CHAPTER ONE

THE PROBLEMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1.1 The problems of the study

According to the statistics of the Department of Home Affairs of South Africa, Taiwanese immigrants, referred to as financially independent, became the fourth largest immigrant group in 1990.

There are some pertinent facts which have occurred among Taiwanese immigrants in South Africa:

(i) New associations have been formed exclusively for Taiwanese immigrants, whereas both local Chinese and Taiwanese had common associations before, for example, the Commercial Chambers in Bloemfontein, Johannesburg and Newcastle; Taiwanese Students' associations at Pretoria, Wits and Cape Town Universities. It seems that Taiwanese immigrants have different intentions from those of local Chinese and they do have different beliefs and values.

(ii) Cultural and management problems between Taiwanese employers and local labourers have arisen. Taiwanese employers have been accused of treating black staff badly and paying them a pittance, but the real facts have not been reported yet. The worst event happened in May 1991, in Lesotho. Of Lesotho's population of 700 Chinese and Taiwanese, 330 took refuge in Ladybrand, a few kilometers

across the border from Maseru, the capital of Lesotho as reported by Sunday Times on 26th may, 1991.

(iii) The South African authorities are implementing incentive policies for encouraging foreign investors to transfer their funding, investment and skills to South Africa after sanctions. But these policies have been changed many times to address unexpected problems caused by some profiteering foreign investors, among whom are a few Taiwanese.

(iv) Although there are no official reports, some Taiwanese teenage students stay in South Africa alone and usually meet their parents once a year or even less; while quite a lot of recently arrived Taiwanese immigrants have returned to Taiwan after staying here for only a short period; their communicative abilities, such as their English-speaking ability, is not good enough to understand completely what South Africans say; and some of them always remain in the 'Taiwanese society' in South Africa and are either unfamiliar with the new traffic laws or their careless driving habits result in car accidents.

Taiwanese immigrants stay in South Africa, a totally different new country, where many things are unfamiliar to them. Most of the returned Taiwanese immigrants experienced a very low acculturation level. No matter how long they have stayed in South Africa, they can only speak a few greeting words in English or Afrikaans; they do not participate in the activities of the communities in which they live, and they do

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not possess the ability to handle their daily affairs in the early period of their arrival. These are the main reasons which aroused my interest in this research.

1.2 The main objectives of the study

This study is geared to achieving two objectives : the first, a methodological one, and the second, a theoretical one.

The methodological objectives are met satisfactorily through the empirical application of a questionnaire to measure the acculturation level of Taiwanese immigrants.

The study tries to demonstrate the usefulness of certain methodological techniques in selecting elements of acculturation, dissatisfaction and motivation to re-emigrate which differentiate between local Chinese and Taiwanese immigrants.

The theoretical objective of the study is to demonstrate :

(i) how aspects of demographic variables factorized into the dimensions 'socio-economic achievement', 'adaptive abilities' and 'family ties' can be used as a set of meaningful concepts to explain acculturation, dissatisfaction and desire to re-emigrate.

(ii) how acculturation (as a form of internal adaptation), and dissatisfaction (as a form of external adaptation) can be

used as two intermediate variables to explain the desire to re-emigrate among Taiwanese immigrants who were financially independent upon arrival in South Africa.

CHAPTER TWO

TAIWANESE IMMIGRATION TO THE REPUBLIC SOUTH AFRICA AND ITS BACKGROUND

2.1 Taiwanese immigrants in the South Africa

South Africa is a lower acculturation-stress society which Taiwanese immigrants live in, and have increasingly granted the permits of permanent residence which changed from tourist or business visa for them.

According to a Central Statistical Service report in 1990, 32499 tourists (23556 in 1988; 20028 in 1987; 16741 in 1986) from Asian countries with the exception of Israel, arrived in South Africa in 1989; around 70 percent of them are from Taiwan (comparatively not more than 10 percent were Taiwanese in 1986). Therefore, there are approximately 62,000 Taiwanese tourists who arrived in this country from 1986 to 1989.

Taiwanese tourists are the fourth largest tourist group in South Africa, just behind the United kingdom, West Germany and the United States.

The businesses owned by the Taiwanese and local born Chinese, which vary in size from a small cafe to a medium-sized factory, partly reflect the magnitude of the gradually growing ethnic group; there are some 600 Taiwanese-owned businesses in this country.

Immigration by the Taiwanese seems to be characterized by several unique features. First of all, the growing scale settlement by the Taiwanese immigrants in South Africa coincides with their home country's booming economy and rapidly expanding foreign trade, to which South Africa is increasingly tied since sanctions were imposed. In the case of the Taiwanese, there is no visible factor, such as famine, war, revolution, or religious persecution, driving them out of the country; on the contrary, many of them are taking maximum advantage of their home country's booming economy by seeking opportunities for international trade with their "connections" at home or investing factories in homeland industrial areas by the incentives of industrial decentralization.

The fact that the pulling factor of economic prosperity in South Africa was much stronger than the pushing factors in their home country will apparently leave the option of "going home" for most Taiwanese immigrants if their pursuit of the South African dream turns out to be futile. This option, in turn, will have an important impact on their motivations to adopt the core of South African culture.

The second feature of Taiwanese immigration is that, due to their late arrival, the Taiwanese immigrants do not experience any consequences of institutionally supported racial discrimination or conflicts resulting from Apartheid. They have not had to face the kind of historical ostracism

which the local born Chinese endured. Indeed, they not only do not have to endure the consequences of racial discrimination but they are attempting to take full advantage of recent social trends in contemporary South African society. One example is their active seeking of opportunities for investing in manufacture, international trade and immigrant's education in public schools.

Thirdly, perhaps because of the economic factor or because of the characteristics of modern immigration, the transplantation of Taiwanese institutions is taking place on a growing scale. Although a majority of them are economic or commercial ones, the trend is also seen for other institutions. One of the major Taiwanese banks, the Bank of Taiwan, will open a branch in Johannesburg in 1991. China Airlines recently introduced two flights every week from Taiwan to Johannesburg. There are six flights every week for Taiwanese from Taiwan or Hong Kong to Jan Smuts airport. These flights are three times as full as they were two years ago. One newspaper which is published every other day, and equipped with full printing facilities, reprints both material published in Taipei and original local pages. The combined circulation of this paper is approximately one thousand. Taipei's other two major papers, having no printing facilities in South Africa, send their original copies directly to South Africa on a daily basis.

It is a pity that South African broadcasting stations

provide no Chinese programmes. There are about two Taiwanese Bibles study groups in Christian churches of different denominations, in addition to one Buddhist mission, and the Chinese Catholic church's membership is known to have reached one thousand. Other examples of transplantation of Taiwanese institutions are the Chamber of Commerce, and the Industrial Association.

Finally, The associations are quite separate from Taiwanese and local born Chinese associations even though there are not exclusive membership regulations. There are six associations which have only Taiwanese membership, six associations in which membership is for both Taiwanese and local born Chinese; the other thirty associations have membership only for local born Chinese.

The implications of this transplantation of Taiwanese institutions and associations are quite obvious. By having easy access to all the services provided by these institutions and associations, an immigrant has much more freedom to remain attached to the core of his home culture.

This freedom, along with the option of going home and the absence of racial discrimination, points to diminished pressure for " enforced acculturation " from the receiving society, i.e. the South Africa. Whenever such freedom is available, an immigrant feels less compelled to join the mainstream of the host culture.

The main reasons why Taiwanese people immigrate to the

Republic of South Africa are :

(i)   In South Africa there are less restrictively applied procedures than other recipient countries to which Taiwanese emigrate. Far fewer forms have to be filled in and fewer requirements have to be fulfilled, and there is a financial aid programme to support immigrants.

(ii)   The motivations to emigrate from Taiwan are markedly dissimilar from those that have evolved in advanced capitalist countries. Since 1987 there have been fashionable trends in Taiwan to emigrate overseas. Not only has the living situation in Taiwan worsened, but the advertisements of the burgeoning immigration consultants in Taiwan encourage emigration.

(iii)   Private entrepreneurs and their Taiwanese skilled workforce can obtain permanent residence permits and multiple entry visas to South Africa.

(iv)   The immigrant consultants, both in Taiwan and South Africa, entice them to come.

The number of Taiwanese people leaving the country to go overseas increases yearly. The main reasons why the Taiwanese government allows this outflow are as follows : (i) the high population density is still a major cause of socio-economic problems , and (ii) the government aims to promote economic and political relationships between Taiwan and the recipient countries. For these reasons, the

government has gradually loosened exit controls.

According to a survey of Academic Sinica in Taipei (Shiao, 1990), 17.7 percent of the respondents state that they are willing to emigrate. The reasons for their willingness to emigrate in order of priority are :

(i)   Social security in Taiwan is bad (37.7 percent).

(ii)   The residential environment overseas is better (15.8 percent).

(iii)   The quality of life in Taiwan is bad (1.1 percent).

(iv)   The advantages for career development overseas are better (11.1 percent).

(v)   The learning and educational environment for children is better overseas (10.5 percent).

(vi)   An unstable political situation in Taiwan arouse fear (9.5 percent).

(vii)   There is a fear of communist China attacking Taiwan (2.1 percent).

Meanwhile, there are many parents who expect their children to go and study abroad. The reasons are :

(i)   The better learning and educational environment for the children overseas (49.7 percent);

(ii)   The opportunities for private enterprise or personal career development overseas (15.8 percent);

(iii)   Bad social security in Taiwan (14.5 percent);

(iv)   The need of children to reunite with parents who had

emigrated since 1986 (20.3 percent).

The respondents' ideal host countries at that time (1990) were as follows : The United States of America and Australia (18.4 percent); Canada (15.0 percent); European countries (10.2 percent); Southern Asia countries (7.9 percent); New Zealand (2.3 percent); Central and South America (1.5 percent); and South Africa (5 percent).

Under the restrictive Exit Control Act, the individual emigration trend has for a long time been influenced by individual's dissatisfaction with existing conditions in Taiwan. Due to the relaxation of exit controls and the people becoming more affluent - the GNP per capita in 1989 was around US$ 8,000.00 (South Africa's GNP per capita was US$ 3126.50 in 1989), and the government estimates US$ 12,000.00 by 2000 - the controlled personal capital transferred overseas has increased from less than US$ 6,000.00 per year before 1986 to US$ 5 million per year after 1986.

There were two periods of Taiwanese emigration to South Africa in recent times :

2.1.1 The period before 1986

The Taiwanese immigrants make full use of the incentives policies which are offered by the Board of Industrial Decentralization. The increasing ties between South Africa and Taiwan have resulted from the following factors :

(i)   Trade between Taiwan and South Africa has rapidly increased, whilst the trade between Taiwan and other countries remains almost the same or grow less than 10 percent annually.

