because of the aversive factors in the environment may not be in a position to enhance their own growth through direct exposure to creative and enriching community experiences. Subsequently, they may stagnate as they fail to guide the younger generation and assume responsibility for the betterment of society.

Such a situation often leads to feelings of hopelessness and despair. This situation epitomises a premature transition by migrants to experiences and feelings which according to Erikson (*ibid*) are characteristic of the final stage of psychosocial development, that of old age.

2.4.5. Summary

In terms of Erikson (*ibid*) and Levinson (1978) the developmental phases of childhood and middle age are critical in that they involve psychosocial transitions which have to be completed and conflicts which have to be resolved in terms of the expectations of society. Failure to achieve these developmental tasks often have negative

consequences for the individual. This situation places heavy demands on the individual inner resources and coping mechanisms.

Any other major changes, which occur during these critical stages of development might be too stressful, overwhelming and threatening to an individual. Such change may, for example, arise where the family has to move from one area to another. Such a move, that is, migration might impose additional psychosocial stressors on individuals still grappling with normal developmental stresses. For some migrants the challenge might be too great and their normal adaptive resources might be so overburdened as to lead to psychological problems.

2.4.6. Conclusion

The developmental theory has provided a comprehensive conceptual framework, often neglected by other researchers, on the developmental variables which can exacerbate the stresses of migration. It also gives a rare insight into the developmental - related experiences, for different age groups, which can be negated or aggravated by the process of migration. Although this theory is not specific enough to address specific problems related to involuntary and voluntary migration, it provides a viable holistic framework on the developmental - related migration experiences.

The utility value of Eriksons (ibid) theory lies in its functional significance, that is, in its usefulness in throwing social insights into human behaviour and its general applicability to a variety of situations.

Generally, this developmental framework can generate explicit, consistent predictions about sets of events, and has a greater and broader applicability in terms of the present study.

2.5. Overall Summary

A systematic consistent integration of various theories, namely, social psychological theories, psychodynamic theories and developmental theories is absolutely essential for the understanding of the

multifaceted process of migration which derives from a subtle, complex interaction of diverse forces.

This chapter therefore sought to provide a comprehensive coherent theoretical framework into the study of the process of migration. To develop a viable conceptual reference within which migration could be meaningfully analysed several theories, mentioned above, were reviewed and their utility value appraised in terms of their descriptive and predictive powers, functional significance, practical applicability and relevance to the present study.

The developmental theory, in particular, provided a conceptual perspective against which dimensions of human growth and other dynamics of all theories could be interpreted.

Generally, all theories provided a unified body of theoretical knowledge which have to be understood within the broad field of current research activities in the area of migration. A literature review of existing migration studies will therefore be presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter conceptual frameworks which can be used to study the process of migration were presented and ground was laid for the possible integration of current theories in the field of migration with empirical migration research.

Migration research has been a robust field of activity for various researchers concerned with the broad physical, psychological socio-cultural and economic outcomes of migration. In most cases, investigations have taken the form of applied or action research designed to address the immediate pressing problems of the migrants and have been conducted without a concomittant theoretical base. Thus theory and empirical research have been treated primarily as independent and/or parallel fields of study. Such a fragmented approach does not allow for the expansion of scientific knowledge in the field of migration.

This situation establishes a need for more integrative migration research motivated by both the scientific quest of knowledge and problems experienced by the migrants. Such an approach forms the basic premise of the present study which seeks to develop an integrated theoretical and empirical body of scientific knowledge in the field of migration.

In view of the complexity and magnitude of Black migration in South Africa, the necessity of such an approach cannot be overstated; anything which falls short of such a comprehensive approach will loose sight of major dynamics involved in South African Black migration programmes.

To contextualise Black migration in South Africa within the broad

field of migration research, current studies on migration will be reviewed . The review will be presented in two major sections : The first section will focuss on studies dealing with voluntary migration and the second section will deal with empirical research and case studies on involuntary migration.

3.2. Empirical Studies Relating Voluntary Migration to Adjustment and psychological Problems

3.2.1. Overseas Studies

- (a) As early as 1969 Rodriquez investigated the effects of voluntary migration on a sample of one hundred and twenty Spanish and Italian voluntary immigrant children. Local Swiss children were used as a control group.

The researcher used intellectual measures and an open-ended questionnaire, completed by the teachers, to probe into the intellectual and behavioural aspects of each subject. The overall findings of this study indicated that ;

- psychosomatic disorders such as vomiting, anorexia and recurrent bronchitis were significantly higher among immigrant Spanish and Italian children than among local Swiss children.
- Spanish immigrant children were significantly more enuretic than control Swiss children.
- the mental structure of immigrant children (Spanish and Italian) was significantly less mature than that of control Swiss children.
- While seventy per cent of the Swiss children made normal progress at school, sixty three per cent of the immigrant (Spanish and Italian) children had learning difficulties. This was the case even though the various intelligent

quotients (quotients obtained on the basis of tests which measure the intellectual potential rather than acquired knowledge) followed a gaussian curve identical in both local and immigrant samples.

Although this study provides important information it had one methodological problem ; the control groups were not matched for environmental variables, particularly because different groups represented people of different national origins. It is possible that cultural, socio-economic and other variables could have confounded the results.

- (b) As a part of a study on the health of Portuguese immigrants in U.S.A., Roskies et al (1973), investigated the relationship between life changes and both physical and psychological illness.

A stratified sample of 303 adults between 20 - 60 years of age was drawn from an immigrant Portuguese population.

The degree of life change experienced by an individual migrant was measured by the 43 item Social Readjustment Rating Scale (S.R.R.S.) administered verbally and scored in the conventional manner to yield Life Change Unit (L.C.U.) values. Illness of the year preceding the interview was measured by means of the check list in the U.S. National Health Survey. The questionnaires were individually administered in the home of the subject by an interviewer.

The overall findings of this study indicated that 70% of the illnesses were accounted for by only 25% of the sample, while at the other extreme 25% reported no illness whatsoever. This distribution of illness had been shown to be characteristic of many other populations (Hinkle, 1974). Generally the sample showed that 32% of immigrants were low-risk, 39% moderate risk and 29% were in the high risk range. This suggested that

immigrants are not a high risk group for illness, but they constitute a high change group.

Further analysis of data indicated that immigrant women were more sickness prone than men, a finding consistent with many reports in literature of greater general symptomatology in females.

Thus, migrant women, unlike men, reacted to change per se as a significant stressor.

Like the previous study, the main methodological problem of this study was that environmental confounding variables were not adequately controlled in that it did not use a control group. This study was also very general in that it measured general health rather than specific psychological variables.

- (c) In the same year as the above study, Saran (1975) conducted a longitudinal study, focussing on patterns of social and psychobiological adaptation of 150 Indian immigrants residing in the New York metropolitan area.

An interview guide was used for gathering information on the immediate reactions of immigrants on arriving in America, their patterns of adaptation, and strategies they employed to cope with stress and strains related to migration.

The results of the investigation indicated that the consequences of migration were not significant in any fundamental way. The immigrants appeared to have achieved in some areas and experienced loss in other areas. Only a small percentage of Indian immigrants reported psychosomatic illness. Although tension and strain were experienced by a significantly large number of immigrants (79%), the degree of tension was not serious enough to cause them to seek professional help. A careful examination of the immigrants' life style and patterns of adaptation also suggested that there was a potential strain

and conflict in migration.

A methodological problem which might have confounded the results is that prelocation data on their adaptation pattern and coping strategies was not obtained. Secondly, the study was not controlled on extraneous environmental variables such as personality variables, socio-economic status, age etc.

- (d) In yet another study Nair (1978) investigated the adaptational patterns and migration stresses in 200 immigrants who were settled in Toronto. The immigrants were divided into two groups : 100 migrants of Asian origin and 100 immigrants of European origin. All the immigrants in the sample had spent less than two years in Toronto.

An interview schedule, based on responses from pilot study and author's personal experience in working with immigrants, was used. The researcher administered open-ended questionnaires personally. In each interview he probed into the immigrants migration experience, related stresses and adaptational problems.

The findings of this study indicated that migration was significantly more stressful for Asian immigrants. There were also significant differences in what each group perceived as a stressor; Asian immigrants found lack of social support networks and change in value systems highly stressful whereas for European immigrants material and socio-economic factors were more stressful. Significant differences were also observed in their stress-related illness patterns; Asian immigrants reported a significant number of psychosomatic illnesses as compared with European immigrants who were significantly more neurotically inclined.

The researcher concluded that perceived migration stressors and stress-related illness were to a great extent a function of the migrant's culture. However Nair's (*ibid*) study was also fraught with methodological problems in that he did not have a control group and important extraneous variables

such as nature of residence, social services and socio-economic status for each of the groups were not adequately controlled.

- (e) Another study was conducted by Schleifer et al (1979) among a group of 99 American immigrants in Israel.

These immigrants, representing 60 families, were contacted from lists provided by Israeli agencies working with American immigrants. Only immigrants who had spent less than three years in Israel were studied.

The subjects completed a modified version of the Social Readjustment Rating Questionnaire (S.R.R.S.), followed by a 230 item psychologically-oriented interview questionnaire derived from earlier studies of immigrants to Israel. The interview questionnaire contained questions concerning the subjects' pre- and post-migration psychological status, family and social relationships, cultural background and experiences in Israel. Standardised psychological instruments relating to specific nosological entities such as anxiety and depression were not included.

The findings of this study indicated that over 75% of the immigrants reported satisfaction with their jobs, community and/or social life. Only 9% reported a general sense of psychological ill-health in Israel; with the most commonly reported single symptom, anxiety, having been experienced often by only 20% of the sample.

The life event 'moving to a new country' was ranked as the 9th most stressful of the 46 events. It was thus considered to require a degree of adjustment similar to an event such as marriage and as much less stressful than events such as death of spouse and divorce.

Schleifer et al (ibid) concluded that for the present group of immigrants, migration did not appear to be a major life stress

and that this group of immigrants was relatively stable psychologically.

One problem evident in this study is that a scientific sampling procedure was not followed and environmental confounding variables such as age and socio-economic status were not controlled.

- (f) In a recent study, Cohen (1980) focussed on social and cultural influences on patterns of stress and illness among Central and South American immigrants.

The specific aim of this research was to measure levels of stress and to correlate stress with other sociocultural characteristics such as occupational levels, marital status and sex of the respondents.

A sample of 97 subjects, that is, 71 women and 26 men was drawn from two sources; individuals seeking health services from the community centre and the parents of children from two schools in Washington. The school parents were selected because they were assumed to be a more stable population than the community respondents.

The major data-gathering instrument was a three-part interview schedule with sets of items on sociocultural components, biomedical information and behavioural aspects. For the study of stress it included the 20 item Health Opinion Survey constructed for the analysis of psychiatric disorders and socio-cultural environment.

The results of this study showed that, on the whole, respondents in the community group were at a greater risk because they had lived in the United States for a shorter period than the school parents; more than four times as many respondents in the community sample as in the school parent group were rated

as high-stress levels. A finding of special interest among the higher-stress groups was that they were active users of medical resources for the resolution of somatic problems as well as for complaints identified as 'nerves'.

Cohen (ibid) concluded that established immigrants have lower levels of stress than those who have made a recent entry. Secondly, that illness behaviour and expression of symptoms of psychological distress in 'general health' items rather than in 'specialised mental health' items, by the community group was associated with their cultural tradition. Lastly, that the impact of migration needs to be understood within specific socio-cultural variables which contribute to the emergence of psychiatric disorder.

Although the results of this study are impressive, a few methodological problems are apparent. Firstly, the study used as its control group subjects who were also immigrants and the study was not adequately controlled for extraneous variables such as socio-economic status and other environmental conditions.

(g) Summary of other Research Studies

Tucker (1980) gave a brief summary of studies, undertaken during the last ten to fifteen years, which seek to relate migration to mental or psychological problems.

In a Midtown-Manhattan study, Srole et al 1971 divided the immigrant population into three groups : Those who came to the U.S.A. as children and were therefore not regarded as self-selected migrants, a transitional group who emigrated as young people in the company of their parents and lastly self-selected migrants who came over unaccompanied or in adult age.

No significant differences were found in the three groups in terms of their mental health. If selective factors were

decisive, group three should have had the highest morbidity and group one the lowest morbidity.

As to internal migration, Hinch (1972) found higher admission rates to mental hospitals for New York State migrants than for Native New Yorkers. The excess morbidity was particularly high for those who had lived in New York for less than five years.

Hegelson (1974) found a higher incidence of psychosis in non-migrants especially for men. Incidence of schizophrenia and epilepsy was particularly low among migrants to the U.S.A. while for manic-depressive psychosis no difference was found. Helgason felt that selection was the most likely explanation.

Lastly, Dalgard (1977) conducted an intensive study of mental illness and patterns of migration in Oslo. A representative sample of 1105 hospitalised patients with functional psychological and psychiatric disorders was compared with a control group matched for age, sex, occupation and marital status, as well as for residence in Oslo. Among males he found a slight excess morbidity in people born in Oslo, but only in the higher social class, whereas in the lower classes the pattern was reversed. In females marital state was found to be more decisive than socio-economic status; the highest morbidity was found in single non-migrants and in married migrants.

Tucker (1980) concluded that the relations of migration to mental morbidity varies from time to time, from country to country and from one population group to another. He further remarked that particularly interesting were population groups which moved from one place to another in their entirety without any possible selection (hundred percent migrants).

3.2.2. Local Studies

There are very few local studies on Black voluntary migration in South Africa. This is due to the fact that the South African Government's

policy has restricted voluntary movement of Blacks through Influx control laws and other related statutes. Secondly, prosecution of voluntary migrants and the very temporary nature of their status in informal settlements impedes migration research. According to Kok et al (1985), the concept of migration is very confusing and ambiguous in South Africa especially when applied to voluntary migration. For example artificial distinctions are needed between so-called legal and illegal migrants as well as between migratory labourers and permanent migrants. Further, the artificially low incidence of family migration hampers generalisations regarding the motivations for migration as well as the psychosocial outcomes of migration.

Kok (ibid) concluded that Black migration in South Africa is subject to numerous artificial constraints and causes which make it difficult to do analytic and exploratory research. So far there are no local empirical studies which have focussed on Black internal migration and its psychological correlates. Subsequently, two recent exploratory studies conducted on Black voluntary internal migration will be presented below :

- (a) The first empirical study into the migration histories of the Black populations of Port Elizabeth - KwaZakhele, New Brighton and Zwide - was conducted by Kok in 1985.

The main aim of this investigation was to study Black internal migration patterns and motives and to establish certain methodological approaches to the study of Black Migration.

A total number of 1,001 respondents were selected by means of a multi-phase, random sampling design. Of the 1,001 respondents, 99% were Xhosa, 0,7% were Zulu and the remainder (about 0.3%) were Swazi and Southern Sotho.

All the respondents were over the age of 14 years and were living in detached or semi-detached houses (including shacks).

Data was collected by means of structured interviews conducted at the respondents' home by trained local Black fieldworkers.

The main findings of this study indicated that :

- (i) The majority of male migrants (56%) gave employment considerations as their principal motive for migrating to Port Elizabeth (76% of whom indicated that they moved there in the hope of finding a job). Thirty-two percent of female migrants and 40% of all migrants named reasons of employment as a primary consideration for moving to the city. Thus the hope of finding a job in a city was a major motive for both male and female migrants. Kok (ibid) concluded that there was generally very little preparation for life in the city by Blacks migrating to Port Elizabeth, since less than 6% of migrants indicated that they had secured a job before migrating.
- (ii) The second most important reason for Black migration to Port Elizabeth was the fact that relatives or friends of migrants were already settled in the city. This could, to some extent explain the migrants' willingness to move to the city although they were generally unprepared for city life; many of them knew that their relatives and friends would help them materially in the initial stages while searching for a job, in confronting the problems of adjustment and in establishing new social connections and maintaining morale (Kok ibid).
- (iii) Education and training made up 9% of the reasons for migration while only 3% of the migrants indicated that they had migrated for reasons related to comfortable living.

Kok's (ibid) suggestion for future migration research was that a definite distinction should be made between the reasons why the respondent decided to leave the area of origin and why the particular destination was chosen. He stated that this should provide insight into the 'pushes' and 'pulls' that were involved at the time of migration.

Kok's (ibid) main conclusion was that more detailed research among Blacks is urgently needed in order to obtain a better perspective on the circumstances under which migration occurs.

Kok's (ibid) study yielded valuable information on Black migration from rural to urban area. However, it was not concerned with the psychological problems of migration : It was merely an exploratory study which can provide an empirical ground for more scientific and rigorously designed studies on Black migration.

- (b) A second study was conducted by Kok et al (1985) among Blacks living in the Pretoria - Witwatersrand - Vereeniging (P.W.V.) complex. According to Kok et al (ibid) all current studies have indicated that this area is the major urban migration destination in the country for the Black population group.

This study investigated the selectivity, spatial patterns and the reasons for Black migration to this area.

The statistical population for this study comprised all Blacks in the age category of 18 to 64, living in detached or semidetached houses (excluding shacks) within clearly identifiable, developed townships in the P.W.V. complex. Persons living in hostels* were also excluded.

The survey was conducted by the former P.W.V. panel of co-workers employed by the Human Science Research Council. Information was gathered by means of structured interviews at the respondents' home.

A multistage (complex) random sampling design was used to select households in the sample. Although an effort was made to ensure complete randomness, it eventually appeared

* Persons living in shacks and hostels were excluded owing to practical fieldwork considerations.

that the respondents in the sample were highly selective, showing a predominance of women, particularly those with small children, and a concomitant under-representation of males. In order to alleviate the problem of selectivity the sample was weighted according to the variables of sex, age, education and work status, to obtain a distribution similar to that found in the P.W.V. complex.

Among other things the findings indicated that the majority of reasons, mentioned by both sexes, for leaving the area of origin (37%) were related to family matters, that is, people migrated to the urban area to join other family members who were already there. The second most frequently cited reason was related to employment and general economic conditions at the area of origin (23%). Housing considerations comprised 11% of all reasons mentioned, followed by reasons related to education (8%).

An in-depth analysis of data revealed that only 6% of all migratory moves undertaken because of family considerations took place as a result of push factors. In the case of employment and general economic considerations as well as housing considerations, 80% of the reasons mentioned were related to push factors. While 60% of the reasons related to education were classified as 'pushes'. The implication here is that migration from rural to urban area was to a great extent caused by lack of employment opportunities, low income levels and inadequate housing facilities as well as to a lesser extent, by lack of educational opportunities in rural areas.

The overall findings of this study could be interpreted to mean that family disruption or disruption of primary social networks can be a serious psychosocial stressor which the voluntary migrants seek to alleviate through migration with the hope of re-establishing prior social networks. On the other hand the employment and economic problems tend to compel the Blacks to look for greener pastures somewhere else. Failure to resolve employment and economic problem in the new area can be very stressful and may

subsequently lead to psychological distress.

Like the previous study, this investigation was an exploratory study into the complex problem of Black migration in South Africa. It has provided useful information which can be used as an empirical base for more sophisticated scientific research on Black migration.

3.2.3. Summary

The review of the above studies has revealed several methodological problems, inconsistencies and research gaps in migration-related investigations.

- (i) Firstly, most have failed to use appropriate control groups and in most instances extraneous variables have not been controlled. Migration is a multifaceted process which can be influenced by many demographic, physical, economic, socio-cultural and psychological variables. Failure to control these variables can confound the results. There is still a need for more rigorously designed and controlled experimental investigation into the process of migration.
- (ii) Most studies have either investigated the demographic variables or the economic and socio-cultural correlates of migration. Psychological correlates of migration are broadly investigated as part of the general health problem; there has been little focus on specific psychological entities per se. Psychological processes form an important part of any phenomenon and they should not be ignored in any holistic study of an event. Secondly, although they are part of the general health, they should also be treated as separate processes which can yield specific information on mental health or psychological outcomes of migration.
- (iii) Almost all the studies do not have a sound theoretical base as their point of reference. They tend to be superficial and lack integration of theory and research. Subsequently, important dynamics and processes involved in migration are not highlighted.

- (iv) In as far as the relationship between migration and psychological status of the migrant is concerned, findings are still inconsistent and inconclusive. For example, studies by Saran (1975) and Schleifer et al (1979) have indicated that voluntary migrants maintain relatively good mental health and tend to be relatively well-adjusted. Hegalson (1974) has even reported a higher incidence of mental illness among non-migrants. On the other hand Nair (1978) found that migration was very stressful and that migrants were generally a high-risk group for illness. So far, the relationship between voluntary migration, stress and psychological status is still not clear.
- (v) In one comparative study (Nair, 1978) differences were noted in two cultural groups (Asian and Europeans) in terms of their stress perception. The Asians perceived migration as more stressful; they generally found lack of social supports and change in value systems particularly stressful. It seems quite possible that South African Blacks, because of their strong affiliation needs, investments in extended family system and traditional values might find lack of social support and changes in values stressful.
- (vi) In most overseas studies the voluntary migrants have strong support systems from host societies and host institutions. In two local studies, on Black migration, there were no indications of social supports other than from close family members and friends. Since urbanisation tends to fragment families and disrupt close primary relationships, heavy reliance on family and friends for support is a short-term measure; it can leave the migrant insecure, without permanent support and vulnerable to migration-related stresses.
- (vii) For most overseas studies, voluntary migration is in terms of pull factors, that is, people tend to move because they are attracted by better opportunities elsewhere. However in South Africa, Blacks migrate because of lack of employment

opportunities and inadequate facilities in their land of origin. It has not yet been established if push and pull factors will lead to different migration outcomes or experiences.

- (viii) All but one study (Rodrigues, 1969) have used adult samples only. The study which used children samples as well was conducted 18 years ago. Although this study was a good effort, it had one serious limitation; it was based on data obtained from teachers' descriptions of children. Such data represents the biased adult perceptions of children and does not reflect the actual experiences of children. More research needs to be focussed on migrant children to capture their perceptual and experiential world which remains untapped.

3.3. Studies Relating Involuntary Migration to Adjustment and Psychological Problems

3.3.1. Introduction

This section presents current, overseas and local studies on involuntary migrants, that is, migrants who have had to move from one country to another or from one area to another in the same country.

3.3.2. Overseas Empirical Studies

- (a) An important empirical study which sought to relate involuntary migration to adjustment and psychological problems was conducted by Ammende (1973) on Vietnamese involuntary migrants who had fled from their war-torn country to seek a refugee status in the U.S.A.

Using records of psychological interviews, case histories and socio-psychological observations Ammende (*ibid*) obtained information on the general psychological status, perception

of present and previous environment and general migration experiences from 300 Vietnamese involuntary migrants.

The results of the investigation indicated :

- excessive clinging to values and memories of the homeland
- lack of inner relationship to the actual environment
- aggression, expressed in restlessness and projections of hate onto persons and objects distorted as negative illusions.

However, this study had several methodological pitfalls related to the absence of experimental control group, inadequate sampling methods and other confounding variables such as socio-economic status, educational level of migrants etc.

- (b) Perceiving the need to investigate and document the mental status of Vietnamese refugees, who had fled from their war-ravaged country, the University of Washington, Department of Psychiatry and Behavioural Sciences (1973), set up a research unit known as 'Project Pioneer'. The project was designed from its inception to be a longitudinal study of 152 Vietnamese involuntary migrants who had been resettled in the U.S.A. for about four years.

The study was divided into two phases : Phase I and Phase II. In Phase I subjects were recruited non-selectively from sponsoring agencies in the community as well as from state-sponsored agencies. Questionnaires were administered by the research team to the clients during the course of basic hygiene and medical knowledge classes with the help of Vietnamese interpreters.

Phase II involved home visits by the same research team as in Phase I and administration of the same questions as in Phase I.

Due to the voluntary nature of participation and the high mobility of the refugees in the first year of resettlement, the samples were not entirely selected at random. However the

characteristics of subjects were very similar to each other for both phases.

The instruments used included the Cornell Medical Index - a widely used health questionnaire totalling 195 questions on Physiological and psychological symptomatology - the Social Readjustment Rating Scale (S.R.R.S.), the Schedule of Recent Experience (S.R.E.) and a questionnaire on health and social history especially designed for the study.

The findings of the study indicated

- a significantly high correlation between CMI - SRRS and CMI - SRE scores, suggesting that physical and psychological symptomatology of the Vietnamese immigrants was related to the stressful events involved in the migration process.
- that CMI scores remained essentially the same for both phases. This suggested that a 'gestation period' of more than two years occurred before significant physical and psychological changes could be observed in Vietnamese immigrants.
- the profile of CMI scores during the two phases also indicated that Vietnamese immigrants varied in their styles of adaptation to a new environment and that those responding with high symptomatology tended to maintain it over a long period of time.
- the profile scores of the CMI, after a period of four years indicated specific psychological differences in anxiety, frustration and aggression during and after Phase I and Phase II. This was interpreted to mean that when immigrants entered the host society anxiety symptoms prevailed. Two years later immigrants became more or less settled and less anxious. However feelings of frustration, anger and aggression escalated. The researchers concluded that it took more than a year for Vietnamese immigrants to experience 'psychological arrival' and the full impact of the situation.

Although this study yielded impressive results, it had serious methodological problems in that prelocation data was not used and the sample was not properly randomised.

- (c) In yet another study of involuntary migration Fried (1974) carried out an empirical investigation on 566 involuntary relocated West-End slum dwellers in Boston, U.S.A.

The subjects were interviewed before actual relocation. The results were grouped into five categories reflecting current commitment to the area, that is 'accessibility and financial', 'interpersonal', 'interpersonal and places', 'places', 'nothing'.

Post relocation interviews indicated that subjects who had expressed commitment to people, places or both, showed more grief than those who had valued the neighbourhood for its accessibility, financial aspect or those who had expressed no commitment at all.

Fried (*ibid*) also found that among 250 women respondents, 26 per cent reported that they still felt sad or depressed two years after the move; and another 20 per cent reported a long period (six months to two years) of sadness and depression. Altogether, therefore, 46 per cent gave evidence of a fairly severe grief reaction. The data showed only a slightly smaller percentage of the men (36 per cent of 316) with long term grief reactions. Generally, grief reaction became manifest in the feelings of painful loss, the continual longing, frequent symptoms of psychological or somatic distress, the sense of helplessness, the expression of direct and displaced anger, tendency to idealise the lost place and the general depressive tone. The true proportion of depressive reaction was undoubtedly higher since many women and men who reported no feeling of sadness or depression indicated clearly depressive responses to other questions.

One major criticism may be levelled at this study; that it was not controlled for extraneous environmental and personality variables which could have confounded the reports of psychological distress.

- (d) In a recent study, Stokolos and Schumaker (1982) investigated the broad psychological context of residential relocation and well-being. Their study was based on the assumption that the health effects of relocation depend not only on the immediate circumstances surrounding a move, but also on how strongly the individual becomes attached to the current residential situation. The necessary condition for becoming attached being the belief that one's important goals and activities are accommodated by the new post-relocation environment.

To investigate the above variables Stokolos and Shumaker (ibid) conducted a longitudinal survey of 242 employed relocated male and female adults in the U.S.A. During the initial phase of the study, respondents completed an inventory of personal mobility history, current environmental quality and future residential plans. The initial questionnaire also included multivariate measures of residential and job congruence, residence choice, assessments of current residence, length of residence and access to other residential options. Three months later, a panel of 121 respondents completed a follow-up survey of emotional and physical well-being. The relationship between Phase I measures of environmental experience and Phase II indices of health were assessed through a series of multi-factor analyses of covariates in these analyses. Circumstances promotive of relocation were examined through a discriminant analysis comparing respondents who changed residence between the first and second phases of the survey with those who did not relocate during that period.

The major findings from the analysis indicated that :

- respondents reporting low levels of congruence within the residential setting at Phase I described themselves as being in poorer spirits and reported larger number of visits to physicians for medical problems, than those characterised by higher levels of residential congruence.
- among longterm residents those reporting low levels of residential choice at Phase I experienced a larger number of illness incidents at Phase II than those reporting higher levels of residential choice.

The interaction between length of residence and residential congruence was marginally significant, with long-term, low-congruence residents reporting more illness incidents than long-term high, congruence respondents.

- respondents who rated their current residence less favourably than the preceding one reported a greater number of illness incidents and rated their overall health more negatively, than those who evaluated their current residence more favourably.
- among respondents who rated their current residence less favourably, those reporting access to attractive residential options described themselves as being in better spirits and more 'energetic' than respondents lacking attractive alternatives.

The researchers concluded their study by stating that the impact of forced moves is not necessarily negative. Rather, the consequences of moving depend on how well the new location compares with previously experienced environment in meeting important personal needs.

Thus unlike earlier studies on forced relocation, this study suggests that in some instances the effects of relocation can be positive. This study supports the argument that to understand the effect of relocation on personal well-being,

- (v) In most studies social support services are available to involuntary migrants to help them adjust to host societies. In South Africa, Blacks are relocated to depressed environments where local people themselves are without support systems or resources to help migrants. Institutional and other social supports are minimal. In the absence of established social support systems, it can be predicted that Black involuntary migrants will find migration more stressful than their overseas counterparts.
- (vi) As in the case of voluntary migration, childrens' experiences have been ignored. Although there are strong indications that children form part of the migrating population, very little has been done to research and document their stress-perception and subjective psychological experiences. In South African Black migration programmes, children form an important group of migrants and they cannot be ignored.
- (vii) An overall evaluation of the psychological effects of involuntary migration, as reflected in the above studies, indicates that involuntary migration is often accompanied by negative affects such as feelings of anxiety, insecurity, anger, and helplessness. A study by Fried (1974) highlights the grief reactions (anger, despair, withdrawal) associated with involuntary migration. In view of the magnitude and calamity of losses associated with involuntary migration amongst Blacks in South Africa, it seems likely that grief and other negative feelings will be experienced very intensely by South African Black involuntary migrants.

3.3.4. Case Studies

Some of the overseas and local studies on involuntary migration have taken the form of descriptive case studies, highlighting the unique subjective experiences of migrants which cannot be tapped by rigorously designed scientific experiments. Such studies are presented in the section that follows.

3.3.4.1. Overseas Case Studies

This section sets out to describe, in a summary form, the resettlement experiences of four native communities in South America, Mexico and in the South Pacific Islands. These communities have a great deal in common, especially in conditions and circumstances of their migration. Firstly, they were relocated so that their ancestral land could be explored and developed to benefit a larger, more dominant population. Secondly, they were native, indigenous groups whose cultural orientation and life-style was different from those responsible for their resettlement. Thirdly, none of the communities volunteered to resettle and finally each of the communities is reported to have experienced problems as a result of the resettlement. More importantly, recent studies on some of these communities has shown that their problems and related outcomes of earlier experiences have continued up to the present.

Descriptive data was obtained from a number of sources, most of which were first hand accounts by migrants, sociologists, community and mental health workers. Other secondary sources of data were unpublished manuscripts, personal letters and observers who witnessed events surrounding the resettlement process.

In all cases open-ended interviews, conducted by trained community and mental health workers were used to collect data. Extreme efforts were taken to establish the authenticity of accounts including checking and rechecking information with different sources. All data obtained was subjected to qualitative analysis. Each of the four communities will be described separately in the section below.

(a) The Kreen-Akrore Community

A programme was initiated in Brazil to relocate the indigenous Kreen-Akrore community from their ancestral land to several federal reserves.

Despite protests and resistance, 600 Kreen-Akrores were resettled. Open-ended interviews with all family heads indicated :

The fact that many Mazatecs experienced serious depressive episodes suggested that a sense of futility had set in while they were attempting to survive and adapt. The need to search for and identify new coping skills seemed useless to those who had succumbed to a depressive state (Barabas and Bartolome, 1973).

The researchers further found that 68% of the Mazatec's people suffered from a severe grief reaction related to the loss of their ancestral land, and that their creative adaptation was threatened by the tendency to relive and idealise their pre-location life experiences.

Barabas and Bartolome (ibid) concluded that many Mazatecs felt helpless in the face of life over which they had no control. The loss of land, abrupt change of life style, feelings of alienation and uncertainty, all contributed to the psychogenic death of the Mazatec people (Barabas and Bartolome, ibid).

(c) The Native People of Chemahawin

Approximately 400 Cree Indians who lived at Chemahawin were moved to make way for the construction of a dam. Despite protests and efforts to reverse the decision, they were resettled in a new location.

Prior to resettlement Cree Indians had a high level of internal social organisation and their relative isolation prevented major forms of conflict and social deviancy. The relocation brought Cree Indians closer to the outside world. It also provided them with an easy access to alcohol. Significant increases were subsequently found in alcohol related illnesses (33%), juvenile delinquency (55%) marital problems (29%) unemployment (37%) (Matthiasson, 1976).

Matthiasson (ibid) further analysed the process of the tribe's adaptation and observed that the initial period was characterised by a period of depression followed by a phase of aggression expressed by restlessness and hostility towards the authorities.

Matthiasson (ibid) observed severe grief reaction in 69% of the Cree Indians. They appeared to be torn between the contradictory impulses, each reacting against the acute anxiety and helplessness of loss.

The researcher came to a conclusion that the entire tribe was plunged into a state of inertia and they seemed to be drifting in the void. On the whole the psychological effect of relocation tended to feed on itself and the future of the Cree Indians remained uncertain and bleak for years thereafter.

(d) The Bikinians

The fourth and final case study is that of 780 one-time residents of the Bikini Atoll. This community was relocated when their ancestral land was selected as the United States first postwar nuclear test site.

For this group uprooting was abrupt and dramatic. Kiste (1974), found that for 68% of the Bikinians, relocation had generated feelings of powerlessness and helplessness. 55% Of the Bikinians engaged in self-destructive coping styles such as the excessive use of alcohol by adult and delinquent behaviour by children. Kiste (ibid) also found that a significant number of Bikinians (59%) reported a large number of stress-related and psychosomatic illnesses.

Kiste (ibid) also noted an obsessive attachment in Bikinians, to their indigenous land. After 15 years they were still struggling to return to the original land; they had a burning desire to have their ancestral land restored. Although officials had indicated that a return to the indigenous land was

impossible because of radiological contamination a significant number (59%) of Bikinians returned to Bikini Island (Kiste, ibid).

Kiste (ibid) concluded that for those who remained in their resettled land, life is a continuous struggle. They have been left in a perpetual state of instability and stress. They are still uncertain about their future. In an anxious and fearful atmosphere created by past deprivation they are seeking security in a state of permanent helplessness and dependency.

3.3.4.2. Local Case Studies

3.3.4.2.1. Introduction

There is a growing need for qualitative psychological data on Black migration in South Africa. According to Nash (1980) the physical benefits and disbenefits of migration are obvious and any sociological study can reveal certain measurable effects in, for example physical illness and morality rates. But "what do we know of the effects in mental illness and social pathology arising from forced removal and resettlement?" p.73.

The current local studies which will be presented below have taken the form of case studies from which psychological dynamics can be inferred. Case studies, though dramatic, are useful in that they can allow the researcher to probe beneath the surface drama, to analyse the stresses of involuntary migration as well as the short and long-term impact of migration.

Most of the studies on Black migration (that is, Black relocation programmes) have been conducted by the Surplus People Project (S.P.P.) established in 1980 to initiate and co-ordinate research projects on Black relocation programmes in South Africa.

In all, the Surplus People Project has conducted 26 case studies on relocated communities, 5 in Natal, 11 in the Eastern Cape, 3 in the Western Cape, 3 in the Transvaal and 1 case study in Lebowa, kwa-Ngwane, kwa-Ndebele and Boputhatshwane.

In view of the scope of removals, involving millions of Blacks, these case surveys are just a tip of the iceberg and are not representative of the actual numbers of people and areas affected by relocations.

For the purpose of this study, four detailed case surveys conducted in Natal will be presented. The experiential data from these case studies represent the experiences of a large number of resettled communities in Natal.

3.3.4.2.2. The Surplus People Project Survey

(a) Methodology

Apparatus

The following questionnaires were used to collect information:

- (i) Relocation areas
 - Background questionnaire
 - Household questionnaire
- (ii) Areas under threat of relocation
 - Background questionnaire
 - Household questionnaire

Procedure

Questionnaires were designed out of the general discussion at S.P.P. seminars, supplemented by drafts made by individual members of the S.P.P. on the basis of discussions. Both background and household questionnaires focussed on general areas, such as grazing rights in previous residence, forced stock sales, compensation received, as well as on specific areas of interest, such as attitude of relocatees towards past and present residence, nature of relationships with farmers, infant mortality etc.

Household questionnaires were designed to collect information from about 100 randomly selected households in each of the

various areas selected for more in-depth study. The average time for one field interview was about 45 minutes.

Completed household questionnaires were processed by the computer and interpreted by S.P.P. groups. On the basis of this information five detailed case-studies, in the Natal area, were compiled.

3.3.4.2.3. Case Studies

The following communities were subjected to in-depth case study analysis :

(a) Sahlumbe Settlement

Introduction

According to the survey conducted by Surplus People Project (1980) residents of Sahlumbe originally occupied a White farm at Weenen. They were a fairly stable agricultural rural community. Of all the respondents interviewed, 32% were evicted. They subsequently settled at Sahlumbe because they had nowhere to go. The rest, 64% were forcibly removed and resettled at Sahlumbe.

At the time of relocation Sahlumbe was a rudimentary settlement without a grid plan. It consisted of rows of small tents (one for each family) and there were no basic facilities such as toilets, schools or clinics.

Social Factors

At Sahlumbe the dominant type of household was a nuclear family. At the time of the survey, 44% of the households were nuclear, 36% extended, 13% compound, and 2% not connected by marriage. The forced sale of cattle contributed to nuclearisation of family; most households tried to minimise their stock losses by using their cattle to pay labola for their sons. This resulted in mass marriages and young couples setting up their own households.

Of the people interviewed, 80% felt that living conditions were very bad and saw no improvement and only 12% reported some improvement. With regard to education, about 40% of the child population was not attending school because of inadequate facilities and loss of income by parents.

Economic Conditions

Sahlumbe had a very high number of people who were not economically active; out of 975 people in the sample, 734 (75%) were not economically active. Out of the total workforce of 212 people, 185 were migrant labourers. Women and children were often employed as togt labourers in the nearby fields of the White farmer.

Attitude and Problems

Attitudes towards Sahlumbe were almost totally negative. Lack of land was the frequent complaint (45%). The strength of this attachment to agricultural activity helped to explain why most of those interviewed perceived their former lives as labour tenants to have been much better than what they were experiencing at Sahlumbe. The overall impression on conditions and attitudes towards Sahlumbe were bleak and depressing. Unemployment, a low protein diet and uncertainty seemed to have taken toll to the vigour of the community. There was general apathy reflected in less movement, less noise, fewer signs of recent activity, such that people seemed drugged (Surplus People Project, ibid).

Only 5% of the people interviewed had any constructive ideas about how they could solve their problems. When asked about who could solve their problems, they were forthcoming - the "local chiefs" and the "government". The implication of the latter response was frequently that since 'they' had put us here, 'they' should do something about our problems.

(b) Compensation Settlement

Introduction

All families at Compensation in 1980 came from a 'black spot' known as the Swamp. The bulk of residents were tenants who paid an annual rent of \pm R12 to the landlord. The tenants were in turn allocated land for ploughing and grazing their stock. The agricultural activities provided basic food for home consumption and also served to supplement the household income.

On relocation, families lost their land and stock. The new relocation area, Compensation consisted of small tents and fletchercraft perched on very small plots. Basic facilities such as schools, clinics and shops were either not provided or grossly inadequate.

Social Factors

The available information on Compensation supports the hypothesis that removals encourage the nuclearisation of families. At Compensation 64% of the households surveyed were nuclear while 27.5% were extended. According to the Surplus People Project, (ibid) loss of land and stock as a result of the removal ~~helped to undermine~~ the authority and importance of the extended patriarchal family, while the small size of the sites at the relocation area encouraged junior married members of the former extended households to establish themselves as separate units on their own small plots.

With regard to education 19% of the population of school-going age (7 and over) had no formal education, a further 40% had lower primary schooling only, barely enough to make those who complete this stage of schooling functionally literate. Only 2% of the community had a senior high school or higher education. The prospects for the people of Compensation to overcome their educational handicaps in the near future were very limited since educational facilities at Compensation were inadequate (Surplus People Project, ibid).

Economic Factors

At the Swamp, 60% of all those in employment worked within a 25 Km radius. This relatively high degree of local employment had important repercussions on the well being of the community since it increased the likelihood of wages being remitted to the families dependent on them and reinforced family structures and support networks. Generally local employment provided a strong sense of security to Swamp residents (Surplus People Project, ibid).

As a result of removal to Compensation - and subsequent loss of land and stock - there had been a shift to greater participation in the wage sector. However the rate of unemployment⁺ (20%) as well as the level of economically inactive people of working age was rather high. The level of migrancy in the community showed a marked increase and was comparable with the figure of 56% supplied by the Buthelezi Commission as the percentage of KwaZulu workforce in migrant labour.

Attitudes and Problems

According to the Surplus People Project report (1982) residents willingly offered a formidable list of complaints and problems but did not see themselves as capable of solving them. A universal complaint was lack of land (78%). Other complaints were overcrowding which created numerous tensions. Residents replies to questions about their problems were interspersed with such comments as "we are starving here" "we are too ill".

When asked about what they intended to do about their problems, most residents answered along the lines "nothing" or "I feel helpless" or "I feel so confused". Most of the residents felt

⁺ At the time when this survey was conducted (1980) the economy of the country was fairly prosperous and the rate of inflation and unemployment was generally very low.

that the government had to solve their problem - "they put us here, so they are responsible".

Removal seemed to have robbed Compensation residents of initiative and hope. The impression which interviewers got was of an apathetic and depressed community. In a report one interviewer commented :

'The people themselves are so depressed that they have lost touch with all the world around them. These people have difficulties in even naming their own kids by name They don't even know to whom they are responsible. They are chased from Bulwer to Mpendle magistrate if they have problems..... They really feel unattached, sort of hanging They have given up hope of helping themselves completely. They are about to be professional beggars. They fight even for the degree of poverty - no one wants to be seen as better off than the other.' (Surplus People Project Report, 1980, p.380).

(c) Zakheni Settlement

Introduction

Ezakheni settlement consisted of residents moved from Volundondo area, (which was in itself a relocation settlement of people moved from a 'black spot' area) Roosboom, Rietkuil and Crieman 'black spot' areas. For most families removal to Ezakheni was coerced. In all these areas daily activities had centered around agriculture.

On relocation all residents lost their land. Ezakheni consisted of a few four-roomed houses and small plots of land with tents. Like in other resettlements, basic facilities were inadequate.

Social Factors

According to the survey, households were divided fairly equally between nuclear family on the one hand (43%) and extended family households on the other hand (39%). The rest of the households were compound families. It seemed that Ezakheni residents, despite pressures of small plots and single dwelling units, tried to hold on to more traditional, non-nuclear types of households.

Residents from Roosboom chose to go to site and service section because they wanted to remain together, as a community, rather than be absorbed into larger and more anonymous formal housing. At the time of the survey adaptation to township life was painful and had a profoundly dislocating experience. Almost all the residents felt there had been no improvement in conditions at Zakheni since they had moved there. Many viewed their former life with deep nostalgia.

The level of education and educational facilities were inadequate but slightly better than other relocated areas.

Economic Factors

There were several striking and inter-related features about the economic activity at Ezakheni township, which set it apart from other rural relocation areas. Firstly, the level of participation in the formal wage sector was relatively high. The economically active group amounted to 37% compared with only 25% at Sahlumbe and 24% at Compensation. Lastly, there was a marked preponderance of commuter over migrant workers. However according to the report the economic advantages which residents of Ezakheni experienced were 'advantages' only by comparison with devastating disadvantages of other relocated areas. The political and social disadvantages suffered by Ezakheni residents as a result of forced relocations

and their perceptions of them did not differ substantially from those experienced by other resettled residents.

Attitudes and Problems

The most commonly cited problems centred on the high cost of living, lack of agriculture, overcrowding and inadequate housing. The other major problems were related to violence, problems caused by beer halls and alcohol as well as the high unemployment rate. In her report one fieldworker remarked that ".....problems are numerous, ranging from people being too old to start a new life to the present stress of the high cost of living which presses this community further down into misery and poverty" (Surplus People Project Report, (1980 p. 339).

Generally the residents felt their way of life had been destroyed and the new situation into which they had been thrust was perceived with extreme distrust and negativism.

About two thirds of those interviewed either felt that there was nothing they could do themselves to change things or did not know what they could do. They also expressed identity problems in comments like "I do not know to whom I belong". One resident responded more forcefully and remarked that "who could help because we are here by force and all we said was not considered by the G G (Government) who could help? I don't see any person, unless he is involved in trouble"(p.339)

In the absence of concrete action many respondents spoke wishfully of what they would like to see happen.

However the bus boycott in 1979, in which some residents from Roosboom played a leading role had indicated a potential for new forms of organisation amongst the displaced people of Zakheni, in response to the pressures they experienced; for such organisation to endure, however, it had to content with powerful negative forces of alienation and a sense of impotence

in the face of insurmountable problems caused by their relocation (Surplus People Project Report, 1982).

(d) Mzimhlophe Settlement

Introduction

Mzimhlophe was established primarily to resettle ex-labour tenants from White farms; 81% of the households interviewed by the Surplus People Project, reported that they were evicted by their farm landlords. The remaining 19% of the households chose to move to Mzimhlophe without direct coercion of eviction or removal. Unfortunately their motivation to do so was not probed in the survey.

The relocatees at Mzimhlophe did not reveal as high a level of residential stability at their previous place as in other rural areas surveyed by the Surplus People Project. Over half the households interviewed had lived at the previous farm for less than ten years, while only six had been there for many generations. This suggested that a number of households had been evicted or had had to move at least once already before their final relocation at Mzimhlophe.

The only 'real' advantage which accrued to these farm evicted families was access to land. Subsistence agriculture played a central part in their lives and the loss of their land has been one of the most resented and painful aspects of their resettlement.

Relocation to Mzimhlophe followed the same trend as other relocated areas surveyed. The name Mzimhlophe derives from the shiny tin huts into which farm evicted families were relocated. One of the most striking features of the area is its isolation and tough climate; it is in the mist belt and because of the altitude (1200 and 1500 metres above sea level) and exposed nature of the land, summers are cool and often misty whereas winters are bitterly cold.

Social Factors

The average size of the 97 households surveyed was 7.2. The majority of households (64%) were nuclear, 31% were extended families and a further 5% were compound or extended - compound families. It would appear that, like other relocated areas, most of Mzimhlophe families underwent structural changes which necessitated further adjustments.

Educational facilities were very inadequate. At the time of the survey two 'rickety' fletchcraft huts acted as a classroom for a kindergaten school. Fifty children in sub-standards A and B were being taught by a single teacher in a tin building that had no floor, ceiling, proper windows, desks or chairs. The general low level of functional literacy among adults was a major handicap for organised activities in the community.

Economic Factors

As in other relocated areas, at Mzimhlophe there was a significant number of adults of working age who were not directly involved in the formal wage economy and who appear to have given up the idea of even looking for a job.

Of the total number of workers 63% were migrants distributed all over Natal. Because of scarce local resources residents were in a constant state of tension. A good example was a dispute which threatened to erupt into violence when Mzimhlophe and the nearby resettled township (Ntingwe) competed for limited employment opportunities in a nearby plantation.

Attitudes and Organisation

For the majority of households at Mzimhlophe, the biggest and most onerous readjustment they had had to make has been to the loss of land and livestock.

Overall the respondents had a pessimistic view about the future and chances of help coming from higher authorities.

The officialdom was perceived locally as an anonymous, remote and unaccountable force. The perception that they had been forgotten was very strong. The respondents responses varied from "I don't think anyone cares about us" to wanting or demanding help from the government without really expecting it - "We expect the government to help us. This government has brought shame to Blacks and does not care". "I cannot do anything but wait for the government to keep its promise - promises which are never honoured" (Surplus People Project Report, 1982).

Generally the responses conveyed doubt, anger, deep dependency and despondency which at times formed the vicious circle.

The threat of detention inhibited leaders from involving themselves in organised community activities. The only organisations of note in the community were the Zionist church groups which attempted to deal with the most pressing problems of the community - land, unemployment and starvation. This had a demoralising effect on the organisation since both its members and the community questioned its value and relevance since most of the problems at the time were beyond its control. One member aptly described the hopelessness of the situation in his comment that "We are here because we are powerless, helpless and controlled. The government controls, decides and plans our life and future. It is useless to do anything until we get back our rights to shape our own lives" (Surplus People Project Report, 1982).

(e) Limehill Settlement

Introduction

Limehill case study is different from the other surveys in that it is a study of long-term effects of resettlement on the resettled community. It was conducted ten years after initial resettlement by Desmond (1978).

Survey

The study was undertaken in collaboration with the Developmental Studies Research Group, University of Natal, who were responsible for drawing up the questionnaires. A full-time interviewer, who had considerable experience in similar field research, spent five weeks at Limehill interviewing representatives of 101 households. Households were selected at the discretion of the interviewer. The number of households covered by the survey represented approximately one-third of all those moved to Limehill in 1968/69 ; those who had been resettled more recently were excluded.

The findings of this study are presented below :

Facilities

Facilities at Limehill were still rudimentary. For example there was one water tap to every 35 families. Schools were grossly overcrowded and the majority of houses, made of mud and thatch, were delapidated.

Arrivals and Departures

About 11% of the children who were aged 5 years or less at the time of the removal were dead.

More than 20% of the children born at Limehill had not survived to the date of the survey.

Some young people had gone, either as individuals or as family units to settle somewhere - presumably illegally; others had simply 'disappeared'.

In addition, the birthrate had dropped and the rate of population growth was about half the average rate among Africans.

The most obvious conclusion was that the resettlement of people at Limehill had drastically curbed the natural increase of population.

Employment

Unemployment rates were found to be very high even by contemporary South African standards. The unemployment was at its highest among those who had reached an age for entering the labour market, that is, 15 - 24 age group.

According to this study, there never has, and there is not, any intention on the part of the government to provide employment opportunities in or near Limehill.

Problems Experienced and Their Possible Solutions

The most frequently mentioned problem was the absence of job opportunities (45 times), 'hunger' and 'poverty' (44 times).

Other problems mentioned were :

Moral problems (delinquency, broken marriages, etc.)	19
Absence of doctors	7
Unsatisfactory facilities	8

Eighty-three of those interviewed either did not know what action to take in solving these problems or did not think that they would be solved. Some added that they thought conditions could only become worse.

Opinion of Life at Limehill

A vast majority described Limehill as a 'place of suffering', 'a land of sorrows', a 'half-prison'. Other descriptive remarks were "Life at Limehill is half Egypt for us", "Limehill is the land of the outcast and we feel it".

A significant number of respondents described life at Limehill as "breaking us down", "destroying people". They considered this to be deliberately done by the government to make them

suffer or die, eg. "Life at Limehill is bad and everybody knows that it was meant for that - that we should suffer".

In the light of the above statements, it was not surprising that 84 respondents said that they would prefer to return to their former place of residence if given the opportunity, 14 said they would not; 2 questionnaires were incomplete. However the breakdown of answers to the previous questions showed that there were not 14 people who were enjoying life at Limehill. There must, therefore, be other reasons for their not wanting to leave. As one such respondent explained that he 'had no hope that to go back would help him now and that the only thing he wanted was to die and not try anything, because whatever a Black man is saying will become a source of death'. (Desmond, 1978 p.17)

Virtually all the reasons for wanting to return to their former residences were related to the fact that they had land and cattle in those places, were 'happier', 'more prosperous', 'lived more like people'.

There was a general feeling of hopelessness, helplessness and despair among most of the Limehill residents.

In conclusion, Desmond (*ibid*) remarked that in evaluating the findings of this study it should be borne in mind that Limehill residents came from well-established stable communities and were relatively prosperous when compared, for example, to many other relocated people, especially from White farms. This probably accounted for their strong surviving power.

3.3.4.2.4. Summary

The overseas and local case studies, reviewed above have given a broad insight into the perceptions and inner experiences of the involuntary migrants.

The limitations of these case studies as well as certain processes involved in involuntary migration will be highlighted below.

- (i) As the case was in most empirical studies, case studies have tended to focuss on the demographic and socio-economic factors often associated with involuntary migration. This was particularly the case with local case studies which have tended to highlight the concrete, measurable and overt outcomes of involuntary migration. The deep-seated, covert, psychological processes have been ignored. Psychological experiences of involuntary migrants are of great importance, particularly in South Africa, where millions of people are displaced and expression of their feelings inhibited by intimidation.

- (ii) In both overseas and local case studies involuntary migration has proved to be a very stressful experience, associated with feelings of grief, despair, anger, helplessness and loss of control. These feelings may lead to serious negative consequences for rehabilitation or self-help programmes designed to enhance the development of the resettled communities.

 There is therefore a strong need for empirical confirmation of the above feelings. The availability of reliable psychometric instruments makes it possible to tap these feelings and obtain baseline information on the affective functioning of the migrants.

- (iii) In both overseas and local studies no attention has been given at all to the experiences of the children. There is scant data obtained from parents on the behaviour of children. This data tends to evaluate childrens' behaviour in terms of deviation from parental expectations and normative standards. Children are subsequently misunderstood and labelled as delinquents.

- (iv) Only one longitudinal study (Desmond, 1978) has been done so far. This study gives a strong indication that after a resettlement period of 10 years, most involuntary migrants at Limehill still experienced stress related to their migration and still showed signs of being psychologically disturbed. This study highlights the long-term psychological outcomes of involuntary migration and the need for scientific baseline studies which

can be used as a follow-up on the psychological problems of the involuntary migrants.

- (v) In both overseas and local studies no adequate social support systems were made available to the involuntary migrants. The unique characteristics of South African Blacks involuntary migrants, that is high rate of illiteracy and oppressive living conditions for example, is likely to make it impossible for them to function adequately without adequate social support systems to help them adjust to new environments.

3.3.4.2.5. Overall Summary

The overall summary of literature reviewing overseas and local studies as well as empirical and case studies on voluntary and involuntary migration is presented below :

- (i) Almost all migration - related research, so far reviewed, has taken the form of action or applied research designed to address the immediate problems of migrants. Such research is therefore not grounded on established theoretical framework. This approach has tended to fragment scientific information and at times it has lead to macro findings which do not take into accpunt the dynamic nature of the process of migration. Such research, which is motivated by reasons other than scientific knowledge, fails to make contributions to existing theories or to enhance the scientific status of the phenomenon it seeks to investigate.

The present study hopes to overcome this limitation by exploring coherent theoretical frameworks, within which to integrate empirical data.

- (ii) Most of the studies reviewed here have methodological problems which could confound the research findings. In terms of the present study a scientific design was developed to enhance the scientific status of the investigation. However, it has to be pointed out that in this type of research, it is extremely difficult to plan a 'textbook' design study. However, advantage has

to be taken of whatever research opportunities are available in a particular field. In terms of the present study prevailing circumstances in South Africa, with regard to the government resettlement policy, have inadvertently provided an opportunity to undertake research which has relatively greater empirical rigor.

- (iii) The findings of overseas studies, on voluntary migration are still inconclusive; the interrelationships between migration, stress and psychological status of the migrant has not been clearly established. On the other hand this interrelationship has been consistently established in involuntary migration by various overseas empirical studies. However, involuntary migration has not been empirically investigated in South Africa. Involuntary migration in South Africa is unique in the sense that it is related to the government's oppressive policy of separate development and involves millions of disadvantaged Blacks who are illiterate, have no land rights and are not provided with any social support. Thus the nature and magnitude of involuntary migration in South Africa is not comparable to involuntary migration elsewhere. It is a unique phenomenon in its own right.

Secondly, no one study, locally and overseas, has examined migration in terms of the degree of migrants volition to move. The South African government resettlement policy, which brings together migrants with different degrees of volition to migrate, has provided this study with a unique opportunity to investigate the field of migration that has never been explored.

- (iv) Overseas research on migration has to a certain extent produced valuable research findings which can be applicable to South African Black migration in so far as there are similarities in migration experiences. However, there are also differences in South African Black migration caused by the South African government's unique resettlement policy and certain demographic variables. This necessitates an investigation to determine

whether overseas migration research findings will also hold in South African conditions.

- (v) Most of the studies have tended to focus on the demographic and socio-cultural correlates of migration. These demographic variables will tend to vary from one culture to another, one situation to another and from one country to another. Since in South Africa, the status of the Black is different from anywhere else in the world and the nature of migration is also different from most countries, we are presented with a unique situation and unique demographic characteristics which warrant a special investigation. Such a situation will be addressed by an investigation of the present study.
- (vi) There has been a tendency for most studies to ignore the psychological consequences of migration and to focuss on socio-economic and socio-cultural variables. The deep-seated psychological outcomes of migration can be detrimental and persistent. A longitudinal study by Desmond (1974) indicated that after ten years of resettlement, the involuntary migrants still experienced the stresses and stress-related psychological problems associated with migration. This is a cause for concern. There is an obvious need for an empirical scientific investigation into involuntary migration to help address the psychological problems which tend to intensify and persist over a long period of time. It is hoped that the present study will meet this need.
- (vii) Most of the studies on involuntary migration, particularly the case studies, have indicated common predominant feelings expressed or observed in involuntary migrants, such as grief reactions to loss, feelings of helplessness, powerlessness, anger, etc. Although these feelings are universal their nature and intensity might vary as a function of the magnitude and quality of the migration experiences. In overseas countries, involuntary migration involves few members as compared with the monumental and catastrophic nature of

removals in South Africa. Secondly, in all cases overseas, involuntary migration is initiated either because of strategic planning or civil war. In South Africa millions of people are displaced for abstract ideological reasons not comprehensible to the minds of the illiterate population. This may revoke intense feelings of insecurity, helplessness and powerlessness. The present study therefore seeks to investigate unique psychosocial stressors and stress-related affects associated with involuntary migration in South Africa.

- (viii) Data on children's migration-related experiences is limited. Although migration is more often a family move involving more children than adults (that is in terms of numbers in each family) the children's experiences have not been documented.

The process of migration should have serious consequences for children in that firstly, they are usually not involved in major migratory decisions. Secondly, developmentally they are more vulnerable to stresses. Thirdly, they tend to be misunderstood by adults and are not given opportunities to express themselves, particularly in Black families. Lastly, children are the future generation; they are the people who will determine the directions of the future of migrant communities, that is, depending on whether they grow up to be adjusted or maladjusted individuals.

- (ix) Lastly, present studies have paid very little attention to the coping behaviour of both migrant adults and children. There is relatively little information on the nature of the migrants' coping repertoires and even lesser knowledge of the relative effectiveness of different coping strategies, that is, whether the prevailing repertoire of coping mechanisms can be used effectively to deal with the stresses in the environment. Secondly, in situations where coping strategies fail what alternatives are available for dealing with stress. These questions have profound implications for the stability of resettled South African Black communities.

Further, it would appear that situational and developmental factors operate in a complex manner to influence the way migrants handle threatening situations in their environment. In most cases adaptation to new situations is greatly facilitated when migrants have access to networks of social support. Where there is total absence of institutional and social support (as in the case with South African Black migrant groups) migrants might resort to maladaptive ways of coping with environmental stressors. Thus the effectiveness of the migrants' coping mechanisms will tend to depend on the emotional and social support that is available and used in situations.

Developmentally, children are a special group of interest. Unfortunately, their coping behaviour has been neglected by most researchers. Unlike adults, children are in the midst of rapid physical, psychological and social growth. As a result, variability of coping behaviour is characteristic of children as opposed to the comparative stability observed in adult coping strategies. Secondly, in case of children, successful coping strategies not only includes psychological adaptive responsiveness but also involves the child's inherent ability to elicit compensative care from the caregivers. This overscores the importance of taking into consideration the total ecology of the family and other social forces that impinge on the child.

Hence research on children's adaptation to new resettlement communities should yield substantive knowledge about effective use of coping strategies.

To conclude, this study seeks to meet all the above challenges by looking at migration-related experiences of both children and adults. In so doing the study hopes to look at the present, make predictions about the psychological outcomes of migration and provide scientific baseline information for planning rehabilitation services.

The actual details of the South African resettled Black communities are presented in the next chapter.

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CHAPTER FOUR

4. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF BLACK MIGRATION (RELOCATION PROGRAMMES) IN SOUTH AFRICA

The historical overview of Black relocation programmes in South Africa basically entail a broad understanding of concepts historically related to relocation policies as well as the process of relocation itself.

4.1. Definition of Concepts

4.1.1. Relocation, Removal, Resettlement

The above terms are commonly used to describe massive state-sponsored removals of people, mostly blacks, from one area to another. Platzky and Walker (1985) have favoured the use of either 'relocation' or 'removal' in preference to resettlement, since the latter implies some accrual of benefit to the people who are moved and disguises the coerced nature of these population movements.

4.1.2. Reserve, Bantustan, Homeland, National State

These terms are officially applied by the central government, at various stages of South African history, to African areas. 'Reserve' dates back to pre-apartheid period. 'Bantustan', 'Homeland' and 'National State' represent stages in the evolution of the policy of apartheid and refer to the various ethnic political states that have been created on the basis of former reserves (Platzky and Walker (*ibid*)).

4.1.3. Scheduled Land

This refers to land set aside in terms of the Native Land Act of 1913 for occupation by Africans⁺. The location of Scheduled Land was based on the existing African reserves and amounted to about 8,98 million hectares.

+ African and Black will be used alternatively, since it refers to the same racial group at different periods of South African history.

4.1.4. Released Land

This refers to land set aside for African occupation, to be added to scheduled areas at a later stage. The total amount of land to be released in 1936 amounted to about 6,2 million hectares. Some of this land was already occupied or owned by Africans and the remainder was owned and used by Whites. It still had to be acquired by the South African Native Trust, established in 1936.

4.1.5. Black Spot

According to Platzky and Walker (ibid), 'black spot' is an official term that is generally used to refer to African freehold land which was acquired before the 1913 Land Act and which lies outside the Scheduled or released areas. It is one of the categories of land frequently threatened with removal since it falls within what is considered the White area (for 'black spot' areas in Natal, c.f. Appendix, Map 1 and Map 5).

4.1.6. Badly Situated Areas

This term is used by the authorities to describe scheduled or released areas that are to be moved because of the consolidation policy, that is 'a policy developed by the central government in the 1970's, to consolidate separate pieces of land into independent National States'. (For consolidation of Kwa-Zulu National State, c.f. Appendix, Map 2).

4.1.7. Labour Tenants

This refers to African families living on White-owned farms who supply their labour to the land-owner for the part of the year (3 - 9 months) as a form of rent, in return for the use of some of the land for themselves. This system was finally abolished by the government in 1980 (Platzky and Walker, ibid).

4.1.8. Cash Tenants

This term has been used to refer specifically to those Africans who live on White-owned farm land, and have to pay cash rental for the land they occupy. The government has over the years acted to eliminate this class of people.

4.1.9. Squatters

In the strict sense, this term is used to refer to people living illegally on land without the permission of the landowner. The term has also been loosely used to describe any black person whose presence on a particular piece of land is not approved by the authorities, regardless of the nature of the agreement between the occupant and the landowner. The term has therefore been used to describe Blacks living on White-owned land, on Black-owned land, both within and outside the bantustans, on tribal or state land (Platzky and Walker, ibid).

4.2. Policies and Land Acts Historically Associated with Relocation Programmes in South Africa

4.2.1. Introduction

Black population removals have a long history in South Africa. As most people would like to believe, Black removals did not begin with the takeover of the Nationalist government in 1948. In many ways the Nationalist government removals form but one phase in the long history of dispossession and displacement of Blacks by Whites. Thus the roots of the relocation programmes by the Nationalists stretches back into the times of Jan van Riebeeck's arrival at the Cape Peninsula in 1652. Subsequent native policies developed by the colonial ruling group during the 19th and early 20th century helped to launch 'the bantustan policy'; without the creation of the African reserves in the 19th century, the bantustan policy of the Nationalists could not have, perhaps, taken the present form. The system of land ownership and occupation developed during the 19th century was carried over into the apartheid period.

Thus in order to understand the nature of the current land laws one has to establish the historical link of the present Nationalist and past colonial land policies for Blacks.

4.2.2. Native Policies of the 19th Century

In the three centuries that followed van Riebeeck's arrival at the Cape, the process of displacement and relocation of Blacks became increasingly

far-reaching. During the 18th and 19th centuries, first the bushmen and then numerous powerful African Chiefs to the North of the Cape, lost most of their land to White settlers who were moving into the interior in search of grazing lands, minerals and markets. Africans were displaced into smaller and poorer patches of land.

By the late 19th century, Whites had succeeded in asserting control over most of the present day South Africa. The land was divided between the two Boer republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, and the two colonies, that is the Cape Colony and Natal (cf. Appendix Map 3 & Map 4). The African chiefdoms retained only a fraction of their former land and this land which was referred to as 'reserves' became incorporated within the overall systems of government that had developed in each of the settler territories.

However specific policies adopted by the administrators of various settler territories, for African areas, differed and also underwent modifications over time as administrators of each territory changed.

In the Transvaal and Orange Free State very little land was set aside as African reserves in the 19th century. (This development would later mean that when the Nationalist government wanted to set up their system of bantustans in the 1960's and 1970's, there was very little land already available for their schemes in the two provinces.) The Boer landowners encouraged Africans to settle on their land as labour tenants. The rent was either paid in labour (3 months a year) or in produce, (that is, a claim to a certain proportion of the crops produced by the African tenants.) This formed the basis of what became known as the labour tenant system.

A Native Location Commission was established in 1903 to define and allocate the precise boundaries on the very few reserve areas set aside for Africans. The allocated land was so small that by the time the union was established in 1910, most Africans lived outside these small scattered and already overpopulated reserve areas. By then the greatest concentration of African settlement was on land owned by Whites, much of it bought up by mining and land companies and rented out to African cash tenants. Many other Africans still lived as labour tenants on White-owned farms.

However, as commercial agriculture expanded in the wake of the discovery of gold, pressure from White farmers mounted against African cash tenants. Farmers lobbied for measures designed to force cash tenants into labour tenancy to meet their demands for labour and to open up the land occupied by Africans for White commercial farming. Anti-squatting legislation was thus reactivated in 1908, by which time there were an estimated 300,000 'squatters' on White owned land in the Transvaal.

In addition to those living on White-owned land, there were, by the end of the 19th century, a very limited number of Africans who had managed to buy land for themselves in the Transvaal. Until 1905, Africans could only acquire freehold title under conditions of trusteeship by the Commissioner of Native Affairs. In 1905 a Supreme Court decision lifted all restrictions on African freehold tenure in the Transvaal but very few Africans were in a position to take advantage of that in the short time that elapsed between then and the introduction of the 1913 Land Act.

Developments in the Cape followed a somewhat different route from that of the Transvaal and Orange Free State. The military strength of Nguni chiefs - Xhosa and Pondo - ensured that relatively large areas remained under the African occupation during the 18th and 19th centuries. Over time, the British administrators came to see the value of reserves, at first as a means of providing cheap administration of the African population and later as a means of maintaining a cheap supply of labour. All this influenced the development of its native policy.

Several small reserves, interspersed among the White farms, were established to the west of the Kei for those Africans who had supported the White settlers in the frontier wars. Out of these fragments of land the Ciskei was later created. However these reserves could not possibly accommodate all the African people living to the west of the Kei. As in other parts of the country, by the end of the 19th century most of the African population of the Eastern Cape was living on White-owned land and in 1905 a relatively large area of land was set aside as African reserves. With this addition, reserve land in the Cape became proportionally larger than in any of the other settler territories.

In 1894 land and labour tenancy took a different turn with the introduction of the Glen Grey Act, which attempted to transform tribal, pre-capitalist

production into individualised peasant production and thereby hasten the rapid proletarianisation of the masses (who would not have land) to work in the mines. The principles of the Act involved creation of controlled, segregated, self-governed native labour reservoirs. Generally, many features of the Glen Grey system were retained and developed through the post-union 'bantustan policy' (Lacey, 1982).

In Natal, the traditional form of land tenure was preserved for a longer time than in other regions, partly because many of the White landowners were 'absentees' and their interest in the Natal area was weaker. However, in 1846 a Commission was appointed to delimit African areas. The allocation of land to Africans sought to encourage a development of an independent African peasantry, that is, a class of African producers with a stake in the demarcated land. However this was circumscribed by the conflict of interest within the White group. On the one hand, White farmers pressed for the elimination of 'squatter' farming, the restriction on reserve land and the creation of labour tenancy. On the other hand, 'absentee' White landlords supported the existence of rent-paying 'squatters' and substantial labour reservoirs for the mines. The area set aside finally came to about 1½ million acres of inferior farming land, which was later increased to 2½ million acres. By 1851 Shepstone, the Commissioner, estimated that 2/3rds. of the African population of Natal still lived outside the reserves.