(ii)   The Taiwanese government has adopted an overseas investment policy of encouraging private entrepreneurs to invest in friendly, resource rich foreign countries. Southern Africa with its abundant mineral resources, and cheap, but increasingly more affluent, labour force has become a prime area for investment (Copping, 1983: 85).

(iii)   The disinvestment by western industrialized countries, full sectional sanctions and a complete stoppage of international bank loans since 1980s forced the South African government to look for new sources of foreign investment (Pickles et al., 1989: 508).

(iv)   South Africa is interested in attracting foreign capital and technology, and sees the broader global and regional economic strategies that permitted and encouraged capital inflow to South Africa as opposed to the economic dislocation of funds during the 1980s (Pickles et al. 1989: 508).

(v)   Both Taiwan and South Africa were increasingly isolated. However their links were not particularly close until after. 1971 (Pickles, 1989: 510-511).

(vi)   Bilateral contacts, cooperation, conferences and ministerial discussions between the two countries have addressed joint agricultural, military, trade, business, educational, and investment projects (Pickles, 1989: 512).

Before 1986, even though there were over 100 Taiwanese factories operating in the homelands, Taiwanese investors in South Africa were only granted temporary residence permits. After considering the economic and diplomatic arguments from the Taiwanese authorities, South Africa revised its immigration regulations relating to permanent residence permits and multiple entry visas for Taiwanese after 1986. Although these changes were aimed primarily at facilitating Taiwanese investment in South Africa, Taiwanese immigrants were encouraged by their friends, relatives and the advertising agencies during the 1980s to emigrate from Taiwan.   Taiwanese immigrants are now being granted permanent residence permits.

2.1.2   The period from 1986 to 1991

The number of Taiwanese immigrants has doubled yearly during recent years (see Table 1-1). Most South Africa immigrants come from other African countries or European countries, such as Zambia, Zimbabwe, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, West Germany, and Portugal, which made up over 90 percent of immigrants between 1975 to 1985.

Since the end of 1985, immigrants from African

countries, Europe and Oceania decreased sharply because those countries started discouraging their people from emigrating to South Africa as part of their implementation of full sanctions. By comparison, the number of immigrants from Israel and Taiwan increased sharply. In particular, the number of Taiwanese immigrants being granted permits of permanent residence doubled nearly every year; Taiwanese immigrants referred to as financially independent became the fourth largest immigrant group in 1990 (see Table 1-1). Prior to 1986, there were few references in official statistical reports to Taiwanese immigrants.

2.2 Development in Taiwan

The reason why Taiwanese immigrants became the main source of Asian immigrants to South Africa is Taiwan's remarkable economic development. It has been listed as one of the "Four light dragons". The others are Hong Kong, Singapore, and South Korea. The main factors that transformed this small island, Taiwan, from an under-developed country in the late 1940s to a developed country in the 1980s, are the following:

A. Achievements in Education

The policy of universal education is one of the main forces which accelerate the socio-economic development in Taiwan. These educational achievements appear in the following:

(i) The introduction of nine-year compulsory education

successfully raised the people's literacy. In 1979, 99.68 percent of school-aged children attended school.

(ii) Education extends into rural areas, and young rural people join the 4-H (Hand, Head, Health, and Heart) club activities, which include home economics and agricultural skills, as part of their teaching programme which reaches into the home.

(iii) The scope of education is broadening. Special schools design programmes for the 7 percent of illiterates, who are mostly adults beyond school age or have disabilities or handicaps.

(iv) Social education promotes the people's educational achievements. There are 134 radio stations and 3 television networks offering various programmes 24 hours per day. The China Yearbook (R.O.C) reports 3,360,000 television sets in use in 1978, which means that nearly 5 persons shared a TV set at that time. The Yearbook also reported that 31 daily newspapers sold 2,300,000 copies. Almost everyone reads at least one newspaper at home or in libraries. In addition, there are museums, science exhibitions, art displays, zoological gardens, observatories and other places of informal education.

(v) Achieving a post-graduate degree is one of each Taiwanese's personal ambitions. According to the United Daily News (May 3, 1980), there were more than 50,000

Taiwanese students abroad in the years preceding 1978. A total of 5.443 students were enrolled in the local graduate schools in 1979 (R.O.C. Ministry of Education, Educational Statistics of the R.O.C.).

B. Economic Development

The successful economic development in Taiwan is well known since the latter half of the 1970s. The main factors contributing to the country's success are as follows :

(i) The per capita GNP increased 4.16 times from NT$ 12,521 (nearly US$ 263) in 1952 to NT$ 54,359 (nearly US$ 1359) in 1979. Government pre-estimates forecast that GNP will rise to US$ 12,000 by 2000.

(ii) The total foreign trade turnover increased from US$ 303 million in 1952 to US$ 39,484 million in 1980.

(iii) Stability in prices was regarded, at the outset, as the prerequisite for any sustainable development programme as was the restoration of economic power, transportation, communications and irrigation.

(iv) There has been a lessening of foreign-exchange and trade controls and an expansion of the private sector of the economy since 1958.

(v) Due to economic growth, the government tends to import at a low rate.

(vi)   The fast expansion of foreign trade is the major sector of economic development in Taiwan.

(vii)   The export processing zones (EPZ) successfully attracted foreign investors to Taiwan, because of the stability of the investment climate as well as a disciplined labour force.

(viii)   Labour-intensive manufacturing for export is the key to Taiwan's initial quick entry into the ranks of the fast-advancing LDCs (Less developed countries).

(ix)   The foreign trade balance rose from a deficit of US$ 66.8 million in 1965 to a sizeable surplus in the 1970s and then a surplus of more than US$ 70 billion since 1986.

(x)   Both equity and stability are goals which Taiwan has long stressed in its economic policy. The top 20 percent and the lowest 20 percent on the income ladder accounted for 37.5 percent in 1975 and 8.6 percent in 1979. Unemployment rate registered at 1.3 percent in 1979, and even during the worst post-oil shock year of 1975, it was no more than 2.4 percent.

(xi)   After the monetary reform in 1949, inflation was kept under control with an annual rate of increase of 5.6 percent between 1975 and 1978.

(xii)   The introduction of preferential interest savings deposits in 1950 was effective in bringing stability to the banks. Savings accounted for 44 percent of the money supply

in 1952; the interest rate was decreased to only 2 percent compared to the 20 percent rate before 1950.

c. Social change

Taiwan's social conditions have changed with economic progress. This social transformation has affected the people's values and attitudes.

(i) In the countryside of Taiwan, people have become more independent and do their own thinking on matters of private concern, but previously they didn't.

(ii) Children are much better educated and more articulate in their wishes and aspirations; and decision-making is made through mutual consultation between parents and children. Previously, the father or the head of the family was the decision maker.

(iii) The rural communities are changing rapidly from an authoritarian to a democratic style.

(iv) As a result of modernization and the increase of wealth, daily life in rural societies do not differ greatly from urban society.

(v) Agricultural development has shifted from self-sufficiency to interdependence. Through agricultural extension programmes, the farmer has been taught how to gain credit, lend facilities and make loans from the government,

and how to set up group farming or marketing cooperatives related to the export of agricultural products.

(vi)   Young people's attitudes toward marriage and the family have moved closer to western practice.   They prefer marriages based on romantic love and to live in separate houses from their parents.

(vii)   The family still remains a rich source of support and comfort; the traditional spirit and features of the Taiwanese family system will probably have a better chance of survival than those of most of the families in the West.

(viii)   The bases of discipline in raising children is love-oriented rather than the previous power-assertive model. This has been found to be very similar in rural and in urban areas.

(ix)   There is more rapid social mobility in Taiwan than other countries, because the Chinese cultural tradition which emphasizes the importance of education. In Taiwan people's occupational achievements are based on educational qualifications.

(x)   Yang (1983: 268-270) notes the changes in Taiwanese mentality and behaviour as a result of modernization, namely :
(a)   Humanistic attitudes - such as the emphasis on egalitarianism as opposed to authoritarianism, man's mastery of nature, present and future oriented outlooks, mutual tolerance, and positive personality traits;

(b) Individualistic orientation – such as self-respect, assertiveness, personal striving rather than reliance on external factors and equal treatment in social relations;

(c) Increasing ability to adapt to change;

(d) Increasing sense of happiness in life.

D. Behavioural factors

Universal education, economic development and social change affect the Taiwanese residents' values, beliefs and behaviour.

(i) The Chinese in the Taiwanese family structure are viewed as a channel facilitating movement toward developing enterprise rather than as a barrier to change.

(ii) They understand the value of communal solidarity in the process of adopting technological improvements such as modern irrigation in Taiwan since 1968.

(iii) Kinship and birth-place based relationships are very significant for those who migrate from rural to urban regions; they adjust to the urban environment by keeping together around old community ties. The new conditions of the urban setting both necessitate and make possible the modification and adaptation of many rural institutions such as family and kinship relationships; they do not necessitate rejection or replacement of rural institutions with urban industrial type institutions.

The transition from a rural to an urban society was achieved in Taiwan without serious alienation between the two. Many of the old behaviour patterns, such as the main tendency towards intimate personal ties, serve positive functions. Close family relations serve to bridge spatial and social distances among members of the same family. It is not correct, as has often been stated, that interrelationships, based on Confucian ethics, could have caused retardation of the modernization of China (Robert, 1988: 110-120). In the case of Taiwan's development, many of the traditional values and notions actually serve as lubricants to facilitate the transformation ushered in by industrialization and urbanization.

E. Values

The Chinese in Taiwan generally have changed values from those which prevailed in mainland China before 1949.

(i) Taiwanese religious and folk beliefs are clearly recognized as continuations and extensions from the mainland China tradition.

(ii) Western customs are adopted by Taiwanese, including relatively free courtship and western individualism, which might have weakened the concept of social responsibility and, therefore, the bond between husband and wife does not appear to have prevailed.

2.2.1 Current international migration policies in Taiwan

To understand Taiwanese emigrant behaviour, one must know the exit controls in Taiwan. The political position of Taiwan is unique; the Nationalist (Koumintang, KMT) government has been forced to build a "divided nation-state" in Taiwan to counteract the Chinese Communists who took over Mainland China in 1949. The Nationalist Government has imposed the Martial Act since 1949, a very restrictive border control act to legislate transborder affairs for national security. Under this act, Taiwan's border control policies are exempt from the Emergency Regulation Governing Entry and Exit Act in the Taiwan area. According to this regulation, all citizens must have exit permits to leave the country. An exit permit can be granted to all citizens who report to various administrative institutions, registering their reason for leaving and stating their destination.