When the White settlers finally achieved responsible government in 1893 they immediately used their political power to restrict Africans access to land; mission reserves were closed to individual ownership by Africans and all Africans were refused bids at sales of Crown land. By the time Natal joined the Union in 1910, African acquisition of freehold land had been checked and the economic basis of peasantry smashed. Nevertheless, as small but significant proportion of land remained in African hands. By 1910, there were 1,545 registered African landowners in Natal and 3 in Zululand owning an average of about 250 acres each, as well as 134,450 acres of land owned by various churches and settled by African tenants (Platzky and Walker, 1985).

4.2.3. Developments after Establishment of the Union of South Africa (1910)

Although there were features of segregationist policy present in the 19th century, the conception of the 'bantustan policy' only came into force after the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910.

The discussion that follows will be focussed on several acts and policies that were introduced by the Union to institutionalise segregation and limit the African land rights.

4.2.3.1. The Native Land Act of 1913

The Native Land Act of 1913 turned into law the long process of dispossessing Africans of their own land which had been going on for the past 200 years.

It delimited certain African reserves as 'scheduled areas' and laid down that hence forth no African could purchase or occupy independently land outside these areas. It also prohibited Whites from acquiring or occupying land in scheduled areas; land scheduled in 1913 amounted to about 7% of the total area of South Africa. This land was concentrated in Natal and the Cape where the largest reserves already existed and excluded an estimated area of 1½ million morgens already owned and occupied by Africans.

Thus the 1913 Act established clearly that there was to be racial segregation in regard to ownership of land. The Act further checked squatting and encouraged labour tenancy over cash tenancy. The Act, thus laid a basis for a firm 'native policy' towards the tribal peasants.

In 1915 the Beaumont Land Commission was given a task of delimiting more areas to be released from the restrictions of the 1913 Native Land Act. However this led to serious controversy as most of the White farmers were opposed to release more land to scheduled areas. The recommendations of the Beaumont Land Commission were subsequently referred to a series of local land committees which scaled down the total areas of land recommended for release. Because of this conflict, the formal release of more land to scheduled areas did not take place until 1936 (Platzky and Walker, ibid).

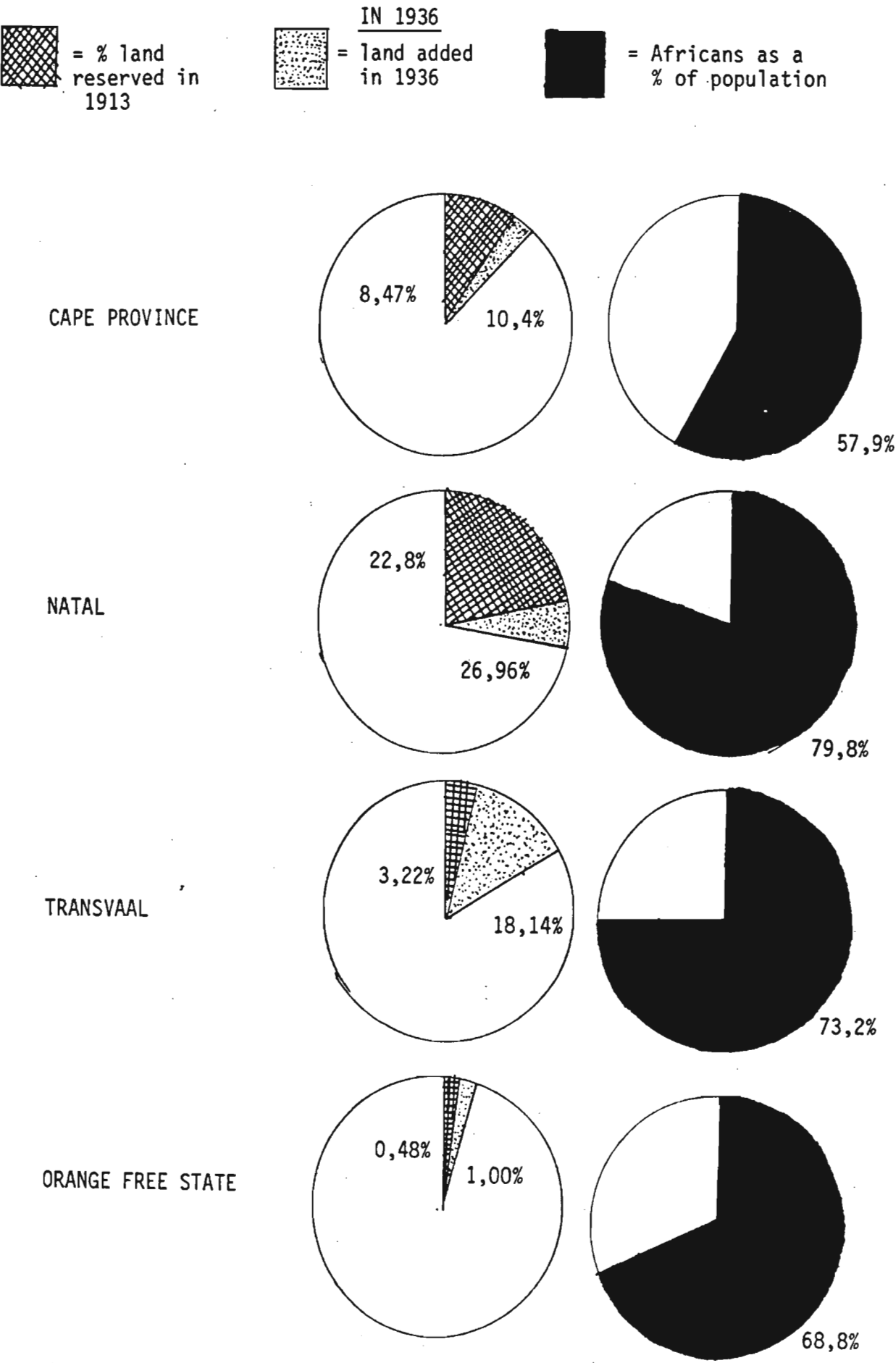
4.2.3.2. The Native Trust and Land Act of 1936

The Native Trust and Land Act of 1936 was passed to partly address the controversial issue of releasing more land to be added to scheduled areas. A total area of 7,25 million morgen was released to be added to the 10,5 million morgen that had been scheduled as reserves in 1913 (combined, the scheduled and released areas amounted to about 13% of the total area of South Africa). Of interest is that by 1936, Africans occupied over 21 million morgens outside the scheduled areas (cf. Figure 3 for details). The Land Act of 1936 further established the South African Native Trust as the registered owner and administrator of these areas.

Not all the released areas were specified in 1936. The outstanding amount of land that could not be specified in 1936 (largely because of the continued hostility of White farmers to making more land available for scheduled areas) was still to be acquired by the South African Native Trust; this amount was allocated across the four provinces on a quota basis. Generally, the South African Native Trust moved very slowly in acquiring land. By 1974, 20% of the land released in 1936 still had to be acquired. By this time the purchasing of this land had become enmeshed in the 'homeland consolidation policy' of the Nationalist government and large areas already bought up or recognised as 'released' land became 'badly situated areas' and were threatened with removals.

In 1936 large numbers of isolated, African-owned farms as well as extensive tracts of state-owned land, long settled by Africans, were not approved for release. The African freehold areas were isolated as 'black spots', whose continued existence ran counter to the reserve policy, while those Africans living on state land became classified as illegal squatters. The act thus pointed to the eventual relocation of these people at some stage in the future. However this threat did not materialise until later, after the 1948 elections which heralded a new phase in the development of the bantustan policy. Out of this emerged the "Grand Apartheid Scheme", in which the massive relocation of people by the State featured prominently.

FIGURE 3 : LAND RESERVED FOR AFRICANS IN 1936 AND PERCENTAGE OF AFRICANS



Source: M. Lacey, (1981)

4.2.3.3. The Group Areas Act of 1950

This was the earliest segregation Act of the Nationalist government. However this Act did not develop a new principle, for as far back as 1923 separate residential areas for Blacks had already been established in the urban areas. Also, there was already a fair amount of residential segregation between Whites, Coloureds and Indians. What the Group Areas Act did was to turn this fairly limited and unsystematic form of segregation into a rigid system that applied throughout the country.

The act made it compulsory for people to live only in specific area that had been proclaimed for people of their race classification. Once the group areas had been proclaimed in a particular area, all residents who were disqualified from living in that area had to be moved to areas set aside for them.

Massive removals in terms of the Group Areas Act got under way from the mid 1950's. By the end of 1970, a total number of 111,580 families had been disqualified in terms of the Act; 59% of them were coloured, 39% Indian and only 2% were White (Horrell, 1971).

In 1961 it was estimated that 80,000 African people had been forced out of the central city by the Group Areas proclamation in Durban alone (Motala, 1961). Most of them were tenants living on Indian-owned land that was then, proclaimed White. African freehold settlements in the urban areas were also destroyed by this Act and urban Africans were relocated into townships in the bantustans.

4.2.3.4. The Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act of 1951

The Group Areas Act largely took care of the numerically insignificant Coloured and Indian population. Far more urgent was the problem of the fast-growing African population in the towns. The Nationalists' first target was the spreading squatter camps in urban areas. The Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act of 1951 came into operation and gave magistrates powers to order 'squatters' out of urban areas and to demolish their buildings. It was enmeshed in with the Group Areas Act which, as already described, was also turned against African squatters in the urban areas.

4.2.3.5. The Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act (1959)

If Africans were to be kept out of town as far as possible, then they would have to be accommodated in scheduled areas. The next major step in the political reconstruction of scheduled areas came in 1959 when the government passed the Promotion of Bantu Self-government Act. With this act the policy of separate development was fully launched and the political transformation of scheduled areas into Bantustans was established. The Act elaborated and expanded the concept of ethnic identity already present within the Group Areas Act. The 1960's and the 1970's thus became years of upheavals for hundreds of thousand rural and urban people who were forced to move by the government in its efforts to make nations out of scheduled areas.

Because of the bantustan policy, the removal of 'black spots' became a priority. Although 'black spots' were the creation of an earlier period of native policy, their removal had not been a major issue before the 1950's. Now the continued existence of these African freehold farms cut right through the argument that the bantustans were the only true and traditional homelands of the African population. In 1965 a circular from the Department of Bantu Administration and Development described the removal of 'black spots' as follows :

"With the words 'clearance of black spots' is understood the suspension of property rights vested in Bantu in land situated in White areas, that is part of the larger policy of the creation of Bantu homelands that has to be speeded up".
(Mare, 1982 p.2)

As labour problems eased, the White farmers' objections to separate African areas receded. As a result the South African Development Trust finally began buying up land in terms of the 1936 quota on a large scale. With this land available, the government now had somewhere to resettle all those Blacks who had to be moved from White areas. Its 'black spot' removal programme therefore began to be implemented.

Thus the early 1960's saw the first and most notorious black relocation programmes to remote Trust Land. On relocation all the population immediately became the direct responsibility of their respective, often underdeveloped, impoverished homeland governments.

4.2.3.6. Labour Tenant System Policies

At the same time as the implementation of separate development policy, the government introduced a legislation in 1960 to curb the number of labour tenants in White farms. The main grounds of opposing labour tenancy were economic; the labour tenant system had become uneconomic and inefficient. It was no longer appropriate in a modern capitalistic economy. For some farmers the labour shortages of the 1930's, 1940's and 1950's became labour surpluses and a large number of farm workers fell into the category of the 'superfluous' and 'nonproductive' persons. Excluded from the towns, no longer needed on the farms, most farm workers became truly surplus people. They were either driven into relocation camps or simply forced off the farms. In 1962 the chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner for Natal remarked that the flood of Africans who were being driven off White farms without having alternative accommodation were causing the Department problems (NAUNLU, 27 April, 1962).

By the end of 1968 labour tenancy had been abolished in 85 districts and some 11,507 relocated off White farms as a result (Desmond, 1970). In January 1969, labour tenancy had been abolished in 25 districts in the Transvaal and all of the Orange Free State. Between January 1964 and September, 1969 a total of 34,325 squatters were moved off farms throughout South Africa (Surplus Peoples Project, 1983). In Natal there was strong opposition to the elimination of labour tenancy from both farmers and tenants. Many of the Farmer's Associations put up a strong fight against too rapid a phasing out of the system. The Natal farmers eventually succeeded in persuading the government to slow its programme down which remained in force until the final abolition of the system in 1980.

4.2.3.7. Other Laws Related to Black Relocation Programmes

Several other laws, namely, Native Urban Areas Act No. 21 of 1923, Black Administration Act No. 38 of 1927, Slum Clearance Act No. 53 of 1934 and Black Consolidation Act No. 24 of 1935, have also been legislated to restrict the free movement of Blacks, displace and dispossess them, thus creating an existential state of 'rootlessness' in a majority of displaced Blacks.

The practical application of so many laws all legislated to deprive and control particular population groups, have been insensitive to the broad psychosocial needs of certain sections of society and may be responsible for the creation of most problems experienced by the displaced Blacks.

4.2.3.8. Summary and Conclusion

The land policies of this country date back to the colonial rule and have persisted over decades overcontrolling the lives of the millions of landless Blacks. As the succession of governments continued to legislate and restrict the movement of Blacks and as relocation programmes continued over years, the number of displaced Blacks increased on a massive scale. Despite the magnitude of this problem, very little attention has been paid to the physical and psychological well-being of these persons. It is possible that the consequences of this experience can decimate a population for generations. Empirical research is therefore essential to determine the consequences of various legislative acts.

4.3. Categories or Relocations

Following various policies and Acts instituted by the government, relocation of Blacks has been carried out in a specific pattern. In analysing the process of relocation, major relocation categories developed by Baldwin (1975), Desmond (1975) and Maré (1979) are followed. Certain categories are general throughout the regions but others are confined to specific regions. A broad outline of various categories is presented below :

- (i) Farm removals refer to evictions which followed the abolition of farm labour tenant system and cash tenancy on White-owned farms in the 1960's and 1970's. This involved removal of full-time farm workers (and their families) who were considered redundant to the needs of capitalist agriculture.

- (ii) The clearing of 'black spots' (rural, African-owned or mission-owned properties that have historically fallen outside the boundaries of the areas authorised for African occupation in 1913 and 1936 and subsequently designated for inclusion in the various bantustans).
- (iii) The removal of 'badly situated' tribal reserve areas in terms of the policy developed in the 1970's of consolidating the bantustans into geographically more cohesive, ethnically-based political entities.
- (iv) Urban relocation involving the deproclamation from and removal of African townships situated within prescribed areas into the bantustans.
- (v) The removal of informal settlements in urban and peri-urban areas.
- (vi) Removals related to the operation of influx control legislation, including the operation of the Coloured Labour Preference Policy in the Western Cape and the widespread repatriation of foreign African people.
- (vii) Removals as a result of the implementation of infrastructural development schemes and conservation or agricultural projects.
- (viii) Removal for strategic/military purposes, eg. the establishment of the missile testing range in Northern Natal and the clearing of strategically sensitive border areas in the Transvaal, Northern Cape and Natal.
- (ix) Directly political removals, including the deportation and banishment of individuals by the authorities, and the avoidance of political repression by individuals or communities eg. the flight of many thousands of people from the Herschel and Glen Grey districts of the Transkei into the Ciskei in 1976/77 and from Thaba'Nchu into Onverwacht, in the Orange Free State.

- (x) Group areas removals.
- (xi) Removals due to the institution of betterment schemes in the bantustans.

However analysing relocation by predetermined categories has certain limitations. Firstly, the category approach operates largely at a descriptive level and without amplification. Secondly, simply isolating and listing different types of removals may create conceptual and classification problems which might give an impression that categories are discrete phenomena. On the other hand, the category approach has been found to be a useful tool for distinguishing the different aspects of the process of relocation and ordering the massive amount of data into a more integrated analysis.

4.4. Scope of Removals

4.4.1. Introduction

To quantify the true extent of relocation programmes in South Africa is almost impossible since the precise numbers of people affected by relocation policies is not known. Most available statistics on relocation programmes is derived from unofficial secondary sources which may not reflect the true record of the scope of removals in South Africa.

4.4.2. Total Numbers of People Removed

The latest fairly reliable comprehensive statistics on population removal, from 1960 to 1982, can be rounded off to a massive 3,500,000 displaced people which is well over 10% of the present South African population (Surplus People Project, 1982). This figure, monumental as it is, does not include the bulk of people affected by influx control laws in the urban areas. It also excludes large numbers of people who have been relocated within the homelands as a result of betterment planning, as well as about a $\frac{1}{4}$ million blacks who have since been removed from Crossroads to Khayelitsha and homelands. Lastly, the present statistics do not take cognisance of 1,700,000 people under threat of removal.

In terms of the existing figures the largest single category of removals in South Africa has been that of farm evictions (1,129,000), followed by Group Areas removals (834,000), Urban relocations (730,000), 'Black Spot' removals (614,000), and informal settlements (112,000) respectively. To a lesser extent other removals have been carried out for consolidation, infra-structural and strategic reasons. According to the Surplus People Project (ibid) the greatest number of removals has occurred in the Transvaal, followed by Natal, the Orange Free State, the Eastern Cape, Northern Cape and the Western Cape respectively.

4.4.3. Relocation Sites in Natal

Generally relocation sites fall into three categories, that is, relocation townships, relocation closer settlements and unofficial relocation sites. It is almost impossible to compile a satisfactory list of all relocation sites because of the enormity of the South African relocation programmes. However, the current statistics have identified about 50 such sites scattered throughout the province of Natal alone.

4.5. The Relocation Background of Two Selected Communities

4.5.1. Introduction

The preceding discussion has certainly indicated that relocation of Black families in South Africa is a complex, multi-faceted process vast in its nature and scope. Because of its magnitude, any comprehensive study directed to the broad population of relocated communities is likely to yield scanty qualitative data which throws very little light into the dynamics involved in the process of relocation.

Thus, the present study has instead selected two relocated communities, representing the largest categories of Black removal or threatened removal in South Africa, for an in-depth analysis of psychological dynamics and variables involved in the process of relocation.

It is hoped that the intensive quantitative and qualitative analytic study of these communities will provide a deep insight into the psychological processes generally involved in South African relocation programmes. At a broader level this analysis will yield valuable information in the field of migration research as a whole, particularly in the area of migration experience, stress reactions and subsequent coping strategies and other psychological variables associated with the process of migration.

4.5.2. Charlestown 'Black Spot' Relocated Community (See Map 1 & Map 6)

According to Paton (1981) Charlestown was an area where Blacks legally acquired land outside those reserves set aside for exclusive Black occupation. Before the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910, Charlestown was a flourishing rail centre and customs post on the Natal/Transvaal border. With the establishment of the Union of South Africa the railway workshops were moved three miles across the Transvaal border to Volkrust. Houses were left empty and there was no White demand for them. Charlestown, which had financial commitments to meet, faced bankruptcy. In order to meet the demands of the situation Charlestown Town Board went out of its way to persuade Blacks to buy land in Charlestown. All this land was held in freehold as against communal tenure of the reserves, where land

was distributed by the Chief and never belonged to the individual occupier.

For several reasons great value was attached to freehold land by Charlestown Blacks. Firstly, the freehold land was not subject to the decision of the Chief and the landowners had an opportunity to run their own community affairs. Secondly, it provided Black farm workers with an opportunity to escape from the oppressive farm labour tenure system. It gave them right of security and prospects for higher paying jobs in towns. For the town worker, anxious not to expose his family to the problems of city life, freehold land offered security for his family even if he had to be away for a long time. Besides there was always a secure home to return to on retirement. Finally the freehold land represented an investment of the men's life savings and in many cases the savings of parents from whom they had inherited the land. The title deed once received gave them an assurance that they could live in their land in perpetuity. Whatever money they could spare was invested in farms, livestock, homes and gardens. Adequate community infrastructures such as shops, clinic and schools were established out of their own efforts and systems of local government to control the affairs of the community evolved. Long-established tenant families were often accorded a status approaching that of the landowner in the community. Generally, in running their own affairs Charlestown residents displayed initiative, originality and creativity in their upward-striving way of life (Paton, *ibid*).

When the Nationalist government came into power in 1948, Charlestown was declared a 'black spot'. It was regarded as a 'badly situated area' and a population of 6,000 Black residents had to be resettled in an area scheduled in terms of the homeland consolidation policy. In 1953 the Chief Bantu Commissioner made that fateful announcement to Charlestown residents. A period of resistance and unsuccessful representations by Charlestown residents ensued. In the years between 1955 and 1965 there was something of a lull in the affairs of Charlestown, but in 1968 things were taken a step further. The landlords, threatened with prosecution by the state, gave notice to their tenants to leave. When the tenants were disposed of, it became the turn of the landlords to move to an unknown area without equivalent freehold rights.

The standard procedure for the government officials was to announce that government transport and demolition squads should be expected by certain families on a specific date, at a specified time. At the time all residents had to be ready to go. In most cases there was strong resistance to removal. Where continued coercion failed to overcome resistance to move, residents were actually locked in prison while their houses were bulldozed (Paton, ibid).

The residents had to load all their household and valuable goods into a G.G. lorry. Since all livestock (a life investment for Blacks) were forbidden in the new relocation area, they had to dispose of them for next to nothing since they had no time to negotiate their sale. Gardens and yards tended for years were left behind. Big valued family houses were demolished to a heap of rubble with little or no compensation at all (Paton, ibid).

The relocatees destination was a vast relocation camp known as Osizweni Township. A detailed description of this area will be presented at a later stage.

4.5.3. Utrecht 'Farm Evictions' Relocated Community (cf. Map 7)

The labour tenant system for Utrecht Black farm families dated back to the beginning of White colonial rule during the 19th century. Like other Black families working under the labour tenant system, Utrecht Black tenants supplied their labour to White farmers for part of the year, that is, six to nine months, as a form of land-rent and other land privileges. Each family was entitled to at least two acres of land for agricultural use. They also had access to common grazing land (Surplus People Project, 1982).

The labour tenant system evolved over several generations. It was an exploitive system but in a situation where access to both land and cities was severely restricted, it offered security to which labour tenants clung tenaciously; it was the only system of labour they had known. Generally, most of the farm families regarded the farm as their ancestral land. They had lived there for generations and could even point to the family graves, that dated back well into the 19th century, to prove their prior claim to the land. This was particularly strong in Utrecht since farm families

regarded the land as having been originally owned by the Zulu king and passed over to the White settlers in the 19th century. Although the land had changed hands, the farm tenants strong bonds of generational family history, long established settlement, land cultivation and stock ownership, were far more binding to them than a piece of paper (title deed) that many could not even read (Surplus People Project, ibid).

It was under these circumstances that farm evictions were perpetuated. Resistance to evictions was fragmented, localised and very individualistic. Because of the unprotected status of farm families in terms of law and legal action against the farmer, there was no organised action by the farm workers. According to the Surplus People Project (ibid), farm workers did not have access to legal advice anyway; they were excluded by virtue of their poverty, isolation and lack of education. After all the farmer had a right to evict any tenant from his land and all that could be achieved by the court action was to buy time for the evictee.

Thus tenants who tried to resist evictions were driven away by police and farmers who came with dogs, burnt down their huts, arrested them and impounded their cattle (Surplus People Project, ibid).

A significant number of farm families feeling insecure, threatened and vulnerable started moving away, on their own accord to informal settlements. For most of them, moving away was an irrevocable loss of land which they had perceived as belonging to their ancestors.

Many of the Utrecht farm families who left voluntarily, under pressure, were not offered alternative accommodation in scheduled areas. They resettled themselves at Blaauwbosch, a district which will be described in the next section.

Generally, all farm families who moved, voluntarily or involuntarily, represented the most oppressed and disadvantaged groups of people in society and when they had to leave the farms they virtually had little or no options. Wherever they are resettled, whether by their own decision or not, they will always remain in a disadvantageous position.

4.5.4. Osizweni Township (cf. Map 1 and Map 6)

Osizweni Township is a rudimentary close settlement populated with + 44,000 people, and situated 25 km. north of Newcastle. It is a relocation camp for thousands of Black farm labour tenants and families from 'black spot' areas. A majority of residents came from Utrecht farm as well as from Charlestown 'black spot' area.

At the time of relocation, Osizweni Township was a rudimentary layout of hastily demarcated open veld with rows of 20 x 20 tiny green tents and 12 x 9 iron structures perched on arid soil and separated by gravel, dusty roads. Because of the size of tents or rooms (one tent or room per family) the relocatees prized possessions such as beds, wardrobes, tables etc. were left lying outside, soaked by the rains and scorched by the sun. The housing facilities were generally inadequate for a family life.

In as far as basic infrastructures were concerned, the facilities were very poor and inadequate; there were no schools, clinics or doctors, no adequate water supply, no electricity and poor sanitary services.

In terms of basic needs of life there was very little to help the relocatees to sustain life; there were no shops around, and for most relocatees no food, fuel, jobs or economic opportunities.

In the years that have elapsed since resettlement, conditions have slightly improved. Basic infrastructures such as school and clinics have been established although still grossly inadequate in terms of the needs of the communities. The rate of unemployment is still very high and there are minimal employment opportunities.

The rate of alcoholism, crime and violence is very high and could be partly attributed to frustrations, unemployment as well as bottle stores, beerhalls and sheebens which have sprung up all around the township.

The structural overall appearance of Osizweni Township has also changed. Instead of rows of green tents and iron structures, are mud, cement and iron extensions which give an appearance of an overcrowded, dense slum settlement.

The spiralling cost of building materials has made it impossible for most relocated families to build better houses and re-establish their former life style. This has resulted in a situation where only a minority of relocatees have built themselves decent houses.

A section of four-roomed houses has also been added to the original camp thus giving Osizweni Township a face lift.

4.5.5. Blaauwbosch District (cf. Map 1 and Map 6)

Blaauwbosch is a freehold farm which has sprung up on the edge of Osizweni Township. It is an informal settlement for voluntary farm tenants who, for a variety of reasons, could not resettle at Osizweni Township; some tenants did not qualify for official sites at Osizweni, others just did not have anywhere else to go.

An estimated number of 62,000 people live there, in a dense jumble of shacks and mud houses, with few big landlord homes here and there.

This settlement is worse than Osizweni Township in terms of basic infrastructures; there is no planned sanitation or electricity supply. There is a serious water problem and no organised services for garbage collection. This settlement is very unhygienic and disease is rife.

Like Osizweni Township the rate of employment, crime and alcoholism is very high.

Unfortunately, Blaauwbosch is a threatened 'black spot' area and farm migrants might face another removal in the near future.

4.5.6. Summary

To summarise, the historical overview of migration, that is, relocation programmes in South Africa, flows from the earlier colonial land policies and the government policy of separate development.

In its attempt to implement this policy, the government has launched mass removals of farm tenants and 'black spot' residents - who so far constitute

the largest category of removals - to various densely populated relocation sites, established without adequate facilities and basic infrastructures. Faced with insecurities and uncertainty arising from the government segregation policy, some farm families have voluntarily moved to informal settlements which have sprung up around formal relocation sites.

4.5.7. Conclusion

Thus in closely adjacent areas such as Osizweni Township and Blaauwbosch district (both resettlement sites) can be found families that were victims of 'black spot' and 'farm eviction' involuntary removals (Osizweni Township); resettled families escaping from poor farm conditions and established families who have occupied the area for a relatively long period (Blaauwbosch district).

These different groups will tend to differ in terms of their volition to migrate. At the one extreme are the 'forced removal' families who were literally dumped into the new area completely against their will and at the other extreme are the families who have never been moved and they are living in their present area completely in terms of their choice. Hence there are four different types of groups - involuntary 'black spot' and 'farm evicted' migrants, voluntary farm migrants and non-migrant families.

Since these groups occupy more or less the same physical environment, they have provided a unique opportunity to investigate the extent to which stress and psychological status is a function of the type of migratory experience. This forms the main objective of the present study.

A detailed experimental design in terms of which the above variables will be investigated is described in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. Investigation

5.1. Introduction

The general aim of this study was to investigate the extent to which perception of stress, psychological status and perception of control are a function of different types of migratory experience.

5.2. Experimental Design

In terms of the above objectives four treatment groups were used. The first group consisted of involuntary 'black spot' migrants who were forced to move from 'black spot' area (Charlestown) to a resettlement site at Osizweni. The second group comprised involuntary farm evicted families who were forced to move from Utrecht farm to a resettlement site at Osizweni. The third group consisted of voluntary farm migrants who voluntarily left Utrecht farm because of removal threats and unfavourable work conditions. This group resettled at Blaauwbosch district. The last group was formed by the stable residents at Blaauwbosch district who had not moved and were living in that area out of their own free will.

Each of the four groups consisted of 100 migrants subdivided into 50 adults and 50 children of these adults. The nature and composition of these groups is presented in Table VII below.

TABLE VII : NATURE AND COMPOSITION OF GROUPS

	Involuntary 'black spot' migrants	Involuntary farm evicted migrants	Voluntary farm migrants	Non-migrants
	N = 100	N = 100	N = 100	N = 100
Adults	n (50)	n (50)	n (50)	n (50)
Children†	n (50)	n (50)	n (50)	n (50)

† In households where there were more than one eligible child, a single subject

In terms of this study four treatment groups represent the independent variable with two levels, that is, adults and children participants. The procedure followed in the selection of groups is discussed below :

5.2.1. Selection of a Sample

Before embarking on actual experiment, permission was obtained from the Kwa-Zulu government to conduct research at Osizweni Township. Thereafter, the councillors at Osizweni Township were informed, and the Osizweni map obtained from the Township office.

Secondly, permission was obtained from individual landlords at Blaauwbosch district to conduct research in their respective areas.

Lastly, a list of Blaauwbosch landlords was obtained. Each landlord was requested to supply the researcher with two lists of tenants; original tenants[‡] who have been residing at Blaauwbosch over generations, and migrant tenants from Utrecht farms. Each list had detailed information on the family composition.

The selection of households was conducted differently at Osizweni Township and Blaauwbosch district because of differences in the structural organisation of the two areas.

Osizweni Township

Firstly, block areas in which involuntary 'black spot' and involuntary 'farm evicted' migrants were resettled, were identified from the map. Once the blocks had been numbered, a random sample of blocks was drawn. From each block, a random sample of 50 involuntary 'black spot' migrant families and 50 involuntary 'farm evicted' migrant families with a family representative aged between 35 - 45 years and who had a child aged between 10 - 13 years, was drawn. From this sample two treatment groups (involuntary 'black spot' and involuntary farm evicted migrants) with 100 subjects in each group (that is, 50 adults and 50 children in each group) were formed and designated as experimental group 1 and experimental group 2 respectively (that is, E1 and E2 respectively).

[‡] Original migrants who had been at Blaauwbosch for more than 30 years were given a non-migrant status since they were already treated like original residents by landlords.

Blaauwbosch District

Blaauwbosch district does not have clearly demarcated and planned infrastructures such as streets and blocks. The landlord list was therefore used to draw a sample. First of all voluntary farm migrants, identified from the landlord lists as having a family representative aged between 35 - 45 years and who had a child aged 10 - 13 years, were numbered. Secondly, a random sample of 50 voluntary farm migrant families was selected from the list. From this sample, a third treatment group of 100 subjects (50 adults and 50 children) designated as experimental group 3 (E3) was formed.

Lastly, all landlords and original tenants (who had been in the area for more than 30 years) with a family representative aged between 35 - 45 years and who had a child aged 10 - 13 years were numbered. From a random table, a sample of 50 non-migrant families were drawn. From this sample a fourth treatment group of 100 subjects (50 adults and 50 children) designated as control group 1 (C1) was formed.

5.2.2. Procedure

5.2.2.1. Pilot Study

Before embarking on the actual study, a pilot study was undertaken by the researcher to refine the apparatus, interview skills and to assess if data obtained would be relevant to the aims of the present study.

Twelve involuntary 'black spot' migrant adults and children, twelve involuntary farm evicted migrant adults and children, twelve voluntary migrant adults and children as well as twelve non-migrant adults and children were interviewed and tested on a battery of psychological measures which are described in the section below. Generally, the pilot study proved useful in refining instruments and in planning finer details. Specific conclusions for each of the instruments will be discussed at a later stage.

5.2.2.2. Experimental Study

Following an intensive pilot study discussed above, an actual experimental study was undertaken. A battery of psychological measures, refined during the pilot study, were administered to all the adults and children in each of the treatment groups.

5.2.2.2.1. Psychological Measures (see appendix)

The psychological apparatus used to measure the dependent variables, stress and psychological functioning of migrants are basically subdivided into instruments used with adult samples and children samples. (All these measures were translated from English to Zulu and then backtranslated to ensure that the items retained their meaning.)

Psychological Measures used with Adults

(a) Biographical Inventory

This questionnaire was used to obtain demographic characteristics of the sample under study. The review of literature in the previous chapter indicated that the demographic features of a sample can be used to predict the migrants vulnerability to stress, as well as the migrants psychological status.

(b) Life Event Scale (Schwartz et al 1982)

The above scale provides a fruitful way of conceptualising the stressor in migration; it can yield useful information on migration-related stress as well as the migrants perception of stress. Various migration studies have indicated that, for some migrants, particularly, the involuntary migrants, migration can be highly stressful and that such stress is due to a complex interplay of measurable variables.

(c) Impact of Event Scale (Horowitz, 1979)

This instrument was used to measure the subjective psychological distress associated with migration. In the previous chapter

it became apparent that migration can be psychologically disturbing and distressing, particularly to involuntary migrants. The psychological distress often takes different forms depending on the nature and quality of migration experiences. Since the sample of this study includes both voluntary and involuntary migrants, this instrument can be expected to yield valuable information on the psychological dynamics of different types of migrants.

(d) Internal-External Locus of Control Scale (Rotter, 1966)

This instrument was used to measure the extent to which migrants believe that they have control over their lives. A pervasive feeling of loss of control over one's life predominated some of the studies reviewed in the previous chapter. A specific measure was therefore included in this study to measure this variable.

(e) The Interview Guide for Adults

The interview guide was specifically developed by the researcher to tap the complex and diverse experiences of migrants which cannot be captured by structured objective psychometric instruments. A review of case studies in the previous chapter indicated that there was a vast area of psychological dynamics and migration experience which have not been explored.

Psychological Measures used with Children

(a) Childrens' Life Inventory (Coddington, 1972)

The above scale was used to obtain data on nature and magnitude of migration-related stress as well as the migrant childrens' perception of stress. Migration research so far, has given vague indications that migration can be stressful to children as well. The childrens' perception of migration can be used to assess the extent to which migration is stressful to them.

(b) Child "A" Scale (Rutter et al 1971)

This questionnaire yields valuable objective information on childrens' emotional/psychological functioning. Such an instrument is valuable in assessing the childrens' vulnerability to migration-stress as well as stress-related emotional problems.

(c) Perception of Control (Connell, 1985)

The Perception of Control Childrens' Scale was used to obtain data on migrant childrens' perception of control. Migration research on adult samples has established strong feelings of powerlessness among migrants. The fact that they have not been adequately investigated in children does not mean that they do not exist. The perception of control scale therefore seeks to investigate the extent to which migrant children feel that they have no control over their lives.

(d) Interview Guide for Children

The interview guide was developed to obtain rich subjective data on childrens' migration experiences. Such invaluable data has often been neglected by most migration studies inspite of strong evidence which points to the fact that children also react to the process of migration.

A detailed discussion of the background, development, administration, as well as reliability and validity of the above psychological measures is presented in the section that follows :

5.2.2.2.1.1. Biographical Inventory

The Biographical Inventory constructed by the researcher was initially administered to the pilot study sample to assess its utility in obtaining the required data. It elicited demographic information such as identifying details, participants' educational and socio-economic status as well as participants' past and present residential status.

It was felt that the above type of information might prove useful in providing possible explanations, for any unusual findings in the responses made by subjects to other psychological measures. It was also anticipated that information related to socio-economic status as well as past and present residential status would provide useful data which could be related to subjects post-migration experiences.

5.2.2.2.1.2. Life Event Scale (Schwartz et al 1982)

(i) Introduction

Recently, the life event approach has gained prominence in stress research and stress-related psychological problems.

Life events are eminently researchable and a reasonable consensus of their description has been reached by various investigators involved in stress research. According to Holmes & Rahe (1967) stressful life events are those events whose advent is either indicative of or require a significant change in the ongoing life pattern of an individual. Myers (1971) described stressful life events as experiences involving role transformation, changes in environment, status and ones stable life-style. Brown and Birley (1969) referred to stressful events as a 'life crisis' involving an experience which necessitates role redefinition and impose psychic pain and general psychological traumata.

The common denominator of all these definitions is change in the individual's role, status, usual life activities and subsequent emotional disturbance.

The impact of life events upon the individual often vary as a function of the intensity and magnitude with which events are perceived to differ from the preceeding stimulus state or normal activity baseline, the suddenness and unpredictability with which an event occurs or conversely the degree of preparedness of the individual by virtue of the anticipation of an event (Holmes & Rahe, 1967).

A review of recent literature indicates that considerable agreement exists concerning the conception of the stressful life event as a transactional phenomenon involving a dynamic and interdependent relationship between the psychosocial functioning of the organism and the social environment in which it exists. Within this broad theoretical framework different aspects of the stressful life event have been emphasized. Most theorists have viewed the stressful event as a stimulus or environmental stressor. This view of the stressful event as an objective phenomenon is characteristic of life event research in which each item is viewed as an objective event in the sense that its existence theoretically and often practically can be verified independently of the respondent's report of its occurrence and each life event is assigned a weight with respect to its degree of associated stress.

Most of the life event studies are based on the assumption that life events and subsequent life changes require adaptation on the part of the individual and are stressful in that an individual experiencing such events and subsequent life changes tends to be susceptible to psychological problems.

In pursuing such studies some investigators have used case-control studies to establish the relationship between stressful life events and psychological problems. According to Holmes & Rahe (1967) this does not provide the information needed to estimate the magnitude of the risk of psychological disturbance which might occur as a result of the negative impact of stressful life events. Holmes & Rahe (ibid) suggested that to get this information, the investigator needs to design cohort studies based on samples of the populations of persons who have experienced whatever life events are of interest rather than case studies based on samples of persons who have become ill.

Since the methodological contributions of Holmes & Rahe (1967) most of stress research have used life event approach to quantify

the relative stressfulness of life events. The Life Event Scale developed by Schwartz et al (1982) established the cross-cultural applicability of life event approach in local Black Samples.

(ii) Development and Description of the Life Event Scale
(Schwartz et al 1982)

The basic assumption underlying the Life Event Scale is that objective changes per se are stressful because they require re-adjustment and that the stressfulness of a life event is a function of its intensity which can be defined objectively and universally. Thus the individual is likely to experience problems of readjustment for life events or changes which are rated as having had a serious impact (Schwartz et al 1982).

On the bases of the abovementioned assumption, Schwartz et al (1982) developed the Life Event Scale for research into Xhosa speaking people of Cape Town.

The development of the scale fell into two phases; the first phase involved selection of items and the second entailed determining impact scores and prevalence rates.

During the first phase a random sample of 75 households in Cape Town's three major Black suburbs (Langa, Nyanga and Gugulethu Townships) was drawn using a standard grid technique. Five professionally qualified Black Xhosa-speaking interviewers were trained in the use of life event scales. Scoring was standardised through repeated administration.

The first two persons over the age of 18, seen by the researchers were interviewed separately. In the course of discussions, respondents were asked to mention any major events that had had an effect on their lives over the past year. When a spontaneous list had been given, the respondents were further prompted in respect of areas not mentioned, such as work, health, family relationships, religion and customs.

Where there were discrepancies between the events rated by the two household members, these were discussed and a final list for the household drawn up.

Once the researchers were satisfied with the representativeness of their original groups, a comprehensive list of items were compiled and compared with the Social Readjustment Rating Scale. There was a close correspondence of items, with several additions. Most of these pertained to specific Xhosa customs such as 'conducting a ritual', 'being unable to conduct a ritual', and 'going to the diviner for advice'. This resulted in a 66 item scale.

(iii) Administration Procedure

During the second phase a random sample of 131 households was drawn from the same area as above. The scale was administered in the form of a semi-structured interview. For each item, respondents were asked whether the event had happened to them or members of their household in the past year and to rate the impact - amount of change or readjustment - such an event would have on members of their community. Impact was rated on a 3 point scale, with ratings of serious, moderate and little /or no impact being scored as 2,1, and 0 respectively.

Composite impact scores were calculated in the following manner. The total score for each item was obtained by adding together all the individual impact scores given that item.

As regards to impact scores, highly ranked items included illness, death, loss of a home through disaster or eviction, being assaulted and items pertaining to police contact (jail term, arrest, identity document eviction). None of the items relating specifically to Xhosa custom ranked particularly high on impact (all ranked lower than 40 out of the 66 items). This was inspite of the high prevalence of conducting a ritual (17%). The highest impact in this group of items was for being prevented from conducting a ritual (40.5).

(iv) Reliability and Validity

On the whole, Schwartz et al (ibid) found that the prevalence of life events among Xhosa-speaking Blacks correlated significantly with those of the Social Readjustment Rating Scale. The impact of life events was also significantly correlated with that of other population groups on the Social Readjustment Scale (Rahe, 1969).

(v) Modified Version of Life Event Scale

The present study used Life Event Scale for Xhosa-speaking people (Schwartz, et al, ibid). The selection of this test was based on the consideration that it was standardised on the sample of Xhosa-speaking people. The Xhosa and Zulu people both belong to the Nguni ethnic group; their experiences, language and culture is in many ways similar.

Following a pilot study, slight modifications were made on the scale. Items which were found to be vague and inappropriate for the purpose of this study were excluded. These were :

- Item 47 - become engaged
- Item 51 - go on welfare
- Item 4' - loose home through disaster
- Item 22 - serious family crisis

One item was excluded because it was specifically related to Xhosa tradition :

- Item 46 - take part in initiation ceremony.

The life event scale was thus reduced to 46 items.

(vi) Conclusion

The life event approach can yield valuable empirical and conceptual information on the psychosocial stressors involved in the process of migration. As a measure of stressful events, Social Readjustment

Scale and Life Event Scale are a good predictor of adjustment and emotional problems. It has been found that S.R.R.S. scores are related to the subsequent occurrence of illness and psychological distress (Gunderson & Rahe, 1974), thus providing researchers with a method of exploring the relationship between stress and distress.

5.2.2.2.1.3. Impact of Event Scale: A Measure of Subjective Stress (Horowitz, 1979)

(i) Introduction

There are two major ways in which stressful life events can be studied; either through objective, (environmental) quantitative estimates of impact as measured by the Social Readjustment Rating Scale or through the subjective, intrapsychic individual reports of stressful experiences.

Research on human response to stress requires that stressful life events and the subjective distress experienced be studied simultaneously, (Stone, 1982). Such investigations explore the quality of conscious experiences related to a specific event. The Impact of Event Scale was developed by Horowitz (1979) to study the subjective experiences of individuals exposed to psychological distress.

(ii) Development and Description of the Scale

According to Horowitz (1979) this scale is based on the rationale that reactions to stressful events are often phasic compositions of firstly, intrusive and repetitive ideation, emotion and behavioural response and secondly, avoidance, denial and numbing.

Items of this scale are based on clinical observations, in-depth evaluations and psychotherapy interviews.

Two response sets - intrusion and avoidance - were abstracted

from self-reported experiences. These response sets and the manner in which they were experienced have also been found to be prominent in other psychological reactions to stress (Horowitz, 1979; Janis, 1969; Lazarus, 1966). Intrusion was characterised by unforbidden thoughts and images, troubled dreams, strong pang or waves of feelings and repetitive behaviour. Avoidance responses included ideational constrictions, denial of the meanings, blunted sensation, behavioural inhibition, counter-phobic activity and awareness of emotional numbness.

According to Horowitz (*ibid*) items for this self-report instrument were derived from statements most frequently used to describe episodes of distress by persons who had experienced recent life changes. The list that subsequently evolved contained experiences of a particular quality such as intrusiveness, worded so that they might apply to any event. To anchor the qualities of experience to a particular context, the life event specific to each person was entered at the top of the form and served as a referent for each of the statements on the list.

Guided by clinical experience, Horowitz (*ibid*) divided various items into two subgroups; intrusion and avoidance. The goal was to develop a scale that would provide subscores for these response sets, as well as a total subjective stress score. Since persons cannot report the unconscious aspect of the denial process, but only the felt consequences, such as numbness, the term 'avoidance' rather than 'denial' was used to describe this subscale.

Over a period of several years, Horowitz (*ibid*) gave various forms of this item list to psychotherapy patients with stress response syndrome and to non-patient volunteers exposed to serious life events. The wording and the format were revised during trial runs and the number of items reduced to the 15 most powerful items by selecting those that were empirically

clustered and had significant item to scale correlates beyond the 0,01 level of significance.

(iii) Administration Procedure

The Impact of event scale is a paper and pencil test which can either be administered individually or to a group of subjects.

In the case of illiterate participants, the researcher reads the statements aloud and then records the participant's responses.

(iv) Reliability and Validity of the Scale

Reliability

At its final revision the split-half reliability of the Impact of Event Scale was 0,86. Internal consistency of the subscale as calculated by Cronbach's Alpha was, intrusion 0.78 and avoidance 0,82. A correlation of 0,42 ($p < 0,0002$) between the intrusion and avoidance subscale scores indicated that the two subsets are associated, but do not measure identical dimensions, that is, they have empirical cohesion.

Test - retest reliability after six months was 0,87 for the total stress score, 0,89 for the intrusion subscale and 0,79 for the avoidance subscale.

Validity

The discriminant validity of the scale is supported by the fact that it discriminated medical students from mental patients group (Horowitz et al 1979), that is 'normal' population from 'abnormal' population.

In as far as the scale items were sampled from a wide population of patients suffering from stress response syndrome and nonpatients exposed to serious life events, the scale can be said to have a fair degree of content validity.

(v) Conclusion

The scale has been found to be a sensitive indicator of life change. Persons of various educational, economic and cultural backgrounds have been able to use the scale; they understand it and are comfortable with it, since it does not probe excessively.

Clinicians have found this scale useful in making a follow-up of a person responding to a specific traumatic life event over a long period of time, since it can easily be used repetitively and is anchored to the same psychological trauma over the entire time span.

5.2.2.2.1.4. Internal - External Locus of Control Scale (Rotter, 1966)

(i) Introduction

According to Rotter, (1966) locus of control refers to the disposition to perceive one's reinforcements as consequences of one's own behaviour or as due to intrinsic factors. When a reinforcement or event is perceived by the subject as contingent upon his behaviour or his own relatively permanent characteristic and is under his personal control it is interpreted as internally controlled. If the subject perceives reinforcement or event as not contingent upon his behaviour or actions, it is typically perceived as the result of luck, chance, fate and as under the control of powerful others or as unpredictable because of the great complexity of forces surrounding him. When the reinforcement or event is interpreted in this way it is regarded as externally controlled (Rotter, *ibid*).

The significance of the belief in fate, chance or luck has been discussed by various social scientists who have also related it to a wide variety of behaviours. Typical of the earlier discussions of this kind is that of Veblen (1969) who implied that a belief in chance or luck as a solution to one's problem was characterised by passivity and general state of helplessness.

He stated that in its simple form the belief in luck refers to "an instinctive sense of unscrutable, teteological propensity in objects or situations" (p.109). More recently Merton (1974) has discussed the belief in luck more or less as a defense behaviour, an attempt 'to serve' the psychological function of enabling people to preserve their self-esteem in the face of failure. He further stated that it may also act to curtail sustained endeavour in some individuals.

Thus it seems likely that, depending on the individuals history of reinforcements or beliefs, individual differences exist in the degree to which they attribute personal control to reinforcement or events in the same situation.

(ii) Development and Description of the Internal - External Locus of Control Scale (I - E Scale)

The concept of locus of control was introduced by Rotter (1954, 1961, 1966). The first measure of this construct as an interpersonal variable was developed by Phares (1957). The measure was a Likert-type scale with 13 items stated as external attitudes and 13 as internal attitudes.

Rotter (1961) undertook to revise and broaden the scale. From his definition of the locus of control a preliminary pool of items was developed. The list of items thus obtained was circulated, along with the definition of locus of control, to five Ph.D. psychology staff members and graduate psychology students. The raters were asked to answer the items in an external direction. Those items on which there was any disagreement in scoring among the raters were dropped.

Rotter (ibid) introduced forced-choice items to control the scale for social desirability, response set and acquiescence. Item correlation of the I - E scale and Social Desirability Scale (Marlowe - Crowne, 1964) ranged from .35 to .45 and they were deemed to be too high. Reduction and purification

of items undertaken by Rotter (1966) reduced the I - E scale correlation with the Social Desirability scale to the range of $-.07$ to $-.35$.

Validity data was obtained from two studies on locus of control by Liverant (1967) and Crowne (1969). By eliminating those items which had a correlation approaching zero with both validation studies the scale was reduced to 23 items. In the final version the wording of some items was changed to make it appropriate for noncollege adults. The number of items was increased to 29 forced-choice items by inclusion of six filler items intended to make somewhat ambiguous the purpose of the test. Each item consisted of one internally and one externally oriented question.

(iii) Administration Procedures

The Internal - External locus of control scale can be administered to a group of participants as a paper and pencil test or verbally to a participant by a researcher who reads the statement to the subject and records the responses.

(iv) Reliability and Validity of the Scale

The reliability and validity coefficients of the test are presented in Tables VIII to Table XI below :

TABLE VIII: Internal - External Locus of Control Test Data :
Internal Consistency of the Scale

Sample	Type	N	Sex	r	Source
Ohio State University, Elementary psychology students	Split-half Spearman-Brown	50	M	.65	
		50	F	.79	
		100	Combined	.73	
	Kunderson-Richardson	50	M	.70	
		50	F	.76	
		100	Combined	.73	
Ohio State University, Elementary psychology students		200	M	.70	
		200	F	.70	
		400	Combined	.70	
Nation stratified sample. Purdue opinion poll; 10th, 11th & 12th grades		100	Combined	.69	Franklin (1963)

TABLE IX: External - Internal Locus of Control Test Data :
Test - Retest Reliability

Sample	Type	N	Sex	r	Source
Ohio State University Elementary psychology students	1 month group administration	30	M	.60	Jessor (1964)
		30	F	.83	
		60	Combined	.72	
Prisoners Colorado Reformatory	1 month	28		.78	
Ohio State University Elementary psychology students	2 months 1st group administration	63	M	.49	
		54	F	.61	
	2nd group administration	117	Combined	.55	

TABLE X : External-Internal Locus of Control Test Data :
Correlation with Marlowe - Crowne Social Desirability Scale

Sample	Type	N	Sex	r	Source
Ohio State University, Elementary psychology students		166	M	-.16	
		140	F	-.32	
		306	Combined	-.21	
Ohio State University Elementary psychology students		136	M	-.22	Schwarz (1963)
Ohio State University Elementary psychology students		180	F	-.12	Strickland (1962)
Ohio State University Elementary psychology students		103	M	-.17	Watt (1962)
		77	F	-.35	
		180	Combined	-.29	
Kansas State University Elementary psychology students		113	M&F Combined	-.28	Ware (1964)
Ohio Federal Prisoners Aged 18-26, 8th grade		80	M	-.41	(Ladwig 1963)

TABLE XI : Internal-External Locus of Control Test Data :
Correlation with Intellectual Measures

Sample	Type	N	Sex	r	Source
Ohio State University, Elementary psychology students	Ohio State Psychological exam.	107	F	-.09	Strickland(1962)
Ohio State University, Elementary Psychology students	Ohio State Psychological exam.	26	M	.03	Cardi (1962)
		46	F	-.22	
		72	Combined	-.11	
Ohio Federal prisoners Ages 18-26, 8th grade	Revised beta I.Q.	80	M	.01	Ladwig (1963)

(v) Cross-Cultural Applicability of Internal-External Locus of Control

Since its inception, the Internal-External Locus of Control Scale has been used in a number of studies across diverse population groups. In South Africa cross-cultural research has been undertaken in White and Indian population groups using the I - E Scale (Barling & Fincham, 1978) as well as in White, Indian and Black student populations (Rajab & Ramkisson, 1979).

The latter study investigated the relationship between internal versus external locus of control, sex and ethnic group membership of three groups of university students (English-speaking White South Africans, Indians and Black students).

Rotter's (1966) standard 29 item forced choice questions were administered to three groups of students.

The results indicated that the race variable was not significant. Race and sex interaction was significant at 0.05 level. A post hoc analysis of sex differences showed that there were no significant differences in the Indian and Black sample. A significant difference was found in a White sample.

The researchers concluded that there were no significant differences between the three racial groups in their control experiences. This finding confirmed the cross-cultural applicability of I - E Locus of Control Scale.

(vi) The Modified Version of I - E Locus of Control Scale

Following the pilot study, some items were modified and adapted to the needs and experiences of the sample under study.

Firstly, changes were effected on some items to make them consistent with the cultural beliefs of the population from which the sample was drawn. Three items changed were :

- Item 2 (a) - Many unhappy things in people's lives are partly due to bad luck (original)
 - Many unhappy things in people's lives are partly due to angry ancestors or witchcraft (adapted).
- Item 6 (a) - Without the right breaks one cannot be an effective leader (original)
 - Without help from ancestors and witchdoctors one cannot be an effective leader (adapted).
- Item 11(b) - Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time (original)
 - Getting a good job depends mainly on the help from ancestors and witchdoctors (adapted).

Secondly, other items were changed and adapted to the experiences of the population under study. The nine modified items were :

- Item 3(a) - One of the major reasons why we have wars is because people don't take enough interest in politics (original)
- One of the major reasons why we have riots in townships is because people don't take enough interest in community social problems (adapted)
- Item 3(b) - There will always be wars no matter how hard people try to prevent them (original)
- There will always be riots no matter how hard people try to prevent them (adapted)
- Item 10(a) - In case of the well prepared student there is rarely if ever such a thing as an unfair test (original)
- In case of the well prepared worker there is rarely if ever such a thing as a difficult job (adapted)
- Item 10(b) - Many times exam questions tend to be so unrelated to course work that studying is really useless(original)
- Many times ones work experience tends to be so unrelated to written instructions that following such instructions is really useless (adapted)
- Item 12(a) - The average citizen can have an influence in government decisions (original)
- The average citizen can have an influence in what happens in his community (adapted)
- Item 23(a) - Sometimes I can't understand how teachers arrive at the grades they give (original)
- Sometimes I can't understand how employers arrive at the pay they give to their workers (adapted)
- Item 23(b) - There is a direct connection between how hard I study and the grades I get (original)
- There is a direct connection between how hard one works and the pay he gets (adapted)
- Item 27(a) - There is too much emphasis on athletic in high school (original)
- There is too much emphasis on material things in this world (adapted)

- Item 27(b) - Team sports are an excellent way to build character
(original)
- Working hard is an excellent way to make money
(adapted)

After modification the number of items in the scale remained 29.

(vii) Conclusion

The utility value of this scale lies in its cross-cultural applicability, particularly to South African diverse cultural groups.

The instrument ability to yield consistent results and to differentiate normal from abnormal populations is clearly supportive of its reliability and validity.

5.2.2.2.1.5. Interview Guide for Adults

(i) Introduction

The design of the interview in this study took into account what was considered to be the most important aspects; the nature and kind of the interview to be used and the formulation of the questions.

(ii) Nature and kind of the Interview

For the purpose of this study an open-ended focussed interview was used. According to Merton et al (1956) an open-ended interview has certain assumptions which make it possible to use a flexible framework: Firstly an assumption is made that the respondent has had an experience in the situation being involved. Secondly, that the interview focuses on the subjective experiences of the respondent as they relate to specific situations under study.

According to Merton et al (ibid) these assumptions distinguish the open-ended focussed interview from other interview

methods and make it less prone to some of the shortcomings present in the more general interview. Young (1956) further stated that an open-ended interview makes it possible to secure precise details of personal reactions, specific emotions called into play and definite mental associations provided by a certain stimulus. The open-ended interview also allows the respondent wide responses based on his own perception and frame of reference. Furthermore the responses are not confined to any explicit limit or curtailed by boundaries. Generally the open-ended interview allows the interviewer to take advantage of any unanticipated responses and to probe these further if necessary. Because of its flexibility the open-ended interview makes it possible for the interviewer to grasp more fully the participants' experience than would be the case in a more rigid methodological technique (Markson & Cognalons - Cailliard, 1970).

Richardson et al (1965) are of the opinion that consideration of a criteria for effective responses is a necessary step in the design of an interview since it makes possible an ongoing evaluation of the responses and facilitates corrective action. Their suggested criteria is presented below:

- a) range - that is, the interview should encompass both the range of stimuli and responses.
- b) depth - the interview should facilitate responses at the affective, cognitive and evaluative levels and should be self-revealing.
- c) specificity - the responses should be situation specific.
- d) personal context - the interview should make it possible for the respondent to divulge where he is in relation to the subject under discussion, that is, his values and attitudes in this regard.

(iii) Question Formulation

According to Young (1956) poorly defined goals and questions often lead to unsatisfactory responses. To minimise the possibility of such an outcome the interview items were formulated in terms of the objectives of the present study discussed in Chapter 1.

In designing the questions, Cannell et al (1968) recommendations were taken into consideration. Firstly, at a cognitive level account had to be taken of the extent to which biases could be encountered in terms of the language, frame of reference and conceptual level of the subjects. The questions were thus formulated in Zulu and the interview conducted in that language. This ensured that the frame of reference and the conceptual understanding of the respondents was taken care of. The extent to which meaning was preserved was determined by the pilot study. The second factor taken account of was accessibility, that is, the degree to which information is available or accessible to the respondents at the time of the interview. This study took care of this factor by confining the interview to fairly recent experiences. The third factor was defensiveness on the part of the respondent. An attempt was made to make questions relevant and non-threatening. Any question which was likely to offend and in so doing distort and inhibit free expression was avoided. Finally, an attempt was made to sequence the questions in a logical way. Such a logical order would lead easily from one idea to another and would flow from easy to more difficult questions.

(iv) Development and Description of the Interview Guide

The interview guide was developed by the researcher on the basis of documented information on migration and researchers own observations. In constructing the guide, assumptions and principles described above were followed. After construction, an interview guide was administered to a pilot study sample and necessary modifications made.

The interview guide was basically divided into three subsections. The first subsection consisted of eleven open-ended questions related to :

- a) Attitudes and feelings towards removal and resettlement
- b) Experiences and feelings related to the actual process of being moved.
- c) Losses and reactions to losses.
- d) Post-relocation conditions, experiences and problems.
- e) Attitudes towards authorities and migrants from other areas.

The second section comprised six open-ended questions probing into:

- a) Family relationships
- b) Relationships with ancestors
- c) Social relationships outside the family

The last section consisted of questions probing into :

- a) Perception of their future
- b) Positive aspects of resettlement
- c) What the families consider to be their real home, that is, indigenous residence or the area in which they were resettled.

(v) Administration of the Interview Guide

According to Kruger (1979) an open-ended interview should be conducted in an informal non-directive manner with the interviewer facilitating the participants' free expression of feeling and content. The interviewer guides the participant by probing in certain aspects of the experience which the participant leaves out, without biasing the participants' responses.

(vi) Reliability and Validity

Like any other measuring instruments, the interview is not free from error and bias; it is also subject to the laws of measurement, that is, it has to be both reliable and valid. According to Kahn and Cannell (1957) errors and bias in the interview can be minimised by taking more care in the construction of an interview guide or schedule, as well as in conducting it. Such care was taken in the present study by observing scientific principles in developing the interview guide, secondly, by standardising the questions.

(vii) Conclusion

The open-ended interview is one of the most flexible means of obtaining data. It lends itself to greater depth and detail and its reliability and validity can be enhanced by following specific guidelines and principles in its construction and administration.

5.2.2.2.1.6. The Children's Life Event Inventory (Coddington, 1972)

(i) Introduction

Children, in the process of growing up, frequently encounter a range of life experiences or events that may result in changes in their lives and necessitate varying degrees of coping and adaptation. Children have to adapt to school entry and often have to change from one school to another. In our mobile society school changes are often associated with a change in residence, which may in turn be correlated with a host of other changes that require additional coping efforts. Although children vary in the extent to which they experience significant life changes, such events are a potential source of stress to which all children are exposed to a greater or lesser extent.

In recent years clinicians have become increasingly interested in the effects of stressful life events on an individual child. This interest stems from the widely held assumption that stress can lead to problems of psychological adjustment and that children who have experienced high levels of life stress (life changes) are particularly at risk for the development of such difficulties.

Researchers have also shown a renewed interest in childrens' life event research. The utility value of such research investigations lies in that, firstly, life-events schedules by-pass the ambiguity inherent in the stress concept by substituting identifiable events and situations. Secondly, life event schedules are easily administered to a large group of children whose self-reports can provide a measure of stress exposure. Thirdly, such schedules have a pragmatic quality of linking external stress factors to various children's emotional and behavioural disturbances (Coddington, 1972).

A crucial issue in the investigation of life events is the characteristic of a life event which produce a stress reaction to the child. According to Dohrenwend & Dohrenwend (1970) the key component in making a life event stressful is its ability to change the child's usual activities.

Most studies have used Children's life event schedules to quantify and measure the stressful events. In the present study a modified version of Coddington's (1972) Children's Life Event Inventory was used.

(ii) Description of the Inventory

The studies of stressful life events in childhood have tended to model procedures used in adult scales and adult studies. Schedules of children's stressful events therefore show a striking similarity to prototypes developed for adult life event scales; they all imply a finite universe of stressors.

Coddington's (1972) Children's Life Event Inventory is also based on an adult measure of stressful life events. In terms of the way it was constructed - that is, its format and basic assumptions underlying its development - this measure is quite similar to the Social Re-adjustment Scale (Homes & Rahe, 1967) which has been employed in most adult life stress research. Its content is slightly modified to include items more applicable to children such as the death of a sibling, etc.

The Coddington (ibid) scale was designed for children of different age groups; 6 - 11, 12 - 16 and +16 years. It consists of a listing of various events, drawn from literature on child development, that have been found to be frequently experienced by children. To obtain these life events 243 raters consisting of teachers, paediatricians and mental health workers were presented with a list of events to be included in the measure and asked to rate each event with regard to the average amount of social readjustment necessitated by it. Birth of the sibling was designated as a modulus with an assigned value of 300 and each rater was asked to give each event a value above or below the modulus to indicate greater or lesser degree of readjustment. In order to provide a more adequate sampling of events, additional life event items frequently experienced and reported by children were obtained by conducting an open-ended survey from Black and White Children of varying socio-economic groups.

The specific number of items included in the scale varied, depending

on the age of the child. The elementary school version for example has 25 items and the junior high school has 36 items.

During the pilot study items in the elementary school version of the scale were found to be suitable for the population under study.

(iii) Administration Procedure

The Childrens' Life Inventory is a paper and pencil test which can be administered to a group of children. However, Coddington (1982) recommended that the test be administered individually to very young children or children who are educationally disadvantaged.

(iv) Reliability and Validity of the Scale

Data bearing the validity of the Children's Life Inventory has been provided by a number of studies (Wenet, 1979; Johnson & McCutcheon, 1980; Siegal, 1981) investigating the relationship between life change (as assessed by this measure) and adjustment. Generally scores derived from this scale have been found to relate to a wide range of relevant dependent variables (Johnson & McCutcheon, 1980). No recent studies have tested the reliability of this scale. However the method used for its construction is sufficiently similar to that used in the development of the adult Social Re-adjustment Rating Scale (Holmes & Rahe) for its reliability to be assumed.

Generally the high degree of interrater agreement (0.81) found between raters of children's life events in Britain and United States, affirm the reliabilities among raters across two nations in judging the impact of specific life events on young children.

(v) Conclusion

The Children's Life Event Inventory is a useful research tool for studying children exposed to life stresses and it can give

insight into the effects of stress on personality. Since the inventory takes only five to ten minutes to administer, mental health workers have found it useful in identifying children 'at risk for either mental or physical disorders'.

5.2.2.2.1.7. Child "A" Scale (Rutter et al 1971)

(i) Introduction

An overall psychiatric assessment of the child requires the combination of several approaches to the measurement of the child's behaviour, but as a first step in the evaluation, questionnaires have an important place, especially for screening purposes. Because the parent has an opportunity of observing the child at home, behavioural questionnaires completed by parents provide useful aids to diagnosing the child's behavioural problems. The parent report has an advantage over child report in that the parent has well-developed verbal skills, can conceptualise the child's problems and can be prompted to supply systematic, objective information on a specified list of behaviours. However Rutter et al (1971) stressed the importance of obtaining, from the parent, an accurate, detailed, operational description of what the child actually does on any one occasion.

(ii) Development and Description of Child "A" Scale

In developing Child "A" Scale, Rutter et al (ibid) requested a group of parents to complete the preliminary scale for 6 - 11 year old children. They were asked to describe the children they had rated, to outline the behaviour which led to positive ratings and to say what behaviours they considered relevant for each item on the scale. Samples of children who had been rated were observed by the authors of the scale.

Ambiguous items were revised or omitted. Most items requiring inference on the part of the parent were found to be unreliable and were dropped. Altogether ten items used in earlier versions were omitted from the scale when it was finalised.

In the first part of the scale, forced choice items were used. According to Rutter et al (ibid) such items may be a useful technique for prompting informants (parents) to indicate the intensity or severity of behaviour. They further felt that it was wise to choose widely differing alternatives in order to avoid the efforts of suggestion (eg. were the tantrums several times a day or just once every month).

The first part consists of two subsections; eight health problems to which the mother has to indicate how often the child has experienced them.

eg. Wets his/her bed or pants

Never in the last year	Less often than once a month	At least once per month	At least once per week
---------------------------	---------------------------------	----------------------------	---------------------------

and five habits which the mother has to indicate their severity or frequency.

eg. Does he/she stammer or stutter

☐

No

☐

Yes-mildly

☐

Yes-severely

The second part of the scale is a three-point rating scale (Yes or No two-point scales) were found to be unnecessarily crude; they led to large differences in the way parents rated slightly deviant behaviours) consisting of eighteen child's behaviours (eg. 'often tells lies') to which the parent has to check whether the statement 'certainly applies', 'applies somewhat' or 'doesn't apply' to the child in question.

(iii) Administration Procedures

The Child "A" scale is administered individually to the mother who has to rate her child in terms of several behaviours listed in the Child "A" Scale. The researcher has to explain some concepts to the mother and help her provide an accurate description of her child. In cases of illiterate mothers the researcher reads the statements to the mother and records the responses.

Rutter et al (1971) recommended that the rating should not take place in the presence of the child being rated.

(iv) Reliability and Validity of the Scale

Reliability

Test-retest reliability was tested by getting parents to rate children twice, with a 2-month interval between ratings. The product-moment correlation between the total scores on the two occasions was 0.89.

Inter-rater reliability was tested by getting six parents to rate forty-eight children and after that getting another group of six parents to rate the same children 2 - 3 months later. The product - moment correlation between the total scores on the two occasions was 0.72.

Validity

The discriminate power of the scale was tested by comparing the scores of children in general population with the scores of children attending psychiatric clinics for emotional or behavioural disorders. (See Table XII below).

TABLE XII : Discriminant Power of the Child "A" Scale

Samples	% Scoring 25 or more	Total Number
<u>1st Sample</u>		
Boys: General population	10.9	55
Aberdeen psychiatric clinic	77.3	22
Maudsley Hospital	87.7	46
Girls: General population	3.2	31
Aberdeen psychiatric clinic	50.0	12
Maudsley Hospital	72.1	29
<u>2nd Sample</u>		
Boys: General population	9.0	100
Maudsley Hospital	68.8	45
Girls: General population	5.0	100
Maudsley Hospital	69.1	39
<u>Total (1st and 2nd Samples)</u>		
Boys: General population	9.7	155
Clinic	77.9	113
Girls: General population	4.6	131
Clinic	67.5	80

(v) Conclusion

Child "A" Scale is a valid indicator of the child's psychological/psychiatric status. It provides a reliable screening instrument which can be used to discriminate children who show a psychological disorder from those who do not. It is reasonably efficient in discriminating different types of behaviour; neurotic and antisocial disorders.

The Scale is simple and easy to score. It can be used by parents of different educational levels and background.

5.2.2.2.1.8. Perception of Control Childrens' Scale (Connell, 1985)

(i) Introduction

'Locus of Control' construct was first introduced by Rotter (1954). In terms of his original social learning theory he referred to it as an expectancy that reinforcement was under one's own control (internal) or not under one's own control (external). This concept therefore refers to the child's understanding (or lack thereof) of what controls the occurrence of successes and failures in general and in different behavioural domains. This process includes the strategies the child considers viable for achieving his goals and avoiding failures.

Based on the past experience a child may either acquire the view that the locus of causality for reinforcements is external or he may view events as products of his own actions, capacities or traits. Thus children are conceived to vary along a locus of control dimension with the end points labelled internal or external.