In 1987, the National Security Act, promulgated a less restrictive border control, effectively replacing martial law. Approval by administrative institutions has now become unnecessary, but the exit permits are still required on the insistence of the state authority.

In addition, all male citizens have to meet requirements relating to military service. Therefore, male citizens under 30, as well as young men over 16, are restricted from leaving freely. But there are some exceptions when male citizens can travel abroad for post-graduate education, foreign

employment, investment, cultural exchanges, and technical assistance to the third-world countries. Therefore, the ratio of males between 16 and 30 of Taiwanese immigrants in South Africa is low. Most male immigrants are investors, because the investment incentives encourage the transfer of entrepreneurs to South Africa.

Since the loosening of Taiwan's exit control regulations, Taiwanese go abroad more easily than before, and the departing Taiwanese will probably end up staying abroad permanently. The total number of emigrant departures has increased 15 folds from 1962 to 1986 (Liao, 1988: 13).

Emigration shows an increased long term trend; the fluctuations of individual groups reflect different situations. For example, the number of Taiwanese in foreign employment declined in the periods from 1973-1974 and from 1980-1981. The former was caused by the world energy crisis and the latter resulted from the worldwide recession.

According to Liao (1988: 16), Taiwan's international migration policies have changed from restrictive to a more liberal approach. There are four causes of immigration which are related to the phenomena occurring in Taiwan and which signify Taiwan's political economic development process. The first three can be used to explain the growing emigration trend in Taiwan.

(i) The National Security Act is a less restrictive border

control measure, replacing martial law in 1987.

(ii)   An "open-door" policy for touring purposes started. Taiwanese citizens cannot only visit other democratic countries but also mainland China.   Therefore, Taiwanese citizens have more opportunities to choose countries in which to reside permanently.

(iii)   The government positively assists Taiwanese enterprises to invest overseas to solve the increasing labour costs at home and to expand international trade.

Another very important phenomenon explaining the loss of significant numbers of citizens is that many of those students studying abroad do not return.   There were 73,498 students obtaining higher education who stayed overseas from 1961 to 1985.   This phenomenon is referred to as the "Brain Drain" (Kao, 1971: 10-12).

2.2.2   The Chinese overseas and international migration in Taiwan

The Chinese overseas are defined as Chinese living abroad, outside mainland China and Taiwan - people with Chinese ancestry.   Chinese people are found in most parts of the world.

According to the data, there were 9 million Chinese overseas in 1948 and over 26 million in the world in the early 1980s.   The distribution of the overseas Chinese was

thus worldwide as early as the 1980s. More than 90 percent resided in Asia; 60 percent of the Chinese overseas, who lived outside Asia, were concentrated in the Americas. Another 760,000 Chinese were living in Europe; 177,000 in Oceania; and 77,000 in Africa, including 11,000 in South Africa (Poston & Yu, 1989: 484-490).

The Chinese overseas are in the minority in most parts of the world except in some countries where they comprise the majority, such as 98 percent of the population in Hong Kong and Macao, 77 percent in Singapore and 55 percent in the Christmas Islands.

The Chinese have taken part in substantial migrational movements; most of them are large-scale flows caused by the nation's political and economic upheavals, and others are individual movements for long-term resettlement. Between 1936 and 1941, the Second World War period, nearly 3/4 of a million refugees from China entered Hong Kong (Poston & Yu, 1989: 493-499). The Chinese communists took over the mainland in 1949 which resulted in a heavy flow of refugees to Hong Kong and other countries, continuing over many years. Chinese people did not have the same rights in their adopted countries as other immigrants until the mid-1960s.

When mainland China opened up their emigration policy after the late 1970s, the main recipient countries for immigrants in the world were the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and The Republic of South Africa

(Heisel, 1982: 366-373). Since then, a number of main-
land Chinese citizens have been allowed to emigrate to these
countries.

The influences on the distribution patterns of the
Chinese overseas are not only decided by Chinese
international migration flows but also by their mortality and
fertility rates. An interesting point to note is that Hong
Kong is comprised of 98 percent of Chinese, and Singapore is
comprised of 77 percent Chinese. Their crude death rates
have declined from 34.3 (Hong Kong) and 20.9 (Singapore) in
1940 to only about 5 for both countries in 1986 (Poston & Yu,
1989: 502). This decline in mortality is fairly
representative of the mortality patterns for the overseas
Chinese in other more developed countries.

Also a decline in overseas Chinese fertility rates has
been reported in many developed and developing countries.
The reasons for the fertility decline in the Chinese overseas
are their achievement in the socio-economic field, personal
educational improvement and high social mobility (Poston &
Yu, 1989: 502-503). Halli (1987: 163-164) states that
"Minority group status consciousness, associated with
marginal inspiration affect their fertility behaviour. For
example, couples who are highly assimilated structurally, but
are low in acculturation, will have the lowest fertility for
the sake of social mobility".

2.2.3   The impact of Taiwanese immigrants in the South
        Africa on the socio-economic sectors in Taiwan

Although the number of Taiwanese immigrants in South Africa
are limited to a few thousand at the moment, there still
exist some influences on the socio-economic sectors in
Taiwan, which are resulting from their returning migration to
Taiwan.

(i) Economic factors : Taiwanese overseas investment results
in the expansion of the international trade of Taiwan.   The
industrial structure in Taiwan has been transformed from the
"labour intensive" to the "capital intensive" and "automated"
type.   The rise in wages and the NT currency value have
reduced Taiwan's competitive ability in production in the
international trade.   Taiwanese emigrants still have close
contact with their relatives and friends remaining in Taiwan.
However, if emigrants transfer their money too rapidly to
their new country of residence, it will threaten the capital
assets in Taiwan.

(ii) High population pressure : Although the number of
Taiwanese immigrants in South Africa is less than the annual
number of over 20,000 emigrants to all the world, which
represents about 1.2 percent of the total population, this
accounts for nearly 8 percent of the annual population growth
rate in Taiwan.   South Africa has become a more important
receiving country after sanctions were lifted.   Therefore the

outflow to South Africa will significantly lessen the high population pressure in Taiwan in the future.

(iii) Improvement of diplomatic relations with South Africa: The diplomatic ties between Taiwan and South Africa can be strongly tightened by the immigrants' cultural exchanges with South Africans. This relationship will remain longer in those countries with Taiwanese immigrants than in those without.

(iv) Brain drain : Taiwan loses emigrants who are beneficial to her society, as most of the immigrants have either professional skills or sufficient capital to transfer to help the economic development in the host countries.

Table 1-1 : South African immigrants by year of arrival or approval

Country of origin	1986 NO	%	1987 NO	%	1988 NO	%	1989 NO	%	1990* NO	%
Grand Total	6994	100	7953	100	10400	100	11270	100	13357	100
Africa	2433	34.8	2665	33.5	3467	33.3	3101	27.5	2895	21.7
Lesotho	16	0.2	33	0.4	76	0.7	130	1.2	171	1.3
Zambia	140	2.0	167	2.0	163	1.6	179	1.6	160	1.2
Zimbabwe	1859	26.6	1914	24.1	2522	24.3	1936	17.2	1553	11.6
Others	418	6.0	551	6.9	706	6.8	856	7.6	1011	7.6
Asia	232	3.3	550	6.9	835	8.0	1379	12.2	2567	19.2
Israel	158	2.3	220	2.8	294	2.8	606	5.4	875	6.6
R.O.C.			129	1.6	286	2.8	406	4.1	1221	9.1
Others	74	1.0	201	2.5	255	2.5	313	2.8	471	3.5
America	359	5.1	396	5.0	557	5.4	585	5.2	774	5.8
Canada	65	0.9	59	0.7	114	1.1	96	0.9	87	0.6
USA	171	2.4	221	2.8	260	2.5	304	2.7	320	2.5
Others	123	1.8	116	1.5	183	1.8	185	1.6	367	2.7
Europe	3818	54.6	4164	52.4	5306	51.0	5953	52.8	6957	52.1
Greece	82	1.2	115	1.4	106	1.0	143	1.3	124	0.9
Netherland	121	1.7	137	1.7	142	1.4	134	1.2	160	1.2
Portgual	599	8.6	596	7.5	777	7.5	1006	8.9	1312	9.8
U.K.	2012	28.8	2168	34.8	2904	28.0	3088	27.4	3030	23.4
West Germany	361	5.2	416	5.2	555	5.3	454	4.0	661	4.9
Others	643	9.2	732	9.2	822	7.9	1128	10.0	1570	11.8
Oceania (Australia & New Zealand)	120	1.7	146	1.8	189	1.8	190	1.7	164	1.2

Resource : Tourism and migration, from 1986 - 1990, In: Central
Statistical Service of South Africa.
* 1990 includes only 11 months, December omitted.

CHAPTER THREE

ACCULTURATION THEORY AND ADAPTATION

3.1 The concept of acculturation

It was as early as 1880 that the use of the concept of acculturation started with the anthropologist J.W. Powell.

There are various definitions of acculturation. Redfield et al. (1936: 149-152) defined it as follows : "Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which results when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups". Herskovits (1938: 6) stated that "Acculturation is the study of the cultural transmission process".

Linton (1940: 468-472) observed that the direction and the amount of acculturation depends mainly on two factors :

(i) the relative effectiveness of the techniques for adaptation to the local environment which each culture provides; and

(ii) other things being equal, a group which recognizes its social inferiority will borrow more extensively from its superiors than the superiors will borrow from it.

The former example applies to Europeans who live in the Arctic and have adopted Eskimo dresses because of its

suitability to the environment, whilst an example of the latter is that most German immigrants, who emigrated to the United States in the nineteenth century, believed firmly that their native culture was superior to American culture.

The Social Science Research Council of the United States of America (SSRC, 1954: 974) defined acculturation as :

> ... Cultural change that is initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous cultural systems. Acculturative change may be the consequence of direct cultural transmission; it may be derived from noncultural causes, such as ecological or demographic modifications induced by an impinging culture; it may be delayed, as with internal adjustments following upon the acceptance of alien traits or patterns; or it may be a reactive adaptation of traditional modes of life. Its dynamics can be seen as the selective adaptation of value systems, the processes of integration and differentiation, the generation of developmental sequences, and the operation of role determinants and personality factors.

Acculturation in society requires the contact of at least self-governing cultural groups; there must also be change in one or the other of the two groups which results from the contact.

3.2 Acculturation situations

From the above statements, it appears that there are several types of situations which facilitate acculturation.

Firstly, cultural contact does result from a dominant culture impinging upon an indigenous culture. Examples are the Indians of the Americas and the Bantu people of South Africa.

Secondly, there are acculturative changes which result from emigration from one culture to another.

Thirdly, cultural contact may not lead to acculturation. Linton (1940: 12-18) concluded in his research on the Hopit and Tewa Indians in Arizona that although these two Pueblo tribes had lived side by side in the same village for more than 200 years, their cultural patterns have never mutually interacted. The reason may be that they have never lived peacefully with each other, and so acculturation never started.

Fourthly, acculturation changes take place among temporary residents to new cultures. However these are perhaps less extensive. The most obvious examples here are international students in higher education and the personnel of multinational corporations who may spend years in foreign countries.

Fifthly, acculturation is different from assimilation. Assimilation means the complete loss of original ethnic identity of an individual or group of individuals, leading to absorption into the dominant culture. However, assimilation is often treated as one of the results of acculturation.

Sixthly, diffusion is another aspect of acculturation. Diffusion refers to the spread of linguistic and cultural elements like values and knowledge from one area, tribe or people to others through contact. But diffusion may occur

with acculturation or even without it.

Seventhly, acculturation takes place gradually. Concrete objects, such as tools, utensils and ornaments, are generally the first things adapted by the newcomers to any culture. But the transfer of intangible elements, such as patterns of behaviour takes place long after the newcomers' initial exposure to the new culture.

Eighthly, acculturation is to a large extent not a conscious process. Immigrants living in South Africa, for example, are often unaware of the degree to which they have become "South Africanized". Only when they return to their original homes after having lived in South Africa for several years do they realize how much they have changed.

Ninthly, upward social mobility cannot be seen as synonymous with acculturation, although it is perhaps the most significant single indicator of the degree of acceptance achieved by an individual immigrant in the host society. Of course, there is a phenomenon that immigrants of a higher occupational status tend to acculturate more quickly and more fully than those of a lower occupational status. But this may be a result of the intrinsic demands of high-status occupations upon the individuals holding them, rather than a reflection of the opportunities in the host society for immigrants to advance to these positions.

Tenthly, acculturation is not necessarily a co-existence

of positive personal adjustment or vice versa, even though the process of acculturation is in essence a process of learning and readjustment for the individuals involved. Therefore, one can be native born and maladjusted or completely deacculturated and emotionally satisfied (Zubrzycki, 1956: 214).

Finally, the "marginal man" concept (the well-known example is the Jew) has contributed to the belief that emotional stress is necessarily a concomitant of acculturation. The "marginal man" is conceived of as an individual who has left his native culture and has not been integrated into a new one. Although he may want to be affiliated with both groups, he is fully accepted by neither. The Chinese in South Africa is a type of marginal man (Smedly, 1978: 87).

Comparing the different definitions of acculturation, one could say that they concur regarding the following statements :

(i) Acculturation is a cultural transmission which follows when a new immigrant from one cultural system enters into another.

(ii) Acculturation follows after continuous contact between immigrants and people in the host country.

(iii) The cultures that a new immigrant come into contact with are different from the one which he originally came

from.

(iv) Acculturation implies that certain cultural elements such as the selective adaptation of value system, personality, identity and habits are transferred to new immigrants.

3.3 Acculturation contexts

The acculturation process was first studied by anthropologists (Redfield & Herskovits, 1936: 149-152) who were interested in reconstructing the aboriginal cultures of the past, as pieced together from the aborigines' memories, rather than studying the empirical nature of cultural changes which had taken place, and the results of the changes, together with the conditions that promoted such changes. Recently, acculturation studies have been expanded into describing the influence of the culture of one ethnic group upon that of another.

This shift in emphasis in acculturation studies can be attributed to several factors :

(i) The vast, complex social issues created by the increasing racial and cultural contacts in the modern world. Human migration has been a very common phenomenon for many countries, and there are two types of migrants - involuntary and voluntary. Involuntary migrants were compelled to move by disasters, wars, traumas and forced removals to move. Most of the involuntary migrants are refugees, who have

comprised a significant proportion of immigrants to western countries. Since the 1960s, by far the main refugee flows have been between developing countries. There are many millions of post-World War Two refugees in Asia, Latin America and Africa (Appleyard, 1988: 27). Voluntary migrants are motivated by personal preference and the enhancement of individual freedom for the growth of personal spatial mobility (Gorden et al., 1981: 22). They also migrate for better job opportunities, and for a better lifestyle and standard of living.

(ii) The presence of job immigration into an alien culture has given the social scientist an opportunity to study the nature and effects of change in the immigrants' job situation in the host country. In South Africa, where immigration has been a very important factor in the history of the country, social scientists of all disciplines, not only anthropologists but also sociologists, have for many years studied the problems of social and cultural change brought about by immigration (Brownell, 1980; Smedley, 1978; Groenewald, 1977). This growing possibility for scientists to study the dynamics of human adaptation and readaptation, under observed conditions, will lead not only to a greater understanding of human behaviour but also to a formulation of general principles involved in these processes (Hallowell, 1955: 310).

Marger (1985: 89) conceptualizes three types of racially

or ethnically mixed societies according to the different levels of acculturation. These are colonialist, corporate pluralist and assimilationist societies. In a corporate pluralist society such as South Africa, at present the majority population is effectively kept repressed. Even where a margin of equality of competition in the economic sphere is allowed, it is subject to the will and discretion of the dominant group and is based on effective non-recognition of identity by the minority. Moreover a structure such as apartheid, which was implemented since 1949, is sought as a solution which ultimately maintains and reinforces separation. However, the unfair residential environment in political and socio-economic situations has altered since apartheid has been lifted in 1991.

3.4 Acculturation in Sociology

Functionalist sociologists used terms such as cultural change, social change, and socialization to represent acculturation. Cultural change, according to them, includes all changes in culture including all natural development, which that means acculturation is seen as being only a part of cultural change. Conflict sociologists, on the other hand, view acculturation as the reduction of conflict within an interacting system.

Berry (1980: 11) suggests that there can be a three-phase process in acculturation : contact, conflict and adaptation.

The first phase, contact, is necessary between two groups. It can happen through immigration, trade, invasion, enslavement, educational or missionary activity, or through telecommunications. Without contact there can be no acculturation. Acculturation is a function of the purpose, duration, and permanence of contact. Therefore, the least acculturation may take place where there is no purpose (contact is accidental), where trade is mutually desired, or where contact is short-lived; the greatest acculturation will take place where the purpose is a deliberate takeover of a society (for example, by invasion) or of its skills or beliefs (e.g. by education and evangelization) over a long period of time (e.g. by settlement).

The second phase, conflict, probably only takes place after some degree of resistance, or where groups do not lightly give up the beliefs and values of their traditional culture. At some point after contact, conflict becomes the general rule.

The third phase, adaptation, refers to a variety of processes such as assimilation and integration in which conflict is stabilized or reduced.

Shuval (1963: 31-41) examined the nature of settlers into Israel in the early phase (first two years) of settlement. He assesses acculturation by using three variables : (i) acceptance of certain norms that immigrants

perceived as representative of Israel, (ii) seeking affinitive ties with fellow immigrants from the country of origin, as sources of information and advice, and (iii) access to the host population.

Dohrenwend and Smith (1962: 32) postulate two dimensions of culture-change : (i) maintenance or loss of traditional culture, and (ii) gain of new cultural traits.

Keefe (1980: 87) suggests that acculturation causes the breakdown of the extended family and that family patterns are independent of the processes of urbanization, modernization, and industrialization.

Clark's et al. (1976: 234) review of the literature on acculturation among Hispanic Americans, reveals that a gradual shift of interest from the concept of acculturation to that of ethnic identity has taken place. They also show that age and generation are the major factors which determine varying types of ethnic identity and the extent of Anglicization (becoming more English). The determining factors are relative social status in one culture compared with the other; the degree of outside pressure to interact with Americans in the new setting; the perceived level of ethnic discrimination; personal circumstances, such as schooling, intermarriage, migration, relocation; the degree of "sheltering" or "cloistering" of the individual within the family or ethnic community; and the "acculturation level" of other family members or the kind of neighbourhood in which

the person was reared.

Spiro's (1955: 1240-1252) survey revealed a positive relationship between acculturation and social mobility among ethnic groups in the United States. Warner and Srole (1945: 41-45) hypothesized that Spanish Americans prefer group identity to social mobility, because they found that Spanish Americans/Hispanics who have been predominantly of the lower class are only slightly acculturated. As already noted, it seems that individuals with a high social status tend to be the most acculturated.

Bruner (1956: 613-615) hypothesized that cultural contact which seeks to explain what are persistent, and what are changed factors, when one culture is in continuous contact with another, states that cultural values and orientations having to do with kinship and sex-role behaviour are resistant to change.

3.5 Psychological paradigm of acculturation

Doob (1960: 24-26) found that there was a tendency among the American Indians and Italians to cling to their traditional attitudes concerning the family. These traditional family-related beliefs and values are likely to serve a continuing need, since traditional beliefs and values offer general security.

By contrast, Torres-Matrullo (1980: 132) supports the hypothesis that with increased acculturation and education,

traditional family and sex-role values are changing among Puerto Rican men in mainland United States. The relation-ships between education and personal adjustments were found to be significant.

Szapocznik and Kurtines (1980: 155-156) suggest that in bicultural communities, acculturation will be two-dimensional involving an accommodation to the host culture as well as retention of the culture of origin and that exaggerated acculturation or exaggerated maintenance of ethnic identity is detrimental to the mental health of immigrant groups. Immigrants living in bicultural communities must be able to interact effectively with both communities in order to avoid the detrimental effects of acculturation such as psychosocial or behavioural disorders. He suggests in addition that the detrimental effects of adaptation to a new culture for individuals living in bicultural communities can be ameliorated by encouraging biculturalism.

Padilla (1980: 48-49) studied acculturation as a complex interactive process involving both members of the cultural group undergoing change and members of the host culture. His model of acculturation involves two essential elements - cultural awareness and ethnic loyalty. Cultural awareness refers to an individual's knowledge of specific cultural materials (e.g. language, values, history, art, foods, etc.) of the cultural group of origin and/or the host culture. Ethnic loyalty means an individual's preference for one

cultural orientation over the other. He also postulates five dimensions in determining acculturative change; these are language familiarity and usage, cultural heritage, ethnic pride and identity.

Berry (1980: 13) identified four distinct varieties of acculturation, which are assimilation, integration, rejection, and deculturation, by giving contrasting "yes" or "no" answers to two questions of crucial importance to all groups and individuals undergoing acculturation : "Is my cultural identity to be retained?" and "Are positive relations with the larger dominant society to be sought?".