The construct "perceived control" has been adopted by diverse theorists (Lefcourt, 1976, 1981; Phares, 1976; Strickland, 1977; Connell, 1985) interested in motivational accounts of behaviour.

Connell (1985) revised Rotter's (1954) theory of locus of control by presenting a three dimensional model of control judgement; the unknown control which indicates a lack of knowledge regarding why the outcomes occur, the internal control which suggests that the source of control of outcomes resides within the child and the external control which implies that powerful others control the outcomes.

Connell's (1985) motivation for conceptualising the children's perceived control within the existing framework is threefold.

Firstly, the framework is explicitly developmental. By conceptually differentiating and then assessing separately unknown, internal and external powerful others perceptions of control, developmental changes in the mean level, correlational structures and predictive importance of the three dimensions can be formulated and tested. Previous developmental studies of children's locus of control have been restricted to a single bipolar dimension of internal versus external locus of control (Bailer 1961; Crandall, 1965; Nowick & Strickland, 1973). Connell's (1985) three dimensional scheme provides for the first time, an assessment of both what children know about whose attributes control their successes and failures (internal and powerful others perceptions) and how much they don't know about why they succeed or fail (unknown perceptions of control).

Secondly, Connell's (ibid) measure is domain-specific. It assesses perceived control in the cognitive (school-related), social (peer-related) and physical (sport related) domains. By also including a separate global assessment of children's perceived control, comparisons between the predictive capacity and developmental course of each of the domain-specific perceptions and global control perceptions can be made with the same measure. Most existing measures assess only generalised expectancies of control and not domain-specific perceptions of control.

Finally, Connell's (ibid) framework has been developed on the basis of children's own statements in open-ended interviews about why they think they succeed and fail. Previous measurement efforts have been cloned from adult frameworks and have not taken into account potential developmental differences in adult and child's meaningfulness of control dimensions and behavioural outcomes.

(ii) Development and Description of the Scale

In developing the Childrens' Perception of Control Scale, Connell (ibid) created a pool of items reflecting the conceptual

structure of the scale. In the first version of the scale (Connell, 1977), a 'chance' dimension was included. The questionnaire was administered to a sample of 277 third - through seventh grade children, 45 of whom were interviewed and asked to give reasons why they thought they succeeded and failed in different domains of their lives. From this pilot work, two problems with the chance subscales quickly became apparent: It did not demonstrate adequate internal consistency, and children who were interviewed rarely used a chance attribution. However, a subset of the items from the chance scale did show good reliability and did emerge frequently as responses to the interview questions. These items had all to do with "not knowing why" certain events occurred so a new subscale called the "unknown control" scale, was developed based on these items. Items from the internal and external powerful others subscales were also modified slightly based on these initial studies.

The final version of the scale included 48 items: Each source of control (unknown, internal and external powerful others) within each domain (cognitive, social, physical and general) for each outcome (success and failure) is represented by two items. No two consecutive items represent the same source of control and the other components of the scale (domain and outcome), are randomly ordered.

(iii) Administration Procedure

The Perception of Control Scale can either be administered as a group paper and pencil test or to an individual subject by the researcher. In both instances the researcher has to give concrete examples and help the child/children (without biasing his responses) as much as possible to give accurate information.

(iv) Reliability and Validity of the Scale

Reliability

Internal consistency of subscales was assessed using coefficient alpha as the index of reliability. The reliability of the

four-item subscale within each domain representing unknown, internal and external powerful others source of control is presented in Table XIII below.

TABLE XIII : Internal Consistency of Subscales

Items	α
<u>Cognitive Domain</u>	
Unknown control	.68
Internal control	.62
Powerful others control	.65
<u>Social Domain</u>	
Unknown control	.60
Internal control	.62
Powerful others control	.70
<u>Physical Domain</u>	
Unknown control	.66
Internal control	.54
Powerful others control	.68
<u>General Domain</u>	
Unknown control	.65
Internal control	.43
Powerful others control	.57

α = Subscale reliabilities

Taken as a whole, the internal consistency of this measure compares favourably to existing measures of children's locus of control (Bailer, 1961; Crandall et al 1965; Nowicki & Strickland, 1973).

Test - retest reliabilities of data collected from a sample of 129 subjects indicated that four-item unknown, internal

and powerful others subscales within each of the four domains had significant but moderate correlations over a period of 9 months (mean $r = .34$, $p < .0001$, range .30 - .48). For the 17 month period rest - retest reliabilities varied from significant low to moderate correlations (mean $r = .32$, $p < .0001$, range .25 - .50). Split-forms of the scale administered one week apart, had alpha reliability estimates ranging from .60 to .78.

Intercorrelations among Subscales

Correlations of three source - of - control subscales revealed significant low to moderate positive correlations between the unknown and powerful others control subscales within the domains (.31 to .48). Most nonsignificant relationships were between internal and powerful others subscales (.11 to .16) as well as between internal and unknown subscales (.13 and .19). These findings indicated that unknown control is more than just the absence of internal or powerful others control perceptions (Connell, 1985). Low to moderate positive correlations (.29 to .46) were obtained for each source of control subscale across domains. The strongest relationship across domains (.39 to .46) were among the unknown control subscales. These results lend support to the discriminability of the three sources of control within each domain and the specificity of the unknown, internal and powerful others dimensions in that the magnitude of these sets of correlations is low relative to the subscales reliabilities (Connell, 1985).

Construct Validity

According to Connell (1985) validity coefficients of three sources of control across domains indicated that

- a) In the cognitive domain the unknown control, internal control and relative internality for success outcome were the most consistent predictors of standardised achievement scores (each variable showing four out of six r 's were significant at $p < .05$. On the whole relative internality for success

outcomes was a consistent predictor of achievement scores than relative internality for failure outcomes.

- b) Internal, powerful others and especially unknown perceptions of control were systematically and predictably related to children's intrinsic versus extrinsic orientations in the classroom.
- c) The unknown control scores and, to some extent the powerful others subscale were more sensitive to increased experience in school and to transitions in the education context.
- d) The powerful others control within the social domain was the perceived control dimension most consistently and moderately (.32 to .44) correlated with children's perceived and actual acceptance by others.
- e) In the physical domain, significant negative correlations (-.41 to -.47) were obtained between the powerful others control and the gym teacher's ratings.
- f) Children who saw their own effort in determining whether they succeed at physical activities perceived themselves as more competent and were rated by their teachers as more competent.

(v) Conclusion

Connell's (ibid) scale provides a multi-dimensional psychometrically reliable and valid measure sensitive to both developmental and environmental influences. According to Barling & Fincham (1978) the multi-dimensional approach has more predictive utility than the unidimensional approach. It provides rich idiographic portrayal of the children's perception of control as well as individual differences in children's understanding of why they succeed or fail. This measure further provides an adequate opportunity for the testing of elaborate hypotheses regarding the relationships between children's perceptions of control and other self-related constructs and behaviours. The pattern of relationships between the present measure and theoretically implicated constructs is the cause of encouragement (Connell, 1985).

5.2.2.2.1.9. Interview Guide for Children

(i) Introduction

Assumptions and principles used as a framework for constructing

the interview guide for adults were followed in developing the interview guide for children.

(ii) Development and Description of the Interview Guide

The interview guide was constructed by the researcher on the basis of information obtained from Course I psychology students who were asked to describe possible experiences and feelings of children who are abruptly removed, together with their families, from their original rural or semi-rural residence to an inadequately developed settlement. Besides this source of information the researcher also used other documented information on migration. After the initial construction, the interview guide was administered to the pilot study sample of children. Few modifications were subsequently made.

The interview guide was divided into three sub-sections. The first section consisted of 6 open-ended questionnaires probing into the childrens';

- a) experiences and feelings towards removal and resettlement
- b) post-relocation experiences and problems.

The second section probed into the childrens'

- a) family relationships, and
- b) peer relationships..

The last section was directed to the childrens' school related changes and activities.

(iii) Administration of the Interview Guide

The same procedure as in adult samples was followed in the administration of the childrens' interview guide. According to Kruger (1979), the childrens' description of their experiences tend to be incomplete or imperfect due to lack of skill in expression, forgetfulness and poor vocabulary. He therefore suggested that the researcher be more facilitative to childrens' expression of feeling and content. However, he cautioned the researcher about the increased possibility and danger of biasing the childrens' responses.

(iv) Conclusion

The present study used both the experiential and experimental approach to the study of psychosocial correlates of Black migration. According to Giorgi (1973) inclusion of experiential and experimental data comes closer to tapping the richness of man as he exists than either experiential or experimental method alone.

5.2.3. Administration

In view of the length and depth of interviews the researcher felt that all target families had to be contacted beforehand to help them plan their time for interviews. It was anticipated that prior contact would also ensure that subjects were at home when the researchers visited the families. Thus, before the actual administration of psychological measures, letters were sent to the target families briefly informing them about the forthcoming visit by the researcher and three research assistants (that is, three trained senior psychology students).

On the actual day of testing the researcher and research assistants spent the first fifteen minutes establishing rapport and creating a nonthreatening, relaxed atmosphere. The content and objectives of the study were explained to the families and a request to have an interview tape-recorded made. Only about twenty families agreed to tape-recording. Families were generally suspicious of tape recordings, since it is associated with people who are 'police informers'. The researcher considered the period of establishing rapport to be very important in view of the fact that the resettled families are reported to be very hostile towards researchers, often perceived or associated with officials.

Once rapport had been established the researchers administered the battery of psychological measures to the family representative and the child simultaneously; one researcher interviewed the family representative and the other researcher interviewed the child in two separate rooms.

In all psychological measures the researchers read out the events or statements to the subject and then wrote down the responses.

Firstly, the Biographical Inventory and the Life Event Scale were administered to the adult subject and the Children's Life Inventory to the child subject. Schwartz et al (1982) and Coddington's (1972) administrative procedures were followed respectively. After this session there was a twenty minute break.

After the break the Impact of Event Scale, Internal-External Locus of Control Scale and the Child "A" Scale were administered to the family representative. If the mother was not a family representative she was requested to assist in rating the child's behaviour. The scales were administered according to administrative procedures followed by Horowitz (1979), Rotter (1966) and Rutter et al (1971) respectively. At the same time the Perception of Control Scale was administered to the child. The administrative procedure used by Connell (1985) was followed. This session was followed by a twenty minute break.

During the last session one interview guide was administered to the family representative and another to the child. Children's interviews were not recorded. It was felt that the use of the recorder with children could be too threatening, and thus interfere with the children's natural expression of feeling and content. Interviews with adult subjects, who agreed to tape-recording, were recorded. According to Giorgi (1973) recorded interviews capture the subtle nuances of the subjects lived - experiences. For the rest of the interviews adverbatis transcripts were written. In all the interviews the subjects were allowed to talk as much as possible about their experiences and the researcher only posed specific questions afterwards.

The overall testing time was two hours, fifteen minutes, that is, forty-five minutes for each session.

Two major problems were encountered during test administration: Firstly two of the researchers were stopped in the course of test administration, by Inkatha members who thought that they were agitators. However this

problem was resolved when Inkatha members were shown an official permission from Kwa-Zulu Government to conduct research. Secondly, it became difficult to elicit information from children who seemed to have forgotten some of the migration experiences since they occurred when they were much younger.

5.2.4. Summary and Conclusion

In terms of the objectives of this study a battery of psychological instruments was administered to a random sample of 400 families divided into eight groups comprising four adult and four children groups with 50 participants in each group.

Psychological measures were administered to the subjects to measure the dependent variables, stress and psychological status of the migrants.

Raw data yielded by psychological measures were analysed in terms of the specific hypotheses of this study and are presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER SIX

6. RESULTS OF THE INVESTIGATION

6.1. Introduction

In terms of the objectives and hypotheses of this study, various psychological measures were administered to eight treatment groups (that is, involuntary 'black spot' adult and children migrant groups, involuntary farm evicted adult and children migrant groups, voluntary farm adult and children migrant groups and non-migrant adult and children groups) to measure migration stress and the extent to which psychological status was related to different types of migratory experiences. It is to be noted that the groups represented different degrees of volition with respect to their decision to migrate. Statistical data yielded by various psychological measures is presented and discussed in the section that follows:

6.2. Analysis of Data

The analysis of research data is presented in two parts : Part I deals with experimental data yielded by the psychometric measures and Part II focusses on experiential data yielded by the semi-structured interview guides.

PART I

6.2.1. Statistical Analysis of Experimental Data

Raw data yielded by various psychometric instruments was subjected to computer analysis. The statistic computed therefrom included means and standard deviations, product-moment correlation coefficient, factor analysis and analysis of variance.

A detailed presentation of the various analyses is given below :

6.2.1.1. Subjects Characteristics

Demographic data yielded by the Biographical Inventory was subjected to

computer analysis which yielded frequencies and percentages on the following variables.

(i) Age of Participants

Age distribution of all participants in adults and children treatment groups is presented in Table XIV below :

TABLE XIV : AGE DISTRIBUTION OF PARTICIPANTS

AGE	ADULTS				CHILDREN			
	Involuntary 'Black spot' migrants	Involuntary farm evicted migrants	Voluntary farm migrants	Non- migrants	Involuntary 'Black spot' migrants	Involuntary farm evicted migrants	Voluntary farm migrants	Non- migrants
	N = 50 E1	N = 50 E2	N = 50 E3	N = 50 C1	N = 50 E1	N = 50 E2	N = 50 E3	N = 50 C1
	f %	f %	f %	f %	f %	f %	f %	f %
10-11	- -	- -	- -	- -	26 52	30 60	30 60	23 46
12-13	- -	- -	- -	- -	24 48	20 40	20 40	27 54
35-39	23 46	26 52	26 52	26 52	- -	- -	- -	- -
40-49	27 54	24 48	24 48	24 48	- -	- -	- -	- -
TOTAL	50 100	50 100	50 100	50 100	50 100	50 100	50 100	50 100

The age distribution in adult treatment groups was more or less the same. However in children treatment groups more farm migrant children (involuntary farm evicted and voluntary farm migrant children groups) were in the age range of 10 to 11 years.

(ii) Sex Distribution of Participants

The sex distribution of all participants in adult and childrens' treatment groups is presented in Table XV overleaf.

TABLE XV : SEX DISTRIBUTION OF PARTICIPANTS

	ADULTS				CHILDREN			
	Involuntary 'Black spot' migrants	Involuntary farm evicted migrants	Voluntary farm migrants	Non- migrants	Involuntary 'Black spot' migrants	Involuntary farm evicted migrants	Voluntary farm migrants	Non- migrants
SEX	E1	E2	E3	C1	E1	E2	E3	C1
	f %	f %	f %	f %	f %	f %	f %	f %
Male	40 80	44 88	44 88	43 86	18 36	25 50	25 50	21 42
Female	10 20	6 12	6 12	7 14	32 64	25 50	25 50	29 58
TOTAL	50 100	50 100	50 100	50 100	50 100	50 100	50 100	50 100

The majority of participants were males in all adult treatment groups. However, in children treatment groups there were more female participants in the involuntary 'black spot' migrant group and the non-migrant group. In involuntary and voluntary farm migrant groups, male and females were equally distributed.

(iii) Educational Status

Educational status of adult and children treatment groups is presented separately in Table XVI and Table XVII respectively.

TABLE XVI : EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF ADULT PARTICIPANTS

Standard of Education	Involuntary 'black spot' migrants		Involuntary farm evicted migrants		Voluntary farm migrants		Non-migrants	
	N=50 E1		N=50 E2		N=50 E3		N=50 C1	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
No schooling	3	6	39	78	38	76	8	16
Primary school	15	30	9	18	9	18	14	28
Junior High School	15	30	2	4	3	6	9	18
Senior High School	11	22	-	-	-	-	10	20
Diploma	4	8	-	-	-	-	5	10
Degree	2	4	-	-	-	-	4	9
TOTAL	50	100	50	100	50	100	50	100

TABLE XVII : EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF CHILDREN PARTICIPANTS

Standard of Education	Involuntary 'black spot' migrants		Involuntary farm evicted migrants		Voluntary farm migrants		Non-migrants	
	N=50 E1		N=50 E2		N=50 E3		N=50 C1	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
No schooling	1	2	7	14	8	16	1	2
Sub A - Sub B	5	10	27	58	27	54	9	18
Std. I - Std. II	21	42	11	22	11	22	16	32
Std. III - Std. IV	2	4	5	10	4	8	24	48
TOTAL	50	100	50	100	50	100	50	100

According to the above tables, a majority of farm migrant adults (involuntary farm evicted and voluntary farm migrants) had not gone to school, and a majority of their children were still at the beginning of their schooling. On the other hand, a majority of involuntary 'black spot' migrants and non-migrant had primary to senior high school education. A few of them had even managed to obtain diplomas and degrees. A large percentage of their children had primary school education. Very few of these children (involuntary 'black spot' and non-migrant groups) had not gone to school.

(iv) Family Income

The family income of all participants is presented in Table XVIII below.

TABLE XVIII : FAMILY INCOME OF PARTICIPANTS

Family Income	Involuntary 'black spot' migrants		Involuntary farm evicted migrants		Voluntary farm migrants		Non-migrants	
	N = 50 E1		N=50 E2		N=50 E3		N=50 C1	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Less than R100	17	34	26	52	24	48	10	20
R100 - R199	14	28	19	38	20	40	11	22
R200 - R299	9	18	5	10	5	10	11	22
R300 - R399	6	12	-	-	-	-	6	12
R400 - R499	3	6	-	-	-	-	5	10
R500 and above	1	2	-	-	-	-	7	14
TOTAL	50	100	50	100	50	100	50	100

The above table indicated that involuntary 'black spot' migrants and non-migrant groups were more or less in the same income bracket. However, a closer analysis indicated that there were fewer non-migrant participants in the first two lower income brackets and fewer involuntary 'black spot' migrants in the last two high income brackets. Secondly, the table indicated that farm migrants (involuntary farm evicted and voluntary farm migrant groups) were at a much lower income bracket than involuntary 'black spot' migrant and non-migrant groups.

(v) Family Size of the Participants

The number of family members in participants' families is presented in Table XIX below :

TABLE XIX : FAMILY SIZE OF PARTICIPANTS

Family Size	Involuntary 'black spot' migrants		Involuntary farm evicted migrants		Voluntary farm migrants		Non-migrants	
	N=50 E1		N=50 E2		N=50 E3		N=50 C1	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Less than 3	7	14	7	14	5	10	13	26
4 - 6	14	28	11	22	11	22	15	30
7 - 9	18	38	20	40	21	42	16	32
10 - 12	9	18	12	24	13	26	6	12
13 and above	2	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	50	100	50	100	50	100	50	100

The above table indicated that the family composition of most migrant families (involuntary 'black spot' migrants, involuntary farm evicted migrants and voluntary farm migrants) consisted of 7 - 9 members. Very few of these families had more than thirteen and less than three family members. Although a majority of non-migrant families had a family composition of 7 - 9 members, a large number of these families also had less than 7 family members.

(vi) Residential Status of Participants

This refers to the non-migrants present status, and the migrants status in their previous residence, that is, whether they were landlords (landowners)

or tenants before migration (c.f. Table XX below).

TABLE XX : RESIDENTIAL STATUS OF PARTICIPANTS

Previous Residential Status	Involuntary 'black spot' migrants		Involuntary farm evicted migrants		Voluntary farm migrants		Non-migrants	
	N=50 E1		N=50 E2		N=50 E3		N=50 C1	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Landlord	29	58	-	-	1	2	20	40
Tenant	21	42	50	100	49	98	30	60
TOTAL	50	100	50	100	50	100	50	100

Table XX above indicated that the previous residential status of the majority of involuntary 'black spot' migrants was that of tenants. All but one of the involuntary and voluntary farm migrants had been tenants prior to migration. The present status of the majority of non-migrant families was that of tenants.

(vii) Number of Years in Present Residence

This refers to the number of years which migrants and non-migrants had spent in their present residence.

TABLE XXI : NUMBER OF YEARS IN PRESENT RESIDENCE

No. of Years at the Present Residence	Involuntary 'black spot' migrants		Involuntary farm evicted migrants		Voluntary farm migrants		Non-migrants	
	N=50 E1		N=50 E2		N=50 E3		N=50 C1	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Less than 1 yr.	5	10	7	14	7	14	-	-
1 - 3	11	22	6	12	6	12	-	-
4 - 6	16	32	16	32	16	32	-	-
7 - 9	13	26	21	42	21	42	-	-
10 - 15	5	10	-	-	-	-	-	-
16 - 20	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	8
21 and above	-	-	-	-	-	-	46	92
TOTAL	50	100	50	100	50	100	50	100

According to Table XXI the majority of migrants (involuntary 'black spot' migrants, involuntary farm evicted migrants and voluntary farm migrants) had been resettled for a period of 1 - 9 years. On the other hand, the majority of non-migrants had lived in their present residential area for more than twenty years.

(viii) Number of Years in Previous Residence

This refers to the number of years which the participants spent in their previous residence, that is, before they were moved to the present resettlement area. (c.f. Table XXII below).

TABLE XXII : NUMBER OF YEARS IN PREVIOUS RESIDENCE

No. of Years in Previous Residence	Involuntary 'black spot' migrants		Involuntary farm evicted migrants		Voluntary farm migrants		Non-migrants	
	N=50 E1		N=50 E2		N=50 E3		N=50 C1	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Less than 10	6	12	3	6	2	4	-	-
10 - 19	22	44	36	72	34	68	-	-
20 and above	22	44	11	22	14	28	-	-
TOTAL	50	100	50	100	50	100	-	-

The analysis of the above table indicated that the majority of migrants (involuntary 'black spot' migrants, involuntary farm evicted migrants and voluntary farm migrants) had spent more than ten years in their previous residential area.

(ix) Present Accommodation

This refers to the type of house occupied by the participants, that is, whether they occupy a shack or shacks, four-roomed house built by the government or a big self-built house (c.f. Table XXIII below).

TABLE XXIII : TYPE OF CURRENT ACCOMMODATION

Type of Accommodation	Involuntary 'black spot' migrants		Involuntary farm evicted migrants		Voluntary farm migrants		Non-migrants	
	E1		E2		E3		C1	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Shack/s	33	66	45	90	45	90	11	22
Four-roomed House	3	6	5	10	5	10	-	-
Big House	14	28	0	0	-	-	39	68
TOTAL	50	100	50	100	50	100	50	100

The above table indicated that most migrants (involuntary 'black spot' migrants, involuntary farm evicted migrants, voluntary farm migrants) occupied shacks while a large number of non-migrants occupied self-built houses.

Summary

The overall analysis of the above summary tables indicated that :

- (i) The age distribution in all adult treatment groups was more or less the same. However, in children treatment groups, there were more farm migrant children in the 10-11 year age group.
- (ii) The majority of adult participants were males. On the other hand a large number of children participants in involuntary 'black spot' migrant and non-migrant groups were females.
- (iii) A majority of farm migrant adults and children were either illiterate or semi-illiterate.

On the whole farm migrants were less educated than 'black spot' and non-migrant groups.

- (iv) The involuntary 'black spot' migrant group and the non-migrant

group were more or less in the same income bracket; the income of involuntary and voluntary farm migrants was much lower than that of involuntary 'black spot' migrant and non-migrant groups.

- (v) The family composition in the majority of families, in all treatment groups, consisted of 7 - 9 members. However, in the non-migrant group a large number of families also had less than six family members.
- (vi) The previous residential status of most migrants was that of tenants. The present residential status of the majority of non-migrants was also that of tenants.
- (vii) Most migrants had been resettled for a period of 1 to 9 years while the majority of non-migrants had lived in their present residential area for more than twenty years.
- (viii) A majority of migrants had spent more than ten years in their previous residential area.
- (ix) A large number of migrants occupied shacks while less than half of non-migrants occupied shacks.

Generally, there seemed to be great similarities between involuntary 'black spot' migrants and non-migrant groups, especially in relation to their educational status and family income. This was possibly due to the fact that both groups had enjoyed the privileged status of owning or living on land with freehold rights and well organised facilities to meet their needs. Although 'black spot' involuntary migrants had lost that land, the long-term benefits of their previous privileged status, such as better education and higher family income, were maintained. Thus in some ways they showed the same characteristics as non-migrants who were still living on their original land.

6.2.1.2. Stressful Life Events

6.2.1.2.1. Stressful Life Events - Adults

The Life Event Scale (Schwartz, et al 1982) yielded raw stress scores obtained through the following scoring procedure.

6.2.1.2.1.1. Scoring Procedure for the Life Event Scale
(Schwartz, et al, 1982)

The pilot study indicated that illiterate and semi-literate participants experienced difficulties in rating life events following Schwartz's et al (ibid) three-point rating scale. Holmes and Rahe's (1967) rating and scoring procedure, which was found to be more appropriate for the present sample, was subsequently adopted in favour of Schwartz's et al (1982) scoring method. However, two changes were made to Holmes and Rahe's (1967) scoring procedure :

- (i) Firstly, the modulus 'marriage' which was assigned an arbitrary value of 500 by Holmes and Rahe (ibid) was given a value of 300.
- (ii) Secondly, subjects were asked to rate each of the items on a 0 - 30 scale instead of Holmes and Rahe's (ibid) 0 - 1000 scale. The ratings on each item were then multiplied by 10 and presented on a 0 - 300 scale.

These changes were effected to accommodate the illiterate and semi-literate subjects who could not handle large figures.

Holmes and Rahe's (ibid) scoring procedure involved asking a subject to compare each of the life events with the modulus to determine whether the stress or required adjustment for each event was proportionally greater or lesser than that of the modulus. For example, when the subject evaluated a life event such as 'lose home' he had to ask himself if 'lose home' was more or less or perhaps equal to the amount and duration of life changes or stress and readjustment inherent to the modulus (that is, marriage). If he decided that it was more or less, he had to indicate how much more or less by choosing a proportionally larger or smaller number than 150. If he decided that it was equal to the modulus, he assigned an equal value to it. This process was repeated for each of the remaining events in the scale. In assigning values the subject was instructed to utilise all his experiences, that is, his personal experiences as well as his estimates based on the experiences of others.

Total stress scores for each participant as well as for each treatment group were computed. The higher scores were interpreted to mean higher levels of perceived stress and lower scores were indicative of lower

levels of perceived stress.

Raw stress scores were subsequently subjected to various statistical procedures presented in the following section.

6.2.1.2.1.2. Statistical Analysis of Adult Stress Data

(a) Means and Standard Deviations

Item means and standard deviations, computed for each of the events comprising the Life Event Scale, for each of the four adult treatment groups are presented in Table XXIV overleaf:

Table XXIV indicated that :

- (i) In involuntary 'black spot' migrant adults, events perceived as highly stressful were those related to death and illness in the family; financial loss, loss of job and inability to find work; eviction, move to a worse neighbourhood and change of residence; loss of home, valuable possessions or property and intimidation by police or government officials.

Events perceived as mildly stressful were those related to pregnancy, birth of child, new person moving into the household, spouse or cohabitee moving elsewhere, trouble with in-laws, unmarried child falling pregnant; promotion, retirements and repossession of goods and buying on H.P.; visiting diviner, inability to conduct a ritual; suffering an assault and being socially ostracised or disliked.

In almost all events there was a high degree of variability. Events related to death and illness in the family; change of residence, major changes in lifestyle and marriage showed less variability.

- (ii) In involuntary farm evicted migrant adults, events perceived as highly stressful were those related to death and illness in the family, inability to find work; major change in lifestyle, change of residence, eviction, move from rural to urban area, move to a worse neighbourhood; lose home, valuable possessions or property;

TABLE XXIV : ITEM MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS ON THE LIFE EVENT INVENTORY FOR EACH OF THE DIFFERENT ADULT TREATMENT GROUPS

I T E M S	Involuntary 'black spot' migrants		Involuntary farm evicted migrants		Voluntary farm migrants		Non-migrants		Entire Sample	
	E1		E2		E3		C1			
	M	S	M	S	M	S	M	S	M	S
1. Serious illness (family)	295.4	3.3	295.9	4.0	295.0	4.5	298.5	0.9	296.2	3.7
2. Serious illness (self)	262.8	27.8	274.9	21.3	274.9	21.3	298.2	1.1	277.7	24.1
3. Death in the family	298.0	3.2	296.9	3.4	296.4	3.9	297.5	14.1	297.2	7.6
4. Suffer financial loss	280.9	38.2	171.2	65.3	164.7	64.1	243.6	29.5	215.1	71.1
5. Repossession of goods	63.5	44.9	106.1	38.8	99.3	44.7	126.8	52.5	98.9	50.6
6. Lose job	227.7	62.8	231.2	62.5	236.2	46.9	284.4	28.1	244.9	56.6
7. Retirement	62.6	50.0	99.8	60.2	113.8	59.5	111.4	48.2	96.9	58.1
8. Lose home	292.4	12.5	293.5	6.3	291.8	15.4	107.0	34.8	246.2	83.0
9. Major changes in lifestyle	290.9	9.8	283.9	25.3	281.9	23.1	242.1	43.8	274.7	34.0
10. Separated from ancestral spirits	238.4	38.0	235.2	57.1	241.1	41.7	149.0	45.3	215.9	60.0
11. Eviction	269.7	38.1	290.6	11.0	289.4	9.4	234.8	45.1	271.1	37.7
12. Arrest	206.2	56.3	206.4	55.6	217.7	47.2	207.1	45.7	209.3	51.3
13. Move from rural to urban area	225.2	53.8	292.5	13.9	286.4	24.2	231.3	38.5	258.9	47.1
14. Death of spouse	292.4	29.8	297.4	12.8	299.2	0.9	292.3	30.3	295.3	22.2
15. Identity document conviction	188.7	63.1	200.0	61.9	204.5	45.8	200.5	40.9	198.4	53.7
16. Divorce	170.2	50.0	118.6	58.6	130.5	56.8	182.1	43.7	150.3	58.6
17. Socially ostracised or disliked	111.3	47.7	232.2	33.0	223.2	38.5	118.4	48.4	171.3	70.6
18. Unable to work	253.1	52.9	289.2	16.0	286.2	18.7	269.4	31.2	274.5	35.9
19. Problems with children	226.7	36.7	267.9	30.7	261.6	31.7	168.7	46.1	231.2	53.8
20. Unmarried child falls pregnant	144.0	77.0	141.0	73.0	147.5	65.1	151.6	73.5	146.0	71.8
21. Lose valued possessions	265.5	52.9	284.6	32.9	283.2	19.1	172.1	51.8	251.3	62.2
22. Trouble with in-laws	117.1	69.5	61.9	44.5	85.5	41.9	87.7	48.0	88.1	55.3
23. Child leaves home	182.1	66.8	202.5	55.7	213.0	44.6	190.3	44.1	196.9	54.5
24. Pregnancy	115.3	41.6	110.1	41.4	123.4	39.9	118.1	28.0	116.7	38.1
25. Move to a worse neighbourhood	289.6	19.0	289.3	13.5	282.14	35.5	230.7	48.4	273.0	40.4
26. Suffer an assault	141.1	57.6	279.5	16.3	271.5	24.8	120.6	33.2	203.2	81.4
27. Change residence	283.6	45.5	289.8	27.1	283.0	32.5	269.7	36.3	281.5	36.5
28. Unable to conduct a ritual	104.8	42.5	100.4	18.0	113.3	32.6	109.3	24.6	106.9	30.9
29. Birth of child	103.5	44.6	100.8	33.8	110.4	40.6	111.2	34.8	106.5	38.7
30. Visit diviner	126.5	58.6	125.4	49.9	127.8	53.1	137.3	52.8	129.2	53.5
31. Change in financial state	243.2	46.1	165.4	46.6	163.8	47.3	282.2	37.5	213.6	67.5
32. New person moves into the household	97.4	37.5	101.2	20.3	108.8	22.1	111.8	35.6	104.8	30.2
33. Buy of H.P.	118.7	38.3	83.9	36.6	93.5	36.9	174.3	42.5	117.6	52.1
34. Emotional problems with spouse	227.3	43.1	218.1	38.4	216.0	36.3	221.3	36.3	220.7	38.6
35. Loss of property with little or no compensation	288.4	20.5	228.0	26.2	224.1	34.9	261.6	25.0	250.5	37.7
36. Loss of social supports	185.5	74.0	232.9	27.5	228.8	38.3	246.8	32.0	223.5	51.7
37. Civil unrest	209.8	40.4	215.0	30.2	218.7	33.9	279.3	28.3	230.7	43.6
38. Suffer a robbery	168.5	64.8	152.7	55.2	160.1	46.5	133.5	40.1	153.7	53.7
39. Legal problems	232.5	41.8	99.8	29.0	114.8	40.7	162.4	40.8	152.4	64.3
40. Spouse/Cohabitee moves elsewhere	108.3	42.8	121.8	35.2	129.2	36.1	178.3	37.3	134.4	46.1
41. Marital infidelity	175.6	54.5	173.6	42.5	177.6	42.4	175.3	35.0	175.5	43.9
42. Marriage	152.2	15.6	149.0	7.3	152.2	14.2	149.1	4.7	150.6	11.4
43. Promotion	121.7	39.8	122.0	35.6	133.3	42.5	130.6	30.9	126.9	37.5
44. Inability to bear children	224.4	45.1	218.1	53.3	206.9	54.2	221.7	50.1	217.8	50.8
45. Being intimidated by police or other government officials	264.0	34.4	259.0	34.8	243.2	44.1	141.5	52.3	227.0	65.1
46. Trouble at work	168.5	50.1	142.8	35.0	143.9	38.1	134.1	25.5	147.3	40.0

NB: For the purpose of the present study, items with a mean score above 250 were considered to be highly stressful. Items with a mean score between 250 and 150 were regarded as moderately stressful. All items below 150 were considered to be mildly stressful.

All items with a standard deviation above 20 were considered to have a high degree of variability.

problems with children, suffer an assault and being intimidated by police or government officials.

Events perceived as mildly stressful were those related to promotion, retirement, buying on H.P. and repossession of goods; inability to conduct a ritual, visiting a diviner; pregnancy, birth of child, unmarried child falling pregnant, new person moving into the household, spouse or cohabitee moving elsewhere, trouble with in-laws and divorce; legal problems and trouble at work.

There was a high degree of variability in almost all the events. Few events which showed less variability were those related to death and illness in the family, lose home, eviction, move from rural to urban area and move to a worse neighbourhood; inability to work and inability to conduct a ritual; suffer an assault and marriage.

- (iii) Events perceived as highly stressful by involuntary farm migrants were those related to death and illness in the family, problems with children; change in financial state, lose job and inability to find work; change of residence, and lifestyle; eviction, move from rural to urban area, move to a worse neighbourhood and civil unrest; suffer an assault; loss of home, valuable possession or property.

Events perceived as mildly stressful were those related to birth of child, pregnancy, unmarried child falling pregnant, new person moving into the household, spouse or cohabitee moving elsewhere, trouble with in-laws, divorce; repossession of goods, retirement, promotion, buying on H.P.; inability to conduct a ritual and visiting a diviner; trouble at work and legal problems.

A high degree of variability was observed in almost all the events. Few events which showed less variability were those related to death and illness in the family, lose home and eviction; inability to work and losing valued possessions; suffering an assault and marriage.

- (v) Events perceived as highly stressful by the entire sample were those related to major changes in lifestyle, eviction; move from rural to urban area and move to a worse neighbourhood, change of residence, loss of valued possessions or property; inability to work.

Events perceived as mildly stressful were those related to repossession of goods, buying on H.P., retirement and promotion; birth of child, pregnancy, unmarried child falling pregnant; spouse or cohabitee moving elsewhere, new person moving into the household, trouble with in-laws; visiting diviner, inability to conduct a ritual; trouble at work, suffering a robbery.

A high degree of variability was observed in almost all the events. Few events which showed less variability were those related to death and illness in the family, marriage and unmarried child falling pregnant.

Summary

- (i) All adult treatment groups perceived events related to death and illness in the family, inability to work and change of residence as highly stressful.
- (ii) All migrant groups perceived migration-related events such as 'lose home', 'major change in lifestyle', 'eviction', 'lose valued possessions', 'loss of property with little or no compensation' and 'move to a worse neighbourhood' as highly stressful.
- (iii) Involuntary and voluntary farm migrants perceived 'move from rural to urban area' as additionally stressful, whereas involuntary 'black spot' migrants perceived 'suffer financial loss' as additionally stressful. 'Lose job' and civil unrest were perceived as highly stressful by non-migrant adults only.
- (iv) Generally, there was greater variability in the rating of events by all treatment groups. This suggested that participants in each of the four treatment groups varied greatly in their

rating of individual items.

However, less variability was observed in events related to death and illness in the family, marriage and unmarried child falling pregnant.

To conclude, it would appear that all treatment groups irrespective of the degree of volition to migrate, perceived certain events as highly stressful. However most migration-related events were highly stressful to migrant groups. Some events were highly stressful to migrant groups only. However, few events were highly stressful to either 'black spot' or farm migrants.

(b) Perceived Stress : Difference Between Adult Treatment Groups

Next, an attempt was made to investigate whether the four adult treatment groups, with different degrees of volition to migrate, differed on stress perception. The total stress scores were subjected to a 4 x 1 (group X stress) one-way analysis of variance. The results of the analysis are presented in Table XXV and Table XXVI below :

TABLE XXV : SUMMARY TABLE OF THE RESULTS OF GROUPS X STRESS (4x1) ANOVA-ADULTS

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE					
Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F-Ratio	F-Prob
Between Groups	3	6687613.535	2229204.512	26.7204	.0000
Within Groups	196	16351706.42	83427.0736		
TOTAL	199	23039319.95			

Results in Table XXV above indicated significant differences in the main effect. This suggested that the four treatment groups differed significantly in their perception of stress. To clarify these differences, the mean stress scores for each treatment group are presented in Table XXVI overleaf.

TABLE XXVI : MEAN STRESS SCORES OF FOUR TREATMENT GROUPS - ADULTS

Involuntary 'black spot' migrants	Involuntary farm evicted migrants	Voluntary farm migrants	Non-migrants
E1	E2	E3	C1
9115	9151.6	9249	8765.42

The post hoc Scheffé analysis, by the computer, located significant differences, for each treatment group, in the following areas.

- (i) Perception of stress by involuntary 'black spot' migrant adults was significantly higher ($p \leq 0,01$) than that of non-migrant adults (involuntary 'black spot' migrants' mean stress score = 9115; non-migrants' mean stress score = 8765.42).
- (ii) Perception of stress by involuntary farm evicted migrant adults was significantly higher ($p \leq 0,01$) than that of non-migrant adults (involuntary farm evicted migrants' mean stress score = 9151.6; non-migrants' mean stress score = 8765.41).
- (iii) Perception of stress by voluntary farm migrant adults was significantly higher ($p \leq 0,01$) than that of non-migrant adults (voluntary farm migrants' mean stress score = 10738.72; non-migrants' mean stress score = 9249.56).
- (iv) Various migrant groups (involuntary 'black spot' migrant adults, involuntary farm evicted migrant adults, voluntary farm migrant adults) perceived more or less the same degree of stress and their perception of stress was significantly different from that of the non-migrant adult group.

(c) Factor Analysis of Adult Stress Data

The Anova analysis, presented above, showed differences in total perceived stress among treatment groups; means and standard deviations of individual items presented in the preceeding section,

also showed similarities and differences in perceived stress among various items in different treatment groups. Next, an attempt was made to identify underlying factors in perceived stress, through exploratory factor analysis.

Exploratory factor analyses was used to describe and summarise patterns of intercorrelations or relationships among various stress items. To extract factors from these items the SPSSX programme was used.

Since the Anova analysis indicated differences among treatment groups, the results of the SPSSX programme are presented separately for each of the four adult treatment groups.

(i) Communality, Eigenvalues and Proportion of Variance for Different Factors

Communality represents the proportion of variance in a variable that is predictable from factors underlying it. It actually provides an estimate of the common variance. Eigenvalue consolidates variance in a matrix and gives an estimate of the maximum number of factors. According to Tabachnick and Fidell (1983) any factor with an eigenvalue less than 1 is not important for analysis. Proportion or percentage of variance refers to the proportion of variance accounted for by the factor. Cumulative percentage of variance refers to the accumulative percentage of variance accounted for by different factors.

Communality, eigenvalues and percentage of variance accounted for by the different factors, in each of the four adult treatment groups; involuntary 'black spot' migrants, involuntary farm evicted migrants, voluntary farm migrants and non-migrants are presented in Table XXVII to Table XXX below.

TABLE XXVII : COMMUNALITY, EIGENVALUES AND PROPORTION OF VARIANCE FOR
DIFFERENT FACTORS : INVOLUNTARY 'BLACK SPOT' MIGRANT ADULTS (E1)

Variable	Communality	Factor	Eigenvalue	PCT OF VAR	CUM PCT
L 1	1.00000	1	8.75750	19.0	19.0
L 2	1.00000	2	5.75830	12.5	31.6
L 3	1.00000	3	3.94466	8.6	40.1
L 4	1.00000	4	2.42159	5.3	45.4
L 5	1.00000	5	2.16247	4.7	50.1
L 6	1.00000	6	2.07361	4.5	54.6
L 7	1.00000	7	1.82876	4.0	58.6
L 8	1.00000	8	1.76823	3.8	62.4
L 9	1.00000	9	1.63593	3.6	66.0
L 10	1.00000	10	1.55103	3.4	69.4
L 11	1.00000	11	1.30151	2.8	72.2
L 12	1.00000	12	1.12215	2.4	74.6
L 13	1.00000	13	1.07048	2.3	76.9
L 14	1.00000	14	.98599	2.1	79.1
L 15	1.00000	15	.95023	2.1	81.2
L 16	1.00000	16	.87988	1.9	83.1
L 17	1.00000	17	.85780	1.9	84.9
L 18	1.00000	18	.78369	1.7	86.6
L 19	1.00000	19	.67474	1.5	88.1
L 20	1.00000	20	.64345	1.4	89.5
L 21	1.00000	21	.59214	1.3	90.8
L 22	1.00000	22	.50047	1.1	91.9
L 23	1.00000	23	.43457	.9	92.8
L 24	1.00000	24	.38978	.8	93.7
L 25	1.00000	25	.35573	.8	94.4
L 26	1.00000	26	.33908	.7	95.2
L 27	1.00000	27	.31602	.7	95.9
L 28	1.00000	28	.27582	.6	96.5
L 29	1.00000	29	.23692	.5	97.0
L 30	1.00000	30	.21616	.5	97.5
L 31	1.00000	31	.21263	.5	97.9
L 32	1.00000	32	.18934	.4	98.3
L 33	1.00000	33	.15267	.3	98.7
L 34	1.00000	34	.11138	.2	98.9
L 35	1.00000	35	.10555	.2	99.1
L 36	1.00000	36	.08993	.2	99.3
L 37	1.00000	37	.08559	.2	99.5
L 38	1.00000	38	.06839	.1	99.7
L 39	1.00000	39	.05309	.1	99.8
L 40	1.00000	40	.03697	.1	99.9
L 41	1.00000	41	.02762	.1	99.9
L 42	1.00000	42	.02043	.0	100.0
L 43	1.00000	43	.00789	.0	100.0
L 44	1.00000	44	.00537	.0	100.0
L 45	1.00000	45	.00351	.0	100.0
L 46	1.00000	46	.00094	.0	100.0

Altogether 13 factors with eigenvalues >1 and explaining 77% of the variance were extracted.

TABLE XXVIII : COMMUNALITY, EIGENVALUES AND PROPORTION OF VARIANCE FOR
DIFFERENT FACTORS : INVOLUNTARY FARM EVICTED MIGRANT ADULTS (E2)

Variable	Communality	Factor	Eigenvalue	PCT OF VAR	CUM PCT
L 1	1.00000	1	8.94241	19.4	19.4
L 2	1.00000	2	3.32221	7.2	26.7
L 3	1.00000	3	3.04317	6.6	33.3
L 4	1.00000	4	2.51198	5.5	38.7
L 5	1.00000	5	2.47106	5.4	44.1
L 6	1.00000	6	2.13831	4.6	48.8
L 7	1.00000	7	2.00041	4.3	53.1
L 8	1.00000	8	1.75783	3.8	56.9
L 9	1.00000	9	1.72405	3.7	60.7
L 10	1.00000	10	1.65573	3.6	64.3
L 11	1.00000	11	1.50883	3.3	67.6
L 12	1.00000	12	1.43048	3.1	70.7
L 13	1.00000	13	1.38028	3.0	73.7
L 14	1.00000	14	1.26091	2.7	76.4
L 15	1.00000	15	1.12402	2.4	78.9
L 16	1.00000	16	.99792	2.2	81.0
L 17	1.00000	17	.83370	1.8	82.8
L 18	1.00000	18	.82069	1.8	84.6
L 19	1.00000	19	.73526	1.6	86.2
L 20	1.00000	20	.67126	1.5	87.7
L 21	1.00000	21	.61470	1.3	89.0
L 22	1.00000	22	.57651	1.3	90.3
L 23	1.00000	23	.54438	1.2	91.4
L 24	1.00000	24	.50212	1.1	92.5
L 25	1.00000	25	.49632	1.1	93.6
L 26	1.00000	26	.44052	1.0	94.6
L 27	1.00000	27	.40718	.9	95.5
L 28	1.00000	28	.31461	.7	96.1
L 29	1.00000	29	.27852	.6	96.8
L 30	1.00000	30	.23721	.5	97.3
L 31	1.00000	31	.21501	.5	97.7
L 32	1.00000	32	.17675	.4	98.1
L 33	1.00000	33	.17147	.4	98.5
L 34	1.00000	34	.14560	.3	98.8
L 35	1.00000	35	.13549	.3	99.1
L 36	1.00000	36	.09824	.2	99.3
L 37	1.00000	37	.07033	.2	99.5
L 38	1.00000	38	.06143	.1	99.6
L 39	1.00000	39	.06077	.1	99.7
L 40	1.00000	40	.03665	.1	99.8
L 41	1.00000	41	.03014	.1	99.9
L 42	1.00000	42	.02309	.1	99.9
L 43	1.00000	43	.02219	.0	100.0
L 44	1.00000	44	.00776	.0	100.0
L 45	1.00000	45	.00248	.0	100.0
L 46	1.00000	46	.00004	.0	100.0

In all 15 factors with eigenvalues > 1 and explaining 79% of the variance were extracted for this group.

TABLE XXIX : COMMUNALITY, EIGENVALUES AND PROPORTION OF VARIANCE FOR DIFFERENT
FACTORS : VOLUNTARY FARM MIGRANT ADULTS (E3)

Variable	Communality	Factor	Eigenvalue	PCT OF VAR	CUM PCT
L 1	1.00000	1	5.24804	11.4	11.4
L 2	1.00000	2	4.55929	9.9	21.3
L 3	1.00000	3	3.56454	7.7	29.1
L 4	1.00000	4	2.82770	6.1	35.2
L 5	1.00000	5	2.60870	5.7	40.9
L 6	1.00000	6	2.25575	4.9	45.8
L 7	1.00000	7	2.08970	4.5	50.3
L 8	1.00000	8	1.96521	4.3	54.6
L 9	1.00000	9	1.79196	3.9	58.5
L 10	1.00000	10	1.75259	3.8	62.3
L 11	1.00000	11	1.62872	3.5	65.9
L 12	1.00000	12	1.45760	3.2	69.0
L 13	1.00000	13	1.26433	2.7	71.8
L 14	1.00000	14	1.23140	2.7	74.4
L 15	1.00000	15	1.15194	2.5	77.0
L 16	1.00000	16	1.03787	2.3	79.2
L 17	1.00000	17	.97484	2.1	81.3
L 18	1.00000	18	.84538	1.8	83.2
L 19	1.00000	19	.80286	1.7	84.9
L 20	1.00000	20	.76450	1.7	86.6
L 21	1.00000	21	.67703	1.5	88.0
L 22	1.00000	22	.64625	1.4	89.4
L 23	1.00000	23	.60572	1.3	90.8
L 24	1.00000	24	.54886	1.2	92.0
L 25	1.00000	25	.53035	1.2	93.1
L 26	1.00000	26	.45597	1.0	94.1
L 27	1.00000	27	.43134	.9	95.0
L 28	1.00000	28	.31560	.7	95.7
L 29	1.00000	29	.28430	.6	96.3
L 30	1.00000	30	.26915	.6	96.9
L 31	1.00000	31	.24873	.5	97.5
L 32	1.00000	32	.18980	.4	97.9
L 33	1.00000	33	.17022	.4	98.3
L 34	1.00000	34	.13643	.3	98.5
L 35	1.00000	35	.12544	.3	98.8
L 36	1.00000	36	.11251	.2	99.1
L 37	1.00000	37	.08773	.2	99.3
L 38	1.00000	38	.08130	.2	99.4
L 39	1.00000	39	.07389	.2	99.6
L 40	1.00000	40	.06760	.1	99.7
L 41	1.00000	41	.05178	.1	99.9
L 42	1.00000	42	.03354	.1	99.9
L 43	1.00000	43	.01771	.0	100.0
L 44	1.00000	44	.00923	.0	100.0
L 45	1.00000	45	.00550	.0	100.0
L 46	1.00000	46	.00108	.0	100.0

Altogether 16 factors with eigenvalues >1 and explaining 79% of the variance were extracted.

TABLE XXX : COMMUNALITY, EIGENVALUES AND PROPORTION OF VARIANCE FOR DIFFERENT
FACTORS : NON-MIGRANT ADULTS (C1)

Variable	Communality	Factor	Eigenvalue	PCT OF VAR	CUM PCT
L 1	1.00000	1	7.67007	16.7	16.7
L 2	1.00000	2	3.11290	6.8	23.4
L 3	1.00000	3	2.87812	6.3	29.7
L 4	1.00000	4	2.52821	5.5	35.2
L 5	1.00000	5	2.37586	5.2	40.4
L 6	1.00000	6	2.19678	4.8	45.1
L 7	1.00000	7	1.98097	4.3	49.4
L 8	1.00000	8	1.81853	4.0	53.4
L 9	1.00000	9	1.72356	3.7	57.1
L 10	1.00000	10	1.61898	3.5	60.7
L 11	1.00000	11	1.51967	3.3	64.0
L 12	1.00000	12	1.45320	3.2	67.1
L 13	1.00000	13	1.40069	3.0	70.2
L 14	1.00000	14	1.35230	2.9	73.1
L 15	1.00000	15	1.16758	2.5	75.6
L 16	1.00000	16	1.08199	2.4	78.0
L 17	1.00000	17	1.01203	2.2	80.2
L 18	1.00000	18	.96709	2.1	82.3
L 19	1.00000	19	.87487	1.9	84.2
L 20	1.00000	20	.79895	1.7	85.9
L 21	1.00000	21	.69322	1.5	87.4
L 22	1.00000	22	.65695	1.4	88.9
L 23	1.00000	23	.61408	1.3	90.2
L 24	1.00000	24	.57528	1.3	91.5
L 25	1.00000	25	.48648	1.1	92.5
L 26	1.00000	26	.44062	1.0	93.5
L 27	1.00000	27	.40954	.9	94.4
L 28	1.00000	28	.36810	.8	95.2
L 29	1.00000	29	.33900	.7	95.9
L 30	1.00000	30	.29087	.6	96.5
L 31	1.00000	31	.25145	.5	97.1
L 32	1.00000	32	.23381	.5	97.6
L 33	1.00000	33	.19416	.4	98.0
L 34	1.00000	34	.17650	.4	98.4
L 35	1.00000	35	.16073	.3	98.7
L 36	1.00000	36	.13286	.3	99.0
L 37	1.00000	37	.11249	.2	99.3
L 38	1.00000	38	.08888	.2	99.5
L 39	1.00000	39	.07872	.2	99.6
L 40	1.00000	40	.05056	.1	99.8
L 41	1.00000	41	.04537	.1	99.9
L 42	1.00000	42	.02774	.1	99.9
L 43	1.00000	43	.01871	.0	100.0
L 44	1.00000	44	.01451	.0	100.0
L 45	1.00000	45	.00591	.0	100.0
L 46	1.00000	46	.00111	.0	100.0

In all, 17 factors with eigenvalues >1 and explaining 80% of the variance were extracted.

(ii)

Underlying Factors in Stress Perception

Factors extracted in the above tables were considered for interpretation. However, not all factors were eligible for interpretive analysis.

According to Tabachnik and Fidell (ibid) the selection of factors for interpretation depend, firstly on the number of variables used to define each factor. If only one variable loads highly on a factor, that factor is poorly defined. On the other hand if two variables define a factor, whether or not that factor is reliable depends on the pattern of correlations of those two variables with each other and with other variables. Thus, in this analysis factors which had one or two variables were not included for interpretation. Secondly, Tabachnik and Fidell (ibid) suggested that the Cattell Scree test be performed to give a quick estimate of the number of factors that are suitable for interpretation.

Cattell Scree test was subsequently performed on each factor analyses result for each of the four adult treatment groups.

Cattell Scree Test for Adults' Treatment Groups

Cattell Scree tests for four adult treatment groups; involuntary 'black spot' migrants, involuntary farm evicted migrants, voluntary farm migrants and non-migrants are presented in Figure 4 to Figure 7 below :

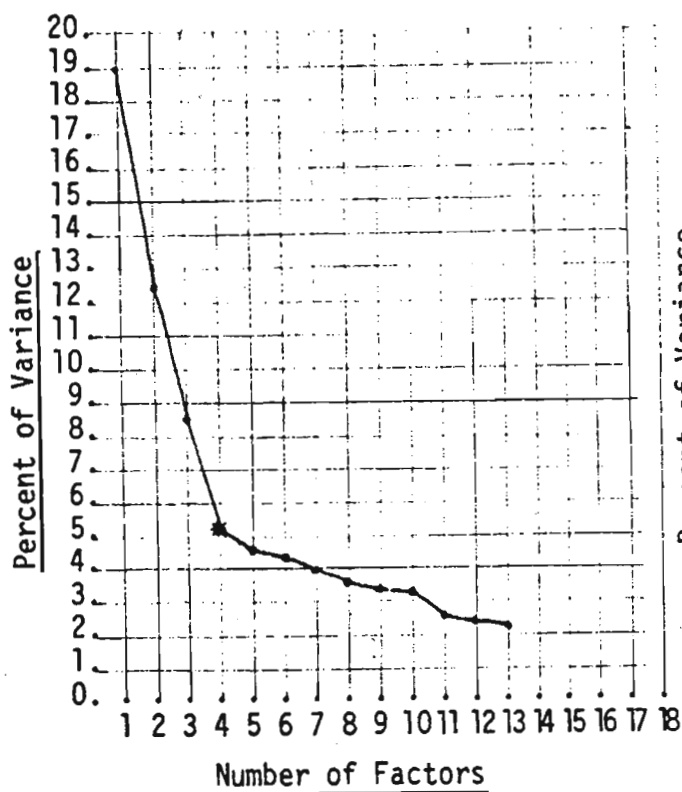


FIGURE 4: Cattell Scree Test for
Involuntary 'Black Spot'
Migrant Adults

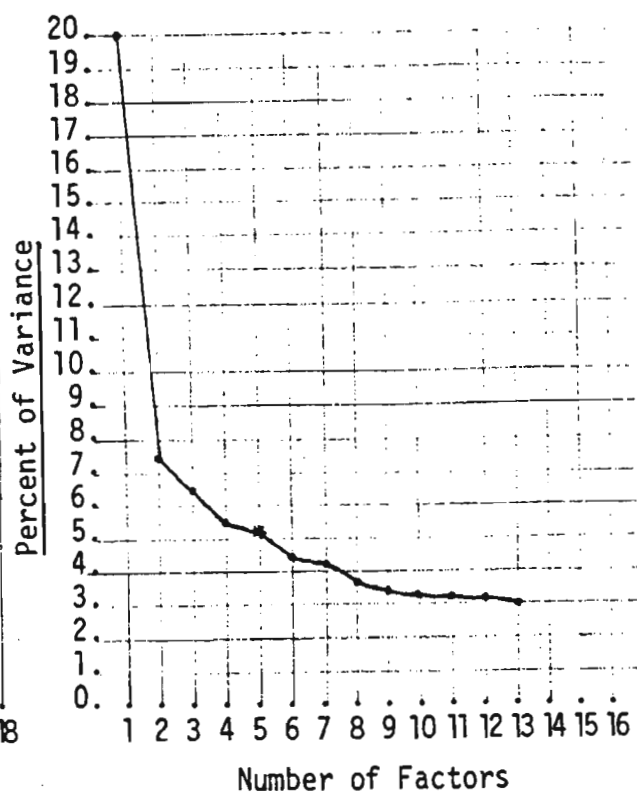


FIGURE 5 : Cattell Scree Test for
Involuntary Farm Evicted
Migrant Adults

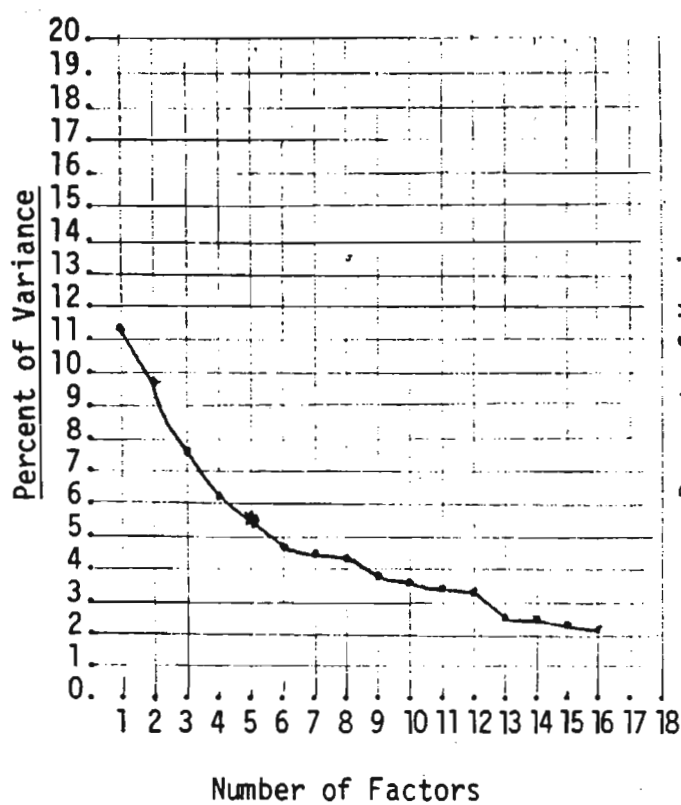


FIGURE 6 : Cattell Scree Test for
Voluntary Farm Migrant
Adults

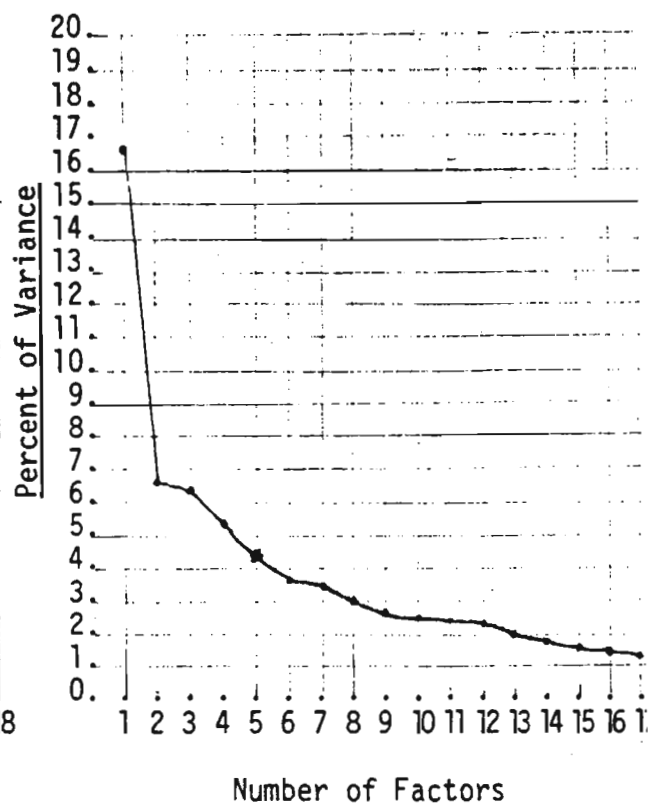


FIGURE 7 ; Cattell Scree Test for
Non-Migrant Adults

* In all figures this symbol indicated the cut-off point below which factors were not included for interpretation. The rationale for excluding these factors was that they were at a point where they contributed very little to the variance accounted for by all the factors.

Summary

In three treatment groups (involuntary farm evicted migrants, voluntary farm migrants and non-migrants) the cut-off point for factors eligible for interpretation was the fifth factor. However in involuntary 'black spot' migrants only four factors were eligible for interpretation.

(iii) Interpretation of Factors

Factors selected for interpretation, on the basis of the number of variables used to define them and the scree test described above, are presented and analysed in this section. A maximum of five factors in adult treatment groups were found to be eligible for interpretation. These factors explained 40 to 45 cumulative percentage of variance.

Next, factor loadings eligible for interpretation were identified. According to Comrey (1976) loadings in excess of .71 (50% variance are considered to be excellent, .63 (40% of variance) very good, .55 (30% of variance) good, .45 (20% of variance) fair and .32 (10% of variance) poor. He further stated that the choice of the cut-off size of loadings to be interpreted is a matter of the researcher's preference. For the purpose of this study only loadings in excess of .45 were considered to be a good measure of the factor and therefore suitable for interpretation.

In the tables that follow, five factors in each of the four adult treatment groups are presented.

FACTOR ONE : LIFE-SPACE AND LIFESTYLE CHANGES
(Explains 11 to 19% of variance)

TABLE XXXI : ITEMS AND THEIR LOADINGS FOR DIFFERENT ADULT TREATMENT GROUPS

Involuntary 'Black Spot' migrants	Involuntary farm evicted migrants	Voluntary farm migrants	Non-migrants
E1	E2	E3	C1
Change of residence .89	Marriage .98	Move to a worse neighbourhood .82	Change in financial state .90
Eviction .83	Death of spouse .98	Unable to conduct a ritual -.78	Marriage .89
Move of a worse neighbourhood .81	Change of residence .96	Losing home .76	Change of residence .88
Suffer financial loss .75	Losing valued possessions .90	Loss of social supports .73	Suffer an assault -.85
Legal problems .70	Problems with children .78	Birth of Child -.71	Civil unrest .78
Socially ostracised or disliked -.69	Major changes in lifestyle .75	Loss of property with little or no compensation .56	Death of spouse .63
Change in financial state .68	Pregnancy -.66	Civil unrest .45	Visit diviner -.63
Promotion -.66	Being intimidated by police or Govt. officials .66		Move to a worse neighbourhood .57
Being intimidated by police .66	Eviction .64		Promotion -.53
Losing valued possessions .61	Lose home .56		Pregnancy -.53
Loss of property with little or no compensation .60	Promotion -.55		Unable to work .51
Major changes in lifestyle .59	Retirement -.51		New person moves into household .51
Retirement -.59	Trouble with in-laws -.50		Inability to bear children .50
Pregnancy -.49	New person moves into the household .47		Socially ostracised or disliked -.48
Lose Job .45			

Table XXXI indicated that factor one contained a cluster of events related to changes in one's life. These were primarily life space, family and financial changes. In all migrant (involuntary 'black spot' migrants, involuntary farm evicted migrants, voluntary farm migrants) most of the changes were related to migration and were high to moderately loaded on factor one. Most of the changes in the non-migrant group were general life space family and financial

changes. These were also high to mildly correlated with factor one.

FACTOR TWO : EMOTIONAL INSTABILITY

(Explains 7 to 13% of variance)

TABLE XXXII : ITEMS AND THEIR LOADINGS FOR DIFFERENT ADULT TREATMENT GROUPS

Involuntary 'Black Spot' migrants	Involuntary farm evicted migrants	Voluntary farm migrants	Non-migrants
E1	E2	E3	C1
Buy on H.P. -.63	Suffer financial loss .68	Serious illness (self) .68	Being intimidated by police or Govt. official .60
Death of spouse .61	Lose job .52	Suffer financial loss .66	Emotional problems with spouse .52
New person moves into household -.56	Serious illness (self) .50	Divorce -.63	Buy on H.P. -.46
Emotional problems with spouse .52	Divorce -.47	Trouble with in-laws -.62	
Unable to work .50	Death in the family -.47	Lose job .61	
Visit diviner .47		Socially ostracised or disliked -.55	
Problems with children .47		Eviction .51	
		Legal problems .50	

The above table indicated that, in factor two the theme of the clusters were more or less the same : All treatment groups shared common events associated with emotional instability. These events were moderately to mildly loaded on factor two.

FACTOR THREE : DISTURBANCE OF RELATIONSHIPS

(Explains 6 to 9% of variance)

TABLE XXXIII : ITEMS AND THEIR LOADINGS FOR DIFFERENT ADULT TREATMENT GROUPS

Involuntary 'Black Spot' migrants	Involuntary farm evicted migrants	Voluntary farm migrants	Non-migrants
E1	E2	E3	C1
Trouble with in-laws -.74	Serious illness * (family) .65	Lose home .71	Unmarried child falls pregnant
Loss of social supports .72	Move to a worse * neighbourhood .48	Major changes in lifestyle .64	Child leaves home
Suffer a robbery .60		Unable to work .61	
Child leaves home .53		Problems with children .57	
Spouse/Cohabitee moves elsewhere .50		Repossession of goods -.50	
Separated from ancestral spirits .45			

* indicates events which are not interpretable.

The above table indicated that in factor three, involuntary 'black-spot' and voluntary farm migrants shared a common theme related to disturbance or disruption of relationships in the family, job or neighbourhood. These events were high to mildly correlated with factor three.

Factor three in involuntary farm evicted migrant and non-migrant groups were not interpretable.

FACTOR FOUR : PERSONAL AND FAMILY PROBLEMS
(Explains 5 to 6% of variance)

TABLE XXXIV : ITEMS AND THEIR LOADINGS FOR DIFFERENT ADULT TREATMENT GROUPS

Involuntary 'Black Spot' migrants	Involuntary farm evicted migrants	Voluntary farm migrants	Non-migrants
E1	E2	E3	C1
Serious illness (Self) .58	Emotional problems with spouse .55	Child leaves home .61	Major changes in lifestyle .
Serious illness (family) -.56	Unable to work -.53	New person moves into household .49	Spouse/Cohabitee moves elsewhere -.
Identity document conviction .48	Identity document conviction .48	Move from rural to urban area .48	
Inability to bear children .45	Trouble at work -.51		

*indicates events which are not interpretable.

The above table indicated that factor four in migrant groups (involuntary 'black spot' migrants, involuntary farm evicted migrants, voluntary farm migrants) contained common events related to personal and family problems. All these events were moderately to mildly loaded on factor four. Factor four in the non-migrant group was not interpretable.

FACTOR FIVE : PERSONAL MISFORTUNES AND INSTABILITY
(Explains 5 to 6% of variance)

TABLE XXXV : ITEMS AND THEIR LOADINGS FOR DIFFERENT ADULT TREATMENT GROUPS

Involuntary 'Black Spot' migrants	Involuntary farm evicted migrants	Voluntary farm migrants	Non-migrants
E1	E2	E3	C1
	Loss of social supports -.66	Losing valued possessions .55	Move from rural to urban area .6
	Legal problems .53	Pregnancy -.51	Separated from ancestral spirits -.5
	Suffer a robbery.47	Death of spouse.51	Serious illness (self) .4
		Suffer an assault .45	
		Spouse/Cohabitee moves elsewhere.45	

Table XXXV indicated that factor five in involuntary farm evicted migrants, voluntary farm migrants and non-migrants contained a cluster of common event related to personal misfortune and instability. All these events were moderately to mildly correlated with factor five.

Summary

Factor analysis revealed underlying factors in perception of stress as well as the common variables comprising such factors. In all, five factors related to life space and life-style changes, emotional instability, disturbance of relationships, personal and family problems, and personal misfortunes and instability were identified. To the extent that the factor structures were similar, a certain degree communality was indicated.

However, a closer analysis indicated differences in component events, highly concentrated in factor one clusters : In all migrant groups, events in factor were mostly associated with life-space loss and changes. On the other hand in non-migrant groups most events were related to lifestyle changes. Thus for migrant groups life-space loss and changes formed important components of the clusters whereas in non-migrant groups the important components of the cluster were lifestyle changes.

It can be concluded that although factor analysis revealed general-areas of common concern, there were specific group differences in the nature of component events comprising certain clusters.

6.2.1.2.2. Stressful Life Events - Children

6.2.1.2.2.1. Scoring Procedure for the Childrens' Life Event Inventory (Coddington, 1972)

Coddington's (1972) original scoring procedure of the Childrens' Life Event Inventory was tested on a pilot study sample. It was found to be appropriate for the population under study.