This paradigm was originally conceptualized by Berry (1980), who treated acculturation as a variety of adaptation, and embraces language, cognitive style, personality, identity, attitudes, and acculturative stress. These are schematically diagrammed as a function of the course of acculturation. Berry's figure suggests that there is a common course across all six psychological fields and pre-contact characteristics reach some hypothetical conflict point, then distinguish to a variety of adaptations. The paradigm is also useful in pointing out the variety of acculturation modes. I conceptualized acculturation as a variable of internal adaptation.

(i) Language : It is the first field but probably the least complicated variable in the course of acculturation. A

newcomer, after contacting the dominant people in a receiving country, experiences a language shift which typically occurs if the language used is different from his own. The results will be that the newcomers or the whole new group will maintain or reinstate their traditional language by taking steps to protect, purify and institutionalize it. Alternatively, they will make a complete shift from their own language to that of the larger society.

(ii) Cognitive style : Berry (1980: 19) includes all perceptual and cognitive behaviours in the field of cognitive style. His finding has been that most perceptual (e.g. illusion susceptibility), cognitive (e.g. intellectual abilities) and cognitive style (e.g. embedded figures) test performances show shifts toward the norms found in the dominant group. He also found the most effective technical education.

But Buriel (1975: 417-429) indicated that some Mexican Americans return to a pre-contact language, because they have a barrier to acculturation. Therefore, there is some impressionistic evidence that there may be a "switching" between styles, or a "bicultural" style, depending upon whether one is operating in the traditional or in the dominant group.

(iii) Personality : The linear gradient pattern between personality and acculturation is not consistently perceived among researchers. Hallowell (1955: 77-81) found, but Peck

et al. (1976: 141-150) did not found, this difference is perhaps because of the existence of a threshold of conflict. Spindler's (1957: 147-157) work uses the anthropological basis for the conflict experience.

Researchers, such as Spindler (1968), Linton (1943), Wallace (1956) found that some individuals and groups continue on the course toward the dominant culture, while some move toward a native-oriented pole. The psychological basis for dealing with the crisis experience is rooted in the work of Stonequist (1935: 1-12) who noted that one possible course for the marginal person is to "swing about" and engage either wholly or partially in the traditional culture.

(iv) Identity : Brand et al. (1974: 874-881) indicate that there is a fairly clear preference for an identity associated with the dominant group. But there are numerous problems which exist in the experimenter's ethnicity which make such an overwhelming shift toward the assimilation mode remain suspectious. LeVine Brand's et al. (1978: 179-190) later work considered some of these problems experientially and found identification with the dominant group to be lower.

There is clear evidence which demonstrates wide-spread identity with actual group membership in a multicultural Canadian society. Berry et al. (1977) found that among those of French ancestry, about half identify as French-Canadian, and that among those of British ancestry, the vast majority (85 percent) identity as Canadian; and among those of other

ethnic backgrounds, about two-thirds identify as Canadian. Overall, there is a substantial proportion of persons in the society maintaining a regional or ethnic identity, distinct from a national one.

(v) Attitudes : A group's attitudes toward the various acculturation modes, which are the assimilation, integration, and rejection mode, have been developed by previous research. Sommerlad and Berry's (1970: 239-244) research found identity as a criterion to distinguish their favouring the assimilation mode and integration mode.

However, Berry's (1976: 86-95) previous work in Australia and Northern Canada has attempted to show that these are fairly independent attitudes. It means people's attitudes can vary from group to group, and that the variation is to some extent dependent upon contact.

Favouring assimilation is positively related to the new cultural and psychological similarity between the two groups in contact, while favouring rejection is negatively related to the degree of contact already experienced. Therefore, identity with the chosen society is favoured by those who are young, better educated, less religious and exogenous (i.e. marry outside of their ethnic group).

The criticisms among these researchers are that these attitudes are conceptually unrelated to the constructs of modernization which assume some universal assimilation mode.

(vi) <u>Acculturative stress</u> : The psychological responses considered as resulting from "stress" have been classed as "shifts". The class of behaviour patterns has been termed "acculturative stress"; there are also variations in precontact behaviour patterns, and those which include behaviour and experience which are generated during acculturation and which are mildly pathological and disruptive to the individual and his group. This research is related to deviant behaviour, psychosomatic symptoms, and feelings of marginality.

With respect to immigrant adaptation, Murphy (1975: 163-172) argues that migrants experience less stress in multicultural societies than in unicultural societies, and indeed may have better mental health than local-born residents. The possible reason is that the groups in multicultural societies maintain a supportive cultural tradition; while in unicultural societies, there is a single dominant culture with a clear set of national attitudes and values which all immigrants must either adjust to or oppose, leading to greater conflict and higher rates of stress and eventually to psychological breakdown.

Berry (1980: 21-22) says the literature suggests that increasing stress is not inevitable as contact and conflict increase; stress levels are associated with both cultural and psychological characteristics of the groups and individuals in contact, and may decline after a conflict point. He also

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suggests that "acculturative stress will be highest when the cultural distance is greatest and when the insistence that the journey be taken is strongest".

The study of acculturative stress is a study of the adaptation of traditional cultural groups during acculturation and ranges from the study of the unicultural to the study of the multicultural nature of dominant societies. It is similar to the study of cultural distance. For the purposes of this study, acculturative stress will be omitted.

Acculturation studies in sociology, can contribute to a better understanding of social distance, culture change, intergroup relations and conflict; or, in psychology, to a better understanding of personality, cognitions and identity.

3.6 Communication as a medium of acculturation

There are communicationists , such as Kim (1978: 79-83), who explain the differential acculturation rates among immigrants from communication-relevant perspectives. Communicationists' assumptions are based on the view that acculturation starts as a trial and error learning about a new environment which the immigrants are in contact with. Immigrants' learning about the knowledge of new environment is dependent on adequate channels of communication and a feedback system which helps the immigrants recognize the accepted social perception, thus opening the way toward proper adaptation. Their theoretical framework is that communication is an

important determinant of the acculturation level a foreign immigrant achieves.

Weinstock (1964: 326) notes that some forms of acculturation may be taking place because of peer group pressure and occupational requirements, which do not require communication activities. But Kim (1978: 244-245) states that an immigrant's occupational status positively affects his or her interaction level with the host culture, which, in turn, has a positive significant effect on acculturation. Thus, one's occupational status influences the acculturation level both directly and by causing intercultural communication activities, which at the same time have little if any effect on ethnic communication.

3.7 Adaptation

Taiwanese immigrants have moved to South Africa in which English is a second language for them. Taiwanese immigration is a new wave of free movement and is concerned with financial independence as acknowledged by the South African government. They are different from those who are labour immigrants, or those who are part of the so-called "brain drain", or those who continuously move between Europe and the British Commonwealth countries, or refugees who flee from other African countries as a result of internal warfare or political upheaval.

Taft (1977: 121) maintains that "adaptation to

unfamiliar cultures is a special case of responding to a new environmental event, where that event is complex, enduring, and social in nature and where it has a cultural context that is unfamiliar to the actor".

Adaptation, in sociology, provides a collective meaning and direction to the potential for change present in all social systems. It also provides a collective framework for any form of evolutionary thought on change, in addition to differentiation and integration (Coetzee, 1968: 28).

Psychologists like Berry (1980 ; 12) view adaptation as the reduction of conflict. Then, the group and individual options taken to lessen acculturative conflict may be used to examine possible variations: adjustment, reaction and withdrawal.

Adaptation is a behavioural term and means developing a behaviour in accordance with new situations (Ponsioen, 1965: 50).

From the above-mentioned definitions, adaptation is a response to a new environment, where it has a complex, enduring, social and cultural context that is unfamiliar to the migrants. Migrants' attitudes toward the contacted new environment can be either adjustment or rejection; in terms of migration decision making, immigrants' responses will either be satisfactory or dissatisfactory.

3.8 The factors related with adaptation and acculturation

According to previous inquires and definitions, there are many factors related to socio-cultural adaptation and acculturation.

(i) <u>Age</u> : In many cases, children have more to learn and are also able to adapt more quickly to new conditions than adults, such as in the learning of a new language.

Immigrants face an unfamiliar cultural environment and many of them experience some degree of desocialization from previously learned attitudes, values and behaviour patterns. Thus, age on arrival in a new country is understandably an important factor in socio-cultural adaptation.

(ii) <u>Education</u> : The formal school system of the receiving country acts as a primary socializing agent. The classroom provides second language courses, or instruction in the mother tongue, together with multicultural education programmes while some countries, with large numbers of immigrants, have responded to ethnic diversity education which explains the degree and extent of subsequent sociocultural adaptation (Goldlust and Richmond, 1978: 2-7).

Richmond (1988: 54) says that "ease of access to educational opportunities in the receiving country has an important influence on the socio-cultural adaptation of immigrants". This is reflected by those who have technical

or professional training, or who frequently need to re-qualify or up-grade their qualifications in the new country in order to be able to practise in their professional jobs or business. The immigrants will have the feeling of frustration and disillusionment, if the receiving government or employers fail to provide such facilities or to assist with the cost of further education which leads to under-utilization of skills and abilities.

Education is also an important determinant of the pattern, mode and sequence of socio-cultural adaptation. An unskilled labourer on a production line may not need to be able to communicate orally in the majority language in order to function effectively. But in contrast, a nurse, teacher or doctor must have a high degree of oral fluency and literacy in the majority language before adapting at a level appropriate to his/her previous education and qualifications.

Rogers (1978: 56-61) suggests a sequence in the acculturation process in which initially rewarding experiences in the new society give rise to satisfaction. Such a sequence seems to be applicable only to less well-educated immigrants who are able to achieve a temporary adjustment within an institutionally complete ethos.

Goldlust and Richmond (1978: 2-17) further state that "in order for skilled manual, clerical, technical and professional workers to maintain or improve upon their

occupational status in the receiving country, obligatory acculturation must include linguistic, cognitive and behavioral levels of adaptation of a more substantial nature", and also say that "such a high level of acculturation is likely to precede the achievement of satisfaction, identification or even significant social integration".

(iii) Mass media : Newspapers, radio and television are important instruments in facilitating the adaptation of immigrants, whether or not they also attend formal classes. For many immigrants, television is the most important socializing agent and influence in their acculturation.

However, in the pluralistic nature of many receiving countries, the mass media do not necessarily contribute to the rapid linguistic or cultural assimilation of immigrants towards the characteristics of the majority population. Empirical studies have shown that, even after the level of education and length of residence are taken into account, exposure to ethnic media still has a direct influence on the mode of adaptation of immigrants (Richmond, 1981: 149-152).