The scoring procedure of the Childrens' Life Event Inventory followed by Coddington (1972) paralleled the basic scoring procedure used by Holmes and Rahe (1967), discussed in the previous section. The participant was asked

to rate the intensity of stress through weighted scores, for each given event, relative to the modulus (birth of brother or sister), to indicate the impact of each event on the participant.

The total stress scores for each participant as well as for each of the four treatment groups were computed. The higher scores were interpreted to mean a higher level of perceived stress and the lower scores were indicative of a lower level of perceived stress.

Raw stress data for children participants was subsequently subjected to various statistical procedures presented in the section that follows.

6.2.1.2.2.2. Statistical Analysis of Childrens' Stress Data

(a) Means and Standard Deviations

Item means and standard deviations, computed for each of the events comprising the Childrens' Life Event Inventory, for each of the four children treatment groups are presented in Table XXXVI overleaf.

Table XXXVI indicated that :

- (i) Events perceived as highly stressful by involuntary 'black spot' migrant children were those related to death of parent, close relative or friend, serious illness of parent or child; divorce or separation of parents, marriage of parent, parents' mood or feeling about life; change in family lifestyle, breadwinner losing job; having to stop school, rejected by others and severe physical punishment.

Events perceived as mildly stressful were 'argument with brother or sister' and 'beginning another school year'.

Almost all the events had a high degree of variability. Few events which showed less variability were those related to death of parent, close relative or friend, serious illness of parent; birth of brother or sister, parent's mood/feeling about life and divorce or separation of parents.

TABLE XXXVI : ITEM MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS ON THE LIFE EVENT INVENTORY FOR EACH OF THE DIFFERENT CHILDREN

TREATMENT GROUPS

I T E M S	Involuntary 'Black spot' migrants		Involuntary farm evicted migrants		Voluntary farm migrants		Non-migrants		Entire Sample	
	E1		E2		E3		C1			
"	M	S	M	S	M	S	M	S	M	S
1. Death of parent	299.8	.51	297.8	14.1	299.8	.5	299.7	.7	299.3	7.0
2. Divorce/separation of parents	287.5	10.0	290.1	8.2	290.6	8.9	285.3	11.2	288.4	9.8
3. Death of close relative or friend	293.3	4.2	292.5	6.9	294.0	6.0	293.8	5.2	293.4	5.6
4. Serious illness of parent	295.5	5.4	285.7	13.8	286.5	13.5	294.0	13.0	290.7	12.9
5. Serious illness of child	281.1	22.1	284.5	13.7	279.6	14.9	289.7	11.3	283.7	16.4
6. Birth of brother or sister	151.3	9.1	154.0	19.8	150.0	.0	152.0	14.1	151.8	12.0
7. Parents fight	218.3	45.9	233.2	41.6	236.0	34.1	185.8	43.7	218.3	45.8
8. Parents mood/feeling about life	269.7	14.8	255.5	30.3	242.1	38.1	180.7	36.4	237.0	46.1
9. Moving away from close friends	239.6	38.0	256.8	34.7	248.0	35.9	215.6	27.7	240.0	37.4
10. Have to stop school	250.1	29.7	239.8	54.2	240.9	46.9	238.4	34.5	242.3	42.4
11. Change of residence	237.2	57.6	132.9	49.9	145.3	50.0	243.4	36.3	189.7	70.5
12. Marriage of parent	250.7	30.4	239.8	30.1	224.4	33.2	251.4	30.7	241.6	32.8
13. Fail at school	224.6	34.4	199.6	38.3	202.0	43.1	224.3	32.3	212.6	38.9
14. Change in child's popularity with friends	156.2	52.1	197.7	42.9	203.1	38.8	199.8	37.2	189.2	46.9
15. Argument with brother or sister	114.0	31.0	120.9	48.0	121.4	45.6	104.7	24.6	115.3	38.9
16. Change of school	245.6	40.7	243.7	26.4	247.0	47.4	219.8	33.4	239.0	39.1
17. Beginning another school year	118.3	48.3	243.3	33.3	233.4	35.9	123.3	35.7	179.6	70.5
18. Rejected by others	264.3	21.4	287.0	16.7	271.0	33.0	196.1	47.7	254.6	47.2
19. Severe physical punishment	270.8	26.2	294.4	4.7	287.4	11.4	253.6	32.6	276.5	26.8
20. Start School	236.0	31.3	275.9	20.4	258.8	39.3	208.7	44.6	244.8	43.0
21. Breadwinner loses job	276.7	32.9	284.4	26.5	287.0	9.8	284.2	22.2	283.3	24.5
22. Close brother or sister leaves home	225.4	47.2	217.1	33.5	205.3	36.5	229.6	34.3	219.4	39.1
23. Change in family lifestyle	277.4	28.4	218.3	50.0	205.5	47.9	235.5	24.9	234.0	47.7
24. Problems with teacher or schoolwork	244.4	22.7	277.1	23.7	268.1	29.8	184.8	51.0	243.6	49.2

NB: For the purpose of the present study, items with a mean score above 250 were considered to be highly stressful. Items with a mean score between 250 and 150 were regarded as mildly stressful. All items with a mean score below 150 were considered to be mildly stressful. All items with standard deviations above 20 were considered to have a high degree of variability.

- 157.
- (ii) Events perceived as highly stressful by involuntary farm evicted migrant children were those related to death of parent, close relative or friend, serious illness of parent or child; divorce/separation of parents, parents' mood or feeling about life; moving away from close friends, rejected by others; starting school, problems with teacher or schoolwork; breadwinner losing job.

Events perceived as mildly stressful were 'change of residence' and 'argument with brother or sister'.

In almost all the events there was a high degree of variability. Few items related to death of parent, close relative or friend, serious illness of parent or child; divorce or separation of parents, birth of brother or sister; being rejected by others and severe physical punishment showed less variability.

- (iii) Events perceived as highly stressful by voluntary farm migrant children were those related to death of parent, close relative or friend, serious illness of parent or child; divorce or separation of parents, breadwinner losing job; rejection by others, severe physical punishment; having to start school and problems with teacher or schoolwork.

Events perceived as mildly stressful were 'change of residence', and 'argument with brother or sister'.

A high degree of variability was observed in most events. Few events which showed less variability were those related to death of parent, close relative or friend; serious illness of parent or child; divorce or separation of parents, birth of brother or sister; breadwinner losing job and severe physical punishment.

- (iv) Events perceived as highly stressful by non-migrant children were those related to death of parent, relative or close friend, serious illness of parent or child, divorce or separation of parents, severe physical punishment and breadwinner losing job.

Events perceived as mildly stressful were 'argument with brother or sister' and 'beginning another school year'.

A high degree of variability was observed in most events. Few events related to death of parent, close relative or friend, serious illness of parent or child and divorce or separation of parents showed less variability.

- (v) The entire sample perceived events related to death of parent, close relative or friend, serious illness of parent or child, divorce or separation of parents; severe physical punishment, rejection by others and breadwinner losing job as highly stressful

An event perceived as mildly stressful by the entire sample was 'argument with brother or sister'.

High variability was observed in most events in the entire sample. Few events which showed less variability were those related to death of parent, close relative or friend, serious illness of parent or child and divorce or separation of parents.

Summary

- (i) In all childrens' treatment groups, events related to death of parent, close relative or friend, serious illness of parent or child, divorce or separation of parents; severe physical punishment and breadwinner losing job were perceived as highly stressful.
- (ii) Only the migrant children perceived 'rejected by others' as highly stressful.
- (iii) Involuntary 'black spot' children perceived 'parent's mood or feelings about life', 'have to stop school', 'marriage of parent' and change in family lifestyle as additionally stressful. On the other hand farm migrant children perceived 'start school', 'problems with teachers or schoolwork' as additionally stressful to them. 'Moving away from close friends' was highly stressful to involuntary farm evicted migrant children.
- (iv) Generally, there was greater variability in the rating of individual events by participants in all treatment groups.

Events perceived as highly stressful tended to show less variability. This implied that participants in each of the treatment groups varied less on events which they perceived as stressful.

(b) Perceived Stress : Difference Between Children Treatment Groups

Following an analysis of individual stress items, an attempt was made to investigate whether the four children treatment groups - victims of different degrees of volition to migrate - significantly differed on stress perception. Total stress scores were subjected to a 4 x 1 (group X stress) one-way analysis of variance. The results of the analysis are presented in Table XXXVII and Table XXXVIII below.

TABLE XXXVII : SUMMARY TABLE OF THE RESULTS OF GROUP X STRESS (4 x 1) ANOVA
- CHILDREN

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE					
Source of Variation	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F	Significance of F
Between Groups	3	5260867.295	1753622.432	71.8051	.0000
Within Groups	196	4786707.260	24421.9758		
TOTAL	199	10047574.55			

The above table indicated that the main effect was significant. This suggested that the four children treatment groups differed significantly in their perception of stress. To clarify these differences, the mean scores of each treatment group are presented in Table XXXVIII below.

TABLE XXXVIII : MEAN STRESS SCORES OF FOUR TREATMENT GROUPS
- CHILDREN

Involuntary 'Black Spot' migrants	Involuntary farm evicted migrants	Voluntary farm migrants	Non-migrants
E1	E2	E3	C1
5727.66	5822.14	5728.36	5395.50

The post hoc Scheffé analysis by the computer located the following areas of significant differences in the four children treatment groups.

- (i) The perception of stress by involuntary 'black spot' migrant children was significantly higher ($p \leq 0,01$) than that of non-migrant children (involuntary 'black spot' migrants' mean stress score = 5727.66, non-migrants' mean stress score = 5395.5).
- (ii) The perception of stress by involuntary 'black spot' migrant children was significantly higher ($p \leq 0,01$) than that of non-migrant children (involuntary farm evicted migrants' mean stress score = 5822.14, non-migrants' mean stress score = 5395.5).
- (iii) The perception of stress by voluntary farm migrant children was significantly higher ($p \leq 0,01$) than that of non-migrant children (voluntary farm migrants' mean stress score = 5728.36, non-migrants mean stress score = 5395.50).
- (iv) Various migrant groups (involuntary 'black spot' migrant children, involuntary farm evicted migrant children, voluntary farm migrant children) perceived more or less the same degree of stress and their perception of stress was significantly different from that of the non-migrant children's group.

(c) Factor Analysis

Following the Anova analysis which indicated significant differences in childrens' treatment groups, exploratory factor analysis was undertaken to identify factors underlying stress perception in each of the four children treatment groups.

(i) Communality, Eigenvalues and Proportion of Variance for Different Factors

Communalities, eigenvalues and proportion or percentage of variance for different factors for each of the four children treatment groups are presented in Table XXXIX to Table XLII below:

TABLE XXXIX : COMMUNALITY, EIGENVALUES AND PROPORTIONS OF VARIANCE FOR
DIFFERENT FACTORS : INVOLUNTARY 'BLACK SPOT' MIGRANT CHILDREN (E)

Variable	Communality	Factor	Eigenvalue	PCT OF VAR	CUM PCT
L 1	1.00000	1	5.42776	22.6	22.6
L 2	1.00000	2	2.16416	9.0	31.6
L 3	1.00000	3	1.88836	7.9	39.5
L 4	1.00000	4	1.86886	7.8	47.3
L 5	1.00000	5	1.61296	6.7	54.0
L 6	1.00000	6	1.46857	6.1	60.1
L 7	1.00000	7	1.37076	5.7	65.8
L 8	1.00000	8	1.25661	5.2	71.1
L 9	1.00000	9	.99507	4.1	75.2
L 10	1.00000	10	.91495	3.8	79.0
L 11	1.00000	11	.79499	3.3	82.3
L 12	1.00000	12	.63275	2.6	85.0
L 13	1.00000	13	.62196	2.6	87.6
L 14	1.00000	14	.51653	2.2	89.7
L 15	1.00000	15	.44970	1.9	91.6
L 16	1.00000	16	.43748	1.8	93.4
L 17	1.00000	17	.35696	1.5	94.9
L 18	1.00000	18	.31346	1.3	96.2
L 19	1.00000	19	.25110	1.0	97.3
L 20	1.00000	20	.20088	.8	98.1
L 21	1.00000	21	.18628	.8	98.9
L 22	1.00000	22	.16424	.7	99.6
L 23	1.00000	23	.06418	.3	99.8
L 24	1.00000	24	.04142	.2	100.0

Altogether 8 factors with eigenvalues > 1 and explaining 71% of the variance were extracted.

TABLE XL : COMMUNALITY, EIGENVALUES AND PROPORTION OF VARIANCE FOR
DIFFERENT FACTORS : INVOLUNTARY FARM EVICTED MIGRANT CHILDREN (I

Variable	Communality	Factor	Eigenvalue	PCT OF VAR	CUM PCT
L 1	1.00000	1	3.23101	13.5	13.5
L 2	1.00000	2	2.39140	10.0	23.4
L 3	1.00000	3	2.17270	9.1	32.5
L 4	1.00000	4	1.76658	7.4	39.8
L 5	1.00000	5	1.59988	6.7	46.5
L 6	1.00000	6	1.51723	6.3	52.8
L 7	1.00000	7	1.43606	6.0	58.8
L 8	1.00000	8	1.25608	5.2	64.0
L 9	1.00000	9	1.12090	4.7	68.7
L 10	1.00000	10	1.07224	4.5	73.2
L 11	1.00000	11	.92712	3.9	77.0
L 12	1.00000	12	.81994	3.4	80.5
L 13	1.00000	13	.71847	3.0	83.5
L 14	1.00000	14	.65460	2.7	86.2
L 15	1.00000	15	.62648	2.6	88.8
L 16	1.00000	16	.46530	1.9	90.7
L 17	1.00000	17	.39547	1.6	92.4
L 18	1.00000	18	.38772	1.6	94.0
L 19	1.00000	19	.36213	1.5	95.5
L 20	1.00000	20	.31225	1.3	96.8
L 21	1.00000	21	.25653	1.1	97.9
L 22	1.00000	22	.24168	1.0	98.9
L 23	1.00000	23	.17295	.7	99.6
L 24	1.00000	24	.09525	.4	100.0

In all, 10 factors with eigenvalues >1 and explaining 73% of the variance were extracted.

TABLE XLI : COMMUNALITY, EIGENVALUES, PROPORTION OF VARIANCE FOR DIFFERENT
FACTORS : VOLUNTARY MIGRANT FARM CHILDREN (E3)

Variable	Communality	Factor	Eigenvalue	PCT OF VAR	CUM PCT
L 1	1.00000	1	2.74314	11.4	11.4
L 2	1.00000	2	2.39766	10.0	21.4
L 3	1.00000	3	2.20830	9.2	30.6
L 4	1.00000	4	1.93992	8.1	38.7
L 5	1.00000	5	1.89779	7.9	46.4
L 6	1.00000	6	1.60646	6.7	53.3
L 7	1.00000	7	1.56017	6.5	59.8
L 8	1.00000	8	1.37603	5.7	65.5
L 9	1.00000	9	1.13003	4.7	70.2
L 10	1.00000	10	1.03967	4.3	74.6
L 11	1.00000	11	.91339	3.8	78.4
L 12	1.00000	12	.76374	3.2	81.6
L 13	1.00000	13	.72720	3.0	84.6
L 14	1.00000	14	.62979	2.6	87.2
L 15	1.00000	15	.60872	2.5	89.8
L 16	1.00000	16	.60153	2.5	92.3
L 17	1.00000	17	.47357	2.0	94.2
L 18	1.00000	18	.40679	1.7	95.9
L 19	1.00000	19	.29222	1.2	97.2
L 20	1.00000	20	.22962	1.0	98.1
L 21	1.00000	21	.20520	.9	99.0
L 22	1.00000	22	.16511	.7	99.7
L 23	1.00000	23	.08394	.3	100.0
L 24	1.00000	24	.00000	.0	100.0

Altogether, 10 factors with eigenvalues >1 and explaining 75% of variance were extracted.

TABLE XLII : COMMUNALITY, EIGENVALUES, PROPORTION OF VARIANCE FOR
DIFFERENT FACTORS : NON-MIGRANT CHILDREN (C1)

Variable	Communality	Factor	Eigenvalue	PCT OF VAR	CUM PCT
L 1	1.00000	1	2.76090	11.5	11.5
L 2	1.00000	2	2.22824	9.3	20.8
L 3	1.00000	3	2.01978	8.4	29.2
L 4	1.00000	4	1.77722	7.4	36.6
L 5	1.00000	5	1.73697	7.2	43.8
L 6	1.00000	6	1.53625	6.4	50.2
L 7	1.00000	7	1.47248	6.1	56.4
L 8	1.00000	8	1.22994	5.1	61.5
L 9	1.00000	9	1.15371	4.8	66.3
L 10	1.00000	10	1.04482	4.4	70.7
L 11	1.00000	11	.92419	3.9	74.5
L 12	1.00000	12	.85917	3.6	78.1
L 13	1.00000	13	.75099	3.1	81.2
L 14	1.00000	14	.71194	3.0	84.2
L 15	1.00000	15	.67636	2.8	87.0
L 16	1.00000	16	.55321	2.3	89.3
L 17	1.00000	17	.49253	2.1	91.4
L 18	1.00000	18	.46795	1.9	93.3
L 19	1.00000	19	.40915	1.7	95.0
L 20	1.00000	20	.38740	1.6	96.6
L 21	1.00000	21	.23873	1.0	97.6
L 22	1.00000	22	.22330	.9	98.6
L 23	1.00000	23	.17900	.7	99.3
L 24	1.00000	24	.16575	.7	100.0

In all 10 factors with eigenvalues >1 and explaining 71% of variance were extracted.

Summary

The above tables indicated that the number of factors and the proportion of variance explained by these factors varied in different children treatment groups.

(ii) Underlying Factors

Factors extracted from the above tables were not all suitable for interpretation. As in adults treatment groups, factors which had one or two variables were not considered for interpretation. Further a Cattell scree test was performed on the factors, for each of the four treatment groups to identify cut-off points for factors to be considered for interpretive analysis.

Cattell Scree Test for Children Treatment Groups

Cattell scree tests for four childrens' treatment groups; involuntary 'black spot' migrants, involuntary farm evicted migrants, voluntary farm migrants and non-migrants are presented in Figure 8 to Figure 11 below :

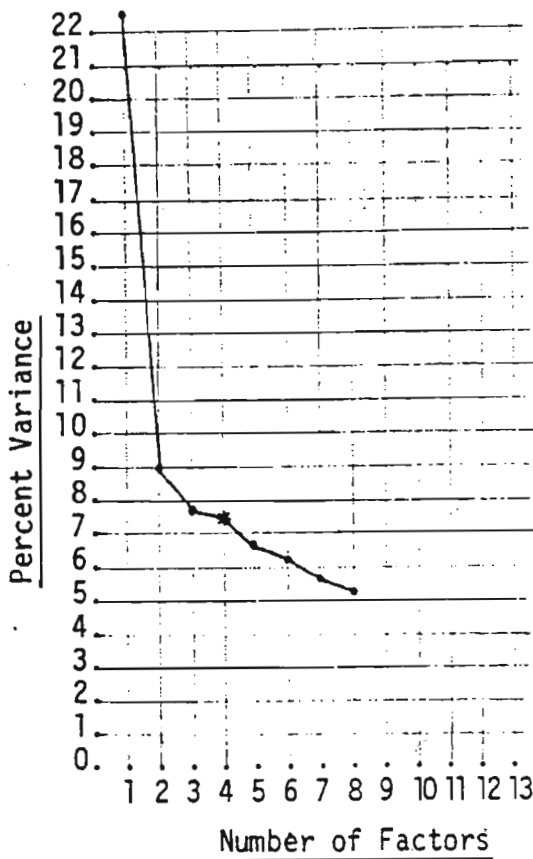


FIGURE 8 : CATTELL SCREE TEST FOR INVOLUNTARY 'BLACK SPOT' MIGRANT CHILDREN

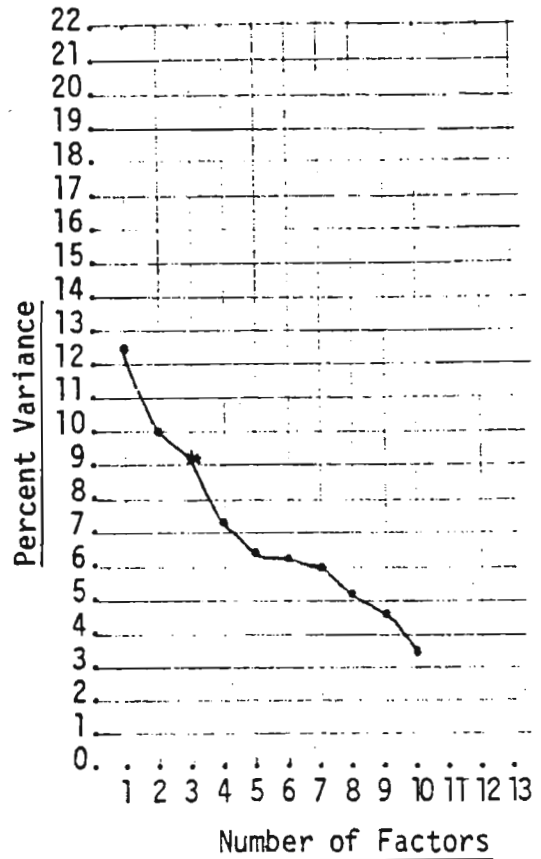


FIGURE 9 : CATTELL SCREE TEST FOR INVOLUNTARY FARM EVICTED MIGRANT CHILDREN

- * In all figures this symbol indicated the cut-off point below which factors were not included for interpretation. The rationale for excluding these factors was that they were at a point where they contributed very little to the variance accounted for by all the factors.

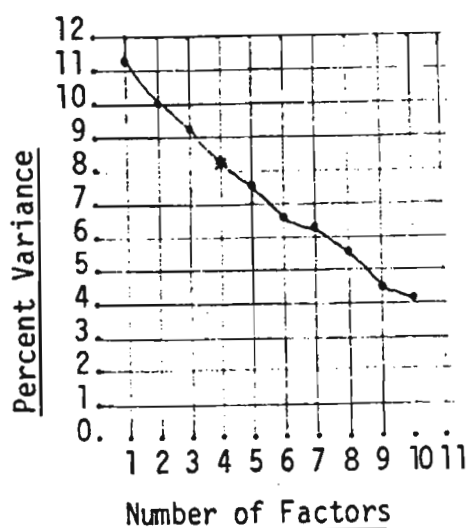


FIGURE 10 : CATTELL SCREE TEST FOR
VOLUNTARY FARM MIGRANT
CHILDREN

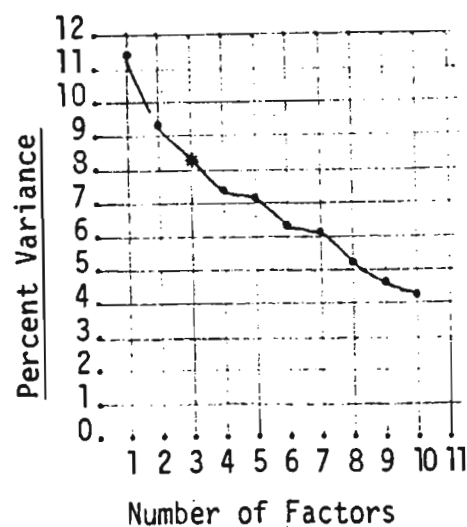


FIGURE 11 : CATTELL SCREE TEST FOR
NON-MIGRANT CHILDREN

* See note on page 205.

Summary

The cut-off point for factors eligible for interpretation varied in the four children treatment groups. In involuntary 'black spot' and voluntary farm migrant children, four factors met the requirements for interpretive analysis whereas in involuntary farm evicted migrant and non-migrant children, two and three factors were eligible for interpretation respectively.

(iii) Interpretation of Factors

A maximum number of four factors, in childrens' treatment groups, explaining 23 to 47 cumulative percentage of variance, met the requirements for interpretive analysis in terms of the number of variables which define the factor, the loadings on variables and the cut-off point of the Cattell scree test.

Factors selected for interpretation are presented and analysed below :

FACTOR ONE : CHANGES IN LIFE SPACE AND PERSONAL LIFESTYLE

(Explains 11 to 23% of variance)

TABLE XLIII : ITEMS AND THEIR LOADINGS FOR DIFFERENT CHILDREN TREATMENT GROUPS

Involuntary 'Black Spot' migrants	Involuntary farm evicted migrants	Voluntary farm migrants	Non-migrants
E1	E2	E3	C1
Breadwinner loses job .90	Change of residence -.54	Severe physical punishment .66	Start school .59
Serious illness of child .87	Problems with teacher or school-work -.54	Serious illness of parent -.50	Breadwinner loses job -.56
Serious illness of parent .80	Fail at school .52	Beginning another school year -.42	Change of school -.48
Argument with brother or sister -.77	Change in child's popularity with friends -.50		Severe physical punishment -.49
Change of school .68	Argument with brother or sister .50		Change in family lifestyle -.50
Beginning another school year -.62	Death of parent .45		
Fail at school .53			
Parent's feelings or mood about life .50			

The above table indicated that the theme of the clusters in factor one was more or less the same in all treatment groups : It referred to changes in space, interpersonal climate and personal lifestyle. In involuntary 'Black spot' migrants, events were highly to moderately loaded on the factor, whereas in involuntary farm evicted migrants, voluntary farm migrants and non-migrants, these events were moderately to mildly correlated with the factor.

FACTOR TWO : DISTURBANCE OF RELATIONSHIPS

(Explains 9 to 10% of variance)

TABLE XLIV : ITEMS AND THEIR LOADINGS FOR DIFFERENT CHILDREN TREATMENT GROUPS

Involuntary 'Black Spot' migrants	Involuntary farm evicted migrants	Voluntary farm migrants	Non-migrants
E1	E2	E3	C1
Parent's fight .61	Change of residence .58	Divorce/separation of parents .67	Problems with teacher or school-work .69
Change in family lifestyle .61	Rejected by others .56	Death of parent.66	Serious illness of child -.57
Close brother or sister leaves home .60	Birth of brother or sister .52	Change of school -.47	Serious illness of parent .53
Change in child's popularity with friends .47	Divorce/Separation of parents .49	Parent's mood/feeling about life .45	Rejected by others -.53

Factor two, in all treatment groups, contained a clustering of events related to disturbance or disruption of normal relationships in the family, society or in the neighbourhood. In all treatment groups, events were moderately to mildly loaded on the factor.

FACTOR THREE : EMOTIONAL INSTABILITY

(Explains 8 to 9% of variance)

TABLE XLV : ITEMS AND THEIR LOADINGS FOR DIFFERENT CHILDREN TREATMENT GROUPS

Involuntary 'Black Spot' migrants	Involuntary farm evicted migrants	Voluntary farm migrants	Non-migrant
E1	E2	E3	C1
Start school .76		Fail at school -.61	Death of parent .66
Have to stop school -.63		Argument with brother or sister .50	Fail at school .50
Change in child's popularity with friends .49		Change in family lifestyle .45	Parent's fight .48

Factor three appeared to be related to an individual's emotional instability related to his own personal inadequacies, change and social relationships. Events comprising this factor were highly to mildly loaded on the factor.

FACTOR FOUR : EXIT FROM ONES LIFE SPACE

(Explains 7 to 8% of variance)

TABLE XLVI : ITEMS AND THEIR LOADINGS FOR DIFFERENT CHILDREN TREATMENT GROUPS

Involuntary 'Black Spot' migrants	Involuntary farm evicted migrants	Voluntary farm migrants	Non-migrants
E1	E2	E3	C1
Divorce/separation of parents .69		Close brother or sister leaves home .53	
Change of residence .63		Breadwinner loses job -.52	
Problem with teacher or school-work -.54		Death of close relative or friend .52	

In factor four, two treatment groups (involuntary 'black spot' migrants and voluntary farm migrants) shared common events associated with exit from one's life space in family, work and other social or physical areas of functioning. Events were moderately to mildly loaded on the factor.

Summary

Factor analysis identified four factors underlying childrens' perception of stress. These factors were related to changes in life space and personal lifestyle, disturbance of relationships, emotional instability and exit events from ones life space. Common themes or clusters observed in different treatment groups suggested a high degree of communality in factors underlying stress.

However, a closer analysis showed differences in component events comprising factor two and three : In all migrant groups, clusters of these two factors also contained change events associated with disturbed relationships and emotional instability. On the other hand, the factor cluster in the

non-migrant group consisted of usual life stresses associated with disturbed relationships and emotional instability.

It can thus be concluded that although there were general areas of common concern for all treatment groups, a deeper analysis revealed specific group differences in the nature of component events comprising certain clusters.

6.2.1.2.3. Overall Summary of Perception of Stress Results

Statistical analysis of stress data indicated that :

- (a) i. All adult treatment groups perceived events related to death and illness in the family, inability to work and change of residence as highly stressful. Migrant groups also perceived migration-related events such as eviction, move to a worse neighbourhood, lose home, valued possessions or property and change in lifestyle as highly stressful. Further, involuntary and voluntary farm migrants perceived 'move from rural to urban area' as highly stressful whereas involuntary 'black spot' migrants perceived 'suffer financial loss' as additionally stressful. 'Lose job' and civil unrest were perceived as highly stressful by non-migrant adults only.
- ii. All migrant adults perceived significantly higher levels of stress than non-migrant adults. Generally, all migrant adult groups perceived more or less the same degree of stress and their perception of stress was significantly different from that of the non-migrant adult group.
- iii. Factors which emerged from factor analysis were :
 - Factor one - Life space and lifestyle changes
 - Factor two - Emotional instability
 - Factor three - Disturbance of relationships
 - Factor four - Personal and family problemsAlthough factor analysis revealed areas of common concern, there were specific group differences in the nature of component events comprising certain clusters.

- (b) i. In all childrens' treatment groups, events perceived as highly stressful were those related to death of parent, close relative or friend. Serious illness of parent or child, divorce or separation of parents; severe physical punishment and breadwinner loses job.

All migrant children perceived 'rejected by others' as highly stressful. However, involuntary 'black spot' migrants perceived 'parents mood of feelings about life', 'have to stop school', 'marriage of parent' and 'change in family lifestyle' as additionally stressful. On the other hand, involuntary and voluntary farm migrants perceived 'start school', 'problems with teachers or schoolwork' as highly stressful to them. 'Moving away from close friends' was highly stressful to involuntary farm evicted migrant children only.

- ii. All migrant children perceived significantly higher levels of stress than non-migrant children. Generally, all migrant childrens groups perceived more or less the same degree of stress and their perception of stress was significantly different from that of the non-migrant childrens' group.

- iii. Factors which emerged from factor analysis were :

Factor one - Changes in life space and personal lifestyle

Factor two - Disturbance of relationships

Factor three - Emotional instability

Factor four - Exit from ones life space

As in adult treatment groups, specific group differences, in the nature of components comprising certain clusters, were observed in childrens' groups.

To conclude, differences were found, in adult and childrens' treatment groups, on perception of stress: Mean scores of individual stress items and an overall Anova analysis indicated group differences in stress perception. These differences were further highlighted by the findings of factor analysis which showed differences in the nature of stressful events comprising the common themes in some of the factor clusters.

Thus the overall analysis of stressful life events, using different statistical procedures, pointed to the fact that different groups, specifically

migrant and non-migrant groups, differed in their perception of stress with the migrant groups experiencing significantly greater stress than the non-migrant group.

6.2.1.3. Psychological Status

6.2.1.3.1. Psychological Status - Adults

The Impact of Event Scale (Horowitz, 1979) yielded raw scores on the psychological status of adult participants. Raw scores were calculated using the following scoring procedure :

6.2.1.3.1.1. Scoring Procedure for the Impact of Event Scale (Horowitz, 1979)

Horowitz's (1979) original scoring procedure for the Impact of Event Scale was tested on a pilot study sample. The results indicated that the procedure was appropriate for the population under study. It was subsequently adopted for the present study.

According to Horowitz's (*ibid*) scoring procedure, a specific life event reported as significantly stressful is recorded at the top of the page and used as a referent for 15 scale items. In the present study, life events perceived as most stressful, in all treatment groups, were firstly, those related to 'death' and 'serious illness' in the family, secondly, 'lose home' for migrant groups and 'lose job' for non-migrant groups. Since 'death' and 'serious illness' were regarded as highly stressful by all treatment groups, these events were regarded as not having good discriminating powers. Subsequently, events second to death and illness, that is, 'lose home' for migrants and 'lose job' for non-migrants, were used as referents for the scale items of the Impact of Event Scale.

Next, participants were asked to rate the experiences related to the stressful life event for frequency (rarely, sometimes and often). Scores were computed according to the assigned weight for each scale item; that is, zero for negative endorsement 'not at all' and one, three and five for three degrees of positive endorsement and frequency, 'rarely', 'sometimes' and 'often' respectively.

A summated score was obtained by adding individual scores of all the scale items. A high score meant that the respondent was psychologically

distressed by a specific stressful life event.

Raw scores thus obtained were subjected to statistical procedures presented in the section that follows.

6.2.1.3.1.2. Statistical Analysis of Data on Psychological Status

(a) Psychological Status - Difference Between Treatment Groups

To investigate whether the four adult treatment groups, with different degrees of volition to migrate, differed in psychological status, total scores on adults psychological status, as measured by the Impact of Event Scale, were subjected to a 4 x 1 (groups X psychological status) one-way analysis of variance. The results of the analysis are presented in Table XLVII and Table XLVIII below.

TABLE XLVII : SUMMARY TABLE OF THE RESULTS OF GROUPS X PSYCHOLOGICAL STATUS
(4 X 1) ANOVA

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE					
Source of Variation	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F	Significance of F
Between Groups	3	9705.1750	3235.0583	23.6451	.0000
Within Groups	196	46816.1800	136.8172		
Total	199	36521.3550			

Results in the above Table indicated significant differences in the main effect. This suggested that the four treatment groups differed significantly in their psychological status. To clarify these differences, the mean scores of the psychological status of each treatment group are presented in Table XLVIII below:

TABLE XLVIII : MEAN SCORES OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL STATUS OF FOUR ADULT
TREATMENT GROUPS

Involuntary 'Black Spot' migrants	Involuntary farm evicted migrants	Voluntary farm migrants	Non-migrants
E1	E2	E3	C1
44.08	40.52	40.00	25.86

The post hoc Scheffé analysis, by the computer, located significant differences, in four treatment groups, in the following areas:

- (i) Involuntary 'black spot' migrant adults were more psychologically distressed ($p \leq 0,01$) than non-migrant adults (mean score of the psychological status of involuntary 'black spot' migrants = 44.08; mean score of the psychological status of non-migrants = 25.86).
- (ii) Involuntary farm evicted migrants were more psychologically distressed ($p \leq 0,01$) than non-migrant adults (mean score of the psychological status of involuntary farm evicted migrants = 40.52; mean score of the psychological status of non-migrants = 25.86).
- (iii) Voluntary farm migrant adults were more psychologically distressed ($p \leq 0,01$) than non-migrants (mean score of the psychological status of voluntary farm migrants = 40.00; mean score of the psychological status of non-migrants = 25.86).
- (iv) The psychological status of all migrant adults was more or less the same and it was found to be significantly different from that of the non-migrant group.

The overall findings gave an impression that 'lose home' was psychologically more distressing to the migrant groups (particularly the involuntary 'black spot' migrants) than was 'lose job' to the non-migrant group.

6.2.1.3.2. Psychological Status - Children. (Rutter et.al. 1971)

The "Child A" scale (Rutter, et al, 1971) yielded raw scores on the psychological status of children participants. Raw scores were calculated according to the following scoring procedure :

6.2.1.3.2.1. Scoring Procedure for the Child "A" Scale (Rutter et al, 1971)

The original scoring procedure followed by Rutter, et al (ibid) was tested on a pilot study sample and was found to be suitable for the population under study.

According to Rutter's, et al (1971) scoring procedure, the child is rated individually on a scale by the parent alone or with the assistance of the researcher.

In the first part of the scale the mother has to indicate how often the child has experienced any of the eight health problems (e.g. complains of headache, wets his/her bed or pants, etc.). Weighted scores of "0" "1" "2" and "3" are assigned to "never in the last year", "less often than once a month", "at least once per month", "at least once per week" respectively.

In the second part of the scale the mother has to rate five of the child's habits (e.g. "does he/she stammer or stutter?" "does he/she ever steal things?" etc.) in terms of their severity. The weighted scores of "0" "1" "2" are assigned to "no", "yes - mildly" and "yes - severely" respectively.

The third section of the scale is a three-point scale in which the mother has to rate the child on 18 behaviour problems (e.g. tends to do things on his own - rather solitary, is often disobedient, etc.) in terms of whether the behaviour "certainly applies", "applies somewhat", "doesn't apply", to the child in question. The behaviours are assigned weights of "2", "1" and "0" respectively. The total score for this section is obtained by summing up individual item scores. Cut-off points are used to identify children with high levels of reported problem behaviour. A score of 13 or more indicates that the child is likely to show a behavioural or an emotional disturbance. A neurotic subscore is obtained by summing up the behaviour problem scores for items 2, 6, 9, 10 and 15 and an antisocial subscore is obtained by summing up the behaviour problem scores for items 4, 5, 13, 17 and 18.

The selection of children with a neurotic or antisocial disturbance by means of the scale is a two-stage procedure. Firstly, children with a total score of 13 or more are designated as showing some emotional disturbance. Of these children, those with a neurotic score exceeding the antisocial score are designated as neurotic and those with an antisocial score exceeding the neurotic score are designated as 'antisocial'. The children with an equal neurotic and antisocial subscores remain undifferentiated.

A total score for this scale can be obtained by adding the total subscores of each of the subsections of the scale.

Raw scores on childrens' psychological status were subjected to statistical procedures presented in the section that follows.

6.2.1.3.2.2. Statistical Analysis of Data on Psychological Status of the Children

(a) Psychological Status - Difference Between Treatment Groups

To investigate whether the four childrens' treatment groups - victims of different degrees of volition to migrate - differed in psychological status, total scores on childrens' psychological status were subjected to a 4 x 1 (groups X psychological status) one-way analysis of variance. The results of this analysis are presented in Table XLIX and Table L below:

TABLE XLIX : SUMMARY TABLE OF GROUPS X PSYCHOLOGICAL STATUS (4 x 1) ANOVA
- CHILDREN

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE					
Source of Variation	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F	Significant of F
Between Groups	3	7779.8550	2593.2850	19.1540	.0000
Within Groups	196	26536.7400	135.3915		
Total	199	34316.5950			

Results in the above table indicated significant differences in the main effect. This suggested that the four childrens' treatment

groups differed significantly in their psychological status. To clarify these differences, the mean scores of the psychological status of each treatment group are presented in Table L below:

TABLE L : MEAN SCORES OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL STATUS OF FOUR CHILDREN TREATMENT GROUPS

Involuntary 'Black Spot' migrants	Involuntary farm evicted migrants	Voluntary farm migrants	Non-migrants
E1	E2	E3	C1
21.88	34.34	34.04	21.56

The post hoc Scheffé analysis, by the computer, located significant differences in four treatment groups in the following areas.

- (i) Involuntary farm evicted migrant children were emotionally more unstable ($p \leq 0,01$) than involuntary 'black spot' migrant children (mean score of the psychological status of involuntary farm evicted migrants = 34.34; mean score of the psychological status of involuntary 'black spot' migrants = 21.88).
- (ii) Voluntary farm migrant children were emotionally more unstable ($p \leq 0,01$) than involuntary 'black spot' migrant children (mean score of the psychological status of voluntary farm migrants = 34.04; mean score of the psychological status of involuntary 'black spot' migrants = 21.88).
- (iii) Involuntary farm evicted migrant children were emotionally more unstable ($p \leq 0,01$) than non-migrant children (mean score of the psychological status of involuntary farm evicted migrants = 34.34; mean score of the psychological status of non-migrants = 21.56).
- (iv) Voluntary farm migrant children were emotionally more unstable ($p \leq 0,01$) than non-migrant children (mean score of the psychological status of voluntary farm migrants = 34.04; mean score of the psychological status of non-migrants = 21.56).
- (v) Generally, the degree of emotional disturbance in farm migrant children was more or less the same and these children appeared

more disturbed than 'black spot' and non-migrant children. On the other hand, the degree of emotional disturbance in 'black spot' and non-migrant children was more or less the same. However, subsequent analysis of data, in the section that follows, indicated that the similarity was more apparent than real.

(b) Nature of Childrens' Emotional Problems

The preceding section indicated that children showed varying degrees of emotional instability. An in-depth analysis of the "Child A" scale was undertaken to ascertain the nature of emotional problems prevalent in each of the treatment groups. These, as categorized by the scale, were identified as health problems, problematic habits and behaviour problems.

(i) Means and Standard Deviations for Each of the Problem Areas in Each Treatment Group

Next, means and standard deviations for each of the three different problem areas (health problems, problematic habits and behaviour problems) for each of the four treatment groups were calculated and presented in Table LI below.

TABLE LI : MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS FOR EACH OF THE PROBLEM AREAS IN EACH TREATMENT GROUP

P R O B L E M S	TREATMENT GROUPS							
	Involuntary 'Black spot' migrants		Involuntary farm evicted migrants		Voluntary farm migrants		Non-migrant	
	E1		E2		E3		C1	
	M	S	M	S	M	S	M	S
1. Health Problems	5.96	.003	9.32	.021	9.08	.010	5.92	.004
2. Habits	3.5	.001	5.84	.013	5.66	.018	4.00	.001
3. Behaviour Problems	12.42	.043	19.18	1.22	19.3	1.04	11.64	.017

The above table indicated that :

- (i) Involuntary and voluntary farm migrants experienced more health problems, engaged in more symptomatic and problematic habits, and had more behaviour problems than involuntary 'black spot' and non-migrant children.
- (ii) The mean scores of behaviour problems for involuntary and voluntary farm migrants were greater than 13. According to Rutter, et al (ibid) this could be interpreted to mean that farm migrant children were emotionally disturbed.
- (iii) The mean scores of behaviour problems for involuntary 'black spot' migrant children and non-migrant children were lower than 13. According to Rutter, et al (ibid) this could be interpreted to mean that 'black spot' migrant children and non-migrant children were not emotionally disturbed.
- (iv) As in the previous section, this analysis indicated that farm migrant children were emotionally disturbed to more or less the same degree. On the other hand 'black spot' and non-migrant children were to more or less the same extent free from an emotional disturbance. As has already been mentioned, the similarity in these two groups proved to be more apparent than real.

(ii) Profile of the Emotional Problems in Each of the Four Children Treatment Groups

To obtain a complete qualitative profile of the emotional problems in each of the four treatment groups, childrens' behavioural patterns are presented in Table LII overleaf :

TABLE LII : PROFILE OF EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS IN EACH OF THE FOUR CHILDREN TREATMENT GROUPS

HEALTH, PROBLEMATIC HABITS AND BEHAVIOUR PROBLEMS	Involuntary 'Black spot' migrants	Involuntary farm evicted migrants	Voluntary farm migrants	Non-migrants
	E1	E2	E3	C1
A. HEALTH PROBLEMS				
1. Complains of Headaches	33	63	66	48
2. Has stomachache or vomiting	41	62	68	44
3. Complains of biliousness	35	49	43	47
4. Wets his/her bed or pants	43	71	69	32
5. Soils him/herself or loses control of bowels	9	18	16	15
6. Has temper tantrums	44	36	39	37
7. Had tears on arrival at school or refused to go into the building	40	79	69	32
8. Truants from school	53	88	84	41
	298	466	454	296
B. HABITS				
1. Does he/she stammer or stutter	21	47	51	37
2. Has he/she any difficulty with speech other than stammering and stuttering	23	44	45	35
3. Does he/she steal things	71	79	67	41
4. Does he/she have any eating difficulty	29	57	61	49
5. Does he/she have any sleeping difficulty	31	65	59	38
	175	292	283	200
C. BEHAVIOUR				
1. Very restless	31	65	63	47
2. Squirmy, fidgety	24	61	69	35
3. Often destroys own or others' belongings	27	41	45	29
4. Frequently fights with other children	72	49	46	37
5. Not much liked by other children	27	58	62	28
6. Often worried, worries about many things	34	74	81	39
7. Tends to do things on his own - rather solitary ..	23	78	71	35
8. Irritable. Is quick to 'fly off the handle'	28	39	36	36
9. Often appears miserable, unhappy, tearful or distressed	31	77	72	29
10. Has twitches, mannerisms or tics of the face or body	13	54	52	29
11. Frequently sucks thumb or finger	15	36	41	25
12. Frequently bites nails or fingers	25	35	28	23
13. Is often disobedient	77	61	58	30
14. Cannot settle to anything for more than a few moments	21	66	68	36
15. Tends to be tearful or afraid of new things or new situations	19	74	78	24
16. Fussy or over-particular child	18	19	25	38
17. Often tells lies	67	43	39	27
18. Bullies other children.....	69	29	31	35
	621	959	965	582
	12.42	19.18	19.3	11.64

The above table indicated that :

- (i) Farm migrant children experienced serious health problems related to truanting from school, tears on arrival at school or refusing to go into the building; wetting pants or bed; headache, stomachache and vomiting.

Serious problematic habits were stealing, eating and sleeping difficulties.

Serious behaviour problems included restlessness and being fidgety; worrying about things, doing things on their own, being unhappy and miserable; being tearful and afraid of new situations; inability to settle down for more than a few moments and disobedience.

- (ii) In 'black spot' children, the most serious problematic behaviour was stealing things.

Serious behaviour problems included fighting with and bullying other children; disobedience and telling lies.

- (iii) Generally, farm migrant children experienced more or less the same degree of health problems, problematic habits and behaviour problems. They experienced these problems to a greater extent than 'black spot' and non-migrant children.

On the other hand, 'black spot' children experienced more or less the same degree of health problems. However, in terms of problematic habits, 'black spot' children 'stole things' more than non-migrant children. These groups also differed in behaviour problems in that 'black spot' children engaged in certain problematic behaviours (fighting and bullying other children; disobedience and telling lies) more often than non-migrant children. This finding suggested that in actual fact 'black spot' children differed in their emotional instability from non-migrant children.

Since the Child "A" scale allows for specific diagnosis of children who are emotionally disturbed, childrens' behaviour patterns were further classified

in terms of three diagnostic categories; the neurotic, antisocial and undifferentiated categories. To provide a complete analysis, diagnostic scores of children in all treatment groups, scored in terms of the relevant scoring procedure, are presented in Table LIII and Table LIV below.

TABLE LIII : DIAGNOSTIC SCORES OF INDIVIDUAL CHILDREN IN ALL TREATMENT GROUPS

Subjects	Involuntary 'Black spot' migrants		Involuntary farm evicted migrants		Voluntary farm migrants		Non-migrants.	
	E1		E2		E3		C1	
	Neurotic Score	Antisocial Score	Neurotic Score	Antisocial Score	Neurotic Score	Antisocial Score	Neurotic Score	Antisocial Score
1	6	4	6	4	7	6	3	3
2	6	6	5	5	7	4	2	4
3	0	7	7	8	8	5	2	2
4	6	5	8	9	7	8	2	2
5	2	7	6	2	8	4	2	2
6	1	7	7	5	5	6	3	6
7	3	3	3	6	8	4	2	2
8	1	7	8	4	9	3	5	4
9	6	6	7	8	7	2	3	3
10	4	2	6	6	3	5	2	5
11	7	7	8	3	7	8	5	2
12	5	4	3	6	9	4	6	6
13	1	8	7	8	8	4	6	3
14	2	7	8	2	7	8	2	3
15	2	7	7	2	8	2	4	5
16	0	8	5	6	8	4	3	3
17	6	6	7	5	3	3	5	5
18	1	7	6	2	8	0	2	2
19	4	4	8	8	7	7	3	3
20	2	8	6	6	8	1	2	5
21	0	7	7	2	6	8	4	4
22	1	7	8	2	7	7	2	2
23	5	3	7	2	7	4	6	3
24	1	8	5	6	7	4	2	2
25	0	7	8	1	6	8	5	5
26	4	4	6	6	8	8	3	3
27	5	5	6	7	5	2	2	2
28	0	7	7	5	7	9	2	2
29	6	6	7	2	8	5	4	4
30	1	8	6	6	7	7	4	2
31	0	7	8	4	6	6	3	2
32	2	7	7	3	8	2	2	2
33	0	8	8	4	6	7	3	5
34	6	5	7	8	9	5	2	2
35	0	8	7	4	5	2	3	3
36	1	7	6	6	7	5	6	2
37	2	8	8	2	8	4	2	2
38	5	3	7	7	7	5	4	4
39	2	8	8	2	7	4	3	3
40	2	7	5	5	8	3	3	5

Table LIII continued overleaf

TABLE LIII Continued

Subjects	Involuntary 'Black spot' migrants		Involuntary farm evicted migrants		Voluntary farm migrants		Non-migrants	
	E1		E2		E3		C1	
	N	A/S	N	A/S	N	A/S	N	A/S
41	1	8	8	3	6	6	4	4
42	0	7	7	8	9	3	5	5
43	5	5	7	4	8	3	5	2
44	2	7	8	8	8	5	3	3
45	2	8	7	3	7	4	2	2
46	0	7	7	8	7	7	2	2
47	3	3	8	4	8	4	6	2
48	6	6	7	8	7	8	4	4
49	2	8	8	4	5	6	2	2
50	0	7	7	3	6	0	3	2

TABLE LIV : TOTAL DIAGNOSTIC SCORES IN EACH OF THE FOUR CHILDRENS' TREATMENT GR

DIAGNOSTIC SCORES	TREATMENT GROUPS			
	Involuntary 'Black spot' migrants	Involuntary farm evicted migrants	Voluntary farm migrants	Non-migrant
	E1	E2	E3	C1
<u>Neurotic Scores</u>				
Item 2	24	61	69	35
Item 6	34	74	81	39
Item 9	39	77	72	29
Item 10	13	54	52	29
Item 15	19	74	78	24
Total Neurotic Score =	129	340	352	156
<u>Antisocial Scores</u>				
Item 4	72	49	46	37
Item 5	37	58	62	28
Item 13	77	61	58	30
Item 17	67	43	39	27
Item 18	69	29	31	35
Total Antisocial Score	316	240	236	157

The above table indicated that :

- (i) The total neurotic scores of farm migrant children were higher than the total neurotic scores of involuntary 'black spot' migrant children and non-migrant children.
- (ii) That the total antisocial score of involuntary 'black spot' migrant children was higher than that of involuntary farm evicted migrant children, voluntary farm migrant children and non-migrant children. This suggested that involuntary 'black spot' migrant children had strong antisocial tendencies.
- (iii) The total neurotic scores of involuntary and voluntary farm migrant children were higher than their total antisocial scores. This suggested that the emotional disturbance of farm migrant children were of a neurotic nature.

To obtain a holistic picture of the childrens' level of psychological or emotional functioning, a diagnostic analysis of individual children in all treatment groups is presented in Table LV below :

TABLE LV : DIAGNOSTIC ANALYSIS OF CHILDREN IN DIFFERENT TREATMENT GROUPS

Diagnostic Categories	Involuntary 'Black spot' migrants		Involuntary farm evicted migrants		Voluntary farm migrants		Non-migrants	
	E1		E2		E3		C1	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Neurotic	7	14	28	56	30	60	9	18
Antisocial	32	64	13	26	11	22	7	14
Undifferentiated	11	22	9	18	9	18	34	68
Total	50	100	50	100	50	100	50	100

The above table indicated that :

- (i) The majority of involuntary 'black spot' migrant children (E1) had antisocial tendencies, whereas a majority of farm migrant children had neurotic tendencies. The non-migrant children were undifferentiated.

The results of Table LIII and Table LV taken together indicated that :

- (i) Although the overall picture indicated that involuntary 'black spot' children were not different from non-migrant children and therefore not emotionally disturbed (c.f. Table L), a close analysis showed that 'black spot' migrant children differed from non-migrant children in that they had strong antisocial tendencies.
- (ii) Farm migrant children had emotional disturbances of a neurotic nature.
- (iii) Non-migrant children were undifferentiated and did not appear to be emotionally disturbed.

Summary

The overall findings on the psychological status of adult and children participants indicated that :

- (i) Migrant adults were more psychologically distressed than non-migrant adults. Generally, the migrants' distress was associated with losing their homes.
- (ii) Involuntary 'black spot' migrant and non-migrant children did not meet the criteria of emotional disturbance. However, 'black spot' migrant children had strong antisocial tendencies. On the other hand, farm migrant children suffered from emotional disturbances of a neurotic nature.

6.2.1.4. Perception of Control

6.2.1.4.1. Perception of Control - Adults

The Internal-External Locus of Control Scale (Rotter, 1966) yielded scores on adult perceived control. The raw scores were calculated using the following procedure :

6.2.1.4.1.1. Scoring Procedure for Internal-External Locus of Control (Rotter, 1966)

The original scoring procedure of the above scale, developed by Rotter (ibid) was tested on a pilot study sample and was found to be appropriate for the population under study.

According to Rotters' (ibid) original scoring procedure, the subject is asked to select the statement from each pair (a or b) which he strongly believes to be true in his case. The responses of the subjects are then scored. Since the scale is keyed in an external direction, a high score indicates externality while a low score is an indication of internal orientation.

Raw scores obtained from this scale were subjected to statistical procedures discussed in the following section.

(a) Perception of Control : Difference Between Means

To investigate whether the four adult treatment groups, with different degrees of volition to migrate, differed in perception of control, total scores on participants' perception of control were subjected to a 4 x 1 (groups X perceived control) one-way analysis of variance.

The results of this analysis are presented in Table LVI and Table LVII below :

TABLE LVI : SUMMARY TABLE OF THE RESULTS OF GROUP X PERCEPTION OF CONTROL (4 x 1) ANOVA - ADULTS

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE					
Source of Variation	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F	Significance F
Between Groups	3	2512.4950	837.4983	42.2011	.0000
Within Groups	196	3889.7000	19.8454		
Total	199	6402.1950			

Results of the above table indicated significant differences in the main effect. This suggested that the four adult treatment groups differed significantly in their perception of control. To clarify these differences the mean scores on perception of control for each of the treatment groups are presented in Table LVII below :

TABLE LVII : MEAN SCORES OF PERCEPTION OF CONTROL BY FOUR ADULT
TREATMENT GROUPS

Involuntary 'Black spot' migrants	Involuntary farm evicted migrants	Voluntary farm migrants	Non-migrants
E1	E2	E3	C1
10.80	17.78	15.24	8.80

The post hoc Scheffé analysis, by the computer, located significant differences in four treatment groups in the following areas :

- (i) Involuntary farm evicted migrant adults perceived more ($P \leq 0,01$) external control than involuntary 'black spot' migrant adults (mean score of perceived control by involuntary farm evicted migrants = 17.78; mean score of perceived control by involuntary 'black spot' migrants = 10.80).
- (ii) Voluntary farm migrant adults perceived more ($p \leq 0,01$) external control than involuntary 'black spot' migrant adults (mean score of perceived control by involuntary 'black spot' migrants = 10.80).
- (iii) Involuntary farm evicted migrant adults perceived more ($p \leq 0,01$) external control than non-migrant adults (mean score of perceived control by involuntary farm evicted migrants = 17.78; mean score of perceived control by non-migrants = 8.80).
- (iv) Voluntary farm migrant adults perceived more ($p \leq 0,01$) external control than non-migrant adults (mean score of perceived control by voluntary farm migrants = 15.24; mean score of perceived control by non-migrants = 8.80).

The Scheffé test further indicated that farm migrant adults perceived more or less the same degree of external control whereas involuntary 'black spot' migrant and non-migrant adults had more or less the same degree of internal orientation of control.

6.2.1.4.2. Perception of Control - Children

The Perception of Control Childrens' Scale (Connell, 1985) yielded scores on Childrens' perceived control. The raw scores were calculated according to the following procedure.

6.2.1.4.2.1. Scoring Procedure for Perception of Control Childrens' Scale

The pilot study indicated that Connell's (1985) scoring procedure was appropriate for the population under study. The procedure was subsequently adopted for the present study.

Connell (*ibid*) used a four-point likert scale to rate and obtain separate assessments of three sources of control (powerful other, internal and unknown) and to extend the range of possible responses to each item beyond a dichotomy.

For each item a child was presented with a statement and then asked to circle one of the four responses; 'very true', 'sort of true', 'not very true', 'not at all true'. These responses were assigned a weighted score of 1 - 4 respectively, with 4 indicating the highest endorsement of the source of control. In scoring the items, scores on each of the four domains of control, that is, cognitive, social, physical and general domain, in each of the three sources of control, that is, internal, unknown and control by powerful others are obtained giving a total of 12 perception of control subscores for each child.

(a) Perception of Control : Difference Between the Means

To investigate whether the four children treatment groups - victims of different degrees of volition to migrate - significantly differed in perception of control, total subscores on participants' perception of control were subjected to a 4 x 12 (groups X domain and dimension of control) multiple analysis of variance, with domain and dimension of control as dependent variables, on a SPSS X computer programme.

The results of this analysis are presented in Table LVIII to Table LX below :

TABLE LVIII : SUMMARY TABLE OF THE RESULTS GROUPS X DOMAIN AND DIMENSION
OF CONTROL (4 x 12) MANOVA - CHILDREN

MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE					
MULTIVARIATE TESTS OF SIGNIFICANCE					
Test Name	Value	Approx. F	Hypoth. D.F.	Error D.F.	Sig. of F
PILLAIS	1.45824	14.73921	36.00	561.00	.000
HOTELLINGS	7.97010	40.66228	36.00	551.00	.000
WILKS	.05777	24.70472	36.00	547.33	.000
ROYS	.87264				

The above table indicated that four childrens' treatment groups differed significantly in their perception of control. Subsequent univariate F - test analysis located the following areas of significant differences (c.f. Table LIX overleaf).

TABLE LIX : TABLE OF THE RESULTS OF UNIVARIATE F-TEST ANALYSIS TO LOCATE
THE AREA OF SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES

Perception of Control Variables	UNIVARIATE F-TESTS					
	Hypoth. S.S.	Error S.S.	Hypoth. M.S.	Error M.S.	F	Sig. of F
1.Cognitive - Unknown	470.08458	1388.29500	156.69486	7.08314	22.12224	.000
2.Cognitive - Powerful Other	141.71583	1153.04333	47.23861	5.88287	8.02985	.000
3.Cognitive - Internal	46.76528	1689.89444	15.58843	6.62191	1.80800	.147
4.Social - Unknown	57.78597	1121.84056	19.26199	5.72368	3.36532	.020
5.Social - Powerful Other	2749.79250	1469.88500	916.59750	7.49941	122.22256	.000
6.Social - Internal	1439.23167	1107.76500	479.74389	5.65186	84.88245	.000
7.Physical - Unknown	247.26500	1010.13000	82.42167	5.15372	15.99264	.000
8.Physical - Powerful Other	35.09667	1109.73667	11.69889	5.66192	2.06624	.106
9.Physical - Internal	43.00167	2190.29000	14.33389	11.17495	1.28268	.282
10.General - Unknown	1076.46556	1378.99889	358.82185	7.03571	51.00010	.000
11.General - Powerful Other	1137.77083	1526.37500	379.25694	7.78763	48.69993	.000
12.General - Internal	538.85944	1107.00611	179.61981	5.64799	31.80243	.000

To clarify these differences, mean scores on perception of control, for each of the four treatment groups are presented in Table LX overleaf.

TABLE LX : MEAN SCORES AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS ON PERCEPTION OF CONTROL
FOR EACH OF THE FOUR CHILDRENS' TREATMENT GROUPS

Perception of Control	Involuntary 'Black spot' migrants		Involuntary farm evicted migrants		Voluntary farm migrants		Non-migrants	
	E1		E2		E3		C1	
	M	S	M	S	M	S	M	S
1. Cognitive - Unknown	6.06	2.28	9.58	2.58	9.06	2.92	5.64	2.30
2. " Powerful Other	4.92	1.98	11.12	2.60	11.70	2.52	7.52	2.41
3. " - Internal	11.60	2.46	6.04	2.27	6.18	2.36	12.88	1.83
4. Social - Unknown	4.20	1.95	6.82	2.71	8.84	2.83	6.44	2.23
5. " Powerful Other	12.82	2.00	12.80	2.51	12.02	2.05	11.16	1.66
6. " - Internal	8.54	2.38	5.94	2.21	7.28	2.44	12.22	1.86
7. Physical - Unknown	5.80	2.37	5.36	2.45	6.76	2.40	5.74	1.36
8. " Powerful Other	6.86	2.56	7.20	2.36	7.00	2.37	6.54	1.06
9. " - Internal	9.78	3.05	11.80	2.06	12.02	2.20	12.14	2.32
10. General - Unknown	6.06	2.21	6.60	2.48	6.32	2.33	6.36	2.33
11. " Powerful Other	8.12	2.46	12.48	2.04	12.40	2.12	10.48	1.74
12. " - Internal	10.68	2.03	6.08	2.70	7.06	2.34	12.32	1.91

The overall analysis of the above table indicated that :

- (i) Involuntary 'black spot' migrant children and non-migrant children perceived significantly less control by unknown and powerful others in their area of cognitive functioning. These groups differed significantly from the farm migrant children who perceived more control by unknown and powerful others in their cognitive functioning.
- (ii) Involuntary 'black spot' migrant children and non-migrant children perceived significantly less control by powerful others and concomittant more internal locus of control in their general area

of functioning. These groups differed significantly from farm migrant children who perceived more control by powerful others and concomittant less internal locus of control in their general area of functioning.

- (iii) All migrant children perceived more control by powerful others and concomittant less internal locus of control in their social functioning. The migrant children differed significantly from non-migrant children who perceived less control by powerful others and concomittant more internal locus of control in their social functioning.
- (iv) All children perceived more internal locus of control and concomittant less control by powerful others in their physical area of functioning. There were no significant group differences in this area of childrens' functioning.

The above table gave an overall impression that perception of control by 'black spot' migrant children and non-migrant children was more or less the same and that perception of control by farm migrant children followed more or less the same trend.

Summary

The overall findings on adult and childrens' perception of control indicated that :

- (i) (a) Farm migrant adults perceived more or less the same degree of external control whereas involuntary 'black spot' migrant and non-migrant adults had more or less the same degree of internal orientation.
- (b) Involuntary and voluntary farm migrant adults perceived significantly more external control than involuntary 'black spot' migrant and non-migrant adults.
- (ii) (a) Involuntary 'black spot' migrant and non-migrant children perceived significantly less control by unknown and powerful others in the area of their cognitive functioning than was the case with farm migrant children who perceived significantly

more control by unknown and powerful others in their cognitive functioning.

- (b) Involuntary 'black spot' migrant and non-migrant children perceived significantly less control by powerful others and concomittant more internal locus of control in their general area of functioning than was the case with farm migrant children who perceived significantly more control by powerful others and concomittant less internal locus of control in their general area of functioning.
- (c) All migrant children perceived significantly more control by powerful others and concomittant less internal locus of control in their social functioning than was the case with non-migrant children who perceived significantly less control by powerful others and concomittant more internal locus of control in their social functioning.
- (d) All children perceived significantly more internal locus of control and concomittant less control by powerful others in their physical area of functioning.
- (e) Generally, perception of control by 'black spot' migrant children and non-migrant children was more or less the same while perception of control by farm migrant children followed more or less the same pattern.

PART II

6.2.2. Analysis of Experiential Data

Data yielded by unstructured interview guides during the pilot study were subjected to phenomenological analysis. This procedure was found to be appropriate for the present data as well as for the population under study.

Details of phenomenological analysis are presented in the section that follows :

6.2.2.1. Phenomenological Methodology

Giorgi (1970) defined phenomenology as the study of phenomena as experienced by man, that is, the phenomenon as it reveals itself to the experiencing individual.

The main assumption in phenomenology is that an individual has no existence apart from the world since he is in total indissoluble unit with his world (Kruger, 1979). It is via the world that the very meaning of the person's existence emerges for others and for himself. Conversely, it is the individual's existence which gives his world its meaning.

Closely related to individual's co-existence with his world is the concept of conscious experience. Consciousness is viewed as the uninterpreted world of everyday experience; the world as experienced immediately, directly and meaningfully. Consciousness is socially derived, in that it acquires its uniqueness through interaction with objects in the environment.

6.2.2.1.1. Phenomenological Method - Process

According to Giorgi et al (1973) the phenomenological method basically involves three processes : intuition, reflection and description. Intuition means that the researcher must concentrate on what is given or being experienced by the subject. The main prerequisite for thorough intuition is to adopt a "transcendental attitude", that is,

the researcher must suspend, or put in abeyance his preconceptions and presuppositions on what he is investigating. Valle and King (1978) referred to this process as bracketing. This implies that the researcher makes his preconceptions and presuppositions explicit, becomes aware of them and brackets them. He lets the data emerge as it is rather than selecting those aspects of it that he wishes to see or manipulate, thus defining the phenomenon in terms of his manipulation. The second process involves reflection. As the phenomenologist engages in intuition, he reflects on the phenomenon without imposing meaning on the data that is emerging. Colaizzi (1978) referred to this stage as "the refusal to tell the phenomenon what it is, but a respectful listening to what the phenomenon speaks of itself" (p. 52). The third process involves description of the phenomenon. According to Colaizzi (1978) phenomenological description involves "..... letting that which shows itself be seen from itself, in the very way it shows itself from itself" (p.168). Reflection also forms part of the descriptive phase. Generally the three phases - intuition, reflection and description - overlap in practice and operate as a continuous interacting dynamic process.

6.2.2.1.2. Phenomenological Method - Experience

The phenomenological method is characterised by the data of experience and its meaning for the subject. According to Colaizzi (ibid) one's experience is not within the 'being', but is actually out there, in how one behaves towards the world and acts towards others. Rather than experience internal states, one experiences his existence as it thrusts itself in the world. To believe that one's experience does not count, amounts to believing that one's existence does not count.

In summary Colaizzi (ibid) stated that experience is objectively real for the individual and others; it is not an internal state but a mode of presence in the world; a mode of world presence that is existentially significant and is therefore a necessary content for understanding in human psychology.

Von Eckartsberg (1973) referred to the working principles underlying the experiential approach. The first one is that there should be an emphasis on individual uniqueness. Secondly, the individual's ecological

perspective should be utilised. This means that an individual's natural and real-life perspective should be adopted in order to describe and understand his experiences. Thirdly, in the experiential approach priority should be given to living life structure. Experientially-oriented approach should describe the functioning of these life structures in human interaction, interexperiences as well as individual experiences.

In conclusion Eckartsberg (ibid) remarked that "if a man is shaper-being-shaped and if his activity springs from his personal experiences of his world and if this world in which he lives is socio-culturally patterned and as such also involved in the very structure and processes of individual consciousness, then it becomes important that we develop an approach to the study of the individuals experiences" (p. 68).

6.2.2.1.3. Phenomenological Analysis

According to Kruger (1979) phenomenological method involves step by step analysis of experiential data which can be delineated into the following stages :

(a) Holistic Grasp of Data

This step involves reading each of the subjects protocols in order to get a holistic meaning of data. The main aim is to get an overall feeling of the individual's experience in relation to his world.

(b) Extracting Natural Meaning Units (NMU)

During this phase the protocol is broken down into naturally occurring, self-delimiting units which convey a single recognised aspect or meaning of the subjects' experience. Units which are irrelevant and repetitions are eliminated.

While the researcher must go beyond what is given in the original data (by explicating meanings hidden behind unclear statements) he must also stay with it by formulating meanings which have a connection with data.

(c) Spontaneous Emergence of Categories

For each subject all statements or units (NMU's) with closely related meanings are grouped together to form categories (that is, statements related to one aspect of the subject's lived experience). Any given category may contain elements from only one subject or from possibly all the subjects. These categories are then arranged in a hierarchical fashion in order to facilitate the next stage of scientific explication.

(d) Emergence of Clusters of Categories or Themes

This constitutes the final step of phenomenological analysis. During this stage a group or related categories are brought together to form themes or existential dimensions upon which the extended description of the subject's experiences are based.

6.2.2.2. Phenomenological Analysis of Migration Experiences

The present study used the phenomenological approach to capture the participants' migration experiences in depth and totality. Experiential data collected through ad verbatim recordings of individuals' migration experiences were analysed in the following manner :

(i) Firstly, all the participants' responses to the interview guide were read twice to get the overall meaning of their experiences.

(ii) Secondly, all statements expressing a single aspect or conveying one particular meaning of the participants migration experience were written down and numbered e.g.

N.M.U. 1 : "We were dumped here".

N.M.U. 2 : "I lost all my livestock".

N.M.U. 3 : "They left us here to die".

N.M.U. 4 : "All my furniture was destroyed by rain"

N.M.U. 5 : "Nobody cares about us in this place".

(iii) Thirdly, for each participant all statements or experiences with a similar or related meaning were grouped together into categories :

C1 : "We were dumped here".
"They left us to die here".
"Nobody cares about us in this place".

C2 : "I lost all my livestock".
"All my furniture was destroyed by the rain".

Overlapping categories were either discarded or modified. All remaining categories were then arranged hierarchically in terms of whether they contained information from few or most subjects.

(iv) From the above categories, themes were extracted :

T1 : Theme related to resettlement to a new area
T2 : Theme related to losses.

These themes were rechecked and modified to avoid overlapping.

6.2.2.2.1. Migration Experiences - Adults

This section presents descriptive experiential data obtained from personal interviews with black migrant families: It gives a rare insight into the conscious experiences of black migrant families in South Africa.

Following an overall examination of adult experiential data, several themes, pertaining to various aspects of migration experience, were identified. These were :

- (a) Theme related to removal, eviction or voluntary departure from indigenous residence.
- (b) Theme related to resettlement to a new residential area.
- (c) Theme related to losses
- (d) Theme related to the present living conditions
- (e) Theme related to unemployment.
- (f) Theme related to interpersonal relationships.
- (g) Theme related to ancestors.

- (h) Theme related to community activities.
- (i) Theme related to positive aspects of resettlement.
- (j) Theme related to the future.

Feelings and experiences related to each of the above themes were identified. A frequency count was made of the number of adult participants who expressed the above feelings and experiences and percentages subsequently calculated.

Each of the themes and related feelings or experiences are discussed in the section that follows. Ad verbatim extracts are used to highlight the nature and intensity of feelings and experiences.

6.2.2.2.1.1. Themes on Adult Experiences

- (a) Theme Related to Removal, Eviction or Voluntary Departure from Indigenous Residence

Feelings and experience components of this theme were denial, resistance, feelings of anger, feelings of insecurity, withdrawal, feelings of helplessness and ambivalent feelings. These feelings and experiences are discussed below :

- (i) Denial

In terms of the present analysis this concept refers to experiences related to refusal to acknowledge that something will happen, denying existence or reality of a situation; refusal to give credence to a fact.

The majority of involuntary 'black spot' migrants (92%) and involuntary farm evicted migrants (60%) initially did not believe that they would be moved and used denial to cope with their threatened security.

P.17 "It couldn't happen to us we owned our land and we had title deeds".

P.23 "Nobody had a right to take away our land. It was our life investment and our parents used all their money to buy it".

* P. is used to identify the adult participant.

P.68 "The question was, why do we have to move? You don't just move people without a reason or explanation".

P.46 "Our ancestors could never allow us to leave them".

(ii) Resistance

For the purpose of this analysis this concept refers to experiences related to refusal to comply or co-operate; offering opposition or acting against.

The analysis of data indicated that when it became a reality that residents had to move a majority (86%) of involuntary 'black spot' residents resisted :

P.1 "I was not going to be moved. I was prepared to fight to death for my land".

P.11 "We had meetings and all agreed that it would be cowardly to move. Tenants betrayed us and moved first".

P.33 "We hired white lawyers who exploited us. They charged exorbitant fees and promised to help us. In the end they sided with the government and told us we had to move. We felt betrayed and sort of overwhelmed".

However, there was little organised resistance from farm evicted families (8%). Generally their reactions ranged from feelings of relief that they were free from the oppressive labour tenant system to fear of reprisals by White farmers who actually owned the land.

P.16 "I was happy to leave the farmer who oppressed us. At last my children would have to go to school and have a better future".

P.41 "The farmer overworked us. Sjoboked us in front of our children, deprived our children education and when he had drained all life and energy from us he did not want us in his land. We had to go because we did not own anything - we were owned".

P.88 "If the farmer said I don't want you here now, you had to go even if it meant leaving all your things. If you did not 'poppe sal dans' as the farmer would remark".

The reactions of the farm evicted families makes sense in that they were the most disadvantaged group of migrants who did not have any rights.

(iii) Feelings of anger

This concept is used to describe feelings of being enraged, hurt, provoked and irritated; feelings of wanting to actively do something malicious to the person perceived as provocative; being stirred up.

The analysis of experiential data indicated that resistance was accompanied by strong feelings of anger in a majority (72%) of 'black spot' involuntary migrants :

P.93 "I was very upset and wanted to destroy everything around me".

P.77 "I was afraid I would lose control and kill somebody".

P.26 "I just wanted to die".

These feelings intensified when the families were actually moved :

P.16 "When G.G. trucks started to demolish our homes there was chaos all over. Women and children were screaming. Some men had climbed on the roofs of their homes refusing to leave or come down and were shouting threats from roofs to government officials".

P.4 "The demolition squads were angry, unsympathetic and insulted us. They seemed to be rejoicing at our pain".

P.7 "We were insulted and loaded into the G.G. trucks like animals or bandits".

P.16 "The demolishing squads deliberately destroyed our possessions. I was very angry; I wanted to jump off the moving lorry and kill myself".

Although farm families did not resist removal, the imposed, coercive, unilateral decision to move them evoked feelings of anger in a majority (70%) of involuntary migrant farm families :

P.131 "We were forcibly made to load our possessions into the truck. The farmer set dogs on us and impounded our cattle because they were no longer supposed to be in his farm. He stole our only life possessions".

P.29 "I was so angry, if it were not for my children I would have killed anybody who destroyed my house and possessions. Look, I have nothing now. I am destitute".

(iv) Feelings of Insecurity

In this analysis the above concept is used to describe an experience or a state of not knowing what is going to happen; being doubtful and unsure; being uncertain about the course of events; being anxious.

A large percentage of involuntary 'black spot' migrants (80%) involuntary farm evicted migrants (94%) and voluntary farm migrants (88%) expressed strong feelings of insecurity which tended to alternate with feelings of anger :

- P.15 "For the first time in my life I cried like a small baby. My elderly mother was shaking and pale. She had no tears in her eyes but there was a frightening look in her face - the look you see when somebody is dying. She was disoriented, bewildered and clung to me all the time. Nobody knew what would happen to all of us".
- P.64 "When the demolishing squads came I just did not know what was happening to me. I had no idea of what was in store for us".
- P.86 "We were all confused. We did not know what would all this destruction lead to".
- P.30 "I did not know how I would make ends meet in the new place".

(v) Withdrawal

In the present analysis this concept is used to describe detachment from the situation or retracting from the usual activities.

A large number of migrants (involuntary 'black spot' migrants 60%; involuntary farm migrants, 64%; voluntary farm migrants, 58%) simply withdrew from the emotionally charged situation :

- P.9 "Everybody was so quiet, except for an occasional hysterical scream from a woman or child".
- P.17 "There was no point in doing anything. I was too exhausted. I just did not want to get involved in what was happening around us. Nothing seemed to help".
- P.22 "I just felt dead inside me. I did not feel like fighting. Afterall I had lost. I just observed what was happening around me".

(vi) Feelings of Helplessness

Included here are categories of experiences related to inability to help oneself; no power or means to help oneself; without aid or resource to help oneself; a feeling that one can't do anything about a situation; unable to defend oneself.

Feelings of helplessness were expressed by a majority of migrants (involuntary 'black spot' migrants, 70%; involuntary farm evicted migrants, 84% and voluntary farm migrants, 68%):

- P.3 "On the day G.G. lorries came we hid in the bushes. We were so helpless all we had to do was run away and hide. But when we saw our houses demolished and our property destroyed, we came out screaming and running in all directions like confused people, trying to retrieve whatever was left in the rubble".
- P.71 "I thought the end of the world had come and there was nothing I could have done about it. I just stood there. I watched my furniture being destroyed. My chickens disappeared into thick grass and my dogs and cats barked and wailed. It was useless to try and save anything. There was nothing left".
- P.93 "I felt helpless and powerless. The farmer always made decisions about my life. Now he had decided to throw me into the unknown world and I could do nothing about it".

(vii) Ambivalent Feelings

For the purpose of this study the above concept refers to the coexistence of two opposing feelings towards the same situation, people or objects.

A significant number of voluntary farm migrants (68%) and few involuntary 'black spot' migrants (31%) expressed ambivalent

feelings :

- P.59 "We felt pushed out of the farm. Most of the families were being evicted and the farmers were threatening us everyday. We decided to leave before our house was demolished. We were sad to leave the farm life but in a way we were looking forward towards providing a better future for our children".
- P.42 "We felt guilty about leaving our ancestors and ancestral land but the farmer was a cruel man who sjamboked us in front of our own children".
- P.13 "When I left the farm I was neither sad nor happy. Deep down I loved rural farm life but the farmer hated us and did not want us. Another part of me was happy to be free from oppression".
- P.5 "We were walking down the road, carrying a bundle of the little we had, without money or food and not knowing where we were going. We thought of going back to the farm but then we decided to go and die elsewhere".

It would appear that, although the farm labour system was oppressive, it paradoxically offered a sense of security to a significant number of farm families.

On the other hand the 'black spot' families expressed ambivalent feelings for different reasons :

- P.21 "I was angry at the way we were moved at Charlestown, but I did not really care about land because I did not own it; I was only a tenant".
- P.62 "The way we were treated was sickening. I was used to Charlestown. But I did not resist because the land belonged to the landlord. It was his problem".
- P.55 "The government promised us a better place, our own land in which there would be no landlord. That sounded attractive, but I still did not want to leave my ancestral land".

The ambivalent feelings were expressed mainly by tenants. This indicated that, to a certain extent, there was lack of solidarity among involuntary 'black spot' migrants when they were moved.

A summary table of feelings and experiences related to removal, eviction or voluntary departure from original residence is presented below.

TABLE LXI : REMOVAL, EVICTION OR VOLUNTARY DEPARTURE FROM INDIGENOUS LAND

Feelings and Experiences	Involuntary 'Black spot' migrants	Involuntary farm evicted migrants	Voluntary farm migrants
	E1	E2	E3
i) Denial	92%	60%	-
ii) Resistance	86%	8%	-
iii) Feelings of anger	72%	70%	-
iv) Feelings of insecurity	80%	94%	88%
v) Withdrawal	60%	64%	58%
vi) Feelings of helplessness	70%	84%	68%
vii) Ambivalent feelings	31%	-	68%

Involuntary 'black spot' migrants seem to have found it difficult to accept that they had to move, probably because they felt that they had land rights over their ancestral land. They subsequently put up more resistance than farm migrants who passively complied with coerced removals.

However, in both involuntary 'black spot' and involuntary farm migrants, coerced removals evoked intense feelings of anger.

All migrant groups experienced strong feelings of insecurity. This was particularly the case with farm migrants probably because they were the most underprivileged groups without adequate resources or skills to cope with the new urban environment.

Generally, all migrant groups expressed strong feelings of helplessness. These feelings were more intense in involuntary farm migrants, possibly because this group was not only disadvantaged, but was also exposed to coerced migration.

On the other hand, voluntary farm migrants were more ambivalent about their migration. It would appear that this group was caught up in the conflict of having decided to move from the unbearable farm conditions, only to find that conditions outside the farms were equally adverse, though in a different way.

Summary

Removal and eviction was a painful process characterised by intense negative affect in involuntary migrant groups. To a certain extent, voluntary migration also resulted in serious negative outcome for voluntary farm migrants.

(b) Theme Related to Resettlement to a New Residential Area

Feelings and experience components of this theme were feelings of anger, feelings of rejection, feelings of despair, feelings of despair and hope and feelings of insecurity.

(i) Feelings of Anger (described in a iii)

The majority of migrants (involuntary 'black spot' migrants, 96%; involuntary farm evicted migrants, 84%; and voluntary farm migrants, 62%) experienced strong feelings of anger towards the government or officials who moved them to the new residential area. This was particularly the case with involuntary 'black spot' migrants and involuntary farm evicted migrants.

P.9 "We were treated like animals. They should have killed us all instead of bringing us here".

P.93 "I still get very angry when I think about what human beings can do to another human race. Are these people christians".

P.22 "I want to have nothing to do with government officials. They must just keep away from me - keep very far".

(ii) Feelings of rejection

In the present analysis, the above concept refers to feelings of not being wanted; of being thrown or cast away; of being forsaken and abandoned; of denying one's existence.

A majority of involuntary migrants (involuntary 'black spot' migrants, 78%; involuntary farm migrants, 70%; and voluntary farm migrants, 58%) felt rejected:

P.80 "They dumped us in a cold open space and never looked back again".

P.34 "The area was not habitable - it was an arid desert with rows of small tents pitched on the ground. There was not enough room, so we spent most of the cold nights sleeping outside like animals".

P.77 "We were 'dumped' at Osizweni to die".

P.11 "Nobody wanted to hear about us and our problems".

P.62 "After dumping, we moved into a tent which was full of wet ground. It was raining and windy and the tent was leaking. At midnight the tent was blown off and we did not bother to look for it".

P.8 "The farmer did not want us. He was ready to throw us away because we were now useless to him. So we decided to leave".

P.19 "Life was miserable at the farm and I was happy to leave. I never expected anything close to what Osizweni is. Human beings, dogs, cats and even weeds can never survive here".

(iii) Feelings of Despair

For the purpose of this analysis the above concept refers to experiences of having no hope; of being discouraged by existing conditions and circumstances; of no future prospects in the present situation.

For most involuntary migrants (involuntary 'black spot' migrants, 74%; involuntary farm evicted migrants, 68%; voluntary farm migrants, 56%) feelings of rejection were accompanied by feelings of despair:

P.21 "I spiritually died when I first set my foot at Osizweni".

P.6 "I gave up my claim to life when I first came to Osizweni".

P.47 "I lost a large part of myself when I moved into the green tent to sleep together with my son, daughter-in-law and children. There is nothing we can do about it".

P.9 "When I came here I accepted the fact that I can no longer do what I want. I am just as good as my piece of the old table rotting outside. If the government wants to do anything to me they have all the right to do so".

(iv) Despair (described in b.iii) and Hope

Within the context of this study, the feeling of despair is the opposite of the feeling of hope. Hope refers to the experience of entertaining some desirable expectation; something promising.

The analysis of experiential data indicated that reactions of

voluntary farm migrants, who resettled at Blaauwbosch ranged from those migrants who hoped and felt that they could start all over again (30%) to those who despaired (56%).

Hope:

P.37 "When I came to Blaauwbosch I felt free for the first time. I was free at last! My children could now go to school and I could earn money for a living".

P.1 "When we arrived we were treated with respect and given food and accommodation. I like Blaauwbosch and I think I have a future here".

Despair:

P.17 "I have just realised that there is nothing like complete freedom or happiness. All my hopes were dashed when I came to Blaauwbosch".

P.31 "I did not find green pastures at Blaauwbosch. There is only suffering here. It seems as if it will never end".

(v) Feelings of insecurity (described in a iii)

Pervasive feelings of insecurity were expressed by a large majority of migrants (involuntary 'black spot' migrants, 74%; involuntary farm evicted migrants, 86%; voluntary farm migrants, 80%) particularly in relation to their basic needs of life.

P.23 "What struck me most was that there was no way I could make a livelihood here. When children screamed for food I panicked".

P.44 "The morning after I came here I did not know what was in stock for me. I had suddenly lost a job, I had no money, I had no livestock, no fields and no food. How was I supposed to live with my family here?"

P.52 "We could not survive in this place. There was no life here. Everything was limp and dead. This was very scary. I prayed to God."

P.74 "We did not know what would eventually happen to us. We just waited and we are still waiting perhaps for death".

A summary table of feelings and experiences related to resettlement to a new residential area is presented in Table LXII below:

TABLE LXII : RESETTLEMENT TO A NEW RESIDENTIAL AREA

Feelings and Experiences	Involuntary 'Black spot' migrants	Involuntary farm migrants	Voluntary farm migrants
	E1	E2	E3
i) Feelings of anger	96%	84%	62%
ii) Feelings of rejection	78%	70%	58%
iii) Feelings of despair	74%	68%	56%
iv) Feelings of despair and hope	-	-	30%
v) Feelings of insecurity	74%	86%	80%

Involuntary 'black spot' migrants and involuntary farm evicted migrants experienced stronger feelings of anger, rejection and despair than voluntary farm migrants. This was possibly due to the fact that the first two groups of migrants had been forced to resettle in an area which was not of their choice and had to live under adverse conditions without adequate support systems.

On the other hand, the voluntary farm migrants were the only group in which feelings of despair and hope coexisted. This was probably related to the fact that although this group lived under adverse conditions, the host society into which they were integrated, offered a sense of stability and hope.

Generally, all migrant groups experienced strong feelings of insecurity which could be associated with unfavourable living conditions such as unemployment and disruption of family life.

Summary

The manner in which involuntary migrants were resettled and adverse living conditions in their new resettlement area appear to have evoked serious and incapacitating feelings in most involuntary migrants. The voluntary resettlement of voluntary farm migrants to their area of choice was to a great extent associated with strong feelings of insecurity.

(c) Theme Related to Feelings of Loss

Feelings and experiences associated with this theme were feelings of loss, feelings of insecurity, feelings of despondency and negative self-perception.

(i) Feelings of Loss

In terms of this analysis, loss refers to a feeling of being deprived of; being without something that one has valued; have object pass from one's control.

Strong feelings of loss predominated the experiences of voluntary and involuntary migrants. Of those interviewed, 96% of involuntary 'black spot' migrants, 70% of involuntary farm evicted migrants, and 66% of farm voluntary migrants reported feelings of loss. Loss particularly among involuntary 'black spot' migrants, was intensely felt and pervaded various aspects of their functioning :

- P.18 "My losses cannot be enumerated, because one cannot measure the suffering and pain that went with losses."
- P.96 "I lost everything in life; my land, livestock and home. All my life investment disappeared over-night."
- P.100 "The demolishers destroyed my furniture. Whatever was left could not fit into the green tent. It was soaked in the rain and scorched by the sun. Everything which mattered to me is gone. I am also dead. I am a Zombi."
- P.63 "My loss was so severe. It was as if I had lost my loved one. I still have images about all the beautiful and valuable things I lost - the same way as you have images about the loss of the loved one."
- P.44 "Because of living conditions at Osizweni the children and the sick are dying like flies. Those are people we love and are losing them every week. What's more painful than helplessly watching your loved one die a slow painful death."
- P.23 "I lost my stable job, my only means of livelihood. With it I lost my respect, dignity and status in my family and community. At Charlestown I was a respected landlord - here I am a hobo worse than the poorest tenant."

(ii) Feelings of insecurity (described in a iv)

A majority of migrants (involuntary 'black spot' migrants, 71%; involuntary farm evicted migrants, 68%; voluntary farm migrants,

63%) experienced strong feelings of insecurity. These feelings of insecurity appeared to be particularly related to material losses:

- P.16 "I lost everything I ever owned. When I wake up in the morning I do not know what will happen to me. When I had my cattle I felt secure; I knew that if I had financial problems I could sell them and buy food for my family."
- P.33 "When you have lost everything in life you feel as though you are floating with no roots. Anything can happen to you."
- P.41 "How can you go on living if you have lost everything you valued? Everyman needs to own something, something he can hold on when he is faced with problems."

(iii) Feelings of despondency

In terms of the present study the above concept is used to refer to experiences of being dejected, dispirited, sad and gloomy; of being apathetic and not wanting to do anything.

Most migrants (involuntary 'black spot' migrants, 62%; involuntary farm evicted migrants 56%; voluntary farm migrants, 54%) expressed feelings of despondency which were strongly associated with losses.

- P.53 "I have never recovered from all the losses I incurred. I feel very sad most of the time."
- P.98 "Since I lost my possessions I do not feel like doing anything again. I worked hard for more than twenty years to acquire what I had. Now I cannot start all over again. I am a broken man."
- P.44 "I have lost one family member after another; I feel like crying all the time."

(iv) Negative self-perception

For the purpose of this analysis this concept describes experiences of having a poor concept of self; lack of self-respect; self-denigrating attitude.

In most migrant families, ('black spot' involuntary migrants, 64%; involuntary farm migrants, 60%; and voluntary farm migrants, 58%) multiple losses, especially loss of livestock and land were associated with loss of self-esteem :

P.76 "I woke up one morning to find that I lost my livestock, my manhood and life itself."

P.83 "I am a poor man now. I lost all my livestock. I am a nobody."

P.61 "My cattle were like my own children. When I lost them, I felt as though I had lost part of my body. Nobody respects me now."

A summary table of feelings and experiences associated with loss is presented below :

TABLE LXIII: FEELINGS RELATED TO LOSSES

Feelings and experiences	Involuntary black spot migrants	Involuntary farm migrants	Voluntary farm migrants
	E1	E2	E3
i) Feelings of loss	96%	70%	66%
ii) Feelings of insecurity	71%	68%	63%
iii) Feelings of despondency	62%	56%	54%
iv) Negative self-perception	64%	60%	58%

Involuntary 'black spot' migrants experienced more feelings of loss, insecurity, despondency and negative self-perception as a result of multiple losses incurred during the process of migration, than was the case with farm migrants. This was probably due to the fact that involuntary 'black spot' migrants were a privileged group which owned more property and they subsequently suffered more economic, social and psychological losses than less privileged farm migrants.

Summary

For all migrants, migration was accompanied by multiple losses and these losses were associated with negative affect. However involuntary 'black spot' migrants appear to have been more seriously affected by losses than farm migrants.

(d) Theme Related to the Present Living Conditions

Feelings and experiences associated with this theme were feelings of despair, feelings of insecurity and feelings of helplessness.

(i) Feelings of despair (described in b iii)

To a great extent feelings of despair were related to starvation; overcrowding, deteriorating health standards and bitterly cold winter weather. A large number of involuntary 'black spot' migrants (98%), involuntary farm evicted migrants (96%) and voluntary farm migrants (84%) complained about unfavourable living conditions:

"They dumped us to die here. There is no work here, no fields to grow crops. We often go to bed without food. God will this suffering ever stop?"

"We are trying to make ends meet. But conditions are so bad. We will eventually perish and nobody wants to know us."

"As winter advances I panic. Its freezing cold here and we have no fuel to keep ourselves warm. The malnourished and the sick die. Its like waiting for death. You should see the number of funerals every week-end."

(ii) Feelings of insecurity (described in a iv)

Strong feelings of insecurity were reported by the majority of migrants (involuntary 'black spot' migrants, 70%; involuntary farm-evicted migrants, 67% and voluntary farm migrants, 69%).

Generally, feelings of insecurity pervaded most of the migrants daily life experiences :

P.123 "We are destitute, we live only for today. God knows what will happen to us."

P.114 "I panic each time I think that there will be a time when my family will have no food at all."

P.9 "I always have a foreboding feeling that something terrible will happen to me."

(iii) Feelings of helplessness (described in a iv)

A majority of the migrants (involuntary 'black spot' migrants, 68%; involuntary farm evicted migrants, 72%; and voluntary farm migrants, 70%) expressed strong feelings of helplessness :

P.13 "There is nothing we can do about our plight - we are just helpless."

P.7 "We just feel trapped in this situation. We cannot get out. Somebody must come and help us."

P.98 "Its no use trying to do anything about these conditions. It will never work. The government controls everything and until it decides to do something about conditions here, we are doomed."

A summary table of feelings and experiences related to present living conditions is presented below :

TABLE LXIV : PRESENT LIVING CONDITIONS

Feelings and Experiences	Involuntary black spot migrants	Involuntary farm migrants	Voluntary farm migrants
	E1	E2	E3
i) Feelings of despair	98%	96%	84%
ii) Feelings of insecurity	70%	67%	69%
iii) Feelings of helplessness	68%	72%	70%

All migrant groups experienced strong feelings of despair in relation to their present living conditions. This was probably due to the fact that migrants' living circumstances were grossly unfavourable and there were no indications that the situation would change. Involuntary migrants, in particular,

experienced more despair, possibly because they had been forced into such conditions.

Feelings of insecurity and helplessness were experienced, to more or less the same extent by all migrants. This could be due to the fact that, irrespective of their volition to migrate, all migrants were equally subjected to adverse post-relocation living conditions.

Summary

Present living conditions in resettlement areas created an existential crisis characterised by feelings of despair, insecurity and helplessness, in all migrant groups.

(e) Theme Related to Unemployment

Feelings and experience components of this theme were feelings of anger and insecurity.

(i) Feelings of anger (described in a iii)

Generally the migrants were incapacitated by the high rate of unemployment. They resented the fact that they had lost their stable jobs when they were moved from their indigenous residence. This resentment was to a large extent expressed by involuntary 'black spot' migrants (66%) and to a lesser extent by involuntary farm evicted migrants (48%) and voluntary farm migrants' (50%):

P.133 "When we were moved the police fetched me from work and my employer, for whom I had worked for more than 15 years terminated my services. Now I have been without a job ever since. The government should have known what it was doing."

P.3 "I had to give up my work to move with my elderly parents. They were too frightened. They became very sick and they aged over-night. They died within one and a half years after our arrival because of starvation and poor living conditions."

P.16 "There are no work opportunities here. People are beginning to steal and kill each other just to keep starvation away from the door. What else can one do because the government took our jobs away."

(ii) Feelings of insecurity (described in a iv)

Strong feelings of insecurity were pervasive in all migrant groups (involuntary 'black spot' migrants, 68%; involuntary farm evicted migrants, 66%; and voluntary farm migrants 64%) :

P.105 "Unless we can find work, we will die of starvation."

P.127 "If government does not create work opportunities, we will not survive here. So many people have died of starvation already."

P.34 "Before I can do anything about my life, I need to work and earn a living or else I am just useless. The other day the officials told me that I will be evicted if I do not pay rent. I do not know what will happen to my family."

A summary table of feelings and experiences related to unemployment is presented in Table LXV below :

TABLE LXV : FEELINGS RELATED TO UNEMPLOYMENT

Feelings and Experiences	Involuntary black spot migrants	Involuntary farm migrants	Voluntary farm migrants
	E1	E2	E3
i) Feelings of anger	66%	48%	50%
ii) Feelings of insecurity	68%	66%	64%

Involuntary 'black spot' migrants were more angered by unemployment than involuntary and voluntary farm migrants, probably because the 'black spot' migrants had been forced to give up their lucrative jobs. On the other hand feelings of insecurity about unemployment were experienced to more or less the same degree by all migrants.

Summary

The high rate of unemployment in resettlement areas was disturbing to all migrants. However involuntary 'black spot' migrants expressed stronger reactions towards unemployment than farm migrants.

(f) Theme Related to Interpersonal Relationships

Feelings and experiences associated with this theme were feelings of solidarity and problems of interpersonal relationships within the family.

(i) Feelings of Solidarity

Within the context of this study this concept is used to refer to the experience of being united together in a common purpose; supportive to one another; identifying with the needs, interests and aspirations of one another; feeling of togetherness; forming an alliance.

A strong feeling of solidarity with neighbours and with other residents who came from the same area was reported by 64% of involuntary 'black spot' migrants, 68% of involuntary farm evicted migrants and 66% of voluntary farm migrants.

Neighbours generally provided a rich source of social support:

- P.7 "We would not have survived if our neighbours had not helped us and shared whatever they had with us."
- P.16 "We discuss and share problems with our neighbours and that makes us feel stronger."
- P.29 "Its nice to have a good neighbour like the one I have. We go through difficult times together."

With regard to group solidarity there was a tendency for migrants who came from the same area to form a closed system and to be critical of the outgroup.

- P.46 "People from Utrecht are violent - they want to fight all the time. They should have remained in the farms."
- P.63 "Residents from Charlestown always treat us like fools. They make us feel different."
- P.70 "People from Utrecht compete with us for work. There is no work for them here, they are illiterate, they must be given land to plough vegetables."

Residents from the same area formed a strong support system and sought to maintain old social networks.

- P.41 "We get on very well because we are from the same place."
- P.56 "We help each other with food. We were always a very close community at Charlestown."
- P.32 "All of us from Charlestown have the same problems and needs - we have been made to suffer by the same government. There is no time for ill-feelings because we need each other."

(ii) Problems of Interpersonal Relationships within the Family

This statement refers to problems of interpersonal relationships between members of the family as well as social distance created by lack of care and concern for other members of the family following resettlement in the new area.

In a majority of migrants (involuntary 'black spot' migrants, 64%; involuntary farm evicted migrants, 60%; and voluntary farm migrants, 62%) relationship with close relatives as well as parent-child relationships were either distant or unfavourable.

- P.19 "My relatives have gone their own way and I have not seen them for a long time."
- P.11 "Relatives can no longer give help. Perhaps they do not need each other."
- P.90 "When I see relatives its no longer nice. They overburden me with their own problems."
- P.82 "One thing bad with our removal was that our married son moved away from us. Previously he shared whatever he had with us."

With regard to parent-child relationships, the following comments were made :

- P.42 "I am very angry with my son. At the same time I am aware that he is the victim of circumstances. He steal so that he can find something to eat."
- P.11 "Children have nothing to do here. They are idle and then get into trouble. Their home is the street and their family is the peer group. Perhaps we have failed them as parents."
- P.71 "Children have lost all respect. They think we are old-fashioned. They will not do what they are told. Its as though they are angry with us. But why? We are suffering in the same way as they do."
- P.32 "Because we do not have money to send them to school they think they are adults and have taken control of their own life. They are too young to do that. Some just disappear and by the time you find them its too late; they are in hospital, jail or dead."

A summary table of the feelings, experiences or problems related to interpersonal relationships is presented in Table LXVI below :

TABLE LXVI : INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

Feelings and Experiences	Involuntary black spot. migrants	Involuntary farm migrants	Voluntary farm migrants
	E1	E2	E3
i) Feelings of solidarity	64%	68%	66%
ii) Problems of interpersonal relationships within the family	64%	60%	62%

All migrant groups experienced feelings of solidarity and problems of interpersonal relationships within the family to more or less the same extent.

Summary

It would appear that because of nuclearisation of the family, and non-supportive family relationship, most migrant families formed strong

social support networks with members of the community outside the immediate family. Also, there are strong indications that migrants tended to project their frustrations onto outgroups.

(g) Theme Related to Ancestors

Feeling components of this theme were feelings of security as well as feelings of rejection.

(i) Feelings of security

In the context of the present analysis the above concept describes a feeling of being safe, untroubled by danger or fear; feeling of being protected; being certain.

A large number of migrants (involuntary 'black spot' migrants, 90%; involuntary farm-evicted migrants, 92%; voluntary farm migrants, 96%) performed rituals to ensure ancestral protection and a sense of security.

P.24 "Before we left we slaughtered goats to ancestors. We told them we were not abandoning them but that we had been forced to leave them."

P.20 "We sacrificed to ancestors so that they could continue to look after us. In fact the sacrifice meant we were asking them to come with us to our new destination."

(ii) Feelings of rejection (described in b.iii)

Any disruption of ritual or failure to perform rituals led to feelings of rejection (involuntary 'black spot' migrants, 56%; involuntary farm evicted migrants, 68%; voluntary farm migrants, 62%):

P.62 "Just when we were about to be removed we tried to perform a short ritual to our ancestors but the farmer set dogs on us and said we must pack our things and forget about ghosts. I think the ancestors are very angry with us and that is why they are not protecting us from the evil."

P.11 "I would like to perform rituals to my ancestors but I do not have money to buy a goat or white chicken."

P.108 "I have failed them and they seem to have rejected me.
I have nowhere to turn to."

P.56 "I left the farm voluntarily and everything was so quick
and did not tell my ancestors I was leaving. They think
I have abandoned them and they have also abandoned me.
Look at the problems I have."

P.67 "Ancestors have turned against all of us. It must be our
evil ways. How could they allow such pain and suffering."

A summary table of feelings related to relationships with ancestors
is presented below :

TABLE LXVII: RELATIONSHIPS WITH ANCESTORS

Feelings and Experiences	Involuntary black spot migrants	Involuntary farm migrants	Voluntary farm migrants
	E1	E2	E3
i) Feelings of security	90%	92%	96%
ii) Feelings of rejection	56%	68%	62%

All the migrants experienced more or less the same feelings of security in their relationships with ancestors. However, farm migrants experienced more feelings of rejection by ancestors probably because ancestors were to a certain extent perceived as having failed to protect them from malefactors before and after migration.

Summary

It would appear that although the powers of the government were felt concretely and directly, migrants still believed that the supernatural powers of the ancestors would protect them. To a great extent ancestors offered them a sense of security. However, unresolved problems in resettlement areas created a feeling of being rejected by ancestors particularly among farm migrants.

(h) Theme Related to Community Activities

Feelings and activities associated with the above theme were feelings of anger and membership to burial and money lending societies.

(i) Anger (described in a. iii)

Most migrants (involuntary 'black spot' migrants, 78%; involuntary farm evicted migrants, 69%; and voluntary farm migrants, 70%) expressed strong feelings of anger towards anybody associated with the government. Their belief was that the government should initiate community activities to solve their problems.

P.89 "We need to eat first before we can think. Community activities cannot feed my family. The government who removed us from our land must do something in the community."

P.100 "The government must attend to community matters since they are the people who have caused all this suffering."

P.96 "The government officials do not want to hear from us. We are an embarrassment. They must keep all the promises made to the community. They are in control, they have made us helpless, let them do everything in the community."

(ii) Membership to burial or money lending societies

Within the context of this study membership to burial societies involves paying a regular monthly minimal subscription fee which entitles the members of the society to some form of financial assistance to bury any of his family members and to conduct necessary death rituals. It also fosters feelings of solidarity in members in that they meet regularly and give social support to one another.

Membership to money lending societies on the other hand means that a person becomes a trusted member of that society and in times of need can always borrow money which he has to repay

at certain interest rates. These societies also foster solidarity in that members tend to identify with each others needs and are supportive to one another.

A majority of migrants (involuntary 'black spot' migrants, 66%; involuntary farm evicted migrants, 64%; and voluntary farm migrants, 62%) were members of burial and money lending societies. These activities appeared to be related to migrants' basic survival needs rather than to their personal growth and development:

P.7 "So many people die of starvation and disease we need to organise means to bury them."

P.15 "I have lost two children already. Even if I did not have means to feed them I must give them a decent burial. So I have joined the burial society."

P.37 "Death is with us all the time here. People do not live, they die through disease and social evils. People kill each other like animals here. We need burial societies like we need clinics here."

P.88 "We need to borrow money to live. My family would have perished if I did not borrow money from the money lending society. My parents who get a pension after two months have to pay money back."

A summary table of feelings related to community activities as well as the migrants community activities is presented below.

TABLE LXV III: COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

Feelings and Experiences	Involuntary black spot migrants	Involuntary farm migrants	Voluntary farm migrants
	E1	E2	E3
i) Anger	78%	69%	70%
ii) Membership to burial and money lending societies	66%	64%	62%

Involuntary 'black spot' migrants experienced more anger in matters related to community activities than involuntary and voluntary farm migrants. This could be due to the fact that 'black spot' migrants had been forcibly removed from their original communities where they had been engaged in constructive community activity. However the extent to which migrants were involved in burial and money-lending societies was more or less the same since these were about the only stable support systems available to migrants.

Summary

It would appear that strong feelings of anger towards the government or government officials militated against meaningful involvement in community activities. Migrants were content to involve themselves only in community activities related to their very basic needs of life.

(i) Theme Related to Positive Aspects of Resettlement

Besides negative feelings which were generally associated with migration, some migrants expressed positive and ambivalent feelings towards their resettlement.

(i) Positive Feelings

In terms of the present analysis this concept refers to perception of good attributes in a situation; feelings or experiences of an affirmative nature.

In all, very few migrants (involuntary 'black spot' migrants, 12%; involuntary farm evicted migrants, 16%; and voluntary farm migrants, 22%) expressed positive attitudes towards migration or resettlement :

P.6 "I am happy I left the White farmer. At least when all the Blacks are gone, he will miss them and appreciate their services."

P.115 "Migration made me stronger. I can now face anything in life."

P.138 "Pain and suffering brought me closer to God. I am now a born again Christian."

(ii) Ambivalent Feelings

Most of the reactions were rather ambivalent (involuntary 'black spot' migrants, 24%; involuntary farm evicted migrants, 26%; and voluntary farm migrants, 50%):

P.12 "If I had money I could send my children to school. In the farm there was nothing like childhood. At nine children were treated like hardcore adults. Well here they are not adults but hooligans. One can never win."

P.28 "Shops are much nearer. But I do not have money to buy from them."

P.50 "My status is now the same as that of my landlord. I am no longer oppressed by another Black man. Well I don't know, police and township officials are Black but they still oppress me. Really I do not know if there is something positive."

P.72 "One thing good with the removals is it brought us closer to each other. We all know now who our common enemy is."

A summary table of positive and ambivalent feelings related to resettlement is presented below :

TABLE LXIX: POSITIVE ASPECTS OF RESETTLEMENT

Feelings and Experiences	Involuntary black spot migrants	Involuntary farm migrants	Voluntary farm migrants
	E1	E2	E3
i) Positive feelings	12%	16%	22%
ii) Ambivalent Feelings	24%	26%	50%

Generally, voluntary farm migrants had more positive and ambivalent feelings than involuntary black spot and involuntary farm-evicted migrants, probably because they had moved away from oppressive farm conditions, but at the same time were not happy about the post-relocation circumstances.

Summary

Very few migrants perceived positive aspects of their resettlement. However voluntary migrants tended to be more positive than involuntary migrants. This suggested that the migrants perception of their environment or resettlement area could have been partly related to the attitude of the host society. On the other hand the high degree of ambivalence in voluntary farm migrants indicated that voluntary migrants were to a certain extent unsure about their own perceptions.

(j) Themes Related to the Future

Feelings and experiences associated with the future were negative perception of future, feelings of nostalgia, positive perception of future and indifferent feelings towards the future.

(i) Negative perception of the future

For the purpose of this analysis, this concept refers to being pessimistic about the future; a feeling that things will not improve; a premonition that something bad or terrible will happen in the future.

Generally, most migrants (involuntary 'black spot' migrants, 76%; involuntary farm evicted migrants, 82%; and voluntary farm migrants, 64%) perceived the future negatively :

- P.91 "Nothing in our life has changed really. In fact the pain and suffering is getting worse. This place will not change."
- P.84 "The government still does not want to know us. We do not exist, we died when we were brought in here. Dead people do not have a future."
- P.63 "At Blaauwbosch things are getting worse each day. We do not have enough toilets, water, shops or clinics. We are overcrowded and have nothing to eat. Farm life had a better future for me. Nothing will ever change at Blaauwbosch."

Some of the negative feelings were rather vague and ambivalent :

- P.9 "My future is here. I have nowhere to go."
- P.27 "The government will decide if there is a better future. Not me. I do not know anything."
- P.52 "There is nothing like a future. There is only past to think about."

(ii) Feelings of Nostalgia

For the purpose of this study this concept is used to describe an intense feeling of home-sickness; feeling of sadness caused by prolonged absence from what one considers to be his/her home.

Most migrants who perceived future negatively in their new area, believed that there would be a better future in their indigenous ancestral land (Charlestown/Utrecht) and they wanted to go back there (involuntary 'black spot' migrants, 72%; involuntary farm-evicted migrants, 60%; voluntary farm migrants, 56%). They showed strong nostalgic feelings, idealised their previous lifestyle and yearned for the reinstatement of their original life patterns.

- P.11 "Nobody can solve our problems. The solution is for the government to send us back to Charlestown. I feel trapped here. I do not want to be here. My future is at my real 'home' in Charlestown."
- P.21 "I want to go back to where my ancestors are. If I die I want to be buried in Charlestown. That's where I belong."
- P.39 "I do not mind if I have to go back to Charlestown to start all over again. I will not mind to relive a good life once more again."
- P.53 "I have nightmares about this place. I pray to my ancestors to get me back to my original home. For me the future here is bleak."
- P.73 "I want to go back to the farm. There we grew everything we wanted and did not starve. For us the future was always there - fields, livestock, fresh water etc. Here the future is bleak".

(iii) Positive perception of the future

In this context, the above statement refers to being optimistic about the future; looking forward to a better future; a feeling that things will improve in the future.

Generally, very few migrants (involuntary 'black spot' migrants, 4%; involuntary farm-evicted migrants, 6%; and voluntary farm migrants, 24%) were positive about the future.

P.44 "There is slow improvement. Look we have schools now. Things will eventually get better."

P.18 "As long as I am working I will have a future here. Since I found a job I have been able to send my children to school. That's a good sign."

P.39 "If we all got together we could make things work."

(iv) Indifferent

In terms of the present analysis this concept is used to describe the feeling of disinterest; not being inclined to anticipate better or worse future prospects; having no inclination or feeling for or against the future.

Few migrants (involuntary 'black spot' migrants, 20%; involuntary farm-evicted migrants, 12%; and voluntary farm migrants, 10%) seemed to have passively accepted their fate and their attitude towards the future was indifferent.

P.15 "We were resettled here. We have to do our best to establish our future here. At least for our children."

P.77 "My future is where I am at the moment. I cannot have it anywhere. Does it really matter?"

P.32 "My future is where the government wants it to be. It will also be what the government wants to be. I don't really care."

A summary table of feelings and experiences associated with future is presented below :

TABLE LXX : PERCEPTION OF FUTURE

Feelings and Experiences	Involuntary black spot migrants	Involuntary farm migrants	Voluntary farm migrants
	E1	E2	E3
i) Negative perception	76%	82%	64%
ii) Feelings of Nostalgia	72%	60%	56%
iii) Positive perception	4%	6%	24%
iv) Indifferent	20%	12%	10%

Involuntary 'black spot' and involuntary farm-evicted migrants perceived the future more negatively than voluntary farm migrants. On the other hand, voluntary farm migrants perceived the future more positively than involuntary 'black spot' and farm-evicted migrants.

Secondly, involuntary 'black spot' migrants were more nostalgic and indifferent to the present situation than farm migrants.

Summary

The majority of migrants longed for the past and were pessimistic about their future. This was particularly the case with involuntary migrants.

6.2.2.2.1.2. Overall Summary

An overall summary table of themes that emerged from adult, experiential migration data as well as related feelings and experiences, is presented below :

TABLE LXXI : SUMMARY TABLE ON FEELINGS AND EXPERIENCES - ADULTS

FEELINGS AND EXPERIENCES	T H E M E S									
	(a) Removal eviction or voluntary move	(b) Resettlement in new area	(c) Losses	(d) Present living conditions	(e) Unemployment	(f) Interpersonal Relationships	(g) Ancestors	(h) Community Activities	(i) Positive aspects of resettlement	(j) Future
anial	E1 92% E2 90% E3 -									
sistance	E1 86% E2 8% E3 -									
ger	E1 72% E2 70% E3 -	E1 96% E2 84% E3 62%			E1 66% E2 48% E3 50%			E1 78% E2 69% E3 70%		
security	E1 80% E2 94% E3 88%	E1 74% E2 86% E3 80%	E1 71% E2 68% E3 63%	E1 70% E2 67% E3 69%	E1 68% E2 66% E3 64%					
thdrawal	E1 60% E2 64% E3 58%									
elplessness	E1 70% E2 84% E3 68%			E1 68% E2 72% E3 70%						
jection		E1 78% E2 70% E3 58%					E1 56% E2 68% E3 64%			
espair		E1 74% E2 68% E3 56%		E1 98% E2 96% E3 84%						
espair & Hope		E1 - E2 - E3 30%								
oss			E1 96% E2 70% E3 66%							
espondency			E1 62% E2 56% E3 54%							
ative elf-Perception			E1 64% E2 60% E3 58%							
olidarity						E1 64% E2 68% E3 66%				
roblems - elationship in amily						E1 64% E2 60% E3 62%				
ecurity							E1 90% E2 92% E3 96%			
embership to rganisations								E1 66% E2 64% E3 62%		
Positive Feelings									E1 12% E2 16% E3 22%	E1 4% E2 6% E3 24%
Ambivalent Feelings	E1 - E2 - E3 58%								E1 24% E2 26% E3 50%	
Negative Perception										E1 76% E2 82% E3 64%
Nostalgia										E1 72% E2 60% E3 56%
Indifference										E1 20% E2 12% E3 10%

The overall summary of feelings and experiences of all migrant groups indicated that :

- (i) In all migrant groups feelings of insecurity and anger pervaded several themes.
- (ii) As compared with farm migrants, involuntary 'black spot' migrants engaged in more denial and resistance to removal; more feelings of anger, rejection, loss, despondency and negative perception of self; more feelings of insecurity in relation to losses, present living conditions and unemployment; and more feelings of nostalgia and indifference about the future.
- (iii) As compared with involuntary 'black spot' migrants and voluntary farm migrants, involuntary farm-evicted migrants experienced more feelings of insecurity related to removal from their indigenous land and resettlement to a new area; more feelings of helplessness; and more negative perception of self.
- (iv) As compared with involuntary 'black spot' and involuntary farm-evicted migrants, voluntary migrants experienced more feelings of security in their relationships with ancestors; more positive feelings about migration process and future. They also experienced more ambivalent feelings.
- (v) Generally, farm migrants experienced more feelings of rejection by ancestors than involuntary 'black spot' migrants.

The most striking differences were that the involuntary 'black spot' migrants experienced more negative migration related

feelings and experiences than farm migrants. On the other hand voluntary farm migrants experienced more positive migration-related experiences and feelings than involuntary 'black spot' and involuntary farm-evicted migrants.

6.2.2.2.2. Migration Experiences - Children

Following an overall examination of childrens' experiential data, several themes pertaining to various aspects of migration experience were identified. These were :

- (a) Theme related to removal or moving away from indigenous land.
- (b) Theme related to resettlement.
- (c) Theme related to relationships with parents.
- (d) Theme related to relationships with peers.
- (e) Theme related to school experiences.

Feelings and experiences related to each of the above themes were identified. A frequency count was made of the number of children who expressed the above feelings and experiences. Percentages were then calculated.

Each theme and related feelings or experiences are discussed in the section that follows. Ad verbatim extracts are used to highlight the nature and intensity of each of the feelings or experiences discussed.

6.2.2.2.2.1. Themes on Children Experiences

- (a) Theme Related to Removal or Moving Away from Indigenous Land

Feeling and experience components of this theme were feelings of excitement and fear.

- (i) Feelings of excitement

Included in this category are experiences related to being very happy; looking forward to something good or pleasant; anticipation of a good forthcoming experience.

A significant number of migrant children (involuntary 'black spot' migrants, 58%; involuntary farm evicted migrants, 70%; and voluntary farm migrants, 68%) received news that their families would move with excitement :

P.7 "I thought it was going to be nice if all of us had to move; we would all be together again. We were excited and we discussed the new place with my friends and nice things we could do there."

P.21 "When my elder sister told me my parents did not want us to move, I did not understand why they did not want to go. I wanted to go and see other places, perhaps nicer than the farm. After all the 'baas' was not nice to us here. I was looking forward to the day we would leave the farm."

(ii) Fear

In terms of the present analysis this concept describes the feeling or experience of being terrified and frightened; afraid of something as a source of danger.

Fear predominated most of the childrens' responses (involuntary 'black spot' migrants, 96%; involuntary farm evicted migrants, 94%; voluntary farm migrants, 90%) ;

P.8 "It was no longer nice at home. Our parents were quiet and sad most of the time. I was afraid that something terrible would happen to us."

P.47 "I felt frightened when my brother told me that he had overheard my father say that the White people better shoot us all dead. I thought we would be killed at any time."

During the actual process of moving, fear intensified :

P.83 "One morning strange people in big lorries came. They were shouting at us, destorying all our things. I though they had come to kill us. I think I fainted because when I came around I was on a G.G. truck and everybody was crying and screaming."

* P. is used to identify child participant.

- P.98 "I thought we were all going to die. I ran away but my knees were too weak. The man caught up with me and threw me into the truck."
- P.64 "I did not do anything. I just hid under the broken table and bed in the G.G. truck. I was very scared. I even wet my pants."
- P.50 "I still have bad dreams about what happened. Sometimes, in my dreams I see a White people shooting my father."

A summary table of feelings and experiences related to removal or moving away from indigenous land is presented below :

TABLE LXXII: 'REMOVAL'AND 'MOVING AWAY' FROM INDIGENOUS LAND

Feelings	Involuntary black spot migrants	Involuntary farm migrants	Voluntary farm migrants
	E1	E2	E3
i) Feelings of excitement	58%	70%	68%
ii) Fear	96%	94%	90%

Farm migrant children were generally more excited about the migration move than involuntary 'black spot' children, possibly because these children perceived migration as a way to escape from oppressive farm conditions. With regard to the actual process of moving, all migrant children experienced fear to more or less the same extent, possibly because all of them were subjected to the brutal coercive process of migration.

Summary

For most migrant children moving to another place was exciting but this excitement was replaced by fears when children became aware of the realities of moving and were exposed to traumatic experiences.

(b) Theme Related to Resettlement

Feelings and experiences associated with resettlement were feelings of insecurity, positive feelings, changes in parents' attitude and changes in lifestyle.

(i) Feelings of Insecurity (described in a iv)

More than half of migrant children (involuntary 'black spot' migrants, 52%; involuntary farm evicted migrants, 66%; voluntary farm migrants, 68%) expressed strong feelings of insecurity :

P.8 "My father slept outside the tent. I feared that something terrible would happen to him."

P.66 "I do not know what will happen to us here. My mother is sick now."

(ii) Positive Feelings (described in i i)

A significant number of migrant children (involuntary 'black spot' migrants, 64%; involuntary farm-evicted migrants, 66%; and voluntary farm migrants, 62%) appeared to have accepted the new way of life :

P.23 "It was hard at the beginning, but I sort of like it here now. I spend most of the time with friends at the shopping centre. We also do errands for people at the bar/beerhall and they give us some money."

P.70 "I thought I would never get used to this place. I am happy here now. One thing good I do not have to do hard work as in the farm. I have plenty of time to spend with my friends. Sometimes we sell peanuts and sweets. We want to make a lot of money."

(iii) Observed Changes in Parents' Attitude

A significant number of children observed a negative change in the parents' attitude following resettlement (involuntary 'black spot' migrants, 68%; involuntary farm evicted migrants, 66%; and voluntary farm migrants, 68%).

P.114 "My father has never been the same person again. He fights with all of us at home and does not want us to play with other children."

P.137 "My mother no longer cares about us. She tells us that we cause problems."

(iv) Observed Changes in Lifestyle

A majority of children reported negative feelings related to change of lifestyle (involuntary 'black spot' migrants, 65%; involuntary farm evicted migrants, 70%; and voluntary farm migrants, 68%).

P.9 "There is not enough food here. I feel terrible to be at home. At Charlestown we had plenty of food and we were happy to be at home because it was warm inside the house in winter."

P.121 "The tent was too small and parents did not want us inside. We spent most of the time cold outside the tent."

P.49 "I cannot get used to this place. There are too many people around. I want to be at an open space where I could see cattle and goats grazing."

A summary table of feelings and experiences related to resettlement for all migrants is presented below :

TABLE LXXIII : RESETTLEMENT

Feelings and Experiences	Involuntary black spot migrants	Involuntary farm migrants	Voluntary farm migrants
	E1	E2	E3
i) Feelings of insecurity	52%	66%	68%
ii) Positive feelings	64%	62%	66%
iii) Observed changes in parents' attitude	68%	66%	68%
iv) Observed changes in lifestyle	65%	70%	68%

Farm migrant children were more insecure and observed more changes in lifestyle in the resettlement area than was the case with 'black spot' children. This is possibly due to the fact that unfavourable farm experiences had made these children more vulnerable to feelings of insecurity. Secondly, they had to adapt to a completely foreign urban environment for which they had not been prepared.

However, all migrant children were to more or less the same degree, positive about their resettlement. It could be that migrant children did not make a realistic appraisal of their circumstances because of their immaturity. Also, the fact that positive feelings and feelings of insecurity were experienced to more or less the same extent by farm migrant children, could be interpreted to mean that these children had ambivalent feelings towards resettlement ; that is, although they felt insecure in their resettlement area, they still perceived it in a positive light when compared with their farm experiences.

Lastly, all migrant children observed more or less the same degree of change in parents' attitude. This could be related to the fact that all parents perceived the new environment as threatening to their children and subsequently became more restrictive and overcontrolling.

Summary

Resettlement to a new area evoked ambivalent feelings in migrant children. This was particularly the case with farm migrant children. All migrant children perceived more or less the same degree of change in parents' attitudes. However, change of lifestyle was particularly disturbing to farm migrant children.

(c) Theme Related to Relationships with Parents

Associated with this theme were childrens feelings of rejection and relationship problems with parents.

(i) Feelings of Rejection (described in b ii)

Feelings of rejection were experienced by a significant number of migrant children (involuntary 'black spot' migrants, 66%; involuntary farm evicted migrants, 52% and voluntary farm migrants, 56%).

- P.4 "My parents complain if I am not home, but if I am home, they have no time for me, and tell me to play outside because the room is too small."
- P.14 "My mother no longer bothers about what I need. She never asks me if I am hungry or not, whether I have shoes, socks or where I had gone to."
- P.83 "My parents do not seem to care about anything. My mother never cleans the house and when I do she never says thank you."

(ii) Relationship problems with parents

A majority of migrant children (involuntary 'black spot' migrants, 68%; involuntary farm evicted migrants, 58%; voluntary farm migrants, 60%) had relationship problems with their parents :

- P.11 "My father insists that I go to school but does not give me money for books. He fights with me all the time."
- P.67 "My father shouts at me and hits me sometimes, just the same way as he did in the farm. My friends say that their fathers do not hit them here."

P.107 "I don't know why my parents are so difficult now.
They do not want me to play with other children
because they think they are bad."

A summary table of feelings and experiences related to childrens' relationships with parents is presented below :

TABLE LXXIV: RELATIONSHIPS WITH PARENTS

Feelings and Experiences	Involuntary Black spot migrants	Involuntary farm migrants	Voluntary farm migrants
	E1	E2	E3
i) Feelings of rejection	66%	52%	56%
ii) Relationship problems with parents	68%	58%	60%

Involuntary 'black spot' migrant children had more relationship problems with parents and felt more rejected by parents than farm migrant children. This could be related to the fact that 'black spot' children had strong relationships with peers whose normative standards were rejected by migrant parents.

Summary

It would appear that relationship problems with parents was associated with feelings of rejection in migrant children. This was particularly the case with involuntary 'black spot' migrant children.

(d) Themes Related to Relationships with Peers

Associated with this theme were childrens' feelings of loss and relationship problems with peers.

(i) Feelings of Loss (described in c i)

A significant number of migrant children (involuntary 'black spot' migrants, 62%; involuntary farm evicted migrants, 64%; and voluntary farm migrants, 66%) reported feelings of loss following separation from peers.

P.41 "My father does not want me to mix with other children here. He says they are bad. I miss my old friends. They were really nice."

P.21 "I have found new friends here. They are really nice. But I still want to be with my old friends. We used to do lots of things together."

(ii) Problems of Relationships with Peers

A majority of farm migrant children (involuntary farm evicted migrants, 66%; voluntary farm migrants, 62%) had relationship problems with peers. Very few involuntary 'black spot' migrants, (24%) had problems with peers.

P.33 "Sometimes children here laugh at us because we are from the farm and did not go to school."

P.4 "Children here are not good. They will get me into trouble and my father does not like them."

P.73 "Children from Charlestown always gang against me. At school they make fun of me and give nicknames."

P.24 "No matter what you do here you are never right. Other children laugh at you and want you to join them in bad things they do. When I go home my father thinks I am bad too.",

A summary table of feelings and experiences associated with childrens' relationships with peers is presented below :

TABLE LXXV : RELATIONSHIPS WITH PEERS

Feelings and Experiences	Involuntary Black spot migrants	Involuntary farm migrants	Voluntary farm migrants
	E1	E2	E3
i) Feelings of loss	62%	64%	66%
ii) Problems of relationships with Peers	24%	66%	62%

All migrant children experienced feelings of loss of their original peers to more or less the same extent. However, farm migrant children experienced more relationship problems with peers in their new resettlement area than involuntary 'black spot' migrant children. This was possibly due to the fact that farm migrant children were disadvantaged and tended to be rejected by peers in the community and at school.

Summary

Most migrant children experienced feelings of loss when they were separated from their peers through the process of migration. However, most 'black spot' migrant children made up for this by establishing new meaningful peer relationships, whereas farm migrant children experienced problems in peer relationships.

(e) Themes Related to School Experiences

The above theme was associated with unfavourable school experiences and school problems related to family's socio-economic status.

(i) Unfavourable School Experiences

A large majority of farm migrants (involuntary farm evicted migrants, 82%; voluntary farm migrants, 78%) reported unfavourable school experiences. Less than half of involuntary 'black spot' children (48%) reported unfavourable experiences at school.

P.8 "There were no schools at Osizweni, so we went to a school at Blaauwbosch. Children laughed at us and called us 'tent children'."

P.41 "The teachers at Blaauwbosch did not like us. They hit us if we came later or we were sick. I used to feel sick and giddy all the time because I was hungry. Now I am used to that."

P.33 "We used an old place as a school. The windows were all broken, floors cold and sometimes wet. We had no desks or chairs to sit on. I just did not want to go to school."

P.47 "Everything was done differently. The teachers did not teach in the same way as Charlestown teachers. At Charlestown teachers were nice; they knew most of us as well as our parents."

For farm migrant children schooling was a new experience introduced under unfavourable conditions.

- P.92 "I looked forward to going to school since I had never been to school. However when I went there other children laughed at me because I did not know what to do. I was also much older and the class teacher gave me a nickname. I felt very unhappy. I used to cry. I then refused to go back to school."
- P.81 "The teacher used to beat us. He referred to all children from Utrecht as 'farm fools'. Charlestown children also made fun of us. We also did not have the uniform and we felt different. I am now beginning to like school."
- P.16 "I was not used to that type of life. I was used to open space where I could move around. At school I had to sit in one place and in a closed room for the whole day. I used to get very hungry too. I also got tired of sitting on the floor. I ran away from school and both my parents and teacher gave me a good hiding. I still go to school but I do not like it."

(ii) School problems related to family's socio-economic status

Poverty and unemployment generally made schooling a problem to a majority of migrant children (involuntary 'black spot' migrants, 54%; involuntary farm evicted migrants, 64%; and voluntary farm migrants, 66%) :

- P.9 "I like to go to school but my parents have no money for books and uniform."
- P.71 "I cannot go to school. I have to take care of my younger sisters because my mother has to work."
- P.22 "I had no uniform - other children laughed at my old clothing and tore my shirt. My mother asked me to leave school until she can afford new clothes for me."
- P.19 "I still go to school, but teachers often send me home because my school fees have not been paid."

A summary table of feelings and experiences related to schooling are presented below :

TABLE LXXVI : SCHOOL-RELATED EXPERIENCES

Feelings and Experiences	Involuntary 'black spot' migrants	Involuntary farm migrants	Voluntary farm migrants
	E1	E2	E3
i) Unfavourable school experiences	48%	82%	78%
ii) School problems related to family's socio-economic status	54%	64%	66%

Farm migrant children experienced more unfavourable school experiences and school problems related to family's socio-economic status than 'black spot' migrant children. This is possibly due to the fact that in as far as farm migrant children were concerned, the school was a foreign institution which tended to reject them. It would also appear that the socio-economic disadvantage of farm migrant families led to more school problems for farm migrant children.

Summary

School experiences were traumatic and unfavourable for most farm migrant children. On the other hand, 'black spot' migrant children appeared to be making better adjustments at school.

6.2.2.2.2. Overall Summary

An overall summary table of all themes which emerged from childrens' experiential, migration data, as well as related feelings and experiences, is presented overleaf :

TABLE LXXVII : SUMMARY TABLE OF FEELINGS AND EXPERIENCES - CHILDREN

FEELINGS AND EXPERIENCES	T H E M E S				
	(a) Removal or Moving away	(b) Resettlement	(c) Relationships with parents	(d) Relationships with peers	(e) School Experiences
Excitement	E1 58% E2 70% E3 68%				
Fear	E1 96% E2 94% E3 90%				
Insecurity		E1 52% E2 66% E3 68%			
Positive Feelings		E1 64% E2 62% E3 66%			
Changes in Parents' attitude		E1 68% E2 66% E3 68%			
Changes in Lifestyle		E1 50% E2 70% E3 68%			
Rejection			E1 66% E2 52% E3 56%		
Problems with Parents			E1 68% E2 58% E3 60%		
Loss				E1 62% E2 64% E3 66%	
Problems with peers				E1 24% E2 66% E3 62%	
Unfavourable school experiences					E1 48% E2 82% E3 78%
School problems related to family's socio-economic status					E1 54% E2 64% E3 66%

The overall summary on feelings and experiences of all migrant children indicated that :

- (i) All migrant children experienced more fear related to the process of removal than any other feelings.
- (ii) Involuntary 'black spot' children experienced more problems of relationships with parents as well as rejection by parents.
- (iii) Farm migrant children experienced more excitement about moving; more relationship problems with peers; more school-related problems; more feelings of insecurity and perceived more changes in lifestyle than 'black spot' children.
- (iv) To a great extent, all migrant children experienced more or less the same degree of loss, positive feelings towards resettlement and more or less the same perception of parents' change of attitude.

6.2.2.2.2.3. Conclusion

The overall analysis of both adult and childrens feelings and experiences indicated that :

- (i) In all migrant adults the predominant feeling was anger, whereas in migrant children, fear predominated their experiences. These two feelings merely highlight developmental differences in that children are more inclined to express fear rather than anger towards adult figures or authorities.
- (ii) Both migrant adults and migrant children expressed feelings of loss and insecurity.
- (iii) Migrant adults reported problems of interpersonal relationships in the family, whereas children reported problems of interpersonal relationships with parents. This suggested that family life was fraught with family problems and conflicts.
- (iv) Children generally were more positive about their area of resettlement than was the case with their parents. This possibly

reflects the childrens' lack of understanding of the full implications of the situations or it could be that these children had accepted or adapted to a pathological situation and were using maladaptive defense mechanisms to cope with the adverse environment.

- (v) In both adult and children migrant groups, there were similarities and differences in feelings and experiences. This was consistent with the findings yielded by factor analysis and Anova which also indicated similarities and differences in treatment groups.

6.3. Overall Summary of Results

The overall findings of the present study indicated that :

- A. i) Only migrant groups perceived migration-related events such as 'eviction', 'move to a worse neighbourhood', 'lose home, valued possessions and property', and 'changes in lifestyle' as highly stressful. 'Move to a worse neighbourhood' was additionally stressful to farm migrants and 'suffer financial loss' was particularly stressful to 'black spot' migrants.
- ii) All migrant adults perceived significantly higher levels of stress than non-migrant adults. Generally all migrant adult groups perceived more or less the same degree of stress and their perception of stress was significantly different from that of the non-migrant adult group.
- iii) Four factors, namely, life-space and lifestyle changes, emotional instability, disturbance of relationships, personal and family, emerged from factor analysis. Although factor analysis revealed areas of common concern, there were specific group differences in the nature of component events comprising certain clusters or factors.
- iv) All migrant children perceived 'rejected by others' as highly stressful. However, involuntary 'black spot' migrants perceived 'parents' mood or feelings about life', 'have to stop school', 'marriage of parent' and 'change in family lifestyle' as additionally stressful. On the other hand, voluntary and

involuntary farm migrants perceived 'start school', 'problems with teachers or schoolwork' as highly stressful. 'Moving away from close friends was highly stressful to involuntary farm evicted migrant children only.

- v) All migrant children perceived significantly higher levels of stress than non-migrant children. Generally, all migrant childrens' groups perceived more or less the same degree of stress and their perception of stress was significantly different from that of the non-migrant childrens' group.
- vi) Four factors, namely, change in life-space and personal lifestyle, disturbance of relationships, emotional instability, exit from one's life-space, emerged from factor analysis. As in adult treatment groups, specific group differences, in the nature of components comprising certain clusters, were observed in childrens' groups.

The overall analysis of stressful life events, using different statistical procedures, indicated that different groups, specifically migrant and non-migrant groups, indeed differed in their perception of stress.

- B. i) Migrant adults were more psychologically distressed than non-migrant adults. The migrants' distress was associated with losing their homes. Generally, the psychological status of all migrant adults was more or less the same and it was significantly different from that of the non-migrant group.
- ii) Involuntary 'black spot' migrant and non-migrant children did not meet the criteria of emotional disturbance. However, 'black spot' migrant children had strong antisocial tendencies. On the other hand, farm migrant children suffered from an emotional disturbance of a neurotic nature.

Generally, the degree of emotional disturbance in farm migrant children was more or less the same and these children appeared more disturbed than 'black spot' migrant children and non-migrant children. On the other hand, the degree of the emotional disturbance in 'black spot' and non-migrant children was more or less the same. However, subsequent analysis of data indicated that the similarity was more apparent than real.

- C. i) Involuntary and voluntary farm migrant adults perceived more external control than involuntary 'black spot' migrant and non-migrant adults. Generally, farm migrant adults perceived more or less the same degree of external control while involuntary 'black spot' migrant and non-migrants had more or less the same degree of internal orientation.
- ii) Farm migrants perceived more or less the same degree of external control, whereas involuntary 'black spot' migrant and non-migrants had more or less the same degree of internal orientation.
- iii) Involuntary 'black spot' migrant and non-migrant children perceived less control by unknown and powerful others in the area of their cognitive functioning than was the case with farm migrant children who perceived more control by unknown and powerful others in their cognitive functioning.
- iv) Involuntary 'black spot' migrant and non-migrant children perceived significantly less control by powerful others and concomittant more internal locus of control in their general area of functioning than was the case with farm migrant children who perceived significantly more control by powerful others and less internal locus of control in their general area of functioning.
- v) All migrant children perceived significantly more control by powerful others and concomittant less internal locus of control in their area of social functioning than was the case with non-migrant children who perceived significantly less control by powerful others and concomittant more internal locus of control in their social functioning.
- vi) All children perceived significantly more internal locus of control and concomittant less control by powerful others in their physical area of functioning.
- vii) Generally, perception of control by involuntary 'black spot' migrant and non-migrant children tended to follow the same trend while perception of control by farm migrant children followed a distinct pattern almost opposite to the trend observed in 'black spot' and non-migrant children.

- D. The overall results yielded by the experiential data highlighted the complex dynamics underlying the migrants perception of stress, psychological status and perception of control. They gave strong supportive evidence to experimental data that the process of migration was highly stressful and that it had a devastating effect on the migrants' psychological status and perception of control.

All the results presented in this chapter will be discussed in the following chapters.

CHAPTER SEVEN

7. DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

The general objective of this study was to investigate the extent to which stress and psychological status of migrants is a function of different degrees of volition to migrate. This objective generated several hypotheses which were either supported or disproved by the findings of the present study.

The findings of this investigation will thus be discussed in terms of the general aim and specific set of hypotheses formulated from the main objectives of this study.

7.1. Discussion of Results - Experimental Data

7.1.1. Psychosocial Stress

The findings of this study indicated that all migrant adults perceived significantly higher levels of stress than non-migrant adults (c.f. Table XXV to XXVI). Migrant adults specifically perceived migration-related experiences such as 'lose home', 'major changes in lifestyle', 'eviction', 'lose valued possessions', 'loss of property with little or no compensation' and 'move to a worse neighbourhood' as highly stressful. Migration-related losses were perceived by these groups to be almost as stressful as loss by death (c.f. Table XXIV).

This finding was consistent with the results of some overseas studies (Fried, 1974; Nair, 1978) which indicated that migration was indeed a highly stressful process. Fried (*ibid*) found that involuntary migration was highly stressful, particularly to migrants who had shown a high degree of commitment to their previous residential area. Nair's (1978) findings indicated that migration was generally stressful and that the migration stressors were to a great extent the function of the migrants post-relocation experiences and culture.

Stress perception by the various migrant groups seemed to be related to their pre- and post-relocation experiences. It is hardly surprising

that migrant adults should have perceived more stress than non-migrant adults, since these two groups had been exposed to different experiences : While non-migrant adults were stably settled in their indigenous residence, migrant adults had been exposed to adverse migration experiences which produced an assortment of stressors.

The first stress - inducing experience was the coerced nature of migration which was initiated by the external agent against the will of the migrants. Voluntary migration was also coerced in the sense that it took the form of flight from unbearable farm conditions and these migrants had very limited choice as to where they could resettle : In fact their status could be compared to that of refugees. Certainly, absence of decision-making opportunities could be assumed to have contributed to most migration related stresses.

Secondly, migration brought about an abrupt change in the lives of migrants. According to Stein (1977) abrupt social change can upset the ecological equilibrium and create situations leading to individual stress. It is possible that under these circumstances migrants were not able to produce or evolve effective coping mechanisms to deal with abrupt change and this possibly led to intensification of stress.

Thirdly, the migrants were not provided with adequate psychological and social support systems. The family unit which provides the most important support system emotionally and socially, was destabilised by the process of migration. Likewise, the suprasystems such as extended family system, the village and community structures from which the nuclear family drew its resources were disrupted. Unfortunately, no other support networks were available in the post-relocation environment to replace the original social support networks. According to Stein (1977) availability of psychological and most particularly, social resources has a powerful effect in moderating stress.