(iv) Popular culture and consumer behaviour : Most contemporary forms of recreation, sport, entertainment, and popular culture are independent of language, nationality or cultural boundaries. Some regional, such as South African, preferences may exist for football over soccer, or for cricket over baseball, but these same activities unite

participants and spectators alike whatever their ethnic origin or nationality may be. Modern mass communications have especially enabled Chinese people in South Africa to enjoy leisure-time activities that have universal appeal.

Similar considerations apply to almost all aspects of consumer behaviour and markets, in a society where immigrants have settled. The products of modern technology, such as the microwave oven or refrigeration, combined with rapid transportation, make supermarkets and local ethnic shops capable of providing a wide range of produce from all parts of the world. International trade under contemporary conditions has diversified the range of consumer goods available to immigrants. Chinese immigrants are directly involved in entrepreneurial initiatives and promote import and export trade of this nature (Kallen and Kelner, 1983: 35-39).

Modern methods of marketing and distribution facilitate the initial adjustment of immigrants who do not speak the language of the receiving society. Supermarkets frequently exhibit familiar brand names but with new and unfamiliar products. Open shelving and self-service facilities enable new arrivals to purchase their requirements with a minimum of verbal communication.

As to Taiwanese immigrants, the realms of consumer behaviour and of popular culture are indication of the

process of mutual acculturation with the people in South Africa. Extensive cultural borrowing and exchange take place, facilitated by modern technologies, the effects of which have penetrated Taiwan and South Africa alike.

(v) Social integration : It has been noted how important family reunion is for political refugees, but similar considerations apply to economically motivated migrants who may be separated from spouse or children.

Although economic success and upward social mobility make an important contribution to the immigrants' level of satisfaction , their close ties with family and friends may be even more important. In ethnic groups within the lower income group, families not only provide moral support but are also sources of economic security and mutual aid. Anderson and Christie (1982: 207-225) found that "ethnically homogeneous social networks can have a retarding effect on occupational mobility and acculturation, if they channel communication through truncated channels or dead-ends rather than being open, supportive and facilitating ".

More recent immigrants to the cities of the United Kingdom or the United States have tended to give rise to ethnic residential concentrations in urban centres and fairly high degrees of social segregation (Rex and Tomlinson, 1979: 17-25).

The Chinese people in the PWV (Pretorial/ Witwatersrand/ Vereeniging) area can maintain their own

internal labour markets, retail stores, professional
services, old people's homes and ethnic organizations,
without necessarily suffering a high degree of geographical
segregation from the rest of the population (Smedly, 1978:
45-49).

Immigrant associations may play an important role in
facilitating the initial adjustment of immigrants and may
continue to exert influence through acting in a
representational capacity in negotiation with government
authorities.

The social cohesion of an immigrant group will depend
upon a number of factors among which population size is
clearly significant. Therefore, institutional completeness,
a complex organizational structure, the response of municipal
and central government authorities, school boards and other
bodies catering to the special needs and interests of
immigrants will depend on the numbers involved and the
effectiveness of their organizations in mobilizing support
for certain actions.

There are obvious economic constraints and logistical
problems involved in providing language classes or other
special services for small numbers spread over many
different ethnic groups. Ethnic prejudice among the
indigenous population may lead to complaints about foreign
customs with regard to clothing, food consumption, religious

rituals, recreational pursuits or personal habits of immigrants that are regarded as offensive.

The serious conflict between first-generation immigrants and the majority population is most likely to occur in the economic and political arena, such as the perceived competition for jobs, housing and opportunities for social mobility through the educational system. In some cases immigrants face explicit discrimination in these spheres. Active participation, and particularly the assumption of leadership roles, is generally confined to the better-educated, wealthy, long-term residents.

It has been noted that immigrant's original intentions are probably changed to permanent ones, which return migration is not uncommon among those expected to settle. The motives for return migration are varied. They may be related to family responsibilities, retirement, or a stage in a migrant's occupational career.

Richmond (1988: 62) states that most returning migrants are satisfied with their experience abroad, if they are not expelled by the country concerned as a consequence of a deliberate policy to discourage permanent settlement. Actually, some of them may even consider emigrating again at a later date.

Rogers (1981: 345) mentions that some countries have actively encouraged the return of their own natives when the

economic conditions there have favourably improved, in preference to becoming dependent on immigrant workers. Receiving countries have also offered incentives to return, but sending countries have had difficulty ensuring the satisfactory employment of those who return and the effective utilization of the skills or experience gained abroad.

(vi) Length of residence : Length of residence in a new country is one of the important factors influencing the degree and pattern of social-cultural adaptation exhibited by immigrants, because immigrants have to take time to learn a new language, modify their attitudes, values and behaviour to the new pattern, acquire a knowledge of the new society's institutions and develop their new social networks.

(vii) Marriage : For those who were married before migration, there may be a delay in achieving family reunion, especially if the authorities in the receiving country do not encourage them to do so. If the immigrants are unmarried on arrival, it may be need a while before marriage takes place that a family is established and new kinship connections are built up.

Marriage to a person of the same ethnic origin will lead to a more homogeneous social network, a more different pattern of acculturation and social adaptation than marriage outside the group (Richmond, 1988: 62).

The longer immigrants are away from the country of

origin, the more their own sense of personal identity will change. Meanwhile, if the receiving country encourages permanent settlement and facilitates early acquisition of citizenship, a dual sense of ethnic identity may occur.

(viii) Retention of the language of the parents and ethnic identity : Language has both instrumental and expressive significance. Children who were born in a new country are likely to retain the language of the parents, whether there are substantial advantages for them to do so or not. For example, firstly, where a parent or grandparent has not acquired a knowledge of the majority language in the new society or where return visits are infrequent, they can maintain their ethnic identity. Secondly, the availability of instruction in the mother tongue and its usefulness for business purposes or professional communication is an important factor. Thirdly, where new waves of immigrants are arriving, or where strong trade or other links with the former country are maintained, the incentive for bilingualism is greater (Isajiw, 1981: 15).

The Chinese school and cultural centre are the principal agencies for instruction in the parental language, while other ethnic groups are dependent on religious services and rituals. Minority religious groups in North America, including protestant sects fleeing from persecution, as well as others such as Jewish, Greek and Ukranian Orthodox and various Asian communities, have a sense of ethnic identity

which is closely linked to both language and religion.

(ix) <u>Second generation</u> : In the early stages of migration children may learn the majority language more quickly than parents. They may be called upon to serve as interpreters, which reverses the traditional roles and authoritarian relationships, which in turn is resented by the parents and can lead to conflict.

Although there is an hypothesis that the second generation rejects its parents' values and endeavours to become fully accepted by the new society, while the third and subsequent generations have more positive and sympathetic interest in their cultural roots, empirical evidence is not able to support this hypothesis.

Isajiw and Makabe (1982: 112-118) reported that "in Canada, there is a more progressive loss of ethnic mother-tongue knowledge and use by generation and considerable variation by original group in the extent of ethnic identity retention". In other words, ethnic identity is generally quite different for third and subsequent generations than for the first and second generations in its substantive meaning and practical significance.

(x) <u>Religion</u> : Religion is a very important reinforcement for ethnic identity especially regarding the beliefs and values of sexual behaviour and marriage. The conflicts and tensions between generations partly result from the religious

beliefs and values on sex behaviour, marriage, rituals, food taboos and other distinctive customs, and partly from friendship, entertainment or recreation and the socializing behaviour of the younger generation (Watson, 1954: 413-421).

3.9 Conclusion

The emigration wave from Taiwan to South Africa since the South African government opened the immigration door to the Far Eastern countries is new.

Most Taiwanese immigrants are either small entrepreneurs who invest in the different industrial areas in the homeland, or so called "financial independants". They can settle down in this country by applying for permits of permanent residence or for permits to invest in projects. In general, they are voluntary, legal immigrants and they have a sufficient budget to make their living in South Africa possible. But those who were educated in Taiwan may have a strong ethnic identification through belonging to a different religion, maintaining different values and beliefs, or not being able to speak English or Afrikaans.

This phenomenon inhibits their being able to acculturate to the new culture, to read the South African newspapers and magazines, and to change their preferences in food, friends, clubs and societies, etiquette and good manners, as well as in ways of having fun.

The immigrant's adaptation is a complex behavioural process. This process can be influenced by three simple conditions which are : the transitional experience in moving from one country to another, the characteristics of migrants themselves, and conditions in the receiving country, including government policies and economic factors.

As noted in Chapter One, Taiwanese emigration to South Africa is mainly due to the following factors:

(i) The changing socio-economic factors or pull factors which can be seen as worse in Taiwan, such as social security, residential environment, quality of life, high labour wages, the pressure of the environment protection policy since the severe pollution in industrial areas, the unbelievable competitive university entrance examination, parental efforts to choose a good career opportunity for their children, and fear of unstable political relations between Taiwan and communist China.

(ii) The pull factors which welcome immigrants to South Africa, such as (a) the reasonable and more easily obtainable permits of permanent residence than in the other recipient counties, (b) the better residential environment for those who usually work at high pressure, (c) adequate leisure time due to sufficient labour to do the domestic work, and (d) living expenses which are not as high as in other recipient countries.

This study tries to establish a multivariate model of the Taiwanese immigrant's adaptation in South Africa, because the situational factors are different from other receiving countries and may require modifications of the models which have been used by previous researchers.

The process of adaptation is a multidimensional one in which acculturation interacts with economic adaptation, social integration, satisfaction and degree of identification with the new country (Richmond, 1988: 51). Therefore, this research is guided by the paradigm that has been constructed by the author.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE RESEARCH METHOD

After reviewing the theoretical postulates and empirical generalizations relevant to conceiving the intermediate factors which affect acculturation and adaptation, a set of hypotheses and the model which will be used in this study to explain Taiwanese immigrant's acculturation, adaptation and the desire to re-emigrate will be presented.

In addition to this a few other relevant matters will also be discussed. The major topics that will be dealt with in this chapter are the following:

- An exploratory theory and hypotheses to explain acculturation and dissatisfaction;
- A path model to explain the desire to re-emigrate;
- Specific research questions;
- The research instrument;
- The operationalization of the major variables;
- The sampling universe and the sampling procedure;
- Demographic characteristics of the sample.

4.1 An exploratory theory to explain acculturation

(i) Introduction

Many disciplines in the social sciences, which have attempted to explain empirical findings regarding the differential desire among new immigrants to move, have ignored

acculturation perspectives. The variables used in explaining residential mobility and desire to move, such as motivation to return, life cycle, mobility potential, period of stay, ownership, social status, occupational mobility, educational background, income, residential quality, and residential dissatisfaction, were mainly limited to local migrants and did not include immigrants from other culturally different countries.

There are many researchers who have studied levels of acculturation and desire to move. Weinstock (1964: 321) explains the association of higher positional rank and greater acculturation in terms of structural properties of new occupational status. Fitzpatrick (1966: 8) conceives of the immigrant community as "the beachhead from which the immigrants move with strength". Spear (1974: 203-205) explains the association between a higher desire to move and the actual move in terms of the intermediate factor residential dissatisfaction. Kim (1978: 27) stresses the importance of the communication perspective in his acculturation study.

The problem here is not that the use of these variables is invalid for the study of acculturation or desire to move, but rather that there is a difference between an immigrant's and a local resident's desire to emigrate. One might not be taking full cognizance of these different perspectives.

Assuming that an immigrant's desire to re-emigrate

starts with the adoption of feelings of alienation from and dissatisfaction with the new environment, proper adoption depends on the offer of adequate information regarding the residential environment which helps the immigrant to achieve satisfaction in the new country. Thus the way toward permanent residence is opened.

(ii) Three exogenous variables

The path model, which is proposed in this study considering acculturation and dissatisfaction levels as independent variables, uses three basic sociological concepts are used as exogenous variables. They are:

- socio-economic achievement;
- adaptive abilities in handling problems; and
- family ties with the country of origin.

It is postulated that these three variables more or less structurally determine the strength of the immigrants' desire to re-emigrate. The selection of these three variables among a large number of potential sociological variables was made solely on the basis of their relevance to explain acculturation and dissatisfaction.

(a) Socio-economic achievement

Among the many variables that have been investigated in conjunction with acculturation and the desire to move, socio-economic motivations have probably been most

extensively studied, and the positive relationship between acculturation and the desire to move has been shown to be far more consistent than between any other variables.

There is a consistent message from the findings of the preceding studies and many have found that the immigrants with a high occupational status or whose occupational mobility is high acculturate more quickly and better in their newly adopted society (Watson and Samora, 1954: 418).

According to Weinstock (1969: 21-28) the most important factor which leads to the occupational status of immigrants and faster acculturation is the pressure to conform to the dominant peripheral norms of one's profession.

An immigrant, seeing the great socio-economic reward of holding high occupational status, willingly conforms to the dominant values at the cost of his original cultural heritage. What is operating here is not only the "pushing effect", caused by the pressure to conform, but also the "pulling effect" that comes from the potential reward of being acculturated (Kim, 1978: 30).

There is some evidence which support the usefulness of the social exchange perspective in explaining acculturation behaviour. Weinstock, for example, also reports strong and significant associations between level of income and acculturation (Befu, 1965: 211-214).

Higher occupational rank is accompanied by increased

opportunities for the acquisition of new societal patterns. This finding is more or less identical with the consistent finding in the innovation studies, namely that the early adaptors, who are usually also high social status holders, have more integrated communication channels (Rogers and Schoenaker, 1971: 355-360).

Williamson (1973: 189-200) found that among the Cuban refugees in New Orleans, most of whom were low wage earners, there was a significant association between the level of income and acculturation. He also found that the same relationship exists between the level of present dissatisfaction and acculturation among this group of people.

The empirical and theoretical literature shows that the socio-economic motive for migration has a positive relationship with the decision among young adults in developing and developed nations to move (De Jong and Fawcett, 1981: 23-28).

The preceding discussion of the structural properties of socio-economic achievement leads to the following hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1 : The higher an immigrant's socio-economic achievement, the higher his or her level of acculturation.

Hypothesis 2 : The more an immigrant has attained socio-economic achievement, the more this deters him or her from the desire to re-emigrate to another country.

(b)   Adaptive abilities in handling problems

Empathy is a communication-related concept which is important to emphasize in innovation studies. This term itself has been defined in a variety of ways by the different users of the concept. Mead (1934: 37-40) defines empathy as a cognitive skill acquired in the process of general social intercourse. He also notes that "We feel with him and we are able to feel ourselves into the other because we have, by our own attitude, aroused in ourselves the attitude of the person we are assisting".

Another similar line of thinking is that of Lerner (1985: 49) who defines empathy as "the mechanism by which individual men transform themselves in sufficient breadth and depth to make social change self-sustaining".

With regard to the current topic, empathy is an important concept in the sense that empathic skills enables an immigrant to feel with the members of the host society, and puts him in the other person's place, in order that he may get an insight into the other person's probable behaviour in a given situation (Kim, 1978: 34).

The association of empathic skill with high occupational skill is significant (Kim, 1978: 243-246). With this skill, an immigrant will acquire a mental awareness of the background of the other person, from whom he learns a certain behaviour and with whom he tests the validity of his achieved

acculturation; he will also frame the communication in terms of placing himself in the other person's position, establishing affiliation, and anticipating his reactions, feelings and behaviours, all of which will ultimately lead to better understanding and correct validation of new patterns of behaviour (Kim, 1978: 34).

In a series of innovation studies, it was shown that earlier adaptors have greater empathy, more years of education, higher social status, and a greater degree of upward social mobility than the later adaptors (Rogers and Shoemaker, 1971: 356-358).

Lindgren and Yu (1975: 305-306) found that Chinese immigrants in the United States who had more education in their homeland scored significantly higher in intercultural insight, or empathy.

If we assume that educational level is more or less an index of a person's adaptive abilities in a receiving country, we clearly see here the relationship between one's acculturation level and adaptive abilities.

The preceding discussion about the components of adaptive abilities generates the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 3 : The more adaptive abilities an immigrant has, the faster his or her acculturation.

Hypothesis 4 : The more adaptive abilities an immigrant has, the less his or her desire to re-emigrate.

(c) Family ties

The question whether an immigrant enters a new society as a single individual or as a member of a family has been investigated as an important differentiating factor in determining one's acculturation level. Meanwhile the motivation to maintain ties with family and friends in the original society is an important determinant of an immigrant's decision not to move.

It was found that the Mexicans of Detroit who migrated individually become acculturated more rapidly than those who migrated with families (Humphrey, 1944: 332-335).

Some of the Norse in Jonesville who had left the sect after they had become acculturated began to return to the sect when they approached the time to rear a family (Warner, 1949: 55-67). While family ties is viewed as having a retarding effect on acculturation, it is also sometimes argued that one's family life serves as a psychological cushion to absorb the various shocks arising from cultural contact. Kim (1978: 248-250) found that the positive relationships between size of family and acculturation level, firstly, in the early stage of settlement, and secondly, in the need for ethnic communication decreases as one's immigration, enters its advanced stage and one's general level of intercultural communication increases.

Family and friends at potential areas of destination,

can exert a significant influence on the decision to move and particularly on the decision where to move. Burch (1979: 173) points out that researchers have defined family as:

- a group of kin,
- a housekeeping or dwelling unit, or
- those kin with whom one co-resides.

Ritchery (1976: 399-402) has suggested that family influences migration by creating emotional ties, by providing information, and by providing aid in relocation.

Harbison (1981: 240-243) presents an approach to explain how the family structure and kin ties can influence the migration decision.

The family as the subsistence unit : The subsistence available to any given family member is determined by the interaction of three factors, such as the size and quality of the resources held by the family; the available technology and other aspects of the socio-cultural system that determine productivity; and the relative status of the individual within the family, governing differential access to the total production of the family. The way in which the family defines an individual's access to resources and the ecological balance of workers with resources achieved within the family not surprisingly have a major impact on the decision to migrate.

The family as the socializing unit : An individual's

attitude, value and feeling of responsibility, developed within the context of the family as a child grows up, as well as both positive and negative feelings toward family members, will influence decision making in general and the decision to migrate in particular. The general hypothesis is that strong feelings of attachment to family diminish the propensity to migrate.

The family as a social group and a social network : Numerous studies in both developing and developed counties have found that migrants tend to go to areas where members of their family or members of their village have previously gone.

The explanation for this phenomenon is fairly straightforward : people tend to migrate to places about which they have information and where they can expect some aid or support in adapting to the new place. It is said that family members in the new environment serve an important social group function for newly arrived relatives.

From the foregoing discussion, the following hypotheses derive:

Hypothesis 5 : The need for ethnic contacts is greater for the immigrant families than for individual immigrants, which in turn determines the acculturation level of the immigrant families.

Hypothesis 6 : The need for ethnic contacts is greater for the immigrant families than for individual immigrants, which

in turn determines their desire to return.

(iii) <u>Two</u> <u>intermediate</u> <u>variables</u>

(a) <u>Acculturation</u> <u>level</u>

A schematic diagram of psychological responses over the course of acculturation is designed by Berry (1980: 11-13). He indicates six different areas of psychological functioning : language, cognitive style, personality, identity, attitudes, and acculturation stress. The first five response areas may all shift to the sixth area, acculturation stress, although there are two main areas of research which provide evidence that such stress is not inevitable.

Murphy (1975: 116-120) argues that migrants experience less stress in multicultural societies than in unicultural societies, and indeed may have better mental health than local-born residents. The probable reason is that, in unicultural societies, there is only a single dominant culture with a clear set of national attitudes and values which all immigrants must either adjust to or oppose, leading to greater conflict and higher rates of stress and eventually to psychological breakdown, while in multicultural societies, it is possible for groups to maintain a supportive cultural tradition.

Increasing stress is not inevitable as the contact and conflict increase among immigrants and native people.

Acculturation stress will be highest when the cultural distance is greatest and when the insistence that the journey be taken is strongest. Berry (1980: 12-13) also mentioned that local born residents preferred to be inundated with adjustment rather than to seek out a new society. The relevant literature, indicates that immigrants will re-emigrate to another country or return to their country of origin, when the acculturation stress became too high to cut down.

(b)   Dissatisfaction level

In his study of the dissatisfactions related to the life-cycle as significant motives for interurban mobility, Rossi (1955: 32-38) found that "most moves are undertaken voluntarily and are motivated by the changes in family size which render the old dwelling's space inadequate to its requirements".

From these basic elements of life-cycle related dissatisfactions, primarily with home and neighbourhood environments, two major research traditions have emerged, both of which emphasize the role of dissatisfactions with place of origin as a motivation for moving (Berry, 1980: 12-14).

The first tradition emphasizes aspirations for improved housing in relation to dissatisfaction with current housing as motives for an interurban move (Michelson, 1977: 116-125),

and the place utility idea to explain the decision to migrate and the decision about where to move based upon comparative subjective place utility (Brown and Moore, 1970: 112-117). The second tradition is typified by the interactions between life-cycle stage and residential environments.

These studies have focused on dissatisfactions as key intervening variables between social and economic characteristics of the household and the desire to move, which in turn lead to actual mobility behaviour (Sabagh, 1969: 90-94, Spear, 1974: 185-186; Bach and Smith, 1977: 149-154).