Fourthly, migrants were subjected to events related to loss such as 'lose home', 'lose valued possessions', 'loss of property with little or no compensation', and events related to separation such as 'eviction', and 'move to a worse neighbourhood'. According to Garmezy and Rutter (1983), loss and separation are representative of stressors that occupy an end point in the dimension of severity.

In terms of loss it would appear that involuntary 'black spot' families suffered a multitude of social (status), psychological (self-esteem), physical (land rights) and economic (work and money) losses related to their privileged status. In fact this was the only group which rated 'suffer financial loss' as highly stressful.

On the other hand the underprivileged status of farm migrants was possibly a source of additional stress to them. Firstly, it would appear that the oppressive labour system to which farm migrants were exposed inhibited their feelings of personal adequacy and stunted personal resources necessary to deal with broader demands of society. Secondly, farm migrants were resettled in an environment which was completely dissimilar to their original habitat. Most farm migrants had never left the farm and had no exposure to any other type of lifestyle. Hence farm migrants were the only group of migrants who perceived 'move from rural to urban area' as highly stressful.

It would appear that for farm migrants, resettlement to an urban environment was a complete eradication of a lifestyle. This meant that, in their new resettlement area, farm migrants had to co-exist with a different lifestyle where previous farming skills were either foreign or inapplicable. Since no attempts were made to integrate them fully into the urban life, farm migrants clung to their rural enclave and maladaptive rural values; they became a marginalised population unprepared and unable to adapt to the urban life under stressful conditions.

In a way, farm migrants were desocialised. According to Hansen and Oliver-Smith (1982) migrants who make a successful adjustment, are those who undergo minimal desocialisation, who end up in a society identical to their old one after a short time in transit, whose skills and experience are transferable or applicable to the new society and who are permitted to immediately resume playing their accustomed roles. It would appear that the demands of the new different environment militated against farm migrants' smooth adjustment to a new resettlement area and necessitated a relatively high degree of desocialisation which possibly led to higher levels of perceived stress.

An interesting point here is that there was no significant difference in mean stress scores between 'voluntary' and 'involuntary' farm migrants (c.f. Table XXVI). It could be that voluntary farm migrants had more or less the same degree of volition to migrate as involuntary migrants in that

they actually had to 'flee' from adverse farm conditions to seek refuge elsewhere. This supports Eichenbaum's (1970) statement that the voluntary decision to migrate, made by individuals completely independent of societal forces, is empirically non-existent.

The above interpretation also supports Stokolos and Schumaker's (1982) statement that the impact of migration, whether voluntary or involuntary, depends on the degree to which the new environment compares with the previous environment as well as the extent to which it meets the personal needs of the migrant.

Generally, it would appear that the adverse post-relocation conditions, the striking differences in pre-location and post-relocation experiences, as well as the fact that post-relocation conditions could not compensate for pre-location losses, probably produced and led to stress intensification in all migrant adult groups.

As in the case of migrant adults, migrant children also perceived significantly higher levels of stress than non-migrant children (c.f. Table XXXVII). All migrant children specifically perceived being 'rejected by others' as highly stressful. Other events perceived as highly stressful by different migrant groups were 'parents mood or feelings about life', 'have to stop school', 'change in family lifestyle', 'marriage of parent' (involuntary 'black spot' migrants), 'start school', 'problems with teachers or schoolwork', (involuntary and voluntary farm migrants), 'move away from close friends' (involuntary farm evicted migrant children). Most of these events were migration-related changes or stressors (c.f. Table XXXIII).

It came as no surprise that various migrant children should have perceived more stress than non-migrant children (c.f. Table XXXVII and XXXVIII) in view of the differences in the nature of experiences to which these groups had been subjected : As in the case of adult migrants, migrant children were subjected to stress related adverse migration experiences, to which non-migrant children were not exposed.

Several factors seem to have made migration highly stressful to migrant children. Firstly, migration involved separation from attachment objects such as relatives in the extended family system. This separation could have been highly stressful to black children where multiple mothering is an

important factor in the overall process of socialisation. It is also possible that severing enduring relationship with attachment figures could have made children vulnerable to 'rejection by others' (an only event perceived by all migrant childrens' groups as highly stressful). All and above that, migrant children were separated from all objects which had a 'home valence' as well as from their peers. It could be that after losing their peers, the social relations of migrant children did not have the same meaning and they subsequently felt rejected. Developmentally, children are very sensitive to separation and rejection by attachment objects, particularly the peers. (Thus when these children migrated, they had to contend with migration stresses as well as stresses emanating from the developmental pressures of childhood.)

Secondly, it would appear that migration was accompanied by changes and conflicts in established normative values and standards. Since different types of migrant children, with different backgrounds and value structures were brought together to a new environment, it is possible that serious conflict of values ensued. All and above that, the new resettlement area became a 'melting pot' from which a new 'ghetto' culture, with a completely different set of value systems, emerged. These 'ghetto' peer values possibly stood in opposition to adult authority.

Feeling rejected and eager to attain social acceptance from the peers, it could be expected that migrant children strived to conform to 'ghetto' peer norms. On the other hand, these children were under great pressure to conform to their parents' contra-demands. It is possible that the latter situation became a potential stressor in that developmentally, children are oriented to relationships and pressures outside the family. Conformity to peer demands is crucial and failure to establish meaningful relationships and to gain full status alongside peers might lead to feelings of inadequacy and stunt the child's ability to engage in effective social relationships in society.

Thirdly, migration involved school-related changes which necessitated adjustment to a new school and new peers in a strange adverse environment. Involuntary 'black spot' migrant children found 'having to stop school' highly stressful. This makes sense if one has to bear in mind that the school year of these migrant children was forcibly disrupted or terminated. According to Ambron and Brodzinsky (1982) loss of continuity creates problems of spatial identity and disorientation at school. As the child fails to measure up to the expectations of the new strange institution,

he may feel rejected and experienced the school as stressful.

On the other hand farm migrant children perceived 'start school' and 'problems with teachers or schoolwork' as highly stressful. This is hardly surprising since most farm migrant children, because of their disadvantaged status, had never gone to school. School was foreign to them and they were never prepared for the school experiences or problems encountered at school. Lastly, they went to school for the first time under most traumatic and adverse circumstances. These problems were further compounded by difficulties which these children had with their school teachers or schoolwork. It is possible that farm children developed a sense of inadequacy or inferiority, related to their disadvantaged status, which impeded their ability to acquire the necessary sense of industry at school or it could be that teachers expected lower standards of achievement from the disadvantaged migrant children and this expectation became a self-fulfilling prophecy. Brody (1975) found that teachers spent less time and communicated their low expectations to low group children in their classes. All and above this, it is doubtful if farm migrant children received adequate social and emotional support from their parents since the family had been destabilised by the process of migration. The family remains the most important influence on the school-age child and without support from a sound home base, schooling can be highly stressful to children (Ambron and Brodzinsky, 1982).

Lastly, pre-relocation experiences could have made migrant children more vulnerable to post-relocation stresses. As in the case of adults, involuntary 'black spot' migrant children enjoyed a privileged pre-relocation status and suffered more losses related to family's financial losses and status. As these children had led a more 'protected' life it is likely that they found migration-related losses and changes highly stressful.

On the other hand, the pre-relocation experience of disadvantaged farm migrant children, characterised by hard labour, abuse and lack of adequate schooling facilities, represented medieval childhood stresses observed in countries such as England during the 16th to the 18th century. Such experiences reflected Puritan values which regarded children as mirrored replicas of adults, thus subjecting them to adult stresses. This meant that farm migrant children were subjected to severe pre-relocation accumulative stresses which possibly sensitised them to later stressors.

It is interesting to note that as in the case of adult migrants, 'involuntary'

and 'voluntary' migrant children did not differ in their perception of stress (c.f. Table XXXVII and XXXVIII). This suggested that migration was equally stressful to all migrant children, irrespective of the degree of volition on the part of their parents to migrate. This makes sense if one has to consider that children did not have to make any decision as to whether they had to migrate or not : They were just victims of decisions made by either their parents or the government. Since all migrant children were excluded from migration decision-making and all of them were exposed to the process of migration, they perceived more or less the same degree of stress.

As in the case of adults, it would appear that pre-relocation and post-relocation adverse circumstances induced stress in all migrant childrens' groups.

In summary, both migrant adults and children perceived more stress than non-migrant adults and children. This is hardly surprising since migrant adults and their children were exposed to circumstances which were potentially stressful. There is ample evidence which suggests both migrant adults and children negatively appraised the migration process and pre-location experiences since it was associated with a variety of stressors.

It is also possible that migrant adults or parents overtly or covertly communicated their stresses to their children and sensitised them to stressors in the environment.. Because of the reciprocal, interdependent parent-child relationship, children subsequently perceived stress in their immediate environment.

In terms of the above discussion, findings of this study on stress perception supported the set of hypotheses which stated that there would be significant differences in perception of stress by migrant and non-migrant adults and children. However, since migrant adults and children did not differ in their perception of stress, the set of hypotheses which alleged that there would be significant differences in perception of stress by different types of migrants was not supported by the findings of this study.

7.1.2. Psychological Status

In this section, the psychological status of the participants will be discussed in terms of the overall psychological distress associated with the process of migration.

The findings of the present study indicated that 'losing home' was psychologically distressful to all migrant groups and that migrant groups, particularly the involuntary 'black spot' migrant group, were more distressed than the non-migrant group (c.f. Table XLVII to XLVIII). These findings gave an overall impression of pervasive acute psychological distress following the migrants loss of a home.

According to Hansen and Oliver-Smith (1982) 'home refers to community in the widest sense, as well as to the surroundings, landscape, especially where it is incorporated into original myths, historical accounts and religious symbolism' (p. 270). Thus loss of a home refers to loss of all highly cathected objects (social and physical environment) which have a home valency.

In terms of the above definition, it would appear that migrants were distressed by multiple losses which gave meaning to a home. The stress of 'losing home' was second to death and serious illness in the family. It can therefore be expected that the distress of 'losing the home' could have been almost as intense as distress associated with death. In fact Parkes (1982) in his study on components of reactions to loss of a spouse or home, found that affective reactions to loss of spouse or home could reach the same levels of intensity.

The fact that after so many years (c.f. Table XXI) migrants were still psychologically distressed is a cause for concern. The duration and severity of psychological distress meant that it could no longer be dismissed as transient reaction. Parkes (*ibid*) referred to chronic feelings of loss that go beyond expected levels as atypical grief reaction. This has serious implications for the overall psychological functioning of migrants since chronic psychological distress can lead to functional impairment in most important areas of ones life (Coleman, 1980).

There are several factors which possibly predisposed or potentiated migrant adults to chronic psychological distress. As already implied in the preceeding section, migration was the triggering event. However, not all migrants who have 'lost a home' experience chronic and pervasive psychological distress. It would appear that other potentiating factors produced chronic persistent and perplexing feelings of distress. These were possibly related to pre-relocation circumstances and post-relocation conditions.

Firstly, in all migrant groups 'loss of a home' was coerced. All the

homes were 'abruptly reduced to a rubble' and the migrants were abruptly removed from the surroundings which had a home character. In his comprehensive study on residential relocations, Parkes (1982) found that an abrupt loss of a home entailed experiences of internal mutilation expressed in feelings of having lost a part of self, particularly if loss occurred within the context of traumatic and destabilising process of migration.

Secondly, the realities of post-relocation experiences possibly aggravated psychological distress associated with losing a home. It would appear that the post-relocation area did not have the home character, in terms of familiar topography, social support networks and general need-gratification that was previously provided by the 'lost home'. Thus the migrants possibly lost a feeling of home and pined for a 'real home'.

The fact that voluntary and involuntary migrants did not differ in psychological distress supports an earlier argument that these two groups were not clearly differentiated in terms of their volition to migrate. However, involuntary 'black spot' migrants were relatively more distressed by losing home than involuntary and voluntary farm migrants. It is possible that because of their pre-relocation status of freehold landowners, commitment and investment in their original residence, 'black spot' migrants were more distressed by 'loss of home' and neighbourhood which evoked pleasant memories, than farm migrants.

Now, that the psychological status of migrant adults has been discussed, it seems natural to look at the psychological status of their children.

The situation was slightly different in migrant children, in that they were all psychologically disturbed but in different ways. Firstly, only involuntary and voluntary farm migrant children were emotionally disturbed (c.f. Table XLIX to L). Secondly, the emotional disturbance of farm migrant children was of a neurotic nature (c.f. Table L to LV). Thirdly, although the behaviour of the involuntary 'black spot' children did not meet the classic criteria of emotional disturbance, there were indications that these children had strong antisocial tendencies (c.f. Table L to LV).

It is not surprising that farm migrant children should have been emotionally disturbed since from the beginning this group of children were exposed to traumatic socialisation experiences in the farms, during the most vulnerable years of their development. According to Suran and Rizzo (1983) the impact

of early trauma can be especially severe to young children since they are ill-prepared to deal with it and lack a perspective that might serve as a context for moderating its effects. He further remarked that such experiences can leave deeply embedded psychological scars that may predispose the young children to emotional disturbance and personality deviations.

These disturbing early experiences appear to have made farm migrant children more vulnerable to an emotional disorder of a neurotic nature. According to Coleman (1980) the neurotic disorder is characterised by feelings of generalised but intense anxiety and attempts to avoid or escape from anxiety. He further stated that uneasiness and distress that come with anxiety encourages timidity and withdrawal from threatening social stimuli.

According to Coleman (ibid) neurotic disturbances in children often occur after experiences of loss which involve pain, discomfort as well as trauma of unfamiliar environment. He further stated that the neurotic disturbance can develop in situations characterised by constant fear, anxiety and feelings of insecurity as well as in circumstances where there are inadequate interpersonal patterns and where children find human contact more frustrating than rewarding.

It is possible that because of abusive farm experiences, farm migrant children lived in a constant state of fear, anxiety and tension. They possibly felt rejected and found human contact threatening. After migration these children were further subjected to threatening social experiences at school and in their relationships with peers who possibly made demands on them to conform to new 'ghetto' values. It is possible that these children, because of their personal and social inadequacies related to traumatic farm experiences, developed constant feelings of anxiety and tension as they failed to live up to expected standards. Feeling rejected by their peers and school institution, and lacking emotional and social support from parents, engrossed in their own emotional problems, it is possible that farm migrant children subsequently developed a low sense of self esteem and withdrew from threatening social situations and human contact. It would appear that farm children did not have well-developed ego-strengths or ego-resilience to buffer them against the detrimental environmental stresses. These children are therefore likely to remain a high-risk group for stress-related reactions.

On the other hand involuntary 'black spot' migrant children, although exposed to the traumatic and destabilising migration experience, were found not to be emotionally disturbed. In fact they gave an overall impression of being as emotionally stable as the non-migrant children. However, a deeper analysis of the nature of childrens' behaviour problems indicated that in fact involuntary 'black spot' migrant children had strong antisocial tendencies. According to Suran and Rizzo (1983) antisocial behaviour encompasses any behaviour of a developing child which causes difficulty or disruption in the child's relationships with parents, family, teachers or the community at large. The behaviour of children with antisocial tendencies may be characterised by chronic violation of age appropriate rules, physical violence, stealing and persistent serious lying.

Suran and Rizzo (ibid) actually made no distinction between antisocial behaviour and delinquency since the only real distinction between the two is a matter of psychological vs legal definition. Stated differently, a child who persistently steals exhibits antisocial behaviour, but whether the child is a delinquent or not depends on the moral standards of the community.

The apparent contradiction that involuntary 'black spot' migrant children were not emotionally disturbed despite the fact that they showed strong antisocial tendencies can be interpreted in many ways. Firstly, it is possible that the new 'ghetto' peer subculture encouraged and reinforced normative standards which were rejected by the childrens' parents. Children who conformed to the 'ghetto' peer subculture were possibly perceived as oppositional and rebellious to parental or community normative standards and as such were labelled as deviant. It is also possible that these children were caught up in an approach-avoidance conflict of peer and parents' normative standards and 'acted out' their frustration. Unlike the farm migrant children whose behaviour took the form of self-directed subjective distress (possibly due to pre-location trauma), involuntary 'black spot' children externalised and 'acted out' their distress. This was possibly the reason why they gave an overall picture of pseudo-emotional stability.

From whatever perspective, the psychological status of involuntary 'black spot' migrant children was unstable. In some ways, it was different and in other ways, similar to that of non-migrant children. This is not surprising since the prelocation and the circumstances under which involuntary 'black spot' children were socialised, were similar to those

of non-migrant children; in both instances these children were socialised by parents who were relatively privileged and free from trauma associated with the farm labour tenant system since they had freehold rights or lived on land where their rights were not violated. For both groups of children, early experiences occurred in a positive growth-enhancing environment. This possibly provided 'black spot' children with some degree of ego-resilience to later traumatic experiences.

However, involuntary 'black spot' migrant children differed from non-migrant children in that they were exposed to adverse migration experiences which tramatised them and possibly predisposed them to emotional instability.

In summary, both migrant adults and children were more emotionally unstable than non-migrant adults and children. It is possible that because migrant adults and children were exposed to stress, they became vulnerable to stress-related psychological reactions. According to Sira (1983) if an individual's psychological homeostasis - which has been disturbed by stressful life changes - is not restored, that individual carries a high risk for an emotional disturbance. On the other hand, it could be that children became vulnerable to their parents psychological distress and reacted by developing symptomatic feelings of anxiety, withdrawal or by engaging in socially unacceptable behaviour outside home.

In terms of the above discussion the findings of this study, on the psychological status of participants, supported the set of hypotheses which stated that there would be significant differences in the psychological status of migrant and non-migrant adults and children. The set of hypotheses which alleged that there would be significant differences in the psychological status of different types of migrant adults and children was partially supported by the findings of this study.

7.1.3. Perception of Control

The findings of the above study indicated that involuntary and voluntary farm migrant adult groups perceived more external control than involuntary 'black spot' migrant and non-migrant group (c.f. Table LVI to LVII). It further indicated that voluntary and involuntary farm migrant groups perceived more or less the same degree of external control whereas the involuntary 'black spot' migrant and non-migrant group had more or less the same degree of internal orientation of control.

The fact that farm migrants were more externally-oriented than 'black spot' migrants and that 'black spot' migrants were not significantly different from non-migrants in their perception of control is easy to understand if one considers the differences in status and experiences of these groups. Prior to migration 'black spot' migrants enjoyed the same status as that of non-migrants; like the non-migrants they lived in a land which had freehold rights. They had a relative degree of control over their lives and lived under circumstances which encouraged initiative and self-determination. To a great extent environmental outcomes were perceived as a consequent of their behaviour. Since these migrants had spent a great deal of their lives exercising fair control over their personal lives, it is possible that they developed a strong belief that they had personal resources to direct, determine and control their own fate.

It would appear that the internal orientation of control of 'black spot' migrants was not greatly affected by the adverse migration experiences and imposed unilateral powers of the government which sought to take over control of their personal lives. Instead, these migrants appear to have clung tenaciously to their inner-directedness against strong powerful forces of external control. However, the fact that these migrants were relatively more externally-oriented than non-migrants meant that the pressures of external control were beginning to have an impact on their lives and were fast losing their inner-directedness. This is born out by the feelings of helplessness and despair which characterised the lives of these migrants.

On the other hand, adult farm migrants were a deprived group of migrants without any rights or privileges; for generations they lived under the direct control of the oppressive labour tenant system; a system in which farm labourers were 'owned' and not given opportunities to determine their life or future. It would appear that external control was internalised by farm migrants long before the process of migration. Thus, for farm migrants coerced migration and adverse living conditions which were beyond their personal control were possibly a continuation of a long sequelae of external control by powerful others. It is therefore not surprising that farm migrants perceived a high degree of external control since in actual fact they had never been exposed to a situation which allowed them to exercise fair amount of personal control over their lives.

This finding has serious psychological implication on the migrants

psychological status, in that external locus of control has been associated with incapacitating psychological experiences such as learned state of helplessness and powerlessness.

According to Seligman (1974) feelings of uncontrollability and helplessness produce a deterioration in a person's ability to respond adaptively to trauma and this can develop into a three-faceted psychological disorder involving the disturbance of motivation, cognition and emotions.

Firstly, feelings of uncontrollability and helplessness undermine the motivation to initiate voluntary responses and produce an interference in initiation that is chronic. According to Seligman (ibid) the incentive to initiate voluntary responses is based on the expectation that responding will produce relief. If there is no relief, especially in a traumatic situation, voluntary responding tends to decrease, thus sapping motivation and initiation. This seems to explain the feelings of social withdrawal, detachment and indifference observed in migrant communities

(c.f. Table LXX). It would appear that migrants' inability to get relief and positive reinforcement from their environment decreased their motivation to initiate community self help activities to solve some of their problems. This was born out by their feelings that it was the government (the powerful other) who had to initiate activities designed to solve the migrants problems (c.f. Table LXVIII).

Seligman (ibid) further pointed out that once an individual experiences uncontrollability, as in a situation where an outcome is independent of his responses, he learns that he is powerless and his actions will not solve his problems. This makes it difficult to learn later on, that responses produce outcomes. The implication here is that possibly, the migrants did not find it easy to accept that through their actions they could bring about changes in their immediate environment. They appeared to have learned, through experience that their efforts and responses could not change anything since their resistance to removal had not produced any outcome.

Thus, the migrants seemed to have a strong belief that the solution to their previous and present problems was not dependent on what they did. They subsequently developed a negative cognitive set which could have possibly distorted their perception that responding cannot have any contingent

consequences. On the other hand, the farm migrants negative cognitive set could have been based on reality rather than distorted perception in that migrants felt rejected and 'dumped' (c.f. Table LXII) since most of their efforts to get assistance from the government and local authorities had been ignored. Thus after \pm 7 years of resettlement migrants still felt that there had been very little change in their problems.

Lastly, the uncontrollability of the situation could have led to some form of emotional disturbance among the migrants. According to Seligman (ibid) when a traumatic event first occurs it causes a heightened state of emotionality, which he loosely refers to as fear. Fear is reduced if an individual learns that his responding can control the trauma; however fear persists if an individual remains uncertain about whether trauma is controllable or not. If an individual learns that trauma is uncontrollable fear gives way to depression or affective disturbance. This conclusion is consistent with the observation made by the Surplus People Project (1983) that in most resettled communities there is a pervasive depressive mood.

In as far as children were concerned, perception of control involved the interaction of several complex dimensions which yielded useful information on different areas of childrens' functioning. Firstly, the results indicated that involuntary 'black spot' children and non-migrant children perceived significantly less control by unknown and powerful others in the area of their cognitive functioning than was the case with farm migrant children who perceived more control by the unknown and powerful others in their cognitive functioning (c.f. Table LVIII to LX). This finding supported an earlier interpretation that 'black spot' migrant children were in some ways similar to non-migrant children in terms of their pre-relocation experiences. Like non-migrant children, 'black spot' migrant children had been exposed to early stable and relatively favourable school experiences before migration. It is possible that these children subsequently developed more confidence in their intellectual abilities, which led to a belief that they had personal control over their achievement at school. On the other hand farm migrant children lived under oppressive pre-relocation conditions which denied them access to education or even free expression of their thoughts. At a later stage, after migration, they were exposed to education under very traumatic conditions which possibly undermined their cognitive abilities and achievement. It would appear that these children developed a belief that their mental abilities and achievements in life were beyond their personal control. Such a belief is likely to sap motivation in these children and relegate them to a position where they cannot aspire

to better educational or career goals.

Secondly, involuntary 'black spot' migrant children and non-migrant children perceived significantly less control by powerful others and concomittant more internal locus of control in their general area of functioning than was the case with farm migrant children who perceived more control by powerful others and concomittant less internal orientation of control (c.f. Table LVIII to LX). According to MacDonald (1971) beliefs in internal locus of control are well established in early childhood and are enhanced by a positive supportive early environment.

It would appear that the early growth-enhancing environment to which the 'black spot' and non-migrant children were exposed instilled a belief that these children had resources to control their lives and that through their own action they could achieve positive outcomes. Hence their belief in internal control in the area of their general functioning.

On the other hand, farm migrant children were socialised under oppressive farm conditions where they felt unwanted and rejected. MacDonald (ibid) found that children who perceived themselves as rejected tended to have an external orientation of control. It is also possible that because of perceived rejection and lack of positive reinforcement from the environment these children did not perceive that their behaviour could generate positive outcomes. In other words, whatever happened in the environment was beyond their personal control. It would appear that these children developed a generalised expectancy that behaviour was unrelated to outcomes and had no personal control over their general area of functioning across varying situations.

Thirdly, all migrant children perceived more control by powerful others and concomittant less internal locus of control in their social functioning. These children differed significantly from non-migrant children who perceived less control by powerful others and concomittant more internal locus of control in their area of social functioning (c.f. Table LVIII to LX). The belief by migrant children that their social functioning was to a large extent controlled by the powerful others could have been based on these childrens' migration and post-migration experiences. To start with, their stable peer relationships were abruptly disrupted, during the process of migration, by powerful others. All and above that after migration parents felt insecure about their childrens social environment and became very

restrictive and overcontrolling over their childrens' social relationships. Thus instead of enhancing their childrens' social development, parents actually imposed standards which thwarted childrens' development. It would appear that children felt that they were losing control over their social life. Lastly, migrant children were compelled to live under adverse socio-economic conditions characterised by overcrowding, poverty, unemployment and high crime rates. According to Seligman (1974) all these conditions represent some form of external control by factors beyond one's personal power.

Lastly, all children perceived more internal locus of control and concomittant less control by powerful others in the area of their physical functioning (c.f. Table LVIII to LX). The implication here is that all children shared a common belief that they had personal control over their physical functioning. Despite the pre-location abusive, physical treatment in farms and despite post-relocation poverty and disease which was taking its toll on childrens' bodies, all children still felt confident about their body image. They seemed to believe that they could use their bodies to achieve desirable outcomes from the environment. This is not surprising since all children, particularly farm migrant children, had experienced relative freedom in using their bodies to perform various child and adult-related tasks.

In summary it would appear that migration affected only one specific area (social) of functioning in 'black spot' migrant children. However, this does mean that these children believed they had lost personal control in one of the most important areas of their functioning and this could result in negative developmental outcomes discussed in the previous section. On the other hand, farm migrant children believed that they had no personal control over most of their areas of functioning. They seemed to think that they had very few behaviours in their repertoire which allowed them to control their personal lives and function effectively in society.

Generally, childrens' perception of control followed the same pattern as their parents locus of control. In both cases 'black spot' migrants and non-migrants tended to be more internally-oriented although 'black spot' migrants appeared to be losing or had lost a certain degree of their internal orientation. On the other hand, farm migrants were externally oriented and believed that they had limited personal control over their lives, fate or destiny. It is possible that the parents instilled the locus of control in their children during the process of socialisation or it could be that parents and children were exposed to similar conditions which encouraged

a specific orientation of control.

The overall findings of this section supported the set of hypotheses which stated that there would be significant differences in perception of control by migrant and non-migrant adults and children as well as in different types of migrant adults and children.

7.1.4. Conclusion

It would appear that the migrants' perception of stress, psychological status and perception of control were to a large extent negatively influenced by the powerful forces associated with coerced migration. It is also possible that these variables interacted to produce a negative outcome in the overall psychological functioning of the migrants. There is vast empirical evidence in support of the fact that various kinds of adverse stressful experiences are strongly associated with severe emotional disturbances (Brown and Harris, 1978; Dohrenwend and Dohrenwend, 1974; and Paykell, 1975). On the other hand a consistent positive relationship has been established between locus or perception of control and various psychological conditions (Calhoun, et al, 1974; Hiroto, 1974 and Leftcourt, 1973).

These well-documented relationships give strong supportive evidence to the fact that migration was a disruptive, adverse process which exposed migrants to severe stressors, predisposed them to psychological disturbances and left migrants with incapacitating feelings that they had lost personal control over important areas of their lives.

The nature and depth of the migrants' feelings and experiences will be explored in the experiential data presented in the next section.

7.2. Discussion of Results - Experiential Data

A discussion based on experimental data was presented in the previous section. This data represented human behaviour which had been quantified to impersonal measurements. However, human behaviour involves a complex interaction of internal processes and experiences which cannot be reduced to objective quantified symbols. A qualitative exploration of deeper subjective experiences was therefore undertaken to give more insight into the participants' behaviour and throw light onto the complex psychological dynamics underlying the migrants' overall psychological functioning.

7.2.1. Subjective Experiences Related to Psychological Distress - Adults

Experimental data presented in the previous chapter and discussed in the preceeding section indicated that migrant adults perceived migration-related events such as eviction, move to a worse neighbourhood, lose home, valued possessions or property and change in lifestyle as highly stressful. Farm migrants further perceived 'move from rural to urban area' as highly stressful, while 'black spot' migrants perceived 'suffer financial loss' as additionally stressful.

In all migrant groups 'lose home' was perceived as the most stressful migration-related event; it was so psychologically distressful that migrants were on the verge of developing an emotional disturbance.

Seemingly, the above negative changes in the migrants' life affected the locus of control orientation in that farm migrants perceived more external control while 'black spot' migrants, although internally-oriented seemed to be fast losing their internal orientation.

However, the discussion based on the findings of experimental data alone was not sufficient in that it was based on reductionistic quantified information which left the researcher to speculate and extract meaning from cold impersonal figures. The present discussion therefore seeks to provide more depth into the findings of experimental data by exploring the migrants' subjective experiences and the meaning attached to such experiences.

Experiential data will be presented to highlight the processes which led to perception of some events as particularly stressful, the impact of these

events on migrants' lives, coping strategies used to deal with such events and the degree of adaptation required. Secondly, experiential data will give insight into the intrapsychic subjective pain associated with losing a home. According to Fried (1974) losing a home evokes three synergistically interrelated experiences - that is, physical-spatial separation and loss, social disruption of relationships and affective reactions - which can lead to severe forms of psychological distress. Thirdly, subjective data will provide a deeper understanding into the dynamics underlying migrants' beliefs that they had no control or were losing control over their personal life and environmental outcomes.

Experiential data will be presented in the form of case studies. Since experiences cannot be fragmented, the case studies will give an overall picture of the subjective experiences of migrants. However, in each case the dynamics and experiences highlighting the processes underlying the migrants perception of stress, their psychological distress and perception of control will naturally emerge.

The following section presents two case study interviews for each of the three migrant groups (that is, involuntary 'black spot' migrant adults, involuntary farm evicted migrant adults and voluntary farm migrant adults) to throw light on the inner experiential world of the migrants which to a large extent are supportive of the experimental data.

CASE STUDY 1 - INVOLUNTARY 'BLACK SPOT' MIGRANT - ADULT

NAME: Siphon Khumalo (pseudonym)
AGE: 44 years
SEX: Male
PREVIOUS RESIDENCE: Charlestown ('black spot')
PRESENT RESIDENCE: Osizweni Township

INTERVIEWER: What was your first reaction on learning that you will be moved from your indigenous residence?

RESPONDENT: When I first heard about the removal I thought it was all lies. I was working in Johannesburg at that time. I came back home on a week-end to ask my widowed mother about it but she also dismissed it as a rumour. However I did get the impression that my mother was worried about something which she refused to discuss with me.

After a heated argument my mother told me that she was not going to move. She could not leave her ancestors' graves (especially her husband's grave). The land belonged to her and she had a title deed. The family had owned the land for generations. She was not prepared to leave her home, land and ancestral graves. I was also very angry and was not prepared to allow anybody to take my father's land away from me.

INTERVIEWER: What efforts did you make to resist removal?

RESPONDENT: We got together and employed the services of lawyers. We spent lots of money on different lawyers who failed us again and again. We made representations to the government without success. We began to panic and at that time nothing else mattered, our life revolved around impending resettlement. The whole community went dead and sad. We all had a premonition that something terrible would happen. It was like a cloud of death hanging over. I was very concerned about my sickly mother. However, I went back to Johannesburg.

CASE STUDY 1

INTERVIEWER: What was your reaction when it became clear that your family had to move and nothing would stop it?

RESPONDENT: One morning I got a message from my uncle who lived with my mother that there was trouble at home and I had to come back immediately. I left work and I knew I was leaving it for good, I had a kind of feeling one gets when he receives news that a close loved person has died. I was anxious and agitated. I cannot remember much of what happened on that day.

When I reached home there was chaos all over. Women and children were screaming. Some men were shouting from the roof tops of their houses, others were standing in groups trying to mobilise themselves. I joined them but it was all useless because the demolition squads were already demolishing houses. Some women were dragging furniture out of houses in an attempt to save it. My mother was also trying to drag a few pieces of furniture before the house collapsed. My uncle who had resisted and shouted at the police was arrested together with my two younger brothers.

For the first time, I broke down and cried like a small baby. My mother was shivering and pale. She had no tears in her eyes but she was bewildered and frightened. She clung to me all the time.

INTERVIEWER: When you finally reached the 'unknown' destination (Osizweni) what was your experience ?

RESPONDENT: The journey to Osizweni Township was long. It was cold, everybody was quiet and seemed resigned to the fate. My mother did not say a word right through the trip - her children were in jail, livestock left behind, most of her possessions destroyed.

When I reached Osizweni all the anger came back. I was raging with anger. I shouted to the driver that a one roomed shack was not a house - it was worse than a pigsty. How could it accommodate eleven people plus all their possessions. We needed privacy too. The drivers did not say anything, they

CASE STUDY 1

simply dumped us grudgingly and went away.

My heart broke that night when I watched my mother passively trod into the shack house; at Charlestown she had had a big comfortable eight roomed house. I left her and went to sleep outside to look after our possessions and simply because there was not enough room inside the shack. I was no longer angry. I was very very sad. After a week there was heavy rain and all the furniture lying outside was destroyed. I slept like a dead log outside soaking in rain.

I did not go back to Johannesburg because I had to be near my mother whose health was deteriorating fast. I also knew my boss would not give my work back to me because he had already threatened to fire me. I lost my stable job of fifteen years when I needed it most. My mother died a year later being a broken woman. I did not cry because all the feelings seemed to have gone. I just felt numb and very sad.

INTERVIEWER: What problems did you experience following resettlement at Osizweni Township?

RESPONDENT: I lost my steady job. I am doing casual jobs and the pay is very low. I do not have enough money to live on. We are suffering, my uncle stays in the room for days on end sulking and brooding endlessly. He is not speaking to anybody. One of my brothers was stabbed to death. I am still trying to pull the pieces of my life together.

People here are very suspicious of one another and do not value human life. How can they value life when they are dead inside.

I have very few possessions. I lost almost everything I had. I lost a home, I lost my ancestors and I lost a decent way of life. I have lost two sons to the 'street gang'.

CASE STUDY 1

The government made many promises which were never kept. In winter children die in dozens; its very cold here and people cannot afford coal. Illness is rife and there are few clinics. The main problem is that most people have lost the will to live.

The schools are not enough and children idle in the streets. The most prominent facility and the first one to be established is the beerhall. Adults and children alike drink heavily.

INTERVIEWER: What efforts have you made to solve the problems?

RESPONDENT: No one person can solve the problems. They are too serious and beyond our control. Before you can make people solve problems, you must first give them a will to live and initiative. All that went away with our removal and resettlement. What problems can we solve when we do not have money? We cannot build schools, clinics or create jobs for people. We do not have our own place and we are controlled by the owners of this place who have to decide what to do. The government is the only body that can clear up this mess.

INTERVIEWER: Does your family have a future here?

RESPONDENT: I have no plans or hopes for the future. Yes I have a future if I can be allowed to go back to Charlestown even if I have to start all over again. I have no future here at Osizweni; that you can see for yourself. To have a future one must have prospects; a stable job, a home, healthy growing up children. I have none of these, I am spiritually dead. I died when my land and means of livelihood were taken away from me.

All I want to see happen, is to be sent back to Charlestown. I still have a hope and that has sustained me through difficult times.

INTERVIEWER: Do you still maintain the same family relationship as before (i.e. before your resettlement at Osizweni)?

RESPONDENT: Our family relationships have suffered. The spark of life and love is gone in our relationship. We spend most of our

CASE STUDY 1

time thinking and talking about sad things and all the problems that confront us. Children are just too much of a headache. Once they were at Osizweni they changed completely. They have lost the respect; when they are not drinking they are fighting and assaulting people. Ofcourse not all of them are like that. Children have lost a sense of direction and I think they are angry about something. As for some other members of the extended family, I do not know where they are. They got lost like many of my things.

INTERVIEWER: Do you have a good relationship with other families in the community ?

RESPONDENT: Yes, I have a good relationship with other families, particularly those from Charlestown. Life at Osizweni is dangerous and depressing. It is better to have support from other families or else you feel lonely and insecure. At Osizweni nobody is a landlord or tenant. We are all together and thats good because former landlords can mix with their tenants and share problems. We are like a 'big family'.

INTERVIEWER: Do you still maintain close ties with your ancestors?

RESPONDENT: No. , I left my ancestors behind. I want to be reunited with them. I slaughtered a goat to my ancestors to bring me luck. Nothing changed. Why have my ancestors turned against us? I don't know. I think its because we left them. While we were near them we had a happy life.

INTERVIEWER: Can you think of some good things that have happened to you/ your family as a result of resettlement?

RESPONDENT: No. There is none and there will never be any.

CASE STUDY 2 - INVOLUNTARY 'BLACK SPOT' MIGRANT - ADULT

NAME: Themba Zondo (pseudonym)
AGE: 42 years
SEX: Male
PREVIOUS RESIDENCE: Charlestown ('black spot')
PRESENT RESIDENCE: Osizweni Township

INTERVIEWER: What was your first reaction on learning that you were going to be moved from your indigenous residence?

RESPONDENT: I did not believe that we could be removed from our land. After all, White people had sold it to us. We had to sell our cattle and goats to buy that land. Everything did not seem true to me. I ignored rumours and carried on with my business as usual. After some time, White officials came to us and told us we were to leave our place. They told us we were going to a better place, near a bigger town and there would be plenty of land for our livestock and fields. It was all lies. I believed them at the beginning. However, when I was not given compensation for my house as promised, I realised that we were crooked.

INTERVIEWER: What efforts did you make to resist removal?

RESPONDENT: We had meetings. We went to see officials. We went to White lawyers. In the end the lawyers betrayed us and sided with the government. We lost lots and lots of money. It was all a waste of time. Nothing worked and that's why I am sitting here, with no work, not enough food, no livestock and no decent house.

INTERVIEWER: What were your feelings when it became clear that your family had to leave Charlestown?

RESPONDENT: I panicked. I became restless and confused. I thought I was dreaming. When the day came for my family to leave Charlestown I just felt numb. I cannot remember my feelings. I cannot remember some of the things that happened. But I remember the demolishing squads shouting and threatening. I never said a word. Everything seemed blurred. The world

CASE STUDY 2

was full of sadness. Dogs and birds seemed to be moaning. It was like the whole village had been struck by 'inkanyamba'. All the houses had been reduced to heaps of rubble. The place looked different. I closed my eyes and sat on the big lorry, which seemed to be travelling hundreds of miles before reaching its final destiny.

INTERVIEWER: Describe your experience and feelings on your first arrival at Osizweni.

RESPONDENT: Osizweni was nothing I had seen or dreamed about. I had never expected anything like this. I cannot describe what it looked like. You can see for yourself. Rows of tents looked like rows of graves! Yes, it looked like a cemetery - very quiet, small ground for each family in arid dry ground. Tents stood like cheap tombstones. We were all corpses to be buried in those tents. The crying and screaming by some other people was like that one you find when one has lost the loved one.

INTERVIEWER: What were the most important losses? Has anything made up for those losses?

RESPONDENT: I lost everything. I need not tell you. You can see it for yourself. You need not ask me questions. You can see for yourself.

INTERVIEWER: What problems did you experience following resettlement?

RESPONDENT: Everything was a problem and everything is still a problem. When we came here we lived in tents, sometimes soaked in rain. All my furniture was destroyed by rain and sun outside. Some of the family members had to sleep outside. I was forced to sleep inside the tent with my wife, children, son, daughter-in-law and grandchildren. There were no shops or schools around. We had no work and no money to buy food. No grounds to grow vegetables.

We are still starving here. People are dying everyday. In winter it is so cold we cannot afford to buy wood and coal to keep us warm. Yet nobody cares. All the officials are interested in is rent. Most of my children are gone and I do not know where they went to. I do not blame them. But myself and my wife are old now. There is nobody to take care of us. We are alone and starving.

INTERVIEWER: What efforts did you make to solve your problems?

RESPONDENT: No efforts. Nothing will ever solve our problems. Here people are too sick and sad to do anything about their problems. Besides what can they do because the problems were created by the government. They must come and solve them.

INTERVIEWER: Do you still maintain the same relationships with your family as was the case before resettlement?

RESPONDENT: No. My family is gone. My wife is never the same. She is very quiet now. As for my close relatives, I do not know where they are. They don't even come to see me.

INTERVIEWER: Has the behaviour of your children changed? If so, how has it changed?

RESPONDENT: Yes. Children are very angry. They are still young and their future is gone. If I were younger I would fight the evil too. Parents are too sad, sick and have no energy so children take over.

INTERVIEWER: What do you think was the reaction of the ancestors when you had to move?

RESPONDENT: I think they are angry. I don't know why they are angry with us. They are not helping us. We are suffering. I have spent my last cents performing rituals but nothing helps. I don't know what to do now. At times I get angry with them. I know I should not do that.

CASE STUDY 2

INTERVIEWER: Do you have close social relationships outside your family?

RESPONDENT: I am still friends with my old acquaintances from Charlestown. My neighbours from Charlestown are good too. We help each other, and spend time together. What else can we do.

INTERVIEWER: Does your family have a future here?

RESPONDENT: No! No! My family is all gone because there is no future here. I am waiting to die. There is no present or future here. All we have here is suffering.

INTERVIEWER: What do you consider to be your real homeland? Your indigenous residence or Osizweni Township?

RESPONDENT: Where I had a future and was happy, i.e. Charlestown. I want to go back there to die there and be buried there.

INTERVIEWER: Can you think of some good things that happened to you and your family as a result of your migration?

RESPONDENT: It was all suffering. Nothing good happened.

CASE STUDY 3 - INVOLUNTARY FARM EVICTED MIGRANT - ADULT

NAME: Thulani Makhanya (pseudonym)

AGE: 44 years

SEX: Male

PREVIOUS RESIDENCE: Utrecht Farm

PRESENT RESIDENCE: Osizweni Township

INTERVIEWER: What was your first reaction on learning that you will be moved from your indigenous residence?

RESPONDENT: I have been asked so many questions by other people that I always prefer to relate my story in my own way. Its a very very sad story. I cannot talk about it without getting very angry - my heart gets sore, and if I were a child, I would be sobbing.

Let's start from the beginning. Life on the farm was very very unpleasant, harsh and painful. The house we lived in was bare and old. The farmer, did not allow us to buy furniture - he told us that only Whites have furniture. Once I bought an old cupboard, with my goat from another family outside the farm and the farmer was extremely angry. He threatened me with eviction. I apologised and went on my knees. If the farmer evicted my family, where could I go? I knew no other place or life. Although the farmer frequently assaulted my children and sometimes sjamboked me in front of my family, I had sort of accepted that life. It was too late for me to do anything about the situation.

One good thing is that we never really starved. We grew mielies, beans, pumpkins and watermelons. We also had a ration of a bag of mielies, tea and coffee. We were well fed.

Out of the blue, the farmer told us that we had to leave the farm within a month or else we would be convicted of trespass. We were worried and sad. We did not know where to go. Where else could we grow mielies and pumpkins which were our only means of livelihood. We protested and refused to leave the farm.

CASE STUDY 3

The farmer called a meeting and told us that everyone had to leave by the end of the week. Those who refused would be sjamboked and arrested for life. I was confused, and frightened. I had no money to move my family and did not know where to go. We had a family prayer and the whole family broke down crying bitterly and asking the ancestors to intervene. We did not sleep the whole night hoping for a miracle.

Towards the end of the week we ran away from the house and slept in the forest for fear that we would be arrested if the farmer found us in the house.

One morning we saw our house being bulldozed, whatever we had inside the house was destroyed. We surrendered ourselves to the farmer who impounded our only two beasts and three goats. We were then bundled in a G.G. car to be taken to an unknown place. All the time we were crying and begging the government official not to kill us. We were so afraid we thought that they were either taking us to jail or that they were going to kill us.

I felt humiliated in front of my own children who appeared shocked by my behaviour - they had always thought I was a strong, powerful father. I felt ashamed and guilty at having failed to protect my own family.

INTERVIEWER: When you finally reached the 'unknown' destination - Osizweni, what was your experience?

RESPONDENT: We arrived at Osizweni in the afternoon. I could not figure out where I was. Everything went hazy in my mind. It was windy and bitterly cold. There were tents already pitched - rows and rows of small green tents. We were dumped outside our tent and left there to struggle on our own. We thought the tent was for our goods but not for us to live in. We looked around but there were no houses. It was getting dark and there was no light. We sat close to each other for

warmth. Children were hungry and screaming.

At midnight the tent fell on us. We did not pitch it at that time, but we prayed that the God should make us die. We had lost all the will to live and we had nothing to live for or live on. We were almost all mad shouting, crying and screaming. Our neighbours joined in prayer and in the morning we were all exhausted, hungry and still alive - we are still alive today although I lost my two children a year after my arrival at Osizweni - God was kind to them, he listened to their prayers. I did not cry when I lost them although I miss them terribly.

INTERVIEWER: What problems did you experience following your resettlement at Osizweni?

RESPONDENT: I cannot count problems because everything has been a problem since we came over here - we are suffering here. My family is starving here, nobody is working. I have nothing here - I lost everything I had. I cannot grow anything here - the yard is small and the ground arid. Even animals would die here. Yet we have to pay for everything. The other day the superintendent threatened me with eviction for failing to pay rent. I do not care even if I am thrown into the street; that will not make a difference. My heart bleeds. I have lost my children and people are dying every day here; there is a smell of death in every corner, yet nobody cares.

INTERVIEWER: What efforts have you made to solve your problems?

RESPONDENT: We are helpless. We cannot solve our problems. The government which dumped me here must solve all our problems. Nothing we try will ever work or else we would not be here. All I can think about now is my next meal; I am starving - I cannot solve other problems.

Nobody will solve our problems, the councillors and the township superintendent do not want to know us. In actual fact, we do not exist. The trucks that dumped us here never looked back. How can we solve problems over which we have no control? Can you solve any problem when your stomach

CASE STUDY 3

is empty?

INTERVIEWER: Does your family have a future here?

RESPONDENT: My family does not have a future here. But, whether I like it or not, my future is here. When I was evicted by the farmer, I went to the neighbouring farm for a place to live. The farmer laughed at me and said, listen to me, do not try to be smart, do as the government says and go to Osizweni even if you have to suffer and die there; you have nothing to do about it. So I say yes, my future is here because the government controls my life; he wants me to suffer and die here.

INTERVIEWER: What area do you consider to be your real homeland? Your indigenous residence or Osizweni Township?

RESPONDENT: I belong to the farm. I want to go back there. That's my real homeland. My ancestors are there and that's where I can make means to live. I want an open space to live with my family. I want to be a respectable person again. I long for my cattle, sheep, goats and chickens. I think I will go crazy here at Osizweni. I want to be buried back at the farm.

INTERVIEWER: Do you still maintain the same family relationship as before (i.e. before your resettlement at Osizweni)?

RESPONDENT: I still have a good close relationship with my wife. The pain and suffering has brought us together. Previously we had a happy loving relationship, now it's a sad but close relationship. Our relationship with our children has changed. They seem to be angry with us all the time. They do not listen to us, and they spend most of their time away from home. I sometimes think that it's because there is no longer a home - not enough food, no happiness and we can no longer share our experiences as was the case on the farm. Also the children here have nothing to do. They simply idle the whole day and get into bad company. Although they can now go to school, we do not have money to send them to school.

CASE STUDY 3

In the farm they were not allowed to attend school. They had to work all the time.

INTERVIEWER: What about your other members of the extended family? Do you still maintain the same relationships as before?

RESPONDENT: No. When we came to Osizweni we were separated from our close relatives. They live somewhere else and we seldom see each other. We are all suffering and it hurts to see my relatives suffer so much. When we meet its no longer happy times - we talk and talk about our problems and that makes all of us very sad.

INTERVIEWER: Does your family maintain good relationships with other residents at Osizweni?

RESPONDENT: We do not get on well with Charlestown residents. They are different from us. They do not respect the traditional customs and they look down upon us because we are from the farm and did not go to school. Their children have a bad influence on our children.

However, all of us from Utrecht have 'stuck' together. We help each other as much as we can. We have formed our own burial society since so many people die here. We want to give our dead relatives, that is, future ancestors a decent burial.

INTERVIEWER: Do you still maintain close ties with your ancestors?

RESPONDENT: Yes, we still perform rituals for them. However, very seldom now, since we do not have money to buy goats and chickens for sacrifice. I think if we could perform more rituals perhaps our ancestors would help us with some of our problems. I have been to the farm twice at night to the graves of my ancestors. I can no longer go there for fear of reprisals by the farmer.

However, I do not think that the ancestors are angry with

CASE STUDY 3

us for having left them. Perhaps we should have resisted the removal to the point of being killed and joining them. If ancestors are not angry with us why are they not stopping this suffering? Why are they not protecting us from the government which is destroying us?

INTERVIEWER: Can you think of some good things that happen to you/ your family as a result of your resettlement?

RESPONDENT: There are no good things. Resettlement was a curse which brought lots of crying, suffering, illness and death. It made us all a cursed group of families. Perhaps it also made us come closer together.

CASE STUDY 4 - INVOLUNTARY FARM EVICTED MIGRANT - ADULT

NAME: Mandla Xulu (pseudonym)

AGE: 40 years

SEX: Male

PREVIOUS RESIDENCE: Utrecht Farm

PRESENT RESIDENCE: Osizweni Township

INTERVIEWER: What was your first reaction on learning that you were going to be moved?

RESPONDENT: We were happy at Utrecht because we were born there and so were my parents and grandparents. We were never hungry; we grew mielies, vegetables and had plenty of milk. We also had rations of coffee, tea, sugar and mealie meal. Although the farmer was a cruel man who lashed our family with a whip, when we had problems we knew we could rely on him.

We were shocked when the foreman told us in a meeting that we had to find another place to live. I could not understand what he was saying. I had nowhere to go with my family and I just could not make any plans for my family.

INTERVIEWER: What were your feelings when it became clear that you had to move?

RESPONDENT: From that time onwards everything seemed to be going wrong. I felt restless. All of a sudden I felt very insecure. I had never experienced insecurity before. Life was bleak and I felt weary and numb most of the time. I had a premonition that disaster was coming.

The group of families met, we all felt very sad. We knew it was all over. We could not resist the removal since it was not our land; we just felt worried and frightened and kept on repeating to each other that it was all over.

I had a strange feeling that I had reached the end of my life.

CASE STUDY 4

A few days later the farmer came and told us that we had to leave immediately because our cattle were destroying the grass. We asked each other if grass was more important than our lives.

We felt betrayed, we had been loyal and honest to the farmer for generations, yet he did not honour our loyalty. To him we were worse than animals and grass.

We were ordered to sell everything. We sold our cattle at very low prices to the farmer. When we argued about the prices, we were told to carry cows on our heads and walk away with them.

On our last night, we all felt sad and even the strongest man broke down. Wives and children watched helpless in horror as their powerful men broke down under the strain of eviction. The families gathered around the fire and sang religious songs while others performed some ceremonies calling upon their ancestors to protect them on their journey to the unknown. While we were still praying and singing, the farmer told us that we were making too much noise and threatened to sjambok us. We did not feel angry or bitter for what he had done. That's the way life had always been. No one could change it.

INTERVIEWER: Describe how you felt as you left Utrecht for good.

RESPONDENT: When we were removed I did not feel bitter or angry but I was very, very sad. My heart just sank. Again I did not feel angry because I was nobody. I had no land. So there was no point in being bitter about someones land.

INTERVIEWER: Describe your experience and feelings on your first arrival at Osizweni Township.

RESPONDENT: We arrived at Osizweni Township at 9.00 am and were shown green structures which were to be our houses - I had never seen a tent before. Although it was in the morning, to me it was like night - everything appeared so gloomy and the sun was dull - it seemed to be weeping with us. The winds

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were also crying with us. It was as though the whole world was coming to an end. I sat down, my knees and legs went lame and my whole body was weak. During the first night we went to bed without food and slept quietly on the rough floor. Children slept outside. We were all quiet except for an occasional hysterical cry from my wife.

INTERVIEWER: What other problems did you experience at Osizweni?

RESPONDENT: The situation has not changed much. I still feel very sad. More so because I lost my wife the very first year we were settled here. In the same year in December my son disappeared. I do not know where he is. In July the following year, my only daughter also left the home to live with another man somewhere. I am just waiting to die. I still have close contact with my relatives but they also have their own problems.

I feel very alone, I am frightened, every day brings sadness to me. I am not working and I have to spend one day after another waiting for an inevitable end. I always get this funny feelings that I will be killed by the tsotsi's. Life is very rough here. The hooligans kill people every day. Every Saturday I have to witness funerals of people who either died naturally because of hunger or violently by tsotsi's. I am not used to Township life. I am now a prisoner in my own small house.

INTERVIEWER: Has the behaviour of children changed? If so, how?

RESPONDENT: Our children are killing us. They are angry about something; they just want to kill. Their lifestyle has completely changed and they live by a new set of township rules which are destroying them.

INTERVIEWER: Do you have a future here?

RESPONDENT: I do not look forward to the future. The future will not bring any changes. Everything around me is either dead or dying. Food does not grow here, trees wither, the grass

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is stunted. How can human beings live in such a place?

INTERVIEWER: Who can solve your problems?

RESPONDENT: Nobody can solve our problems. A councillor called a meeting and promised that things will improve. This is the fifth year. Things are getting worse, the councillor never came back to us. We no longer attend meetings and we do not want any help.

INTERVIEWER: Which place do you consider to be your real homeland? Utrecht or Osizweni?

RESPONDENT: I want to go back to Utrecht. I would not mind any form of suffering in the farm as long as there is food and work to do.

INTERVIEWER: What good things happened as a result of your resettlement at Osizweni Township?

RESPONDENT: Nothing. Nothing whatsoever.

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CASE STUDY 5 - VOLUNTARY FARM MIGRANT - ADULT

NAME: Bhekizizwe Sikhosana (pseudonym)
AGE: 37 years
SEX: Male
PREVIOUS RESIDENCE: Utrecht Farm
PRESENT RESIDENCE: Blaauwbosch District

INTERVIEWER: What made your family decide to leave your indigenous ancestral land?

RESPONDENT: Although we decided to leave the farm, we were actually pushed out of the farm. The farmers did not pay us and they did not allow us to have livestock. We had to reduce our livestock and our children did not go to school. It was not nice at the farm.

We decided to move because we were dissatisfied with the farm life. After all the farmer used to threaten to evict us all the time, yet we were not paid and the children had to work all the time.

Yet when we came to Blaauwbosch, life was difficult. There is no work here. I wish to go back. On the farm we did not have to buy milk and mielies. Here a bag of mielie meal is R50.00 and it's all finished by the end of the second week.

At Utrecht we liked it because we grew whatever we wanted, but because the farmers asked us to cut down on livestock and wanted more children to work on the farms, we decided to leave. The farmers did not want our children to go to school. Our children were sjamboked and treated like old people.

INTERVIEWER: What losses did you incur when you had to leave the farm?

RESPONDENT: We lost whatever few things we had. We sold our things. But we had very few things. We did not save anything for ourselves or for the future. We spent all the money on transport to Blaauwbosch.

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INTERVIEWER: What were your feelings when you actually had to leave the farm?

RESPONDENT: It was painful. It was too painful. We could not grow anything. We have suffered here at Blaauwbosch more than in Utrecht. Here at Blaauwbosch if there is nobody working in the family, you go to sleep without a meal. Things were better when my husband was working. He is not working now. We cannot even afford to send our children to school - even when the child wants to go to school.

INTERVIEWER: What was the most painful or disturbing thing that happened to you as a result of your move from Utrecht?

RESPONDENT: The most disturbing thing is that we are helpless. We do not know what to do. That is terribly disturbing.

INTERVIEWER: What other problems have you experienced here at Blaauwbosch?

RESPONDENT: The serious problem is not to be able to work. The R5.00 which we get - its nothing. I cannot buy a pocket of sugar for R5.00. They should give us a pension.

INTERVIEWER: What is the future of your children here?

RESPONDENT: There is no future for our children here. There is no work here.

INTERVIEWER: Which place would you regard as your real home or homeland? Osizweni or Utrecht?

RESPONDENT: We came here to Blaauwbosch because we had nowhere else to go. My real home is in Utrecht, where I left my dead parents and children. I want to go back to Utrecht to see my ancestors, my family. I cannot accept that I do not have a home there. I still have a home there.

INTERVIEWER: Have you done any rituals to bring your ancestors closer to you?

RESPONDENT: Yes, we did that. But the graves are still there at the farm.

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I want to be actually near the graves. In spite of the fact that we performed rituals, I still want to be physically close to them.

INTERVIEWER: Regarding the behaviour of your children, is it still the same as before?

RESPONDENT: Our children still behave well. However, here at Osizweni, when your child gets married he moves out to live away with his family. He only thinks about his family. When you are hungry you seldom get anything from him. At Utrecht we were all together, we shared things and no member of the family got hungry when others had something to eat. Sometimes we are suffering and hungry here but our married children eat well.

INTERVIEWER: Do you still maintain the same relationships with your relatives as before?

RESPONDENT: We still have good relationships with my relatives. If it were not for my relatives I would be destitute - I don't know what type of life I would be leading.

CASE STUDY 6 - VOLUNTARY FARM MIGRANT - ADULT

NAME: Thoko Mpanza (pseudonym)
AGE: 39 years
SEX: Female
PREVIOUS RESIDENCE: Utrecht Farm
PRESENT RESIDENCE: Blaauwbosch District

INTERVIEWER: What made your family decide to leave your indigenous ancestral land?

RESPONDENT: Families were being evicted each and every day and the farmer was no longer nice to us. He complained about everything we did. My husband was an Induna and he was the one who had to tell people that they had to leave the farm. We had a feeling that once everybody was gone, we would be the next family to go. We did not want to go to Blaauwbosch, since people had told us that many people were starving and dying there. We stayed on the farm for three more months.

We eventually decided to leave when the farmer told us to sell our livestock because 'too many' cattle and goats were not good for his land. He cut our plots to small portions. We could no longer survive on the farm and we did not want to go to Blaauwbosch.

We made all the rituals for our ancestors, with their blessings we left the farm at night. We were afraid that the farmer would assault us if we told him about our decision to leave. The farmer had been a nice person to us but he changed.

INTERVIEWER: Describe your feelings on the day you turned your back on your indigenous residence.

RESPONDENT: When we eventually left the farm, the children were very happy. But I was very sad. I did not know if I had made the right decision. I prayed four times to my ancestors to guide me. We left on foot and made our way to Blaauwbosch where other farm families had gone. However we did not know where Blaauwbosch was and we had no money. We felt very

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uncertain going to a place we did not know. We had never left the farm and somehow we had a feeling that it was too late for us to make a new start elsewhere. But we were no longer wanted on the farm. We had to go.

INTERVIEWER: What was the most disturbing thing about leaving your indigenous residence?

RESPONDENT: I felt very sad about our livestock which we lost. Livestock was our only source of security. We had no money or property but we knew that if we had money problems we could sell my stock. We also lost our fields and crops. While there was land to plough, my family could never starve. Now we have nothing to ourselves. We left our ancestors - perhaps they are angry with us. Nobody is working in the family. There is no work here and no fields to plough. Everyday I wake up with the feeling that we will be wiped out. There is not enough food here. Nobody even cares about us here. My husband is sickly now. He sits alone and broods for the whole day. He is a broken man.

My children are sad here. They feel that we should not have left the farm. We had no choice.

Life is hell here. We have to pay for everything. In the winter, its very cold here and we have no money for fuel. Children want to go to school but we have no money to pay for their education. They are used to doing work but there is nothing to do here.

On the farm we did not starve. Here we have to buy fuel plus a bag of mielie meal for R50.00 and it does not last for a long time. We have to find money at all costs. Some people steal and I do not blame them.

INTERVIEWER: What other problems do you experience here?

RESPONDENT: Everything is a problem here. Nobody wants to know us or assist us. We could help each other if we had means to do so. All the residents from Utrecht are still close to one another.

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My relatives are far. Although we still have a close relationship, distance keeps us apart and we spend most of our time struggling with what will be our next meal. We cannot afford busfares to visit them. Besides visiting them just makes me sad. My relatives are suffering. I have lost a number of relatives here because of the poor living conditions. I feel very insecure because I do not even have money to join the burial club. What will happen if one of the family members dies? Here people only talk about death. The burial clubs have become the most important activity since death is always very close.

I would say nothing good has ever happened since that fateful day when I made the decision to leave the farm.

INTERVIEWER: Does your family have a future here?

RESPONDENT: Where there is suffering there is no future. There is no life here. We must leave this place. We will die here. But where can we go?

INTERVIEWER: Do you want to go back to Utrecht?

RESPONDENT: Yes! but I am not wanted there.

Summary

The experiences of migrant adults outlined above indicated beyond any doubt that migration was a highly stressful process characterised by a variety of stressors related to abrupt and coerced migration, post-relocation conditions and lack of social support systems. Loss and change in lifestyle predominated most of the migrants' experiences. It therefore comes as no surprise that losing home was the most stressful migration-related event since losing home broadly encompassed all cathected losses with a home valency and this in itself entailed major changes in lifestyle.

Thus losing home was a very disturbing and distressing event. A pattern which emerged from the case analyses was consistent with Fried's (1974) observations that losing home involved painful experiences related to physical-spatial separation or loss, social disruption of relationships and concomittant affective reactions.

It became clear in all case studies that one of the important components of distress experienced by migrants was related to physical separation from home and material losses. Separation and loss of home disrupted the migrants' sense of spatial identity associated with the experience of stability and led to fragmentation of some of the components essential for a meaningful sense of continuity. On the other hand, material losses and separation from personal possessions left the migrants incapacitated materially and psychologically. The tone of distress and personal suffering associated with these multiple losses pervaded most of the migrants' experiences.

The second component of psychological distress associated with losing a home was social disruption of relationships. Firstly, strained parent-child relationships and fragmentation of the extended family system created feelings of alienation and impersonalised meaning of home. It left most migrants without a strong home base for emotional support. The migrants found it difficult to form new patterns of affiliation, instead migrants who came from the same pre-relocation area clung together in solidarity as though they perceived each other as symbols of their past cherished life. They seemed to have closed ranks to broad community social relationships which normally give a feeling of an expanded home. It would appear that the apparent solidarity based on feelings of insecurity and tenuous constricted social relationships

only served to intensify distress.

Both, physical-spatial separation and social disruption of relationships have affective qualities which form an important third component, that is, affective reactions to losing a home. Affective reaction to loss of a home experienced and expressed by the migrants can quite precisely be described as a grief response showing most of the characteristics of psychological distress or grief observed by Fried (ibid) in people who have lost a home. These are manifest in feelings of painful loss, continued longing and idealisation of the lost place, general depressive tone, frequent symptoms of psychological distress, sense of helplessness, occasional expression of both direct and displaced anger and feelings of insecurity and uncertainty.

From the analysis of the above case studies there is strong evidence that the nature of psychological distress experienced by migrant adults was prolonged grief reaction of such depth and intensity that it left the migrant adults on the verge of an emotional disturbance.

The case studies generally provided supportive evidence to the fact that adverse post-relocation conditions and pessimistic post-relocation expectations possibly had a serious effect on the perpetuation, quality and depth of grief.

Because of the negative psychological experiences and environmental conditions over which the migrants had no control, there was a pervasive feeling, in all case studies, that migrants had lost control over their lives and were victims of powerful socio-political forces which controlled their destiny.

7.2.2. Subjective Experiences Related to Emotional Disturbances - Children

Experimental data indicated that all migrant children perceived rejection by others as highly stressful, 'Black spot' children also perceived migration-related events such as 'parents mood or feeling about life', 'have to stop school', 'change in family lifestyle' as additionally stressful. On the other hand, farm migrants perceived 'start school', 'problems with teacher or schoolwork' and 'moving away from close friends' as highly stressful.

These stressful events occurred concomittantly with emotional disturbances. In 'black spot' children these disturbances took the form of antisocial tendencies whereas in farm migrant children they were identified as an emotional disorder of a neurotic nature.

Related to childrens' emotional disturbances was their orientation of control. All migrant children perceived more control by powerful others and concomittant less internal locus of control in their social functioning. Only the farm migrant children perceived more control by unknown and powerful others in their cognitive area of functioning.

As in the case of adult migrants experimental, objective, quantified data was not in sufficient depth to give an insight into inner subjective experiences. Experiential data will therefore be presented to explore the processes underlying the cognitive appraisal of certain events as stressful as well as the dynamics underlying the childrens' emotional disturbances and their perception of control. Although the experimental data was amenable to qualitative analysis of childrens' emotional disturbances, this data was actually based on objective observations of childrens' behaviours by parents and did not tap the childrens' subjective experiences. This section seeks to explore the actual subjective feelings of children as they experience and express them. This is based on the philosophy that the child is the one who actually experiences the world around him and that he is the only person who can provide deeper untapped subjective experiences about his life and existence.

Since very little work has been done on childrens' subjective migration experiences there is no existing framework against which analysis of childrens' migration experiences can be made. Instead an attempt will be made to relate their experiences to the stress of migration, emotional disturbances and their perceived locus of control.

The following section presents two case studies for each of the three migrant childrens groups (that is, involuntary 'black spot' migrant children, involuntary farm evicted migrant children and voluntary farm migrant children) which will give further deeper insight into the dynamics underlying the overall behaviour of migrant children.

CASE STUDY 7 - INVOLUNTARY 'BLACK SPOT' MIGRANT CHILD

NAME: Sipho Zwane (pseudonym)
AGE: 11 years
SEX: Male
PREVIOUS RESIDENCE: Charlestown
PRESENT RESIDENCE: Osizweni Township

INTERVIEWER: What was your first reaction on learning that your family will be moved to another place?

RESPONDENT: I did not know that we were going to move until I heard other children speaking about it at school. We were happy and started talking about what we would do in a new place. Most of us had never been out of Charlestown and we wanted to see other places.

We all began to feel unhappy when we realised that our parents were very unhappy and angry. My parents did not tell us-(children) that we were moving. We heard them speak to each other and I saw them attend meetings. Everything changed at home. My parents were very upset and did not talk to us. At night we no longer had supper together. At school too the teachers were very unhappy and some of them were away from school attending meetings. We were all unhappy at school. Some of us stopped attending school.

After some time I did not want to leave home. I did not go to school and I did not go to play in the fields with other boys because I was afraid that when I came back I might find my parents gone. I felt very sad all the time and sometimes I used to cry. I did not know why I felt so sad.

INTERVIEWER: What happened to you the day you actually left Charlestown?

RESPONDENT: Early in the morning I saw several very big lorries. Everybody started to cry. I also cried and ran over to my mother but she chased me away. The White people in the lorries were very angry and they screamed at us. They pushed my father and my father in turn shouted at them. I was afraid

they were going to kill him. I ran into the house and hid under the bed. But the lorry people came into the house and threw things around breaking cups and chairs and loading everything onto the lorry. There were screams all around, dogs were barking and howling, cats and chickens fled. I was very frightened under the bed and I wet myself. The lorry man found me under the bed, he kicked me and I ran out to the lorry. I hid under the mattress there. As the lorry moved away the screams became lesser and everything went dead quiet. At one time I thought everybody was dead.

INTERVIEWER: What happened when you arrived at Osizweni?

RESPONDENT: We arrived in the afternoon. The lorry man shouted at us again to get off. Nobody screamed or cried. The place was an open veld, very cold and there were no houses, no shops, no schools. We all went into the tent. Because it was too small we stayed outside all day and we slept outside all night. My father sometimes slept outside to look after all his furniture which could not get into the tent. I just wanted to run away from this place. I had no home and I wanted to go back home, but I remembered that I no longer had a home because the lorry men had demolished our home. I used to cry. I felt very unhappy most of the time. I also did not want to leave home because I thought something might happen to my mother. She used to cry most of the time.

INTERVIEWER: What problems have you experienced at Osizweni Township?

RESPONDENT: Osizweni has always been a strange place to me. I cannot get used to this type of life. There are so many people around and they kill each other. I miss farm life. It was nice over there. There was plenty of food at Charlestown and everybody was happy. We were all living together as a family. I do not remember feeling sad. Here everybody is unhappy. My mother is always shouting at me. She does not want me to be with other children. She says they have a bad influence on me. At Charlestown she allowed me to go anywhere and mix with everybody. Here she is treating me differently.

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She wants me home all the time and does not want me to mix with other kids. I am confused. I wish I could go back to Charlestown.

My father died when we came over here. He died suddenly. I miss him terribly. My mother is all alone and unhappy.

Most of the children do not go to school, but I still go to school although sometimes I have to go to school without food. My mother does not have money. I wish I was old enough to look after her. I do not understand some of the children here. Some are very bad, they smoke and drink. Still others do not like you if you are from Charlestown.

I sometimes do temporary jobs at the shop, but my mother takes all the money and shouts at me if I am late from work or school. I don't know - I do not want to be home. There is no food there or place to stay.

INTERVIEWER: What would you say was your main problem when you changed schools as a result of resettlement?

RESPONDENT: At Charlestown we had many schools and all of them were near. We had good food too. When we came to Osizweni it was different. I could not go to school for a whole term and when I found the school, it was too far. The children at a school in Blaauwbosch looked down upon us because we were from the 'tent town'. I also did not have a uniform because my father could not afford to buy me one - he lost his job when we came over to Osizweni. At schools there were very few desks and we 'tent children' were made to sit on the cold floor. Other children laughed at us. It was as though I was a shame to other people here. I was now treated as a fool whereas at Charlestown everybody liked me because I was clever. The teacher also believed that 'new-comers' like us from the tents, were stupid. She thought we had come from very poor families. She did not know Charlestown and how good it was - much better than her (the teacher's) own place.

CASE STUDY 8 - INVOLUNTARY 'BLACK SPOT' MIGRANT CHILD

NAME: Siphiwe Dube (pseudonym)
AGE: 10 years
SEX: Male
PREVIOUS RESIDENCE: Charlestown
PRESENT RESIDENCE: Osizweni Township

INTERVIEWER: What was your first reaction on learning that your family was to be moved to another place?

RESPONDENT: I can't remember. But I was sort of happy because I did not want to look after my fathers cattle, especially in winter. When I heard that all the cattle would be sold, I was happy. I did not understand why my parents were so unhappy.

INTERVIEWER: What happened to you when you actually left Charlestown?

RESPONDENT: I was scared. Some people came to destroy our house and things. They fought with my father. I wanted to run away but my mother grabbed me and hit me very hard. I thought there was war and lorries had come to kill us. I ran away because I did not want to get into the big lorry.

INTERVIEWER: What happened when you arrived at Osizweni?

RESPONDENT: I can't remember its a long time ago. I only remember green tents and toilets. There was nothing else. It was windy and there was dust all over.

INTERVIEWER: What problems did you experience at Osizweni?

RESPONDENT: We slept outside. My father used to get angry and shout at us and my elder brother ran away. We had no place to live. My mother kept us outside the tent all the time. My father drinks heavily now and fights with us all.

INTERVIEWER: What was your main problem when you changed schools as a result of resettlement?

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RESPONDENT: Nothing. I stayed at home for some time and I was very unhappy. When I went to school for the first time, there were no benches for us. Teachers and other children did not like us. Now we have benches and desks and teachers are nice to us. But there are too many children here.

INTERVIEWER: Did your school performance change when you came to Osizweni?

RESPONDENT: I don't know. Sometimes I fail and sometimes I pass.

INTERVIEWER: Have you made many friends with boys of your own age?

RESPONDENT: Yes I have made a few friends but my mother does not like them. We go together to places and also play together. There is nothing else to do. Sometimes we help in the beerhall and we get tips.

CASE STUDY 9 - INVOLUNTARY FARM EVICTED MIGRANT CHILD

NAME: Vusi Nkosi (pseudonym)
AGE: 10 years
SEX: Male
PREVIOUS RESIDENCE: Utrecht Farm
PRESENT RESIDENCE: Osizweni Township

INTERVIEWER: What was your first reaction on learning that your family had to move to another area?

RESPONDENT: I did not care. I thought we were moving to another farm. We had already been to one farm and I was not happy. Farmers are not nice people. They like to shout and beat people all the time.

INTERVIEWER: What happened on the day you left the farm?

RESPONDENT: I was very afraid. I ran around in and out of the house trying to get my things out. They pulled the house down before we could get everything out and they told us to get into the G.G. truck. I was very, very afraid. Everybody was crying. I hid under the old bed on the lorry all the time.

INTERVIEWER: What was your experience or feelings when you came to Osizweni Township?

RESPONDENT: It was a terrible farm. There was no farmer and we had to take care of ourselves. We did not know where to get food or material to build a house. I asked my family to move to the next farm, but they told me there was no other farm. My brother said we must run away and I refused. He ran away that night and we do not know what happened to him. I miss him.

INTERVIEWER: What other problems did you experience at Osizweni?

RESPONDENT: There were no fields and no cattle to milk. There was no farmer. We needed food. We slept without food. Everybody

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is so sad here. My mother is very sick. She does not do anything. She says there is nothing to do and sleeps all the time. She gets angry when we ask for food.

INTERVIEWER: What problems did you experience when you went to school?

RESPONDENT: When I went to school for the first time other kids laughed at me. Everybody wanted to know my name and made fun of me. They wanted me to tell them about farm life and laughed at me all the time. The teacher also referred to me as a 'farm boy'. I don't know, I am just funny and other children do not like me. I do not like to go to school. There are many children there and you have to sit down all the time. I want to be in an open space where I can see land, rivers and animals. I don't like it here.

INTERVIEWER: Have you made many friends here?

RESPONDENT: No I have very few friends here - only those from other farms in Utrecht. I do not like the other boys - they make fun of us. My mother does not want me to have friends here. She says boys are bad here.

INTERVIEWER: Would you prefer to live at Osizweni or go back to Utrecht?

RESPONDENT: I want to go back to Utrecht. Everybody in the family wants to go back. There are too many people here and there is not enough food here.

NAME: Bhoyi Mkhize (pseudonym)
AGE: 10 years
SEX: Male
PREVIOUS RESIDENCE: Utrecht Farm
PRESENT RESIDENCE: Osizweni Township

INTERVIEWER: What was your reaction on learning that your family had to move to another area?

RESPONDENT: I was happy. I was tired of farm life and I wanted to go somewhere else. My mother was happy too. My father was very worried; he did not want to leave the farm.

INTERVIEWER: What happened on the day you actually left the farm?

RESPONDENT: Very early in the morning there was a bang and a knock on the door. The G.G. trucks were ready to take us. My father refused to get into the G.G. truck; he did not want to leave. The farmer threatened to arrest him and the demolishers started to pull the house down while he was still inside. We cried and pleaded with him. He was dragged out of the house full of dust. We left some of our things there. Our dogs and cats were left behind. All the chickens ran away to the bush. I do not know what happened to my father's cattle.

INTERVIEWER: What was your experience or feelings when you came to Osizweni?

RESPONDENT: I did not like the place. There was nothing here but tents and toilets in an open veld. My father blamed us for coming here. For days he did not talk to anybody. My mother was worried too. We had no money or food. My father is still not working. He spends most of the days at home. My mother is working but the money is not enough. My elder brother is bad now. He does not come. He steals and plays cards with tsotsi's.

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INTERVIEWER: What other problems did you experience?

RESPONDENT: I just don't know what to do here. I just sit and I am hungry most of the time. My father does not want me to play with other boys; he says they will have a bad influence on me. I went to school but had to stop school because my father did not have money for school fees. I stay home and do nothing. I want to do some work as I did on the farm. I like to milk cows and feed chickens. I want to be a farmer. I don't like it here.

INTERVIEWER: What problems did you experience when you went to school here?

RESPONDENT: Other children laughed at me because I was too old for Class I. I liked school. At school I always had something to do. I also met some children from Utrecht and we talked about farm life. I did not care about other children who laughed at us. Other boys laughed at my old clothes and tore my shirt. I hit them and we fought. I have to fight all the time.

INTERVIEWER: Have you made many friends here?

RESPONDENT: I have very few friends from Utrecht. Other children go to school and will not play with me. My father also does not like me to have friends here. He wants me to work in the house all the time. I spend a lot of time with my sisters at home. Other boys sometimes ask me to go with them to the shop and they stay there until its very late. My father does not like that.

INTERVIEWER: Would you prefer to stay here at Osizweni or go back to Utrecht?

RESPONDENT: I want to go back to Utrecht. We were happy there. We had food to eat. I had many friends. It was nice there but 'baas' and 'Missus' sometimes punished us if we did not work hard.

CASE STUDY 11 - VOLUNTARY FARM MIGRANT CHILD

NAME: Sandile Mthembu (pseudonym)
AGE: 12 years
SEX: Male
PREVIOUS RESIDENCE: Utrecht Farm
PRESENT RESIDENCE: Blaauwbosch District

INTERVIEWER: What was your first reaction on learning that your family had to move to another place?

RESPONDENT: I was very happy. All of us (children) were excited but my parents were not that happy. Just before we left the farm they changed their minds, but decided to go again.

INTERVIEWER: What happened on the day you actually left the farm?

RESPONDENT: I was very sad. I said good-bye to my friends and then my father's goats which had been bought by another farm worker. I did not want to leave my friends and my father's livestock. But I wanted to go away.

INTERVIEWER: What happened when you came to Blaauwbosch?

RESPONDENT: It was a strange place. There were many shacks, many people and many children. There was not enough space. Nowhere to grow vegetables. I am still not used to Blaauwbosch. People fight each other here, they drink too.

INTERVIEWER: What problems did you experience at Blaauwbosch?

RESPONDENT: Many problems here. There is no water and no toilets too. There is nothing to do here. I do not have many friends. I do not understand people here.

INTERVIEWER: What happened when you went to school here?

RESPONDENT: Other children gave me a nickname. They laughed at me. Its better now. Some of the kids are really nice. It's nice at school too. I sit down and write; I do not have to work all

CASE STUDY 11

the time.

INTERVIEWER: Would you prefer to stay here at Osizweni or go back to Utrecht?

RESPONDENT: I miss Utrecht farm. I miss the milk, sour milk, green mielies etc. Here there is not enough to eat. But I like it here. I will not go back to Utrecht.

CASE STUDY 12 - VOLUNTARY FARM MIGRANT CHILD

NAME: Bheki Makhanya (pseudonym)
AGE: 10 years
SEX: Male
PREVIOUS RESIDENCE: Utrecht Farm
PRESENT RESIDENCE: Blaauwbosch District

INTERVIEWER: What was your reaction on learning that your family had to move to another place?

RESPONDENT: I don't know. I did not want to go anywhere. I was afraid to leave the farm. I did not want to go to the other farm again because the farmer had threatened to shoot us when we left. I did not know where we were going to.

INTERVIEWER: What was your reaction when you left the farm?

RESPONDENT: I was unhappy. I did not want to leave my friends and goats. I did not want to go. The farmer was no longer hitting us as much as he did before because we were working very hard.

INTERVIEWER: What happened when you came to Blaauwbosch?

RESPONDENT: I can't remember, but I like this place. We do not have to work all the time and we go to school too. My mother and father sell vegetables and sometimes they buy us nice things. People are also nice too.

INTERVIEWER: What happened when you went to school for the first time here?

RESPONDENT: It was terrible. They were too many children and the teacher was shouting at everybody. I ran away home but my mother brought me back to school. There were too many children and very little space. I am used to going to school now. I sort of like it. Sometimes I miss the farm. We did nice things there. We worked in the Missus's kitchen - I liked it.

CASE STUDY 12

INTERVIEWER: Have you made many friends here?

RESPONDENT: I am afraid of the other children here. They want to fight all the time. They also do not like farm children. But I have made some friends.

INTERVIEWER: Would you prefer to stay here at Osizweni or go back to Utrecht?

RESPONDENT: I do not want to go back to Utrecht. I don't want to work. I want to go to school.

Summary

The case studies presented above gave strong support to experimental data by highlighting highly stressful subjective experiences associated with the process of migration. Most of the migration stress was related to abrupt multiple changes in childrens' lifestyle and relationship with the environment, that is, with parents, peers and school. All these changes left the children vulnerable to emotional disturbances.

The case studies gave a rare insight into the complex interaction of factors underlying the childrens' emotional disturbances. Several important factors which emerged from the case analyses will be briefly discussed.

Firstly, it is clear that different pre-relocation experiences of migrant children predisposed them to a particular type of behaviour problems. Farm children felt abused, rejected and perceived the outside world as hostile and dangerous even before migration. On the other hand, the pre-relocation experiences of 'black spot' children were that of love and social acceptance. These children were more inclined to venture, with confidence, into the positively perceived outside world.

Secondly, there are strong indications that all migrant children were extremely traumatised by the brutalising process of migration. Their initial excitement and feelings of adventure gave way to strong feelings of fear and insecurity which predominated their lives. They seemed highly sensitive to the pervasive feelings of distress and insecurity which dominated their immediate environment. Their trauma was exacerbated by lack of communication and information about the process of migration.

Thirdly, the migrant children felt unprotected from the adverse forces of migration. Their parents appeared helpless, were engrossed in their personal problems and had no personal resources to give emotional support to their children. Instead, they clung to their children as though they feared another loss. Children subsequently experienced their parents as restrictive, overcontrolling and overcritical of their relationships outside the home.

Generally, children felt that the home could no longer meet their emotional needs, since it lacked warmth and love. Physically, the home actually threw the children into the streets in that there was not enough room for them.

Fourthly, the school experiences were traumatic, initially to the 'black spot' children and throughout schooling years to farm children. Farm migrant children felt completely rejected by the peers at school as well as by the school authorities. On the other hand it would appear that 'black spot' children eventually made relatively good adjustment at school and felt more accepted by their peers. However, it was these strong peer relationships which alienated them from their parents who felt very insecure about the normative standards of the new environment. One gets an overall impression that 'black spot' children were in the centre of conflicting parental and peer normative values.

Lastly, all the migrant children felt the impact of deprivation. They experienced the new environment as lacking in material resources necessary to meet their basic physiological needs of life. It is not surprising that migrant children ('black spot' children in particular) were frequently engaged in stealing behaviour and lying probably to cover up their unacceptable behaviour.

It would appear that migration and the post-relocation conditions predisposed all migrant children to behaviour problems. However, the fact that their behaviour problems did not follow the same pattern was possibly due to pre-relocation experiences. It seems as though farm migrant children coped with the adverse environment by internalising anxieties and withdrawing from the threatening situations. A trend of this coping strategy had already been established during the pre-relocation period. On the other hand 'black spot' children had undergone a normal process of socialisation and were developmentally inclined to explore the outside environment and form strong peer relationships which were not acceptable to their parents. This supports an earlier argument that these children's antisocial tendencies probably developed as a reaction to stringent parental standards which went against the normal developmental process or that 'black spot' children identified with the 'ghetto' subculture of peers which encouraged antisocial tendencies. Lastly, it could be that these children were using normal coping strategies (e.g. stealing food when extremely hungry, lying to parents who imposed unreasonable behaviour standards and fighting with other children to protect themselves against 'ghetto' aggression and violence) to cope with an abnormal or pathological situation.

Generally, these children gave an overall impression of being the victims of the powerful others. The restrictive parents and the overall process of migration, sanctioned by the government, made it difficult for them to take initiative and experiment with activities that would give them relative control to certain aspects of their lives.

There are strong indications that few positive reactions expressed by migrant children before and after migration were related to their immature ego functions and unrealistic appraisal of their environment and circumstances surrounding their migration. It is possible that as these children grow up, the full impact of migration will be felt more intensely.

Overall Summary

Both adult and children experiential data gave strong supportive evidence to experimental data. These two sources of data yielded complimentary information which consistently indicated that migration was a highly stressful process which entailed major losses and changes in both migrant adults and children. The experiential data further re-affirmed an earlier interpretation of experimental data that despite the fact that the majority of migrant adults and children had been resettled for up to seven years (c.f. Table XXI) they were still not well adjusted in their relocation area and were in a state of psychological distress or emotional instability. Lastly, the collaborative findings of experimental and experiential data indicated that migrant adults and children had lost or were losing control over their lives and had been driven to a state of total despair.

Unless immediate intervention is made, migrant adults will continue to operate at a suboptimal level of psychological functioning and their children may be psychologically incapacitated through to adulthood.

However, any effective intervention strategy will have to be formulated from a theoretical framework which adequately conceptualises the unique process of black migration in South Africa.

CHAPTER EIGHT

8.1. Black Migration in South Africa : In Search for a Theoretical Paradigm

Chapter two indicated that most theorists have tended to slice up the process of migration using a variety of molecular type models or paradigms. Secondly, most of the theoretical models or paradigms have conceptualised the process of migration as it occurs in overseas countries. In South Africa, black migration is an extension of the government's unique policy of separate development and therefore has its unique characteristics which differentiates it from migration in other countries. Firstly, black migration in South Africa is highly coerced: Black migrants are denied the decision-making power to move. Instead of that physical force, intimidation and threats are used to move the migrants. Secondly, black migrants do not have alternative choices and do not retain the power to decide on their destination. Thirdly, involuntary black migrants in South Africa are resettled in remote relocation camps and are not integrated into a stable host society. They are subsequently isolated from the mainstream of society and social support systems. This situation is completely different from the U.S.A. where, for example, involuntary Vietnamese migrants retain the power to choose their destination and are integrated into the 'melting pot' host society of America with adequate situational and institutional support systems.

Black migration in South Africa therefore needs to be conceptualised within a broad theoretical framework that will take into account the unique processes which characterise it. The paradigm offered by the crisis theory comes close to providing a conceptual background within which black migration in South Africa can be analysed.

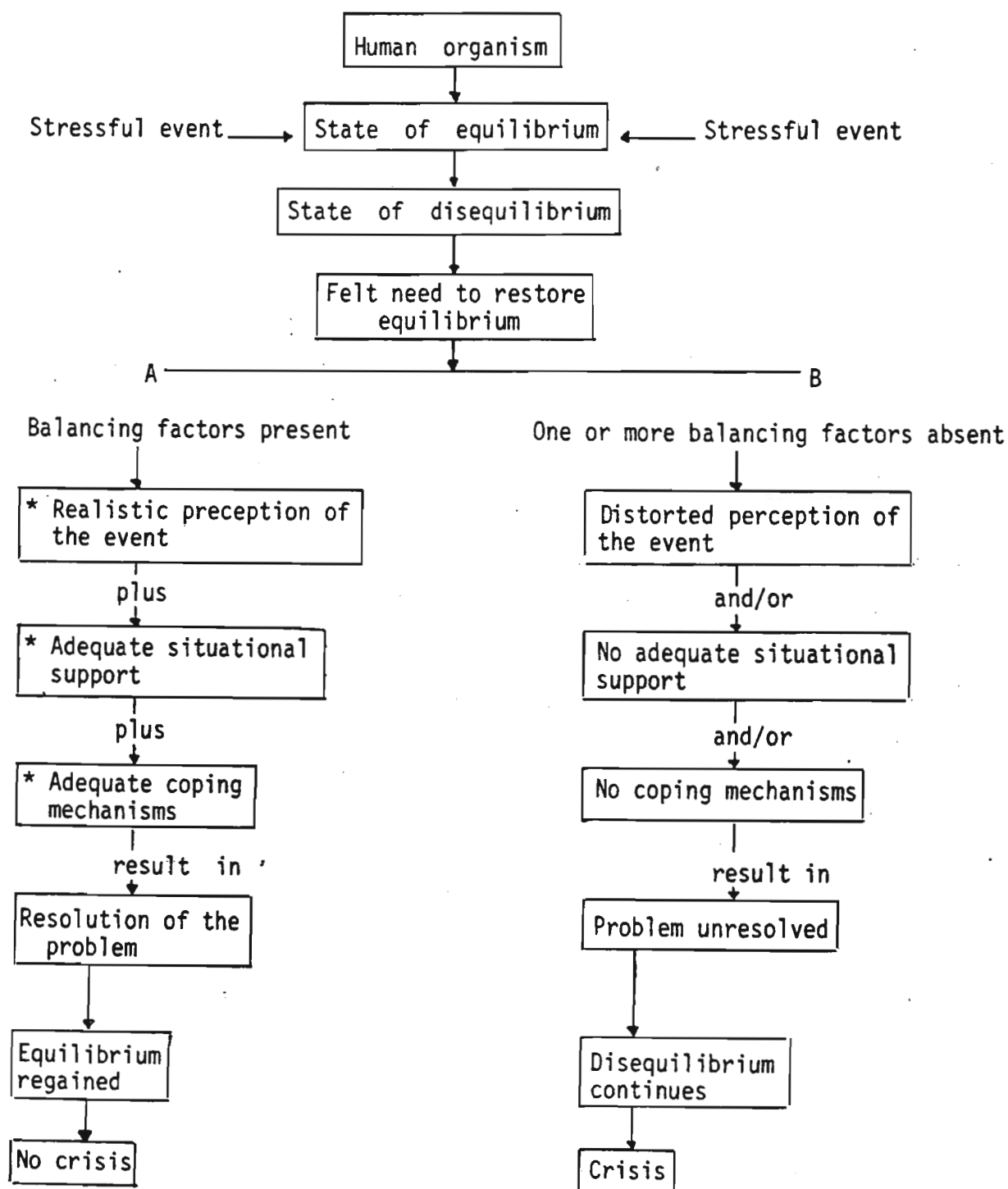
The utility value of crisis theory, for the present study, lies in that it is a holistic comprehensive approach which can be used to analyse the migration experiences of both migrant adults and children. Secondly, it provides a clearly formulated conceptual framework which can be used to explore the migrants' ecological relationship with their environment as well as their inner subjective feelings. Thirdly, it seeks to explain

changes in migrants' psychological functioning in terms of a clearly defined sequential process of psychosocial change. Lastly, it serves as a useful predictive model for analysing circumstances generated by involuntary black migration in South Africa.

It would therefore be useful to present and systematically analyse the paradigm offered by the crisis theory and examine its utility in conceptualising the unique migration experiences of the participants of the present study.

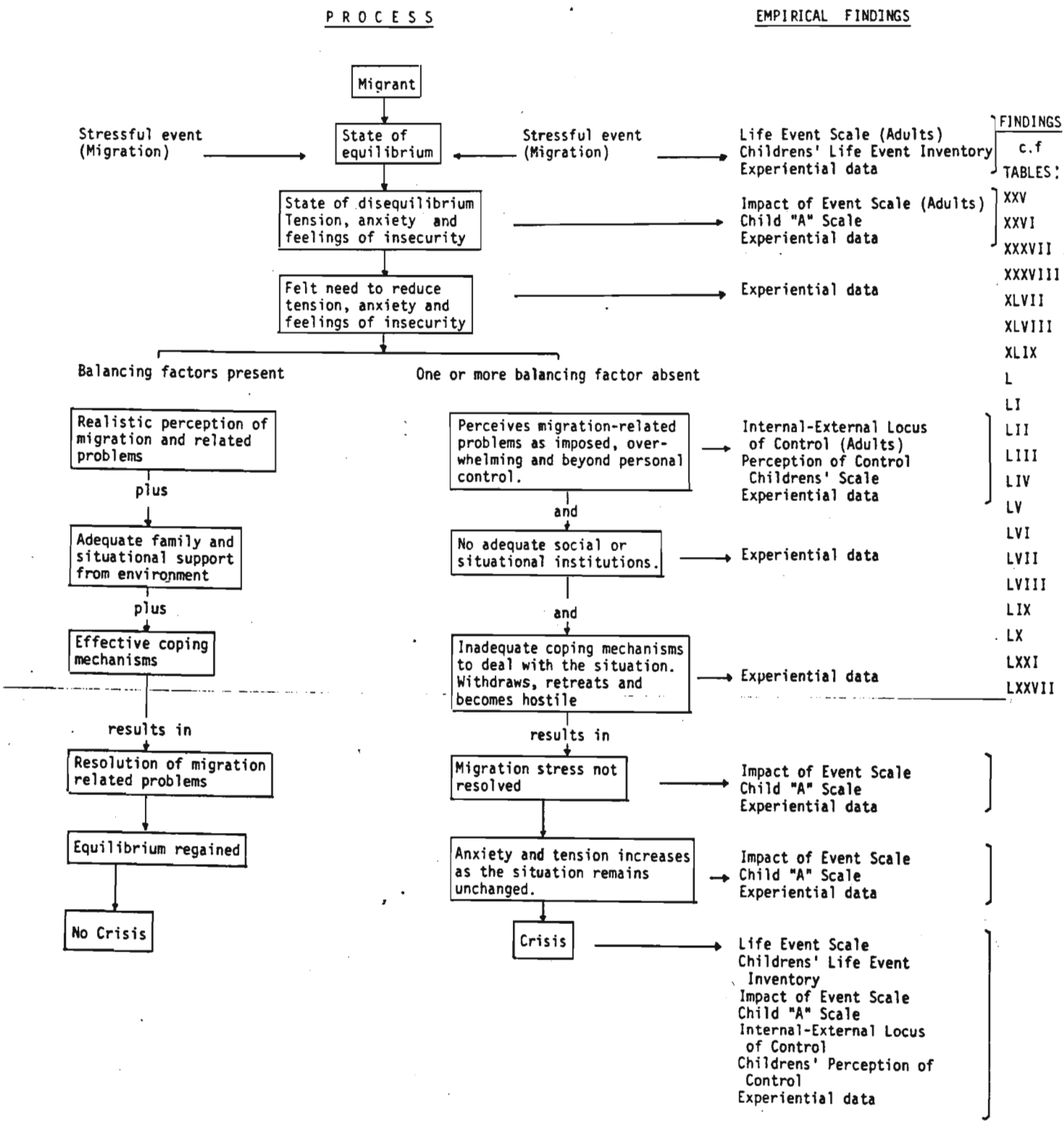
In the Table that follows a graphic presentation of crisis theory, developed by Aguilero and Messick (1974), will be presented again to highlight the basic tenets of this theory.

TABLE LXXVII: CRISIS THEORY : STRESS PARADIGM DEVELOPED BY
AGUILERO AND MESSICK (1974)



In the following section the crisis theory - stress paradigm presented in the above table is extended and used to interpret black migration in South Africa in terms of the results of this study (c.f. Table LXXIX).

TABLE LXXIX : STRESS PARADIGM : ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR BLACK MIGRATION IN SOUTH AFRICA



In terms of the stress paradigm, presented above, the present study indicated that migration related events or changes were perceived as significantly stressful by migrant adults and children. Findings yielded by the Life Event Scale showed that migrant adults perceived change of residence, major changes in lifestyle, move to a worse neighbourhood, move from rural to urban area, lose home, lose valued possessions and loss of property with little or no compensation as highly stressful (c.f. Table XXIV).

On the other hand analysis of the results yielded by the Childrens' Life Inventory showed that migrant children perceived migration-related changes such as change of school and being rejected by others as highly stressful (c.f. Table XXXVI).

Phenomenological data gave strong support to the above findings and indicated that in each stage during the process of migration, migrant adults and children experienced high levels of stress as they were forced to accept adverse circumstances which were not of their own choice.

It would appear that the above migration-related stressors had a destabilising effect on migrants' overall psychological homeostatic balance or state of equilibrium and that this led to a state of disequilibrium, which in terms of the results yielded by the Impact of Event Scale, was characterised by pervasive feelings of psychological distress in migrant adults (c.f. Table XLVII). It seems possible that the feelings of anxiety, tension and insecurity often associated with psychological distress and strongly experienced and expressed by migrant adults in their phenomenological data, triggered off an acute psychological state which left the migrants feeling incapacitated and dysfunctional.

In as far as migrant children were concerned, findings yielded by the Child "A" Scale indicated an overall state of emotional instability which reflected an underlying state of psychological disequilibrium. In terms of the experiential data this acute state of psychological imbalance was characterised by strong feelings of anxiety, tension and insecurity.

Since the above situation was highly distressful to both migrant adults and children, there was a strong felt need (reflected in participants

experiential data) to alleviate the acute psychological distress or emotional instability and to restore the equilibrium.

Seemingly, migrants failed to effectively work through their psychological problems and to restore their pre-morbid level of functioning. This was probably due to the fact that the three most important balancing factors essential for adaptation and mastery of the environment were absent. These were related to the migrants' perception of an event, adequate situational supports and adequate coping mechanisms.

The extent to which migration was perceived as a stressful event was largely determined by the migrants' cognitive appraisal of the process of the migration. The results of the present study clearly indicated that migrants perceived the process of migration as highly stressful (see findings yielded by Life Event Scale and Childrens' Life Event Inventory in Table XXVI and Table XXVIII) and beyond their personal control (c.f. findings yielded by Internal-External Locus of Control and Childrens' Perception of Control Scale in Table LVII and Table LIX). It would appear that migrant adults subsequently developed a belief that they did not have personal resources and skills to deal with the stressors of such magnitude. Their phenomenological experiences were characterised by chronic feelings of helplessness and despair; a strong sense of futility appeared to have set in while the migrants were trying to adapt and survive in an overpowering environment. In as far as migrant children were concerned, the situation was aggravated by the fact that cognitively these children were not developmentally ready to give an accurate appraisal of the complex process of migration. All and above that experiential data gave an overall impression that migrant children did not have enough migration-related information to help them make a realistic appraisal of the process of migration.

In all, both migrant adult and children seemed to have been so overwhelmed by the migration stressors, that they lost their bearings and sense of direction.

Unfortunately, there were no adequate situational support networks in the community. Experiential data generally indicated that primary relationship within the family and with ancestors had been disrupted and the home had lost its major function as a social support system. Lastly, these migrants

were an isolated, forgotten community and relatively unknown to most service organisations and benefactors who could have reached out. Subsequently, they were virtually without any situational support systems except for functional self-initiated burial societies and money-lending clubs.

In as far as children were concerned, experiential data indicated that these children lost the most important primary social support networks provided by parents and other caregivers in extended family systems. Further, farm migrant children, unlike 'black spot' migrant children did not get adequate social support from the peers and the school institution.

Migrants should have evolved effective coping strategies to minimise the impact of situational stress on their psychological well-being. However, coping strategies are a function of the social situation. Seemingly, in the absence of adequate situational and other institutional support systems, migrants personal resources were strained to the limit. Secondly, it would appear that the migrants coping strategies had been developed to deal with particular stresses posed by the specific pre-location environment and efforts to utilise these adaptive mechanisms in an unfamiliar, stressful, post-relocation setting became dysfunctional. Lacking the resilience and capacity to cope with threats in the environment, to maintain their internal integration and to recover from the disintegrative process of migration, the migrants found it difficult to cope with the stresses in the environment.

It would appear that the initial stressful experiences remained unresolved: Instead the stress intensified and the psychological distress was amplified setting off what Coelho and Ahmed (1980) calls a negative cybernetic feedback loop which locks an individual in an unresolved psychological distress (see findings yielded by measures of stress and psychological status in Tables XXVI, XXXVIII, XLVIII and L).

In migrant adults this psychological state or crisis was identified as atypical grief reaction whereas in migrant children the crisis was expressed in behaviour problems or disturbances.

Experiential data gave an overall impression that as migrants depleted their personal resources they were not in a position to resolve the looming psychological crisis. Instead they seemed to have adapted to what Aguilero and Messick (1974) described as non-solution. It would

appear that a new psychological equilibrium characterised by chronic feelings of psychological distress and emotional instability was established. This possibly led to a new stable state of chronic psychological dysfunction.

Although this stable unresolved crisis was psychologically disabling to migrant adults, they seemed to have accepted it as an unresolved psychic pain which they had to live with. On the other hand experiential data indicated that, to a certain extent, migrant children either did not have an accurate perception of their psychological crisis or coped with crisis by adopting a pseudo-adaptation stance reflected in their apparent positive attitude towards the post-relocation environment.

Generally in each and every stage, the predictions of the crisis model seemed to hold for the present study. The overall findings of this investigation gave strong empirical support to the fact that migration stressors could trigger off psychologically distressful and destabilising experiences which can develop into unresolved psychological crises.

The findings of the present study clearly indicated that the migrants' level of low psychological functioning possibly made it difficult for them to reorganise their life, adapt to the new demands of the environment and return to their level of pre-morbid psychological functioning without outside intervention.

Intervention Strategy

In terms of the stress-paradigm the migrants low level of psychological functioning was related to the absence of the balancing factors that is, the perception of migration as overwhelming and beyond their personal control, lack of adequate social support systems and coping mechanisms.

These problems can be dealt with at the level of tertiary intervention designed to treat, rehabilitate and help groups of people towards better reintegration and adjustment in the community. In terms of the stress paradigm and findings of this study this would entail rendering collaborative psychological services directed towards :

- (i) Amelioration or change in the immediate environment. This should involve identifying and alleviating migration stressors which are perceived by migrants as too overwhelming and threatening to cope with.
- (ii) Setting up special crisis intervention 'hot lines' and specialised crisis counselling services to :
 - (a) Help establish primary situational and institutional support networks to give moral and social support to destabilised migrant families.
 - (b) Strengthen the personal resources and coping mechanisms of migrants to help them deal with the demands of the new environment more effectively.

Thus in terms of the crisis theory intervention is directed to groups of people who are already casualties of negative environmental processes.

8.2. Conclusion

The crisis theory has provided a very useful predictive framework which can be used to conceptualise the process of black migration in South Africa. However, this unique South African type of migration is such a complex, intricate process that even the best of paradigms would still fail to capture it in its totality. The paradigm of the crisis theory has some limitations related to the structure and scope. Firstly, the crisis paradigm tends to overlook developmental issues (particularly in relation to children) which could help to explain the migrants inability to resolve stress-related problems. Secondly, the crisis paradigm has problems inherent to broad conceptual frameworks, that is, it does not delve into the deep underlying dynamics of the problems; it leaves it to the researcher who is skilled in psychodynamics to make inferences. Paradoxically, this framework is not broad enough to cover the various ecological subsystems of society: It focuses on the individual's ecological relationship with his immediate environment and does not address the individuals interaction with the broad macro-systems of society. Subsequently, the crisis paradigm underplays the impact of the political and economic subsystems of society on the individual

and its conceptual framework cannot be directly extended to highlight the apparent relationship between the apartheid ideology and black migration in South Africa.

Lastly, crisis intervention, which operates at a level of tertiary prevention, cannot change the South African governments' resettlement policy. More efforts should be directed towards bringing about structural changes in the South African macro political-economic system which is the root cause of black relocation programmes in South Africa. This issue will be discussed in the next chapter.

d Economic Implications of Black Migration

ica

ter it was indicated that the crisis theory and ategy addresses the problems of individuals who ptims of adverse environmental forces. This ous moral question of whether intervention directed towards helping migrants to resolve ist to their immediate environmental changes or strategies address broad, firmly established economic structures of the South African society d to the development of the crisis situation. tter strategy lies in that it attacks the rather than its symptomatic manifestations. It ention strategy which could be used to bring ges in the South African major societal macro-

importance of primary prevention which, according lves the use of scientific information on cause ict harmful influences before they have a chance

To a great extent this type of intervention tal structures before they detrimentally affect ls. The implication of this strategy in terms is that unless the political and economic ica undergoes a major transformation, no meaningful de on black relocation programmes.

the present study indicates beyond any reasonable African macro-political and economic systems, intertwined with the policy of separate large extent the major sources of migration the stress paradigm such stressors may lead to

ications that black logically destabilised programmes have also of a significant number communities may act as future generation which er black communities.

encourage the development nities, particularly litically motivated n a system or era ate, may take a hard embittered future te, may refuse to the government.

black children, an active powerful ith over more than one

black migration, like policy of separate for open dialogue and to reverse the , it should surely

CHAPTER TEN

SUMMARY

The aim of the present study was to investigate the extent to which stress, psychological status and perception of control are a function of migration and different types of migration experiences.

In terms of the above objective four treatment groups, each consisting of 100 randomly selected participants and each subdivided into 50 adult and 50 children of these adults were used. These groups consisted of :

- (i) Involuntary 'black spot' migrant adults and children.
- (ii) Involuntary farm evicted migrant adults and children.
- (iii) Voluntary farm migrant adults and children.
- (iv) Non-migrant adults and children.

The first three groups were designated as experimental groups, (E1, E2 and E3 respectively) and the last group formed the control group (C1).

Before embarking on the actual experiment a pilot study was undertaken to refine instruments and to assess if data obtained would be relevant to the aims of the present study. The pilot study was followed by an actual experimental study. A battery of psychological measures were administered to all adult and children participants to measure the dependent variables, stress and psychological status and perception of control. These measures were :

- (i) Biographical Inventory to obtain demographic characteristics of the participants.
- (ii) Life Event Scale and Childrens' Life Event Inventory to measure stress in adults' and childrens' participants respectively.
- (iii) Impact of Event Scale and Child "A" Scale to measure adults' and childrens' psychological status respectively.

- (iv) Internal-External Locus of Control and Perception of Control Childrens' Scale to measure adults' and childrens' perception of control respectively.
- (v) Interview Guides for adults and children to tap the participants subjective migration experiences.

Data yielded by the above psychological measures were subjected to statistical analysis and the overall findings of this study indicated that :

- (i) Migrant adults and children perceived significantly higher levels of stress than non-migrant adults and children. These differences were further highlighted by the findings of factor analysis which revealed differences in the nature of stressful events comprising the common themes in some of the factor clusters.
- (ii) Migrant adults and children were significantly more emotionally unstable than non-migrant adults and children. Migrant adults showed strong signs of psychological distress associated with losing the home. On the other hand migrant children had behaviour problems which took the form of strong antisocial tendencies ('black spot' children) and neurotic disturbance (farm migrant children).
- (iii) Involuntary and voluntary farm migrant adults perceived significantly more external control than involuntary 'black spot' migrant and non-migrant adults. On the other hand involuntary and voluntary farm migrant children perceived more control by powerful others in the area of their cognitive and general functioning than the was the case with involuntary 'black spot' migrant and non-migrant children. In the area of social functioning all migrant children perceived more control by powerful others and concomittant less internal locus of control. However, children in all treatment groups perceived significantly more internal locus of control and concomittant less control by powerful others in their physical area of functioning.

Generally, migrant adults and children differed significantly from non-migrant adults and children in their perception of stress, psychological status and perception of control. However, farm migrant adults and children

tended to show more similarities in their psychological status and perception of control as compared with 'black spot' migrant adults and children whose psychological status (children) and perception of control was more or less similar to that of non-migrant adults and children.

The differences observed in migrant and non-migrant adults' and childrens' groups seemed to be related to stressful and traumatic migration experiences as well as to adverse living conditions in resettled communities. On the other hand similarities in farm migrant adult and children could be associated with the pre-relocation oppressive conditions under which these migrants had to live. Similarities in 'black spot' migrant and non-migrant adults and children were possibly related to the fact that prior to migration 'black spot' migrants had lived under conditions similar to those of the non-migrants and enjoyed the same privileged status.

These experimental findings were strongly supported by migrants' experiential data. The conclusion drawn from these findings was that migrant families were trapped in a serious psychological crisis and immediate crisis intervention had to be made directly into their individual lives and at a broad ecological level to bring about structural changes in the macro-systems of the South African society.

APPENDIX A

APPARATUS - ENGLISH VERSION - ADULTS

GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS

- Exchange a greeting.
- Introduce yourself:
Who you are, nature and purpose of the investigation, person or institution on behalf of which this research is conducted.
- Clarify any questions and misunderstanding and establish a good rapport.
- Give assurances that ;
permission has been obtained from Kwa-Zulu Government to conduct research.

All information obtained will be strictly confidential.

APPENDIX A - APPARATUS - ENGLISH VERSION - ADULTS

UNIVERSITY OF DURBAN - WESTVILLE

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

BIOGRAPHICAL INVENTORY

1. IDENTIFYING DETAILS OF THE FAMILY REPRESENTATIVE

1.1. Surname : _____

1.2. First Name/s: _____

1.3. Address : _____

1.4. Age:
01 02

35 - 39	40 - 45
---------	---------

☐

1.5. Sex :
01 02

M	F
---	---

☐

1.6. Standard of Education:

- 01 No schooling
02 Primary school
03 Junior High school
04 Senior High school
05 Diploma
06 Degree

☐

1.7. Family Income:

01 02 03 04

Less than R100	R100-R199	R200-299	R300 - R399
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05 06

R400 - R499	R500 and above
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☐

1.8. Number of Family Members:

01 02 03 04 05

Less than 3	4 - 6	7 - 9	10 - 12	13 & above
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☐

APPENDIX A - APPARATUS - ENGLISH VERSION - ADULTS

2. IDENTIFYING DETAILS OF THE CHILD

2.1. First Name/s: -----

2.2. Age:

01	02
10 - 11	12 - 13

2.3. Sex:

01	02
M	F

2.4. Std. of Education:

01	02
No schooling	Sub A - Sub B

03	04
Std I - Std II	Std III - Std IV

3. FAMILY RESIDENCE STATUS

3.1. Previous Residence

01	02
Black spot	White-owned farm

3.2. No. of years spent in the previous residential area:

01	02	03
Less than 10	10 - 19	20 and Above

3.3. Previous residential status :

01	02
Landlord	Tenant

3.4. Number of years at Osizweni/Blaauwbosch District:

01	02	03	04	05
Less than 1 Year	1-3	4-6	7-9	10 and Above

3.5. Type of Accommodation:

01	02	03
Shack/s	Four-roomed house	Big bond house

LIFE EVENT SCALE

NAME: _____

ADDRESS: _____

AGE: _____

SEX: _____

OCCUPATION : _____

NUMBER OF YEARS AT OSIZWENI: _____

AGE OF CHILDREN: _____

INSTRUCTIONS:

This is a list of certain things that happen in peoples lives. Each of these things changes the person's life, causes a person certain strain and stress. For instance "marriage" changes a person's life.

Now what I would like you to do is to compare each of these events on the list with "marriage". Think to yourself, whether a particular event has caused more or less stress or more or less change in someone's life than "marriage".

It does not matter whether you think something is better or worse than "marriage". That's not what we are interested in. We are only interested in whether you think the event is more or less stressful or requires more or less change than "marriage".

RANK	LIFE EVENT	MEAN VALUE
1.	Serious illness (family)	
2.	Serious illness (self)	
3.	Death, in the family	
4.	Suffer financial loss	
5.	Repossession of goods	
6.	Lose job	
7.	Retirement	
8.	Change of residence	
9.	Major changes in life style	
10.	Separated from ancestral spirits	
11.	Eviction	
12.	Arrest	
13.	Move from rural to urban area	
14.	Death of spouse	
15.	Identity document conviction	
16.	Divorce	
17.	Socially ostracised or disliked.	

LIFE EVENT SCALE

RANK	LIFE EVENT	MEAN VALUE
18.	Unable to work	
19.	Problems with children	
20.	Unmarried child falls pregnant	
21.	Lose valued possessions	
22.	Trouble with in-laws	
23.	Child leaves home	
24.	Pregnancy	
25.	Move to a worse neighbourhood	
26.	Suffer an assault	
27.	Lose home	
28.	Unable to conduct a ritual	
29.	Birth of child	
30.	Visit diviner	
31.	Change in financial state	
32.	New person moves into the household	
33.	Buy on H.P.	
34.	Emotional problems with spouse	
35.	Loss of property with little or no compensation	
36.	Loss of social supports	
37.	Civil unrest	
38.	Suffer a robbery	
39.	Legal problems	
40.	Spouse/cohabitee moves elsewhere	
41.	Marital infidelity	
42.	Marriage	
43.	Promotion	
44.	Inability to bear children	
45.	Being intimidated by police or other government officers	
46.	Trouble at work	

REVISED IMPACT OF EVENT SCALE (Horowitz et al (1980))

NAME :
ADDRESS:
SEX:
AGE:
OCCUPATION:

On you experienced
(date) (life event)

INSTRUCTIONS:

Below is a list of comments made by people after stressful life events. Please check each item, indicating how frequently these comments were true for you DURING THE PAST SIX YEARS. If they did not occur during that time, PLEASE MARK THE "not at all" column.

	0	1	3	5
	Not at all	Rarely	Sometimes	Often
1. I think about it when I don't mean to.				
2. I avoid letting myself get upset when I think about it or I am reminded of it.				
3. I try to remove it from memory.				
4. I have trouble falling asleep or staying asleep, because of pictures or thoughts about it that come into my mind.				
5. I have waves of strong feelings about it.				
6. I have dreamt about it.				
7. I stay away from reminders of it.				
8. I feel as if it hadn't happened or it wasn't real.				
9. I have tried not to talk about it.				
10. Pictures about it pop into my mind.				
11. Other things keep making me think about it.				
12. I am aware that I still have a lot of feelings about it, but I don't deal with them.				
13. I have tried not to think about it.				
14. Any reminder bring back feelings about it.				
15. My feelings about it are kind of numb.				

Intrusion subset = 1,4,5,6,10,11,14; avoidance subset = 2,3,7,8,9,12,13,15.

NB: Although the above scale is in the past tense, in the present study present tense was used to tap the current psychological status of the participants.

INTERNAL- EXTERNAL LOCUS OF CONTROL SCALE (Rotter, 1966)

NAME : _____
AGE : _____
SEX : _____

INSTRUCTIONS:

This is a questionnaire to find out the way in which certain important events in our society affect different people. Each item consists of a pair of alternatives lettered (a) or (b). Please select the one statement of each pair (and only one) which you more strongly believe to be the case as far as you are concerned. Be sure to select the one you actually believe to be more true rather than the one you think you should choose or the one you would like to be true. In some instances you may discover that you believe both statements or neither one. In such cases, be sure to select the one you more strongly believe to be the case as far as you are concerned. Try to respond to each item independently when making your choice; do not be influenced by your previous choices. This is a measure of personal belief and there is no right or wrong answer.

1. a) Children get into trouble because their parents punish them too much. (Filler)
b) The trouble with most children nowadays is that their parents are too easy with them.
2. a) Many of the unhappy things in people's lives are partly due to angry ancestors or witchcraft.
b) People's misfortunes result from the mistakes they make.
3. a) One of the major reasons why we have riots in townships is because people don't take enough interest in community social problems.
b) There will always be riots, no matter how hard people try to prevent them.
4. a) In the long run people get the respect they deserve in this world.
b) Unfortunately, an individual's worth often passes unrecognized no matter how hard he tries.
5. a) The idea that teachers are unfair to students is nonsense.
b) Most students don't realize the extent to which their grades are influenced by accidental happenings.

INTERNAL-EXTERNAL LOCUS OF CONTROL SCALE

6. a) Without help from ancestors and witchdoctors one cannot be an effective leader.
b) Capable people who fail to become leaders have not taken advantage of their opportunities.
7. a) No matter how hard you try some people just don't like you.
b) People who can't get othersto like them don't understand how to get along with others.
8. a) Heredity plays the major role in determining one's personality.
b) It is one's experiences in life which determine what they're like. (Filler)
9. a) I have often found that what is going to happen will happen.
b) I can make a decision to take a definite course of action.
10. a) In the case of the well prepared worker there is rarely if ever such a thing as a difficult job.
b) Many times work experience tend to be so unrelated to written instructions, that following such instructions is really useless.
11. a) Becoming a success is a matter of hard work, luck has little or nothing to do with it.
b) Getting a good job depends mainly on the help from ancestors and witchdoctors.
12. a) The average citizen can have an influence in what happens in his community.
b) This world is run by the few people in power, and there is not much the little guy can do about it.
13. a) When I make plans, I am almost certain that I can make them work.
b) It is not always wise to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune anyhow.
14. a) There are certain people who are just no good.
b) There is some good in everybody.

INTERNAL-EXTERNAL LOCUS OF CONTROL SCALE

15. a) In my case getting what I want has little or nothing to do with luck.
b) Many things which happen to us is just by chance.
16. a) Luck determines who gets to be a boss.
b) Getting people to do the right thing depends upon ability, luck has little or nothing to do with it.
17. a) As far as political and social affairs are concerned, most of us are the victims of forces we can neither understand, nor control.
b) By taking an active part in political and social affairs the people can control some events.
18. a) Most people don't realize the extent to which their lives are controlled by luck and chance
b) There really is no such thing as 'luck'.
19. a) One should always be willing to admit mistakes (Filler)
b) It is usually best to cover up one's mistakes.
20. a) It is hard to know whether or not a person really likes you.
b) How many friends you have depends upon how nice a person you are.
21. a) In the long run the bad things that happen to us are balanced by the good ones.
b) Most misfortunes are the result of lack of ability, ignorance, laziness or all three.
22. a) With enough effort we can wipe out political corruption.
b) It is difficult for people to have much control over the things politicians do in office.
23. a) Sometimes I can't understand how employers arrive at the pay they give to their workers.
b) There is a direct connection between how hard one works and the pay he gets.
24. a) A good leader expects people to decide for themselves what they should do.
b) A good leader makes it clear to everybody what their jobs are. (Filler)

INTERNAL-EXTERNAL LOCUS OF CONTROL SCALE

- 25. a) Many times I feel that I have little influence over the things that happen to me..
b) It is impossible for me to believe that chance or luck plays an important role in my life.
 - 26. a) People are lonely because they don't try to be friendly.
b) There's not much use in trying too hard to please people, if they like you, they like you.
 - 27. a) There is too much emphasis on wealth in this world.
b) Working hard is an excellent way to make money.
 - 28. a) What happens to me is my own doing.
b) Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control to give direction to my own life.
 - 29. a) Most of the time I can't understand why politicians behave the way they do.
b) People are responsible for bad government.
-

INTERVIEW GUIDE (PARENTS)

A. MIGRATION EXPERIENCE

1. What was your first reaction on learning that you will be moved from your indigenous residence?

2. What efforts did you make to resist removal?

3. What were your feelings and reactions when it became clear that your family had to move and nothing will stop that.

4. What was the most disturbing thing about leaving your indigenous residence?

5. What were the most important losses? Has anything made up for those losses?

6. Describe your feelings on the day you turned your back on your indigenous residence.

INTERVIEW GUIDE (PARENTS)

What happened on that day?

7. Describe your experience and feelings on your first arrival at Osizweni Township.

8. What was the most disturbing thing about your resettlement at Osizweni Township/Blaauwbosch district.

9. What are your present feelings and attitudes towards:

i) Authorities associated with your removal and resettlement.

ii) Migrants who came from other areas.

iii) Indigenous families who have not migrated (Blaauwbosch district)

INTERVIEW GUIDE (PARENTS)

10. What problems have you experienced following your settlement or resettlement at Osizweni/Blaauwbosch?

11. What efforts have you made to solve them? Do you think you can solve them? If not who can help to solve such problems?

B. FAMILY AND SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

1. Do you still maintain the same relationship with your family as was the case before resettlement?

If not, what happened?

2. Do you still have a strong extended family relationship as before?

If not, what happened?

3. Has the behaviour of your children changed? If, so, how has it changed? What caused the change?

INTERVIEW GUIDE (PARENTS)

4. What do you think was the reaction of your ancestors to your moving away from the ancestral land?

Did you break ties with them?

Did you perform any rituals to inform them that you were leaving your ancestral land?

5. Do you have close social relationships outside your family? With whom?

6. What efforts have you made to establish or maintain social relationships outside your family?

Are they important to you? Why?

C. GENERAL

1. Does your family have a future here?

INTERVIEW GUIDE (PARENTS)

2. Can you think of some good things that happened to you/your family as a result of your migration.

3. What area do you consider to be your real homeland. Your indigenous residence or Osizweni Township/Blaauwbosch District.

INTERVIEW GUIDE (PARENTS)

A. MIGRATION EXPERIENCE

1. What made your family decide to leave your indigenous ancestral land?

2. What was the most disturbing thing about leaving your indigenous residence?

3. What were the most important losses? Has anything made up for those losses?

4. Describe your feelings on the day you turned your back on your indigenous residence.

What happened on that day?

5. Describe your experience and feelings on your first arrival at Osizweni Township.

INTERVIEW GUIDE (PARENTS)

6. What was the most disturbing thing about your resettlement at Osizweni Township/Blaauwbosch district.

7. What are your present feelings and attitudes towards:

i) Authorities associated with your removal and resettlement.

ii) Migrants who came from other areas.

iii) Indigenous families who have not migrated (Blaauwbosch district).

8. What problems have you experienced following your settlement or resettlement at Osizweni/Blaauwbosch.

9. What efforts have you made to solve them? Do you think you can solve them? If not who can help to solve such problems?

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1. Do you still maintain the same relationship with your family as was the case before resettlement?

INTERVIEW GUIDE (PARENTS)

If not what happened?

2. Do you still have a strong extended family relationship as before?

If not what happened?

3. Has the behaviour of your children changed? If so, how has it changed? What caused the change?

4. What do you think was the reaction of your ancestors to your moving away from the ancestral land?

Did you break ties with them?

Did you perform any rituals to inform them that you were leaving your ancestral land?

INTERVIEW GUIDE (PARENTS)

5. Do you have close social relationships outside your family?
With whom?

6. What efforts have you made to establish or maintain social relationships outside your family?

Are they important to you? Why?

C. GENERAL

1. Does your family have a future here?

2. Can you think of some good things that happened to you/your family as a result of your migration.

3. What area do you consider to be your real homeland. Your indigenous residence or Osizweni Township/Blaauwbosch District.

APPENDIX B

APPARATUS - ZULU VERSION ADULTS

General Instructions

- Qala ngokubingelela
- Chaza ukuthi:
Wena ungubani, iyini lento oyenzayo, yini izinjongo zayo,
usebenzela ubani noma muphi umnyango.
- Cacisa, uphendule yonke imibuzo, uchaze noloko
okungaqondisiseki kahle bese wakha ubuhlobo ubuhle.
- Nikeza isiqiniseko sokuthi;
Unemvume kaHulumeni wakwa-Zulu ekugunyaza ukuthi wenze lomsebenzi.

Nokuthi konke enikukhulumayo kuzoba imfihlo akusoze
kwadalulwa ukuthi kwashiwo ubani.

UNIVERSITY OF DURBAN - WESTVILLESTRICTLY CONFIDENTIALBIOGRAPHICAL INVENTORY1. IMINININGWANE YALOWO OMELE UMNDENI1.1. Isibongo : -----1.2. Amagama : -----1.3. Ikheli : -----

1.4. Iminyaka Yobudala:

01	02
35-39	40-45

1.5. Ubulili:

01	02
M	F

1.6. Ibanga Lemfundo:

- 01 Akayanga esikoleni
- 02 Ugcine e Primary School
- 03 Ugcine e Junior High School
- 04 Ugcine e Senior High School
- 05 Une diploma
- 06 Uneziqu

1.7. Imali Engeniswa abomndeni:

01	02	03	04
Ngaphansi kua R100	R100-R199	R200-R299	R300-R399

05	06
R400-R499	R500 nangaphezulu

1.8. Inani Lamalunga Omndeni:

01	02	03	04	05	06
Ngaphansi kuka 3	4-6	7-9	10-12	13-15	16 nangaphezulu

2. IMINININGWANE YENGANE2.1. Amagama: -----

01	02
10-11	12-13

01	02
M	F

01	02
Akayanga Esikoleni	Sub A - Sub B

03	04
Std.I - Std.II	Std.III-Std.IV

3. IMINININGWANA EPATHELENE NENDAWO YOKUHLALA3.1. Indawo Owawuhlala Kuyona Ngesikhathi esingaphambili:

01	02
Indawo Owawuzithengele yona	Ipulazi Lomlungu

3.2. Inani Leminyaka Owayihlala kulendawo Engenhla:

01	02	03
0 - 9	10-19	20 nangaphezulu

3.3. Amalungelo Okuhlala Owawunawo :

01	02
Umasitende	umqashi

3.4. Inani Leminyaka Osuyihlale Osizweni noma eBlaauwbosch:

01	02	03	04	05
Ngaphansi konyaka	1-3	4-6	7-9	10 nangaphezulu

3.5. Inhlobo Yendlu Ehlala Umndeni:

01	02	03
Umjondolo	Indlu Yaselokishini Enamagumbi amane	Umazakhele

LIFE EVENT SCALE

<u>IGAMA NESIBONGO</u>	:
<u>IKHELI</u>	:
<u>IMINYAKA YOKUZALWA</u>	:
<u>UBULILI</u>	:
<u>UMSEBENZI OWENZAYO</u>	:
<u>INANI LEMINYAKA UHLALA OSIZWENI</u>	:
<u>IMINYAKA YOBUDALA YEZINGANE ZAKHO</u>	:

INSTRUCTIONS:

Lolu uhlelo lwezigidaba ezehlela abantu empilweni yabo. Leso naleso sigigaba siletha ushintso empilweni yomuntu, sidale nokudonsa kanzima. Ake sithathe "ukushada"-nje kuyayishintsha impilo yomuntu.

Manje ngizocela ukuthi isigameko ngasinye usiqhathanise "nomshado". Qhathanisa ukuthi isigameko ngasinye sidala ushintsho oluncane noma olukhulu "kunomshado" nonokuthi sidala ubunzima obunzima obuncane noma obukhulu empilweni yomuntu "kunomshado".

Akusho lutho ukuthi ukholelwa ekutheni isigameko siletha ushintso noma ubunzima obuncane noma obukhulu kunomshado. Okubalulekile ukuthi ucabanga ukuthi isigameko siletha ushintsho noma ubunzima obuncane noma obukhulu kunomshado.

AMAPHUZU NGOBUKHULU BAWO	ISEHLAKALO	
	1. Isifo esaxina kakhulu owomndeni 2. Isifo esangixina kakhulu 3. Ukufa kowomndeni 4. Ubunzima bokulahlekelwa noma ukungabina- mali 5. Ukulandwa kwempahla ngabasesitolo ngenxa yokwahluleka ukuyikhokhela 6. Ukulahlekelwa umsebenzi 7. Ukuthola umhlalaphansi 8. Ukushintsha indawo yokuhlala 9. Ushintso lwempilo ebingiyiphila 10. Ukuhlukaniswa namadlozi	

AMAPHUZU NGOBUKHULU BAWO	ISEHLAKALO.	
	<p>11. Ukuxoshwa endlini noma endaweni okungekahulumeni</p> <p>12. Ukuboshwa</p> <p>13. Ukusuka emakhaya ngiyohlala elokishini noma endaweni esadolobha</p> <p>14. Ukufa kukankosikazi noma umyeni wami</p> <p>15. Ukuboshelwa udompasi</p> <p>16. Ukwahlukanisa umshado</p> <p>17. Ukukhishwa inyumbazana noma ukungathandwa abanye abantu</p> <p>18. Ukungakwazi ukusebenza</p> <p>19. Izinkinga ezidalwa izingane</p> <p>20. Ukungabi sesimweni sokwenza umsebenzi ophathelene nabaphansi</p> <p>21. Ukulahlekelwa into eyigugu kakhulu kimina</p> <p>22. Inxushunxushu yokungezwani nabasemzini</p> <p>23. Ingane yami ishiya ikhaya iyohlala kwenye indawo</p> <p>24. Ukukhulelwa</p> <p>25. Ukusuka uyohlala endaweni embi kunaleyo owawuhlala kuyona kuqala</p> <p>26. Ukushaywa ulinyazwe</p> <p>27. Ukulahlekelwa ikhaya</p> <p>28. Ukwenza umsebenzi wabaphansi</p> <p>29. Ukuzalwa kwengane</p> <p>30. Ukuya kwababonayo (izangoma, izinyanga etc.)</p> <p>31. Ushintso esimweni sezimali</p> <p>32. Umuntu omusha uzohlala nomndeni</p> <p>33. Ukuthenga ngesikweletu</p>	

AMAPHUZU NGOBUKHULU BAWO	ISEHLAKALO	
	<p>34. Izinkinga eziphula umoya eziphathelene nesithandwa sakho</p> <p>35. Ukulahlekelwa impahla yakho ukhokhelwe kancane noma ungakhokhelwa lutho nje ngayo</p> <p>36. Ukuhlukana nabantu osondelene nabo nothembele kubo.</p> <p>37. Udlame emphakathini</p> <p>38. Ukuntshontshelwa</p> <p>39. Izinkinga eziphathelene nezomthetho</p> <p>40. Othandana naye uyakushiya uya kwenye indawo</p> <p>41. Ukuphinga</p> <p>42. Ukushada</p> <p>43. Ukukhushulwa emsebenzini</p> <p>44. Ukungakwazi ukuthola abantwana</p> <p>45. Ukuhlukunyezwa amaphoyisa noma izisebenzi zikahulumeni</p> <p>46. Izinkinga emsebenzini</p>	

REVISED IMPACT SCALE (Horowitz et al 1980)

IGAMA :
IKHELI :

UBULILI :
IMINYAKA YOKUZALWA :
UMSEBENZI OWENZAYO :

Ngomhlaka Ngehlelwa
(isigigaba)

Instructions:

Okubhalwe ngezansi uhla lwezinto ezivame ukushiwo abantu uma kade behlelwe isigigaba esithile. Awusilinganisele ukuthi lezinto ezibaliwe ngezansi zenzeka kangakanani kuwena kuleminyaka emibili edlule.

Isigigaba	kwakunge- nzeke	kwakunga- vamide	kwakwenzeka ngesinye isikhathi	kwakuvamide ukwenzeka
1. Ngicabanga ngaso noma ngingaqondile.				
2. Ngizama ukuthi nginga-khathazeki uma ngicabanga ngaso noma kukhona okungikhumbuza sona.				
3. Ngizama ukuthi ngikhohlwe yiso.				
4. Angilali kahle ngoba isigigaba asangehlele sibuya njalo engqondweni yami.				
5. Kunezikhathi zokuzizwa ngithinteke kakhulu emoyeni ngaso.				
6. Ngiyaphupha ngaso.				
7. Ngizama ukungahlangani nezinto ezingikhumbuza sona.				
8. Kungathi siyiphupho asenzekanga ngokwempela.				

Isigigaba	kwakunge- nzeke	kwakunga- vamile	kwakwenzeka ngesinye isikhathi	kwakuvamile ukwenzeka
9. Ngizama ukuthi nginga- khulumi ngaso.				
10. Ngilokhu ngiba nemifanekiso yaso engqondweni yami.				
11. Ezinye izinto zingenza ndicabange ngaso.				
12. Ngiyezwa ukuthi ngikhathazekile emoyeni kodwa ayikho into engangingayenza.				
13. Ngizama ukuba ngingacab- angi ngaso.				
14. Yonke into engikhumbuza sona yenza ngikhathazeke emoyeni.				
15. Lesisigigaba senza imizwa yami ibendikindiki.				

INTERNAL-EXTERNAL LOCUS OF CONTROL SCALE (ROTTER, 1966)

IGAMA :

IMINYAKA YOKUZALWA :

UBULILI :

INSTRUCTIONS:

Lolu uhlelo lwemibuzo oluzama ukuthola ukuthi izigigaba ezithile ezibalulekile emphakathini wethu zibenzenjani abantu abahlukene. Inombolo ngayinye inemibuzo emibili u a no b ; khetha umbuzo owodwa kuphela ovumelana nawo. Ubeneqiniso ukuthi ukhetha lowombuzo okholelwa ukuthi uvumelana nawo ayi ocabanga ukuthi uyiqiniso. Kwesinye isikhathi uzothola ukuthi ukholelwa kuyo yombili imibuzo, noma awukholelwa kuyo yombili. Uma kunjalo-ke iba neqiniso ukuthi ukhetha lowo ovumelana nawe kakhulu noma kangconywana.

Uma ukhetha umbuzo ovumelana nawo uqaphele ukuthi ungadidwa imibuzo osuyiphendulile.

Lemibuzo iqondene nezinto ozikholwayo; awukho oyiqiniso nongelona iqiniso.

-
1. a. Izingane zigcina zingene ezingxakini ngenxa yokuthi abazali baziyezisa kanzima. (Filler)
b. Okuyonanto evamise ukudala ingxaki ukuthi abazali abasiqinisi isandla ekukhuliseni izingane zabo.
 2. a. Imvamisa yezinto ezibuhlungu ezehlela abantu empilweni yabo zidalwa ulaka lwamadlozi noma ukuthakathwa.
b. Amashwa avela umuntu adalwa amaphutha akhe.
 3. a. Isizathu esimqoka esidala izibhelu emalokishini ukuthi abantu abazinaki izinkinga eziphathelene nomphakathi.
b. Ziyobakhona njalo izibhelu noma abantu bangazama kangakanani ukuzivimba.
 4. a. Emva kwesikhathi abantu bayakuthola ukuhlonishwa okubafanele kulomhlaba.
b. Ngeshwa ubuntu nokuhlonipheka komuntu akuze kwanakwa muntu noma angazama kangakanani.
 5. a. Indaba yokuthi othisha abanalo iqiniso ezinganeni abazifundisayo umbhedo nje.
b. Iningi lezingane zesikole azize zabona ukuthi ukuphumelela kwazo esikoleni kudalwa ezinye izinto eziseceleni nje.

INTERNAL-EXTERNAL LOCUS OF CONTROL SCALE

6. a. Ngaphandle kosizo lwamadlozi nezinyanga umuntu kasoze abe umholi onekhono.
b. Abantu abanesiphiwo kodwa abehlulekayo ukuba abaholi basuke bengazange bawasebenzise amathuba abo.
7. a. Noma ungazama kangakanani abanye abantu abasoze bakuthande.
b. Abantu abehlulekayo ukuzwana nabanye abantu benziwa ukuthi abakwazi ukwenza abanye abantu babathande.
8. a. Ufuzo ilona olwenza sibe nezimilo ezithile. (Filler)
b. Izinto esinqwamana nazo emhlabeni zenza sibe ilokhu esiyikona.
9. a. Sengathola ukuthi okwakudalwe ukuthi kuyokwenzeka, kuyenzeka.
b. Ngokwenza izinqumo, nokuthatha izinyathela ezithile ngingazihlelela impilo yami.
10. a. Esisebenzini esizilungiselele kahle ayikho indaba yokuthi umsebenzi ulukhuni.
b. Ezikhathini eziningi; ulwazi lokwenza umsebenzi aluze lwahambisana nohlelo lokwenza umsebenzi olubhalwe phansi, ngangokuthi isisebenzi singakuthola kuwumbhedo - nje ukulandela lolohlelo lomsebenzi.
11. a. Ukuba nempumelelo kudalwa ukusebenza kanzima nokuzimisela. Inhlanhla ayihlangene nempumelelo yomuntu.
b. Ukuthola umsebenzi omuhle imvamisa kudalwa, amadlozi amahle noma usizo lwezinyanga.
12. a. Noma isiphi isakhamuzi singaba nayo indlela yokuletha ushintsho ezintweni eziphathelele nomphakathi esihlala kuwo.
b. Lomhlaba uphethwe abantu abambalwa abanamandla amakhulu. Akukho okutheni okungenziwa umuntu ngayedwana-nje.
13. a. Uma ngenza isu, ngiba neqiniso lokuthi lizosebenza.
b. Akukona ukuhlakanipha ukwenza amasu ngokusazokwenzeka ngoba imvamisa yezinto ezenzekayo zidalwa izinhlanhla noma amabhadi.
14. a. Kukhona abantu abathile abadalwa bengalungile. (Filler)
b. Wonke amuntu unazo izimpawu ezithile ezinhle.

INTERNAL-EXTERNAL LOCUS OF CONTROL SCALE

15. a. Kimina, ukuthola lokho engikufunayo akuhlangene nenhlanhla.
b. Ezikhathini eziningi okwenzekayo kuyazenzekela nje ngenhlanhla.
16. a. Umuntu uthola isikhundla sokuphatha ngenxa yenhlanhla.
b. Ukwenza abantu benze into efanele nelungile kuya ngekhono lomuntu. Inhlanhla ayihlangene nalokho nakancane-nje.
17. a. Okuningi okuphathelene nezombangazo nempilo yethu kudalwa izinto ezithile esingazazi futhi ezingaphezu kwamandla ethu.
b. Uma senza izinto ezithile emphakathini singazihlelela impilo yethu.
18. a. Abantu abaningi abaze babona ukuthi impilo yabo ilawulwa izinhlanhla kangakanani
b. Ayikho into esingaqinisa sithi iyinhlanhla.
19. a. Umuntu kufanele awavume njalo amaphutha akhe. (Filler)
b. Kuyisu elengcono ukuwacashisa amaphutha akho.
20. a. Kulukhuni ukwazi ukuthi umuntu ukuthanda ngempela noma cha.
b. Ukuthi unabangani abangakanani kuya ngokuthi ukahle kangakanani.
21. a. Imvamisa izinto ezimbi ezisehlelayo zihambisana nezinto ezinhle ezisehlelayo.
b. Imvamisa amashwa adalwa ukungabinekhono lokwenza izinto, ukungazi, ubuvila noma kokuthathu lokhu okubaliwe.
22. a. Ngokuzinikela okwanele singakuqeda ukukhohlakala okukhona kwezombangazwe.
b. Kulukhuni ukuba abantu basebenzisa amandla abo ezintweni ezenziwa ilabo abasebenzelana nezombangazwe.
23. a. Ngezinye izikhathi angize ngazi ukuthi abaqashi basithatha ngandlelani isinqumo sokuholela izisebenzi imali abaziholela yona.
b. Ukusebenza kanzima kuhambisana nemali oyitholayo.
24. a. Umholi onekhono uyaye ayekele abantu ukuba bazithathele bona isinqumo zalokho abafuna ukukwenza. (Filler)
b. Umholi onekhona ucacisela wonke umuntu ukuthi umsebenzi womuntu ngamunye yini.

INTERNAL-EXTERNAL LOCUS OF CONTROL SCALE

25. a. Ezikhathini eziningi ngizizwa ngingenayo indlela yokushintsha izinto ezingehlelayo.
- b. Kuyinto enzima ukuba ngikholwe ukuthi izinhlanhla ziyinto ebalulekile empilweni yami.
26. a. Abantu babanesizungu ngoba bahluleka ukuzenzela abangani.
- b. Asikho isidingo sokuzama kakhulu ukujabulisa abanye abantu. Uma bekuthanda, bavele bakuthande nje.
27. a. Kwaziswa kakhuli umcebo kulomhlaba. (Filler)
- b. Ukusebenza kanzima iyona indlela engcono kakhulu yokwenza imali.
28. a. Okungehlelayo kusuke kwenziwa izenzo zami.
- b. Ngesinye isikhathi ngiyaye ngibone sengathi anginawo anamdlala okuhlela impilo yami.
29. a. Esikhathini esiningi angize ngazi ukuthi abantu abasezihlalweni zezombusazwe baziphathelani ngalendlela abaziphatha ngayo.
- b. Abantu bona qobo lwaba bangasolwa ngamaphutha enziwa uhulumeni obaphethe.

INTERVIEW GUIDE (ABAZALI)

A. OKUPHATHELENE NOKUSUSWA KWETHU EZINDAWENI ESASIZINZE KUZO

1. Ngesikhathi uzwa okokuqala ngqa ukuthi uhulumeni uzonisusa lapho nakhe khona wakuthatha kanjani lokho?

2. Mizamo mini yokuzabalaza enayenza ukuba ningasuswa?

3. Waphatheka kanjani lapho sewubona ukuthi imizamo yokuzabalaza iyehluleka, nizosuswa nakanjani?

4. Ungathi yini eyakukhathaza kakhulu noma yakuphula umoya ngokushiya kwenu indawo enanizinze kuzo?

5. Yiziphi izinto ezibalulekile ezakulahlekela ngenxa yokusuka noma ukususwa kwakho endaweni owawuzinze kuyo?

Kukhona kodwa okwavala isikhala sezinto ezakulahlekela?

INTERVIEW GUIDE (ABAZALI)

6. Awuchaze ukuthi waphatheka kanjani ngenkathi usuhamba ufulathela indawo yakho yokuzalwa ungesenakuphinde uhlale kuyona?

Chaza konke okwenzeka ngalelolanganga?

7. Awuchaze ukuthi wazizwa unjani noma waphatheka kanjani ngalenkathi uqala ngqa ukufika nomndeni wakho Osizweni noma eBlaauwbosch.

8. Yini eyakukhathaza noma yakuphula umoya kakhulu ngokuhlaliswa komndeni wakho Osizweni noma eBlaauwbosch.

9. Njengamanje uphatheke kanjani ngalababantu abalandelayo:

- i. Zonke izisebenzi zikahulumeni omsebenzi wazo uhlangene nokuthuthwa kwenu ezindaweni enanizinze kuzo.

- ii. Ezinye izakhamuzi zaso Sizweni noma eBlaauwbosch eziqhamuka kwezinye izindawo.

INTERVIEW GUIDE (ABAZALI)

iii. Izakhamuzi ezizinze ezindaweni zazo zoyisemkhulu e Blaauwbosch.

10. Ungathi zinkinga zini osuhlangene nazo seloku nafika lapha Osizweni noma eBlaauwbosch?

11. Mizamo mini esenike nayenza ukuxazulula izinkinga zenu?

Uma ucabange nóze nizixazulule kodwa? Uma ningenakuzixazulula ubani unganisiza ukuba nizixazulule?

B: UMNDENI NOKUHLALISANA KWAKHO NABANYE ABANTU OWAKHE NABO

1. Wena nomndeni wakho nisahlelisene kahle ngengakuqala ningakezi Osizweni?

Uma ningasahlalisene kahle, kwenzekani?

INTERVIEW GUIDE (ABAZALI)

2. Usenabo ubudlelwana obuhle nezihlobo zakho osondelene nazo njengakuqala ningakahlali Osizweni?

Uma ubuhlobo obuhle bungasekho ungathi baqedwa yini?

3. Ungathi lukhona ushintsho endleleni yokuziphatha olwenzeka ezinganeni zakho njengoba sezihlala Osizweni noma eBlaauwbosch.

Uma lukhona, shintsho luni?

4. Ucabanga ukuthi amadlozi akuthatha kanjani ukususwa kwenu endaweni enanihlala kuyo?

Kungenzeka ukuthi mhlawumbe ukusuka kwenu endaweni enanihlala kuyo kwadala ukuba ningasaxhumani kahle namadlozi?

INTERVIEW GUIDE (ABAZALI)

kukhona imicimbi enayenza ukubikela amadlozi ukuthi seniyahamba?

5. Unabo ubudlelwana nabanye abantu abangezona izihlobo zakho?

Obani labo?

6. Zinyathelo zini osuke wazithatha ukwakha ubundlelwana nabantu abangezona izihlobo zakho.

Ungathi babalulekile lababontu kuwe?

Ngani?

INTERVIEW GUIDE (ABAZALI)

C. OKUNYE

1. Umndeni wakho unalo ikusasa lapha?

2. Uma ucabanga ungathi yini into eyaba umphumela omuhle ngenxa yokususwa kwenu endaweni enanihlala kuyo?

3. Iyiphi ngempela indawo oyithatha njengendawo yakho noma ikhaya lakho lokuhlala ngempela?

Ilapho owawuzinze khona kuqala noma ilapha Osizweni noma e Blaauwbosch.

INTERVIEW GUIDE (ABAZALI)

A. OKUPHATHELENE NOKUSUSWA KWETHU EZINDAWENI ESASIZINZE KUZO

1. Yini eyenza umndeni wakho uthathe isinyathelo sokuba uhambe ushiye indawo yawobabamkhulu enanizinze kuyo?

2. Ungathi yini eyakukhathaza kakhulu noma yakuphula umoya ngokushiya kwenu indawo enanizinze kuzo?

3. Yiziphi izinto ezibalulekile ezakulahlekela ngenxa yokusuka noma ukususwa kwakho endaweni owawuzinze kuyo?

Kukhona kodwa okwavala isikhala sezinto ezakulahlekela?

4. Awuchaze ukuthi waphatheka kanjani ngenkathi usuhamba ufulathela indawo yakho yokuzalwa ungesenakuphinde uhlale kuyona?

Chaza konke okwenzeka ngalelolangang?

INTERVIEW GUIDE (ABAZALI)

5. Awuchaze ukuthi wazizwa unjani noma waphatheka kanjani ngalenkathi uqala ngqa ukufika nomndeni wakho Osizweni noma e Blaauwbosch.

6. Yini eyakukhathaza noma yakuphula umoya kakhulu ngokuhlaliswa komndeni wakho Osizweni noma e Blaauwbosch.

7. Njengamanje uphatheke kanjani ngalababantu abalandelayo:

- i. Zonke izisebenzi zikahulumeni omsebenzi wazo uhlangene nokuthuthwa kwenu ezindaweni enanizinze kuzo.

- ii. Ezinye izakhamuzi zaso Sizweni noma e Blaauwbosch eziqhamuka kwezinye izindawo.

- iii. Izakhamuzi ezizinze ezindaweni zazo zoyisemkhulue Blaauwbosch.

8. Ungathi zinkinga zini osuhlangene nazo seloku nafika lapha Osizweni noma e Blaauwbosch?

9. Mizamo mini esenike nayenza ukuxazulula izinkinga zenu?

INTERVIEW GUIDE (ABAZALI)

Uma ucabange noze nizixazulule kodwa? Uma ningenakuzixazulula
ubani unganisiza ukuba nizixazulule?

B: UMNDENI NOKUHLALISANA KWAKHO NABANYE ABANTU OWAKHE NABO

1. Wena nomndeni wakho nisahlelisene kahle ngengakuqala ningakezi
Osizweni?

Uma ningasahlalisene kahle, kwenzekani?

2. Usenabo ubudlelwana obuhle nezihlobo zakho osondelene nazo
njengakuqala ningakahlali Osizweni?

Uma ubuhlobo obuhle bungasekho ungathi baqedwa yini?

INTERVIEW GUIDE (ABAZALI)

3. Ungathi lukhona ushintsho endleleni yokuziphatha olwenzeka ezinganeni zakho ngengoba sezihlala Osizweni noma e Blaauwbosch.

Uma lukhona, shintsho luni?

4. Ucabanga ukuthi amadlozi akuthatha kanjani ukususwa kwenu endaweni enanihlala kuyo?

Kungenzeka ukuthi mhlawumbe ukusuka kwenu endaweni enanihlala kuyo kwadala ukuba ningasaxhumani kahle namadlozi?

Kukhona imicimbi enayenza ukubikela amadlozi ukuthi seniyahamba?

5. Unabo ubudlelwana nabanye abantu abangezona izihlobo zakho?

Obani labo?

INTERVIEW GUIDE (ABAZALI)

6. Zinyathelo zini osuke wazithatha ukwakha ubudlelwana nabantu abangezona izihlobo zakho.

Ungathi bablulekile lababontu kuwe?

Ngani?

C: OKUNYE

1. Umndeni wakho unalo ikusasa lapha?

2. Uma ucabanga ungathi yini into eyaba umphumela omuhle ngenxa yokususwa kwenu endaweni enanihlala kuyo.

3. Iyiphi ngempela indawo oyithatha njengendawo yakho noma ikhaya lakho lokuhlala ngempela? Ilapho owawuzinze khona kuqala noma ilapha o Sizweni noma e Blaauwbosch.

THE CHILDRENS' LIFE EVENT INVENTORY

NAME: _____
 ADDRESS: _____
 AGE: _____
 SEX: _____
 STANDARD OF EDUCATION: _____

INSTRUCTIONS:

This is a list of several things which happen to children of your age. Each of these things can upset the child. Some things are more upsetting to the child than others. Also some things are more upsetting to one child than to another. For instance, birth of a brother or sister, can create problems for you or even upset you in that your mother might spend more time with your little brother or sister and less time with you or your little brother or sister may cry so loud at night that you cannot sleep properly.

Now what I would like you to do is to compare each of the things on the list with the birth of a brother or sister. Think to yourself whether any of the things in the list will be more upsetting than the birth of a brother or sister. For example do you think failing at school is more or less upsetting than the birth of a brother or sister.

It does not matter whether you think something is more or less better or worse than "birth of a brother or sister". That's not what we are interested in since there is no right or wrong answer.

RANK	LIFE EVENT	MEAN VALUE
1.	Death of parent	
2.	Divorce/separation of parents	
3.	Death of close relative or friend	
4.	Serious illness of parent	
5.	Serious illness of child	
6.	Birth of brother or sister	
7.	Parents fight	
8.	Parents mood/feelings about life	
9.	Moving away from close friends	
10.	Have to stop school	
11.	Change of residence	
12.	Marriage of parent	
13.	Fail at school	
14.	Change in child's popularity with friends	
15.	Arguments with brother or sister	

THE CHILDRENS' LIFE EVENT INVENTORY

RANK	LIFE EVENT	MEAN VALUE
16.	Change of school	
17.	Beginning another school year	
18.	Rejected by others	
19.	Severe physical punishment	
20.	Start school	
21.	Breadwinner loses job	
22.	Close brother or sister leaves home	
23.	Change in family lifestyle	
24.	Problem with teacher or schoolwork	

Name of Child: _____ Boy/Girl _____ Date of Birth _____
 Address: _____ School: _____

How to fill in this form: The questionnaire asks about various kinds of behaviour that many children show at some time. Please cross the answers according to the way your child is now.

A. HEALTH PROBLEMS

Below is a list of minor health problems which most children have at some time. Please tell us how often each of these happen to your child by putting a cross in the correct box.

	(i) Never in the last year	(ii) Less often than once per month	(iii) At least once per month	(iv) At least once per week
Complains of headaches	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Has stomach-ache or vomiting	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Complains of biliousness	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Wets his/her bed or pants	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Soils him/herself or loses control of bowels	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Has temper tantrums (i.e., complete loss of temper with shouting, angry movements etc)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Had tears on arrival at school or refused to go into the building	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Truants from school	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

B. HABITS Place a cross against the correct answer.

0 1 2
 1. Does he/she stammer or stutter? ☐ No ☐ Yes-mildly ☐ Yes-severely

2. Has he/she any difficulty with speech other than stammering or stuttering?

☐ No ☐ Yes-mild ☐ Yes-severe
 if "Yes", is the difficulty

☐ "lispings"

☐ cannot say words properly

☐ other, please describe: _____

3. Does he/she ever steal things? ☐ No ☐ Yes-occasionally ☐ Yes - frequently

If "Yes" (occasionally or frequently), when he/she steals, does it involve

☐ minor pilfering of pens, sweets, toys, small sums of money, etc.

☐ stealing big things

☐ both minor pilfering and stealing of big things

when he/she steals is it done

☐ in the home

☐ elsewhere

☐ both in the home and elsewhere

when he/she steals, does he/she do it

☐ on his/her own

☐ with other children or adults

☐ sometimes on his/her own, sometimes with others

4. Does he/she have any eating difficulties?

☐ No ☐ Yes - mild ☐ Yes - severe

If Yes, is it:

☐ faddiness

☐ not eating enough

☐ eating too much

☐ other, please describe _____

5. Does he/she have any sleeping difficulty?

☐ No ☐ Yes - mild ☐ Yes - severe

If Yes, is it difficulty in

☐ getting off to sleep

☐ waking during the night

☐ waking early in the morning

APPENDIX C - APPARATUS - ENGLISH VERSION - CHILDREN

	0	1	2
	Doesn't Apply	Applies Somewhat	Certainly Applies
Please put one cross against each statement:			
<u>STATEMENT</u>			
1. Very restless. Often running about or jumping up and down Hardly ever still	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Squirmy, fidgety child	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Often destroys own or other's belongings	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Frequently fights with other children	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Not much liked by other children	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Often worried, worries about many things	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Tends to do things on his own - rather solitary	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Irritable. Is quick to 'fly off the handle'	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Often appears miserable, unhappy, tearful or distressed	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. Has twitches, mannerisms or tics of the face or body	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. Frequently sucks thumb or finger	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12. Frequently bites nails or fingers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
13. Is often disobedient	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14. Cannot settle to anything for more than a few moments	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
15. Tends to be fearful or afraid of new things or new situations	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16. Fussy or over-particular child	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
17. Often tells lies	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
18. Bullies other children	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Are there any other problems?

PERCEPTION OF CONTROL CHILDRENS' SCALEWHY THINGS HAPPENINSTRUCTIONS TO THE CHILD

We have some sentences here about a lot of things that happen to people of your age. We would like to know how true you think these sentences are. This is not a test. There are no right or wrong answers. Since children are different from one another, each of you will be putting down different things.

What we want to know is what you think about these sentences. If you look at the bottom of this page you will see two sentences. The first one says "I like bananas better than an apple". Below this sentence we want you to circle whether this sentence is very true for you, sort of true for you, not very true for you or not at all true for you. Only circle 1 of these.

Now I am going to read you some more sentences about "why things happen" to you and to other children. Remember, circle the words that say how true you think each sentence is. Any questions? OK, here we go.

SAMPLE QUESTION

I like bananas better than an apple.

very true

sort of true

not very true

not at all true

PERCEPTION OF CONTROL CHILDRENS' SCALE

1. When I win at a sport, a lot of the time I don't know why I won.
very true sort of true not very true not at all true
2. When I am unsuccessful, it is usually my own fault.
very true sort of true not very true not at all true
3. The best way for me to get good grades is to get the teacher to like me.
very true sort of true not very true not at all true
4. If somebody doesn't like me, I usually can't figure out why.
very true sort of true not very true not at all true
5. I can be good at any sport if I try hard enough.
very true sort of true not very true not at all true
6. If an adult doesn't want me to do something I want to do, I probably won't be able to do it.
very true sort of true not very true not at all true
7. When I do well in school, I usually can't figure out why.
very true sort of true not very true not at all true
8. If somebody doesn't like me, it's usually because of something I did.
very true sort of true not very true not at all true
9. When I win at a sport, it's usually because the person I was playing against played badly.
very true sort of true not very true not at all true
10. When something goes wrong for me, I usually can't figure out why it happened.
very true sort of true not very true not at all true
11. If I want to do well in school, its up to me to do it.
very true sort of true not very true not at all true
12. If my teacher doesn't like me, I probably won't be very popular with my classmates.
very true sort of true not very true not at all true

PERCEPTION OF CONTROL CHILDRENS' SCALE

13. Many times I can't figure out why good things happen to me.
very true sort of true not very true not at all true
14. If I don't do well in school, its my fault.
very true sort of true not very true not at all true
15. If I want to be an important member of my class, I have to get the popular kids to like me.
very true sort of true not very true not at all true
16. Most of the time when I loose a game in athletics, I can't figure out why I lost.
very true sort of true not very true not at all true
17. I can pretty much control what will happen in my life.
very true sort of true not very true not at all true
18. If I have a bad teacher, I won't do well in school.
very true sort of true not very true not at all true
19. A lot of times I don't know why people like me.
very true sort of true not very true not at all true
20. If I try to catch a ball and I don't, its usually because I didn't try hard enough.
very true sort of true not very true not at all true
21. If there is something that I want to get, I usually have to please the people in charge to get it.
very true sort of true not very true not at all true
22. If I get a bad grade in school, I usually don't understand why I got it.
very true sort of true not very true not at all true
23. If somebody likes me, it is usually because of the way I treat them.
very true sort of true not very true not at all true
24. When I loose at an outdoor game, it is usually because the kid I played against was much better at that game to begin with.
very true sort of true not very true not at all true

PERCEPTION OF CONTROL CHILDRENS' SCALE

25. When I win at an outdoor game, a lot of times I don't know why I won.
very true sort of true not very true not at all true
26. When I don't do well at something, it is usually my own fault.
very true sort of true not very true not at all true
27. When I do well in school, its because the teacher likes me.
very true sort of true not very true not at all true
28. When another kid doesn't like me, I usually don't know why.
very true sort of true not very true not at all true
29. I can be good at any sport if I work on it hard enough.
very true sort of true not very true not at all true
30. I don't have much chance of doing what I want if adults don't want me to do it.
very true sort of true not very true not at all true
31. When I get a good grade in school I usually don't know why I did so well.
very true sort of true not very true not at all true
32. If someone is mean to me, its usually because of something I did.
very true sort of true not very true not at all true
33. When I play an outdoor game against another kid, and I win, its probably because the other kid didn't play well.
very true sort of true not very true not at all true
34. A lot of times I don't know why something goes wrong for me.
very true sort of true not very true not at all true
35. If I want to get good grades in school, its up to me to do it.
very true sort of true not very true not at all true
36. If the teacher doesn't like me, I probably won't have many friends in that class.
very true sort of true not very true not at all true
37. When good things happen to me, many times there doesn't seem to be any reason why.
very true sort of true not very true not at all true
38. If I get bad grades, its my own fault.
very true sort of true not very true not at all true

PERCEPTION OF CONTROL CHILDRENS' SCALE

39. If I want my classmates to think that I am an important person, I have to be friends with the really popular kids.

very true sort of true not very true not at all true

40. When I don't win at an outdoor game, most of the time I can't figure out why.

very true sort of true not very true not at all true

41. I can pretty much decide what will happen in my life.

very true sort of true not very true not at all true

42. If I don't have a good teacher, I won't do well at school.

very true sort of true not very true not at all true

43. A lot of times there doesn't seem to be any reason why somebody likes me.

very true sort of true not very true not at all true

44. If I try to catch a ball and I miss it, its actually because I didn't try hard enough.

very true sort of true not very true not at all true

45. To get what I want, I have to please the people in charge.

very true sort of true not very true not at all true

46. When I don't do well in school, I usually can't figure out why.

very true sort of true not very true not at all true

47. If somebody is my friend, it is usually because of the way that I treat him/her.

very true sort of true not very true not at all true

48. When I don't win at an outdoor game, the person I was playing against was probably a lot better than I was.

very true sort of true not very true not at all true

INTERVIEW GUIDE (CHILDREN)

A. MIGRATION EXPERIENCE

1. What was your first reaction on learning that your family will be moved to another area?

2. What was the most disturbing thing about leaving your original residence?

3. Describe your feelings on the day you turned your back on your original residence?

4. Describe your feelings on your first arrival at Osizweni township?

5. What problems have you experienced following your resettlement at Osizweni Township?

6. Would you prefer to go back to your original residence or remain at Osizweni Township for the rest of your life?

Why? -----

INTERVIEW GUIDE (CHILDREN)

B. FAMILY AND PEER RELATIONSHIP

1. Do you still maintain the same relationships with your parents as was the case before resettlement?

If not what happened? -----

2. Did the behaviour of your parents change after resettlement at Osizweni Township?

If so how has it changed? -----

What do you think has caused the change? -----

3. Do you have good relationships with children of your own age?

Are your relationships with children of your own age better or worse than before your resettlement at Osizweni Township?

Why? -----

INTERVIEW GUIDE (CHILDREN)

C. SCHOOLING

1. What would you say was your main problem when you changed schools as a result of your resettlement?

Do you still experience those problems?

2. Would you say you enjoyed schooling better before or after resettlement?

If so, why?

3. Was your school performance better before or after resettlement?

What would you say was the cause of this change?

4. Where do you spend most of the time when you are not at school?

Before resettlement where did you spend most of your time?

THE CHILDRENS' LIFE EVENTS INVENTORY

IGAMA : _____
IKHELI : _____
IMINYAKA YOKUZALWA : _____
IBANGA LEMFUNDO : _____

INSTRUCTIONS:

Lolu uhla lwezizigaba ezivamise ukwehlela izingane ezingangawe. Isigigaba ngasinye kungenzeka sikuphathe kabi. Ezinye zalezizigigaba zingakuphatha kabi kakhulu kunezinye. Akesithi - nje ukuzalwa kukadadewenu noma umfowenu omncane kungakuphatha kabi ngokuthi umama wakho angachitha isikhathi esiningi nomntwana uzibone wena ungasanakiwe, kwesinye isikhathi udadewenu noma umfowenu omncane angakhala kakhulu ebusuku enze ukuthi ungalali kahle.

Engifuna ukwenze manje ukuba uqhathanise isigigaba ngasinye esisohlelweni nokuzalwa kukadadewenu noma umfowenu omncane. Qhathanisa ukuthi isigigaba ngasinye singakuphatha kabi kakhulu noma kancane kunokuzalwa kukadadewenu noma umfowenu omncane. Ake sithi nje ngokucabanga kwakho ukufeyila esikoleni kungakuphatha kabi kakhulu noma kancane kunokuzalwa kukadadewenu noma umfowenu omncane.

Shono lokho okucabangayo; yikona okubalulekile. Ungakhathazeki ayikho impendulo eyiqiniso nengelona iqiniso.

AMAPHUZU NGOBUNINGI BAWO	ISEHLAKALO	
1	Ukushona komzali	
2	Ukwahlukanisa kwabazali	
3	Ukushona kwesihlobo osondelene naso kakhulu noma umngani	
4	Ukugula kakhulu komzali	
5	Ukugula kakhulu kwayo ingane	
6	Ukuzalwa kukadadewabo noma umfawabo wengane	
7	Ukulwa noma ukuxabana kwabazali	
8	Ukungaphatheki kahle emoyeni kwabazali	
9	Ukuhlukana nabangani	
10	Ukuyekela isikole	
11	Ukushintsha indawo yokuhlala	
12	Ukushada komunye umzali	
13	Ukulahlekelwa udumo kubangani	
14	Ukuxabana nodadewabo noma umfowabo	

THE CHILDRENS' LIFE EVENTS INVENTORY

AMAPHUZU NGOBUNINGI BAWO	ISEHLAKALO	
15	Ukushintsha isikole	
16	Ukuqala unyaka omusha wesikole	
17	Ukukhishwa inyumbazane abanye abantu	
18	Ukushaywa kakhulu umzali noma omunye umuntu omdala	
19	Ukuqala isikole	
20	Ukufeyila esikoleni	
21	Ukulahlekelwa umsebenzi kwalowa owondla umndeni	
22	Ukuhamba ekhaya kukadade wenu noma umfoweni osondelene naye	
23	Ukushintsha kwempilo ephilwa ekhaya	
24	Inkinga ephathelene nothisha noma umsebenzi wesikole	

IGAMA LOMNTWANA

:

IKHELI

:

UBULILI

:

USUKU LOKUZALWA

:

A. IMPILO YOMNTWANA

Ngezansi sinikeza uhla lwezifo ezivamise ukugulisa izingane. Sicela ukuba usazise ukuthi isifo ngasinye sivamisa kangakanani ukugulisa ingane yakho.

	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	
	Akukaze Ngonyaka	Kumenze odlule	Iyaphela inyanga kungamenzanga	kumenza kanye Ngenyanga	Kumenza kanye ngesonto
Ukuphathwa ikhanda	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ukuphathwa isisu nokubuyisa ..	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Isilungilelo	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ukuzichamela	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ukukhala amemeze azibhonge phansi	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ukukhala uma eya esikoleni	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ukubalekela isikole	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

B. OKUNYE AVAMISE UKUKWENZA

Uyangingiza

☐

cha

☐

Yebo-kancane

☐

Yebo-kakhulu

Akakhulumi kahle

☐

cha

☐

Yebo-kancane

☐

Yebo-kakhulu

Uma engakhulumi kahle inkinga yakhe ukuthi:

☐ Uyathefuya

☐ Akawaphimisi kahle amagama

☐ Okunye, Chaza

C. IMISHO ECHAZA IZINDLELA EZAHLUKENE ZOKUZIPHATHA

Ngezansi sibhale izindlela ezahlukeni izingane ezivamise ukuziphatha ngazo. Sazise ukuthi indlela yokuziphatha ngayinye ihambisana kangakanani neyengane yakho

	(i) Akwenzeki	(ii) Ngesinye isikhathi kuzenzeka	(iii) Kuyenzeka impela
1. Uhlala eyaluzi, egijima noma egxumagxuma	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Unyakazisa umzimba engathi kukhona okungamphethe kahle ...	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Ubulala asakaze izinto zakhe nezabanye	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Uvamise ukulwa nezinye izingane	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Azimthandi ezinye izingane	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Uvamise ukuhlala ekhatha- zekile	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Uvamise ukwenza izinto yedwana	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Unenhliziyi ençane uyashesha ukucasuka	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Uvamise ukubukeka engathokozile	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. Ubuso bakhe noma umzimba wakhe uyadonseka	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. Uvamise ukuncela isithupha	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12. Uvamise ukudla izinzipho	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
13. Uvamise ukungalaleli	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14. Akakwazi ukuhlala phansi enzi into imizuzwana eminingi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
15. Uyazesaba izinto noma izindawo ezintsha angazijwayele	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16. Uyatetema	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
17. Uvamise ukukhuluma amanga	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
18. Uhlukumeza ezinye izingane	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Zikhona ezinye izinkinga anazo?

PERCEPTION OF CONTROL CHILDRENS' SCALE

INSTRUCTIONS:

Lapha sinohla lwemisho ephathelene nezinto ezivame ukwehlela izingane ezingangawe. Sifuna ukwazi ukuthi ngokucabanga kwakho uyibona iyiqiniso kangakanani lemisho. Lena akuyona imibuzo efana neyokuhlolwa esikoleni, ngakho-ke azikho izimpendulo eziyiqiniso nezingelona iqiniso ngoba phela ukucabanga kwezingane ezahlukene akufani, izingane zinikeza izimpendulo ezahlukahlukene.

Esifuna ukukwazi ukuthi wena ucabangani ngalemisho. Uma ubheka ekugcineni kwalelikhasi kunemisho emibili. Owokuqala uthi "Ngithanda ubhanana kakhulu kune aphula". Ngezansi kwalomusho sifuna ukuba ukhombise ngokuzungeza lokho ovumelana nakho. Njengokuthi nje ucabanga ukuthi lomusho uyiqiniso kakhulu kuwena, uyiqiniso nje ngaleyondlela kuwena, uthanda ukungabilona iqiniso, awulona iqiniso nakancane. Zungeza okukodwa kuphela kwaloko ovumelana nakho.

Manje sengizofunda eminye imisho ephathele nokuthi yini ebangela ukuba izinto ezithile zenzeke kuwena nakwezinye izingane. Khumbula lokhu, zungeza lawomagama akhombisa ukuthi uyavumelana nomusho obhalwe ngenhla kwalawomagama.

Uzwe kahle angithi? Uma unombuzo ungesabi, buza. Sesiyaqala-ke.

1. Uma ngiphumele emdlalweni imvamisa angize ngazi ukuthi ngiphumeleliswe yini.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u> <u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>eliphelele</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>nakancane</u>
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2. Uma ngingaphumeleli, imvamise kusuke kuyiphutha lami.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u> <u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>eliphelele</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>nakancane</u>
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3. Indlela engcono yokuthi uthole amamaki amahle ukuba wenze uthisha akuthande.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u> <u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>eliphelele</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>nakancane</u>
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4. Uma umuntu engangithandi, ngivamise ukungazi ukuthi isizathu yini.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u> <u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>eliphelele</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>nakancane</u>
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5. Ngingawudlala kahle noma imuphi umdlalo uma ngizama kakhulu.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u> <u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>eliphelele</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>nakancane</u>
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6. Uma umuntu omdala engafuni ukuba ngenze okuthile engifisa ukukwenza, ngeke ngikwazi ukukwenza.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u> <u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>eliphelele</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>nakancane</u>
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7. Uma ngiqhuba kahle esikoleni, ngivamise ukungazi ukuthi yini isizathu.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u> <u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>eliphelele</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>nakancane</u>
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8. Uma umuntu engangithandi, imvamisa ingenxa yokuthile engakwenza.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u> <u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>eliphelele</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>nakancane</u>
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9. Uma ngiphumelele emdlalweni imvamisa ingenxa yokuthi loyo ebengidlala naye ubengadlali kahle.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u> <u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>eliphelele</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>nakancane</u>
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10. Uma kukhona okungangihambeli kahle ngivamise ukungazi ukuthi yini eyenza lokho.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u> <u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>eliphelele</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>nakancane</u>
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11. Uma kukhona okungangihambeli kahle ngivamise ukungazi ukuthi yini eyenza lokho.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u> <u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>eliphelele</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>nakancane</u>
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12. Uma uthisha engangithandi, kungenzeka ukuthi ngingabi nodumo kontanga yethu engifunda nabo.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u> <u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>eliphelele</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>nakancane</u>
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13. Ezikhathini eziningi angize ngazi ukuthi yini izinto ezinhle zenzeke kimina.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u> <u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>eliphelele</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>nakancane</u>
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14. Uma ngingaqhubi kahle esikoleni iphutha lami.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u> <u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>eliphelele</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>nakancane</u>
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15. Uma ngifuna ukuba umuntu obalulekile ekilasini kufanele ngenze izingane ezidumile ukuba zingithande.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u> <u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>eliphelele</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>nakancane</u>
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16. Ezikhathini eziningi uma ngehlulekile emdlalweni wokugijima angize ngazi ukuthi ngehluleke kanjani.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u> <u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>eliphelele</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>nakancane</u>
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17. Ngiyakwazi ukuzihlelela okungase kwenzeke empilweni yami.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u> <u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>eliphelele</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>nakancane</u>
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18. Nginothisha ongekahle, ngeke ngiqhube kahle esikoleni.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u> <u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>eliphelele</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>nakancane</u>
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19. Esikhathini esiningi angize ngazi ukuthi abantu bangithandelani.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u> <u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>eliphelele</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>nakancane</u>
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20. Uma ngithe ngingqaka ibhola ngehluleka imvamisa yingoba ngisuke ngingazange ngizame ngokwanele.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u> <u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>eliphelele</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>nakancane</u>
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PERCEPTION OF CONTROL CHILDRENS' SCALE

pg. 3

21. Uma kukhona engifuna ukukuthola imvamisa kufanele ngijabulise labo abaphethe ukuze ngikuthole engikufunayo.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u>
	<u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>eliphelele</u>	<u>nakancane</u>

22. Uma ngithole amamaki amabi esikoleni imvamisa angize ngazi ukuthi kwenziwe yini lokho.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u>
	<u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>eliphelele</u>	<u>nakancane</u>

23. Uma umuntu engithanda imvamisa kungenxa yendlela engimphatha ngayo.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u>
	<u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>eliphelele</u>	<u>nakancane</u>

24. Uma ngehluleka emdlalweni odlalwa ngaphandle eshashalazini imvamisa kusuke kuyingoba ingane engidlala nayo isuke kade ivele iwazi kangcono umdlalo kwasekuqaleni.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u>
	<u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>eliphelele</u>	<u>nakancane</u>

25. Uma ngiphumelela emdlalweni odlalwa ngaphandle eshashalazini, imvamisa angize ngazi ukuthi yini engenze ngaphumelela.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u>
	<u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>eliphelele</u>	<u>nakancane</u>

26. Uma kukhona engingakwenzi kahle imvamisa iphutha lami.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u>
	<u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>eliphelele</u>	<u>nakancane</u>

27. Uma ngiqhuba kahle esikoleni yingoba uthisha usuke engithanda.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u>
	<u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>eliphelele</u>	<u>nakancane</u>

28. Uma enye ingane ingangithandi angize ngazi ukuthi yini indaba.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u>
	<u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>eliphelele</u>	<u>nakancane</u>

29. Ngingawudlala kahle noma imuphi umdlalo uma ngisebenza kanzima ngokwanele.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u>
	<u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>eliphelele</u>	<u>nakancane</u>

30. Anginayo indlela yokuba ngenze engikufunayo uma abadala bengathandi ukuba ngikwenze.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u>
	<u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>eliphelele</u>	<u>nakancane</u>

31. Uma ngithole amamaki amahle esikoleni imvamisa angize ngazi ukuthi yini eyenza ngiqhube kahle kangaka.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u> <u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>eliphelele</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>nakancane</u>
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32. Uma umuntu engemnandi kimina imvamisa yingoba kukhona engisuke ngimenze kona.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u> <u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>eliphelele</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>nakancane</u>
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33. Uma ngidlala umdlalo wangaphandle eshashalazini nenye ingane bese ngiyaphumelela, mhlawumbe kusuke kungenxa yokuthi lengane engidlala nayo isuke ingadlali kahle.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u> <u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>eliphelele</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>nakancane</u>
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34. Ezikhathini eziningi angize ngazi ukuthi yini into ethile ingangilungeli.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u> <u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>eliphelele</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>nakancane</u>
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35. Ngifuna ukuthola amamaki amahle esikoleni, kukumina ukuba ngenze lokho.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u> <u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>eliphelele</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>nakancane</u>
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36. Uma uthisha engangithandi kungase kwenzeke ukuba ngingabinabangani abaningi kulelokilasi.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u> <u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>eliphelele</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>nakancane</u>
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37. Uma izinto ezinhle zenzeka kimi, ezikhathini eziningi akuze kwabakhona sizathu salokho.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u> <u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>eliphelele</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>nakancane</u>
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38. Uma ngithola amamaki amabi esikoleni, yiphutha lami.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u> <u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>eliphelele</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>nakancane</u>
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39. Uma ngifuna ukuthi izingane engifunda nazo zicabange ukuthi ngingumuntu obalulekile, kufanele ngibe abangani bezingane ezidumile.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u> <u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>eliphelele</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>nakancane</u>
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40. Uma ngingaphumeleli emdlalweni wangaphandle eshashalazini, ezikhathini eziningi angize ngazi ukuthi isizathu yini.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u> <u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>eliphelele</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>nakancane</u>
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41. Ngingazihlelela mina ukuthi kuyokwenzekani empilweni yami.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u> <u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>eliphelele</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>nakancane</u>
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42. Uma ngingenaye uthisha okahle angeke ngiqhube kahle esikoleni.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u> <u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>eliphelele</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>nakancane</u>
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43. Ezikhathini eziningi asize sabonakala isizathu sokuthi umuntu ungithandelani.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u> <u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>eliphelele</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>nakancane</u>
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44. Uma ngithe ngizama ukunqaka ibhola ngahluleka yingoba azange ngizame ngokwanele.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u> <u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>eliphelele</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>nakancane</u>
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45. Ukuze ngithole engikufunayo kufanele ngijabulise abantu abaphethe.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u> <u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>eliphelele</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>nakancane</u>
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46. Uma ngingaqhubi kahle esikoleni imvamisa angize ngazi ukuthi yini isizathu.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u> <u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>eliphelele</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>nakancane</u>
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47. Uma umuntu kungumngani wami, imvamisa ingenxa engimphatha ngayo.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u> <u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>eliphelele</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>nakancane</u>
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48. Uma ngingaphumeleli emdlalweni wangaphandle eshashalazini, kusuke kungenxa yokuthi lowo engisuke ngidlala naye usuke evele kade engcono kunami.

<u>iqiniso</u>	<u>iqiniso nje</u> <u>ngaleyondlela</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>eliphelele</u>	<u>akulona iqiniso</u> <u>nakancane</u>
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INTERVIEW GUIDE (IZINGANE)

A. OKUPHATHELENE NOKUSUSWA KWENU ENDAWENI ENANIZINZE KUYO

1. Waphatheka kanjani ngesikhathi uzwa okokuqala ngqa ukuthi umndeni wakini ozosuka noma uzosuswa uhulumeni usiwe kwenye indawo?

2. Ungathi yini eyakuphatha kabi kakhulu noma yakuphula umoya ngenxa yokusuka komndeni wakini lapho awawuzinze khona?

3. Awuchaze ukuthi waphatheka kanjani ngenkathi umndeni wakini usuhamba ufulathela indawo enase nihlale kuyo isikhathi eside?

4. Awuchaze ukuthi waphatheka kanjani ngesikhathi ufika oSizweni/Blaauwbosch okokuqala ngqa.

5. Ungathi zinkinga zini ezadalwa ukusuka kwakho nomndeni wakini endaweni enanakhe kuyo, niya oSizweni/Blaauwbosch?

6. Ungathi ikuphi okufisayo - ukuphindela emuva lapho nanihlala khona noma ukuzinza khona lapha oSizweni/Blaauwbosch?

Nikeza isizathu sesifiso sakho? -----

B. OKUPHATHELENE NOMNDENI KANYE NABANGANI NOMA ONTANGA BAKHO

1. Ungathi ubuhlobo bakho noma indlela ozwana ngayo nabazali bakho isefana nakuqala ningakahlali oSizweni/Blaauwbosch?

Uma kungenjalo yini isizathu? -----

2. Ungathi lukhona ushintsho endleleni yokuziphatha noma yokwenza izinto olwenzeka kubazali bakho emva kokuba senizinze oSizweni/Blaauwbosch?

Uma kunjalo, lushintsho luni olwenzeka ? -----

Ungathi lwadalwa yini lolushintsho? -----

3. Unobudlelwano noma ubuhlobo obuhle nontanga yakho?

Ungathi ubuhlobo bakho nontanga yakho baba ngcono noma baba bubi kunakuqala ungakahlali oSizweni/Blaauwbosch?

Ungathi yini isizathu? -----

C. OKUQONDENE NESIKOLO

1. Zinkinga zini eziphathelene nesikole owabanazo ngenkathi ufika lapha oSizweni noma eBlaauwbosch?

Usenayo leyonkinga namanje? -----

2. Ungathi wawusithanda noma wasithanda kangcono isikole ngaphambili noma ngemuva kokusuka kwakho nomndeni wakini endaweni enanakhe kuyo?

Yini isizathu? -----

3. Indlela owawuphumelela ngayo esikoleni yaba ngcono noma yaba yimbi ngemuva kokususwa kwakho nomndeni wakini endaweni enanakhe kuyo?

Uma kwabo noshintsho ungathi loloshintsho lwadalwa yini?

4. Usichithaphi isikhathi sakho esiningi uma ungekho esikoleni?

Umndeni wakini ungakathuthelwa oSizweni wawusichithaphi isikhathi esiningi uma ungekho esikoleni?

APPENDIX E.

6 August 1985

The Secretary
Department of Health and Welfare
Kwa-Zulu Government Service
Private Bag X10
ULUNDI
3838

Dear Sir,

RESEARCH PROJECT IN KWAZULU AREA

Our department has an ongoing research programme on various psychological issues.

My present research interest is on resettled black families.
The title of my research project is :

Resettled Black Families : Adjustment Problems
and Psychological Correlates

I would be very grateful if I could be given permission by your department to conduct research in Kwa-Zulu areas, viz Madadeni and Osizweni Townships, Newcastle.

Hoping that my request will be favourably considered.

Yours sincerely,

MRS. A S MAGWAZA
LECTURER
DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

MEMO

UMNYANGO WEZEMPA
NEZENHLE KAB6/P
KWAZULU ULUNDI

1985 -11-28

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH
AND WELFARE
KWAZULU ULUNDI

The Secretary
Department of Health and Welfare
ULUNDI

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT A RESEARCH PROJECT IN OSIZWENI AND
MADADENI BY LECTURER(UNIZUL) : MRS A.S. MAGWAZA - DECEMBER
AND JANUARY 1986.

1. The Department of Psychology, University of Zululand, Research Committee, has delegated Mrs A.S. Magwaza, their Lecturer, to conduct a research project on "resettled Black families" in Osizweni and Madadeni.
2. The title of the research is "Resettled Black Families Adjustment Problems and Psychological Correlates". My interview with Mrs Magwaza revealed that the research will cover only those families targetted by the "random sample" she will design. She will use a team of field-workers to contact the target-families. Families who are attached to Osizweni Handicraft Centre, (which is the Department's project) will be included in the project.

Mrs Magwaza is prepared to share with the Department some of the results of her survey. The goal is the improvement of the quality of life of people living in Osizweni and Madadeni areas. It is requested that the Hon. Minister for Health and Welfare approve the project as above described.

SIGNED

CHIEF SOCIAL WORKER

RECOMMENDED/~~NOT~~ RECOMMENDED

REMARKS : ...
...
...

SECRETARY FOR HEALTH AND WELFARE

APPROVED/~~NOT~~ APPROVED

REMARKS :
.....
.....

MINISTER OF HEALTH AND WELFARE

15/11/85

OXUBONAKALAYO OKWENZWE NOBUNDA
ONGAYUNYELWE.
CERTIFIED A TRUE COPY OF THE ORIGINAL
DOCUMENT AND THAT NO UNLAWFUL
ALTERATIONS HAVE BEEN EFFECTED BY AN
UNAUTHORISED PERSON.
SIGNATURE: [Signature]
DATE: 11/11/85
RANK:

[Signature]

APPENDIX E

University of Durban-Westville,
Private Bag X54001,
DURBAN.
4000

15th November, 1985.

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am studying and doing research at the University of Durban-Westville.

My research studies involve discussing and collecting information on some problems which your family experienced as a result of your moving or removal from Charlestown/Utrecht to Osizweni Township/ Blaauwbosch district.

I would be most grateful if you and one of your children could spare me some of your time to discuss some of your problems, preferably on a weekend.

It would therefore be highly appreciated if you could avail yourself during the first two week-ends in December and all the week-ends in January and February, 1986.

All the information will be kept strictly confidential.

Thanking you,
Yours sincerely,

A.S. Magwaza (Mrs.)

University of Durban-Westville,
Private Bag X54001,
DURBAN.

4000

15th November, 1985.

Mnumzane/Nkosikazi,

Kunezifundo engizenzayo kule Nyuvesithi yase Durban-Westville.

Ingqikithi yalezizifundo iphathelele nokuthola ulwazi lwezinkinga umndeni wakho owabhekana nazo ngezikhathi usuka noma ususwa e Charlestown/Utrecht uzohlala noma uzohlaliswa oSizweni nase Blaauwbosch.

Bengingabonga kakhulu uma wena nenye yezingane zakho ninganginika ithuba lokuba ngikhulume nani ngezinye zezinkinga zenu. Izinsuku ezingabakahle kimina ezempelasonto.

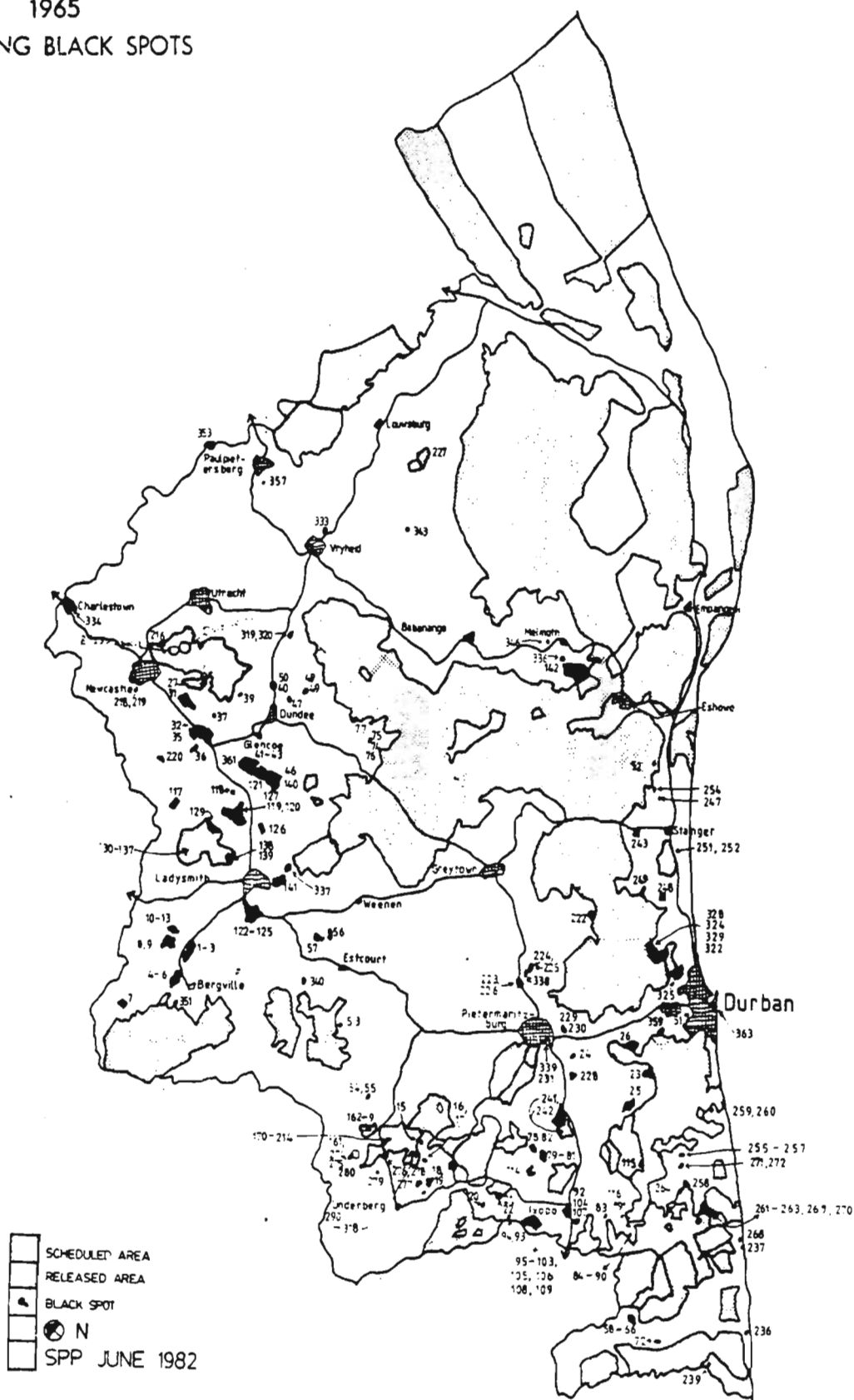
Kuyobongeka kakhulu uma wena nengane yakho ningase nikwazi ukubakhona ekhaya ngezimpelasonto ezimbili zika December kanye nalezo zika January no February 1986.

Konke esokukhuluma, koba imfihlo engeke itshelwe muntu.

Ngiyabonga,
Yimina

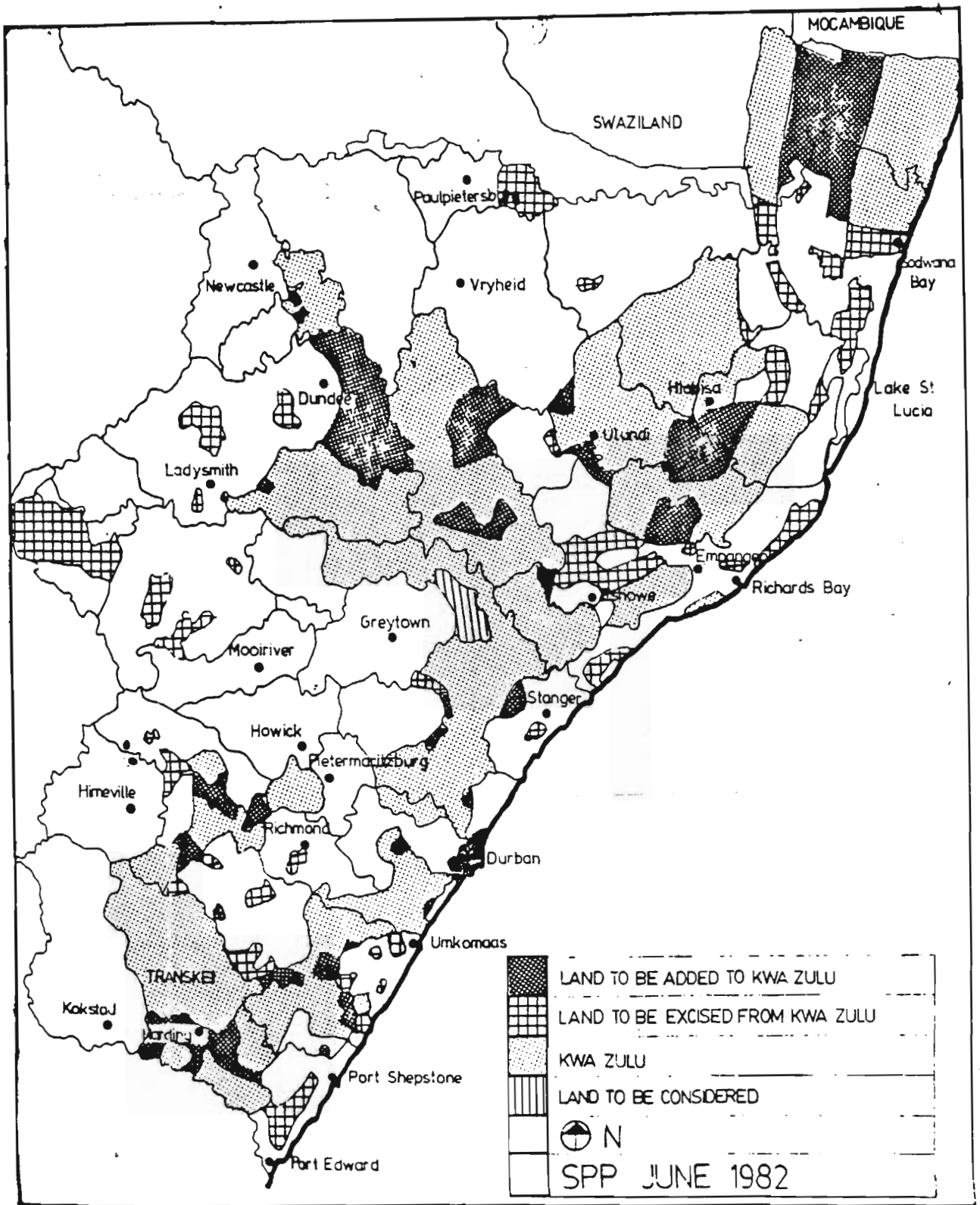
Mrs. A.S. Magwaza

AFRICAN AREAS OF NATAL
1965
SHOWING BLACK SPOTS



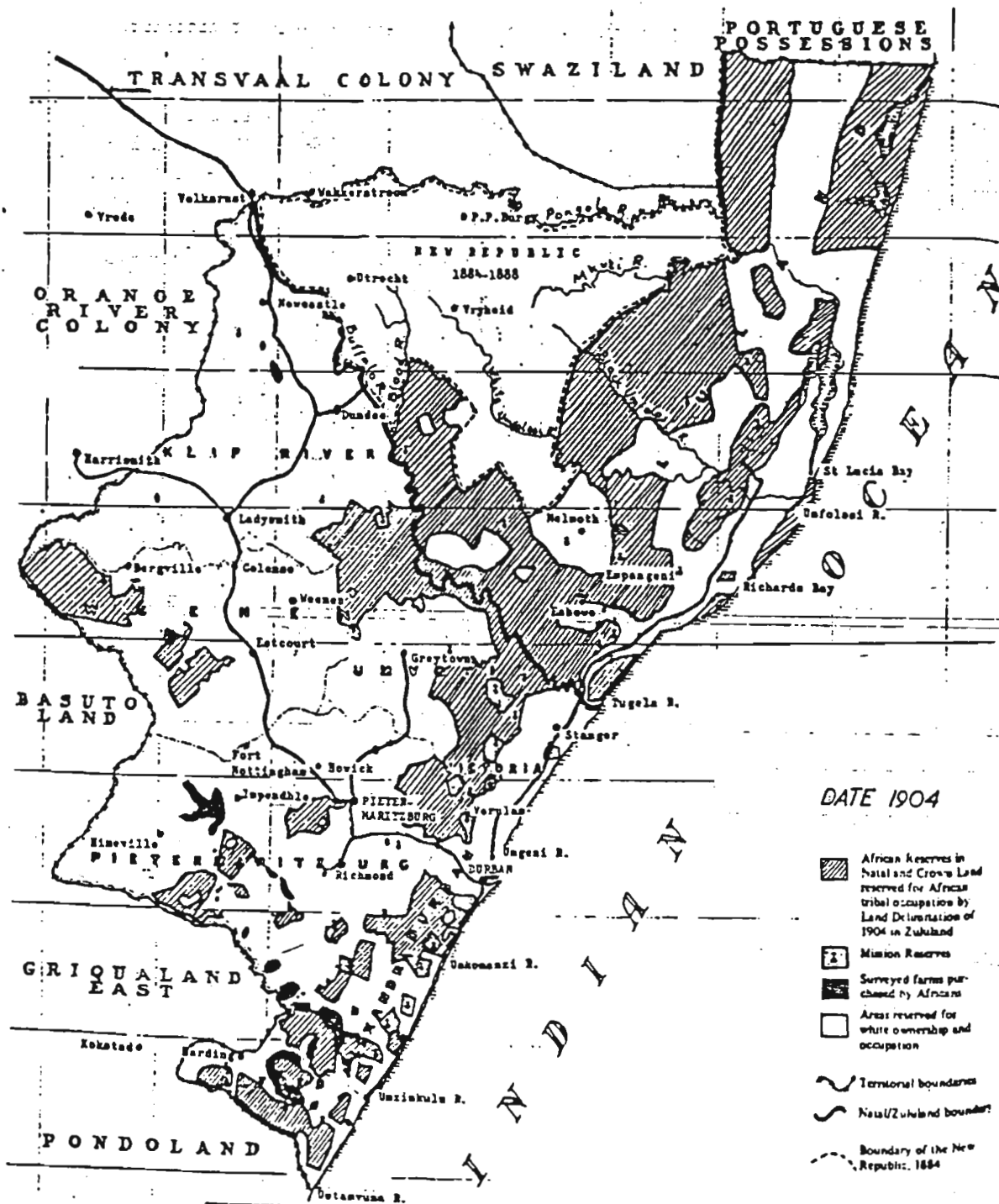
APPENDIX F

MAP 2 : CONSOLIDATION INTO A NATIONAL STATE, KWA-ZULU



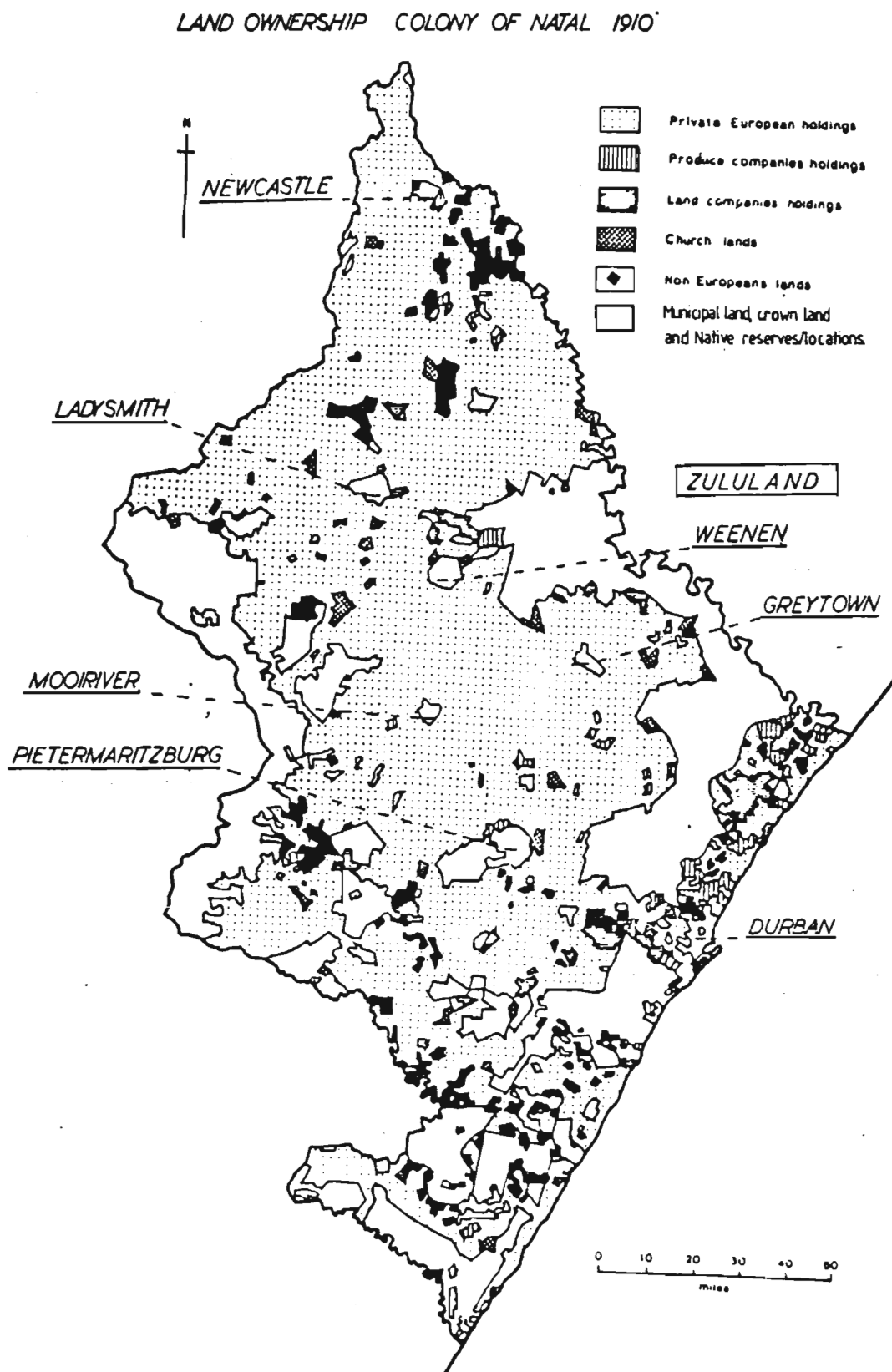
APPENDIX F

MAP 3 : AFRICAN RESERVES, COLONY OF NATAL AND ZULULAND, 1904.



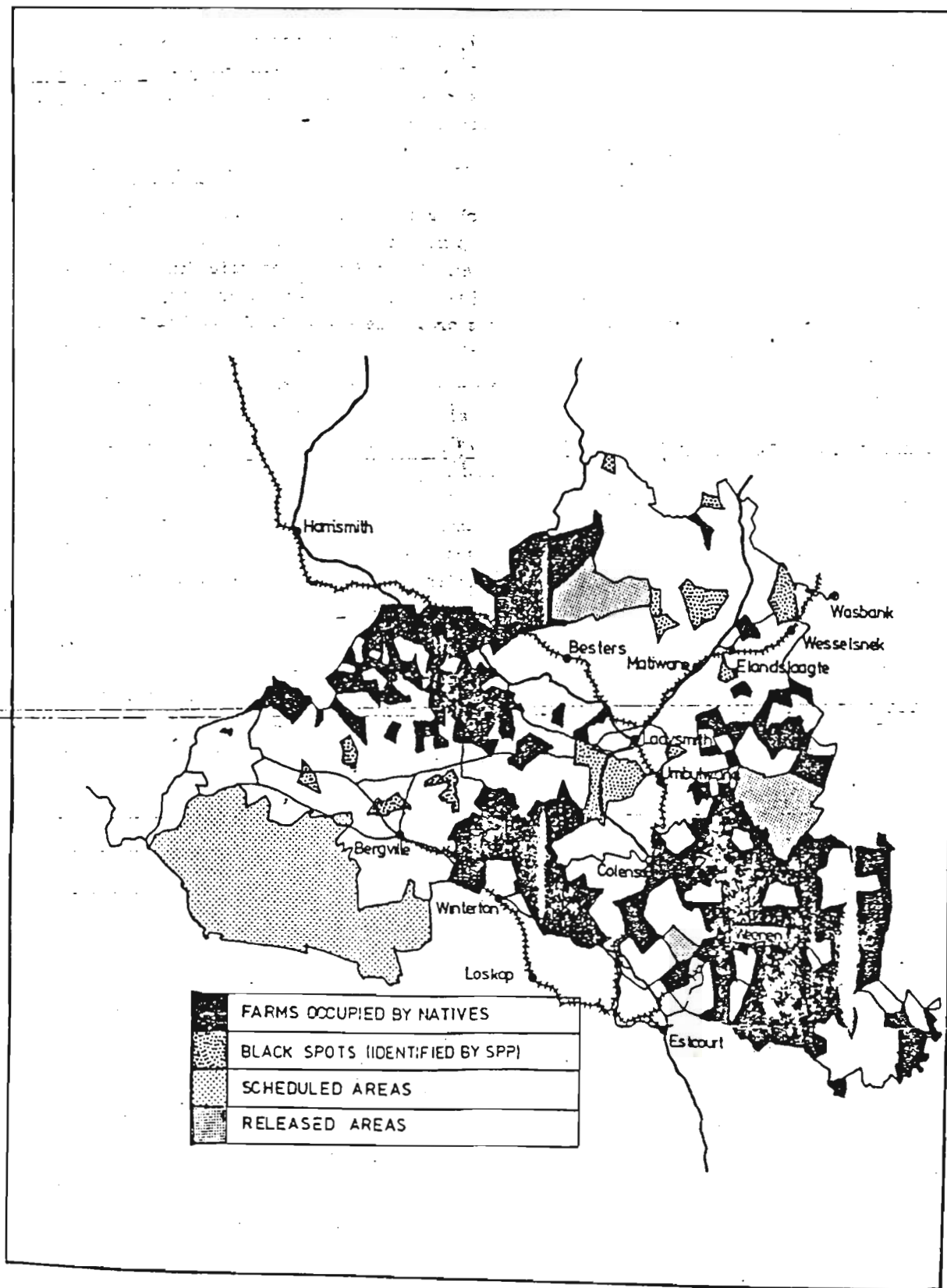
APPENDIX F

MAP 4 : LAND OWNERSHIP : COLONY OF NATAL 1910.



APPENDIX F

MAP 5 : DIE BESWARTING VAN DIE PLATTELAND, NATAL 1959.



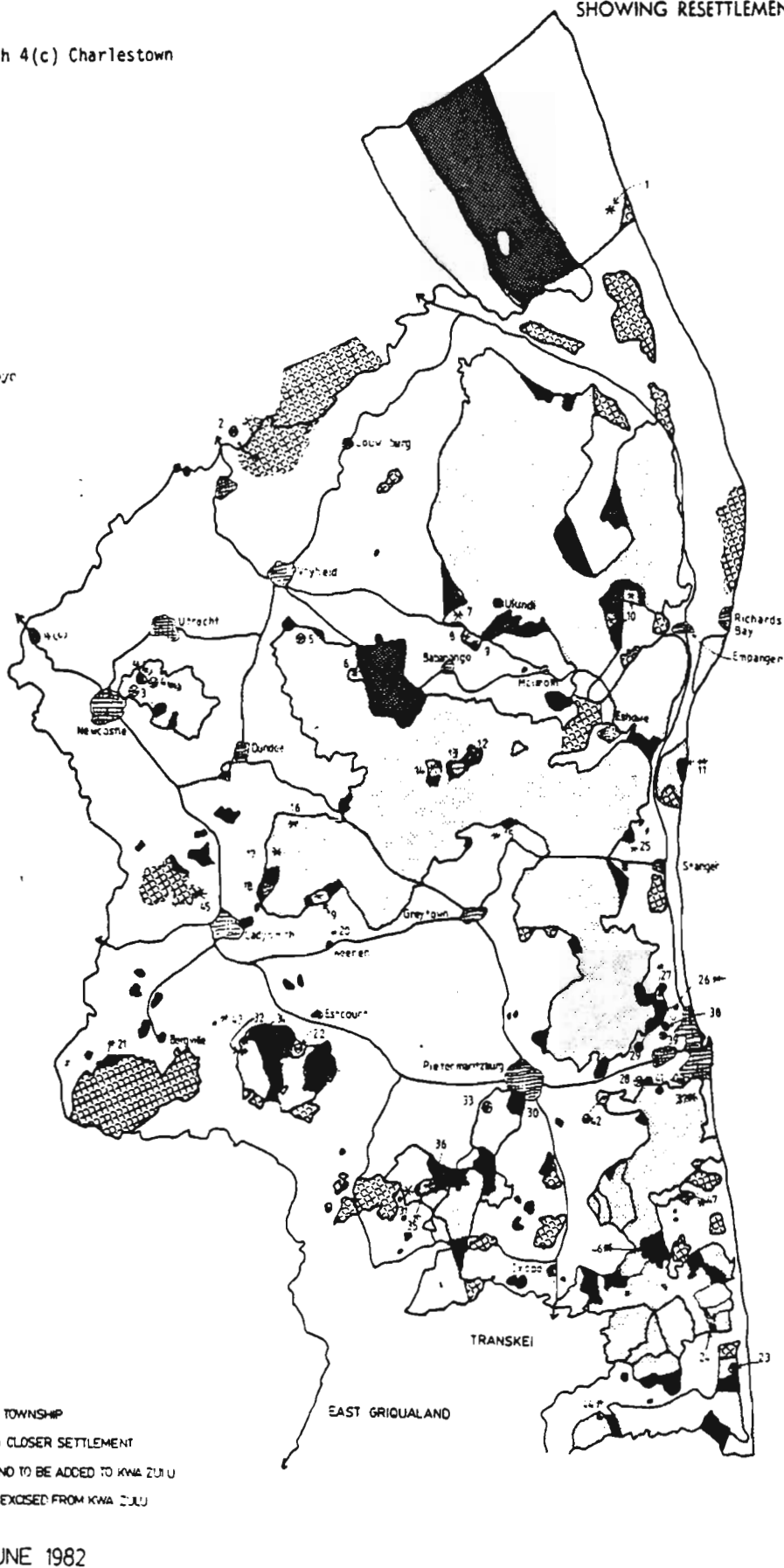
AFRICAN AREAS OF NATAL

1982

SHOWING RESETTLEMENT SITES

Resettlement Areas

1. Lbezwana
2. Bilaranyi
3. Kadadani
- 4.(a) Osizweni 4(b) Blaauwbosch 4(c) Charlestown
5. Kondlo
6. Kondweni
7. Mpungamhlophe
8. Hlungulwana
9. Enakhosini
10. Ktambanana
11. Wangu
12. Nkonisa
13. Ntingwe
14. Kzimbhlophe
15. Ntunjambili
16. Limehill complex
17. Ecuukeni
18. Ezakheni
19. Sahlumbe; Ksusanphi; Komoye
20. Weenen Emergency Camp
21. Oliviershoek
22. Wembezi
23. Gamalakhe
24. Frankland
25. Bulwer Trust Farm
26. Phoenix
27. Inanda Newtown
28. KwaMdengezi
29. KwaDabeka
30. Polltax Farm
31. Halfdale
32. Moyeri
33. Mphophomeni
34. Loskop
35. Compensation
36. Roberts Farm
37. Polweni
38. Ntuzumo
39. KwaKashu
40. Chataworth
41. Umlazi
42. Mpumalanga
43. Winterton Emergency Camp
44. KwaLbono
45. Vulandondo
46. KwaMqikizana
47. Nysieland



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