Spear's (1974: 176-178) analyses make use of path analysis models to test various direct and indirect effects of model components on migration behaviour. He has treated satisfaction level as an intervening variable to explain the individual's migration behaviour according to his or her home ownership and life cycles.

The results of these studies confirm that dissatisfaction, primarily with housing and local neighbourhood environment, is a consistently significant predictor of migration expectations and actual behaviour.

From the preceding discussion, the following hypotheses can be generated.

Hypothesis 7 : The lower the acculturation level, the higher

an immigrant's desire to re-emigrate.

Hypothesis 8 : The more an immigrant has become acculturated, the more his or her desire to re-emigrate is likely to be affected indirectly by his or her dissatisfaction level.

Hypothesis 9 : The higher an immigrant's dissatisfaction level, the higher his or her desire to re-emigrate.

4.2 A path model to explain the desire to re-emigrate

The relationships between the three variables acculturation, dissatisfaction and desire to re-emigrate, described in the nine hypotheses, are represented in figure 4-1. This path model is based on the foregoing discussion; a causal path model is proposed. The purpose of setting up this path model is to explain Taiwanese immigrants' migration willingness and migration behaviour in South Africa. Its purpose is not to predict willingness to migrate and migration behaviour.

In the proposed model, three sociological variables are treated as exogenous so that their variations are assumed to be determined by causes outside this model. The effects of these exogenous variables are determined by means of factor analysis. The model also indicates that two intermediate variables are treated as endogenous, their variations being explained by the three exogenous variables.

Thus paths are drawn from the three (exogenous)

variables which are taken as causes (independent) of the two
(endogenous) variables which are taken as effects
(dependent). In a path model, an endogenous variable tested
as dependent in one set of variables may also be used as an
independent variable in relation to another set of variables.
In the proposed model, two endogenous variables are taken as
independent variables of yet another endogenous variable, the
desire to re-emigrate. That is, the two intermediate
variables (acculturation level and dissatisfaction level) are
treated as causes of the desire to re-emigrate.

The model is recursive in the sense that the causal flow
in the model is unidirectional. It means that at a given
time the three sociological variables cannot be both causes
and effects of the two intermediate variables. Because both
of them are taken as causes of the intermediate variables,
the possibility of the two intermediate variables being
causes of the three sociological variables is ruled out. The
same unidirectional relationships are also assumed between
the two intermediate variables and the desire to re-emigrate.

The theoretical framework and the set of hypotheses
suggest that the two intermediate variables are determined
the three independent variables. The direct-effect-paths
from these variables to the desire to re-emigrate are drawn
in Figure 4-1.

It is also believed that there is an effect-path from

acculturation level to dissatisfaction level; the hypothesis postulates that the acculturation level is a cause of desire to re-emigrate through the dissatisfaction level; a path is therefore also drawn between the two intermediate variables.

4.3 Specific research questions

After having proposed an exploratory theory of the functions of acculturation and dissatisfaction with regard to the desire to re-emigrate, the specific questions that will be investigated in this study can be stated:

(i) How clearly can the two culturally different criterion groups - Taiwanese immigrants and local Chinese - be discriminated from each other? This question has to do with testing the validity of the dependent variable, namely acculturation level. Instead of measuring acculturation level with a set of cultural variables selected by a researcher on an a priori basis, this study will identify the variables by means of discriminant analysis with two criterion groups, a group of Taiwanese immigrants and a group of local born Chinese, and will utilize the discriminant functions as relative weights for the variables.

(ii) How well does the causal model explain the relationship between acculturation level, dissatisfaction level and desire to re-emigrate? In case the proposed model must be rejected, what other tenable models are supported by the data?

(iii) How are demographic variables such as educational level, occupation status, length of stay in South Africa and family structure related to acculturation level, dissatisfaction level and desire to re-emigrate? The factor analyses have to identify the three factors, socio-economic achievement, adaptive abilities and family ties, as the three independent variables.

(iv) How clearly are the desire-to-re-emigrate criterion groups discriminated from each other? This question has to do with testing the validity of the dependent variable, the desire to re-emigrate. This study identifies two criterion groups by means of discriminant analysis a desire-to-stay group and a desire-to-move group and will utilize the discrimination function as relative weights among the variables.

(v) How clearly are the dissatisfaction criterion groups discriminated from each other? This question has to do with testing the validity of the dependent variable, the dissatisfaction level. This study identifies the variables by means of factor analysis for the factors affect the desire to re-emigrate, and then discriminates the variables by means of discriminant analysis with two criterion groups, a group with a high dissatisfaction level and a group with a low dissatisfaction level, and finally utilizes the discrimination functions as relative weights among the variables.

4.4 The research instrument

For the purpose of comparing Taiwanese immigrants with local born Chinese the questionnaire was prepared in two versions, one in English and the other in Mandarin. Each prospective respondent was given option of using either version. A telephone number was included where respondents could reach the author, if they had any questions on any part of the questionnaire.

The research instrument which was used in the study is a questionnaire which consists of two parts: The first part includes various demographic variables designed to measure each respondent's age, sex, generation, and socio-economic variables such as occupational status, language spoken, educational level, period of residence, cost of living, income, religion, extent of social integration, unit of settlement, extent of intercultural communication, extent of ethnic communication, willingness to re-emigrate, reasons to move, and where to move.

The second part includes : (i) ten 5-point likert-type scales measuring differences between various social habits and customs of Taiwanese immigrants and South African Chinese; (ii) five 4-point likert-type scales measuring differences in eating habits between Taiwanese immigrants and local born Chinese; (iii) seven 5-point likert-type scales measuring differences in self-perception between the two groups. (iv) fourteen 5-point likert-type scales measuring

differences in the dissatisfaction regarding social-cultural, economic and political matters between the two groups. (v) twenty-five number information scales regarding the knowledge both groups have about South Africa.

4.5 Operationalization of the major variables

With reference to the theoretical framework for understanding acculturation from a multivariate perspective, it is sought to construct measures of the relevant variables in such a way that a maximum variation in each can be obtained. Because there are no standard measures of these variables, such construction was necessary. The complete instrument in Appendix 2 includes variables of measurement derived from various sources.

(i) Personal characteristics

The following variables dealing with personal characteristics were employed in this research :

(a) V205 : Religion - "Catholic"/ "Anglican"/ "Baptist" (1) to "Buddhist"/ "Traditional Chinese religion" (3).

(b) V207 : Occupational position in South Africa - "Senior researcher" (1) to "Janitor" (29).

(c) V210 : Educational level - "No education" (1) to "Post-graduate" (7).

(d) VC244 : Years in South Africa - "Less than 2 years" (1) to "Longer than 40 years" (8).

(e) V219 : Ownership of a house in South Africa - "No" (1) "Yes" (2).

(f) VB213 : English writing ability - "Not at all" (1) to "Good" (3).

(g) V309 : Amount of money ever transferred from overseas to South Africa - "Nothing" (0) to "More than $1 million" (8).

(h) V122 : Family structure - "Extended family whether with relatives and friends or not" (1) to "Nuclear family and alone" (3).

(i) BANCINCO : Balance of monthly income, refers to "The total monthly income" (V217) minus "The total monthly living expense" (V216).

(j) V206 : Type of occupation - "Owner" (1) to "Financially independent" (4).

(k) V103 : Sex - "Male" (1) to "Female" (2).

(l) V104 : Age - "20-29" (1), "30-39" (2), "40-49" (3), "50-59" (4), "60-65" (5).

(m) VB109 : First name - "Only have Chinese first name" (1) to "Only have English first name" (4).

(n) V217 : Total monthly family income - "Less than R1000" (1) to "More than R9000" (8).

(o) FAMB50 : Number of family members who are over 50, which is derived from V108 TO V121 .

(p) SCHGCH : Number of school age children, which is derived from V108 TO V121.

(q) FAMITAI : Family in Taiwan, refers to V241 and V242. The

score is decided by the calculation "V241 *
0.88 + V242* 0.56" (the coefficients are
discriminant functions).

(r) V308 : Contact with friends or relatives in Taiwan, (i.e.
frequency of asking friends to take goods to
friends or relatives in Taiwan) refers to V308 –
"Never" (1) to "Once a week" (5).

(s) V414 : Attitudes toward the services rendered by the
offices of the embassy/ consulate of the Republic
of China - "Strongly agree" (1) to "Strongly
disagree" (5).

(t) V443 : Urgent help regarding living affairs in South
Africa, the fifth item which refers to "Help in
obtaining health and medical insurance" – "Yes,
do need help" (1) to "No, do not need help" (2).

(u) V444 : Urgent help regarding business affairs in South
Africa, (first, third and fifth variables, which
refer to "Help in managing labour in factories",
"Help in accounting affairs" and "Help in
insurance affairs" -"Do not need help" (0) to "Do
need help" (3).

(v) SOECACHV : Personal socio-economic achievement which is
factorized by BANCINCO, V207, VC244 and V206.

(w) ABILHAND : Personal adaptive ability which is factorized
by V210, V205, V443, and VB213.

(x) FAMITIE : Personal family ties with country of origin
which is factorized by V309, V122, FAMITAI and

V308.

(ii) Adaptive strategies

Scales based an empirical evidence regarding the effects of the types of adaptive strategy on residential mobility and decision making in choosing jobs (see previous chapter) were used to measure the levels of acculturation.

(a) V316 : The usage of respondents' current earnings in South Africa.

(b) V317 : The people whom the respondent visits most in his/her spare time.

(c) V324 : The way in which respondents obtained their first job.

(d) V325 : The people whom the respondent works with in his/her organization.

(e) V342 : The people from whom respondents receive the most emotional support.

(iii) Ethnic communication

Ethnic communication (ETHCOM) aims to measure the actual magnitude of interaction within the ethnic milieu. The measure includes the exposure to mass media and the amount of interpersonal interaction. The following variables were used:

(a) V326 : Number of Chinese daily newspapers which the respondent reads regularly.

(b)   V327 : Amount of time spent reading the Chinese daily
             newspapers.

(c)   V330 : Number of Chinese magazines which the respondent
             reads regularly.

(d)   V334 : Frequency of inviting Chinese friends to home for
             a meal.

(e)   V335 : Amount of involvement in Chinese or Taiwanese
             organizations.

(f)   ETHCOM : The variable factorized by the above five
              variables.

(iv) Intercultural communication

Intercultural communication (INTCOM) aims to measure the
actual magnitude of interaction across the different ethnic
groups. The measure includes the same as ETHCOM but has
various components. The following variables were used:

(a)   V328 : Number of South African daily newspapers which
             the respondent reads regularly.

(b)   V329 : Number of South African magazines which the
             respondent reads regularly.

(c)   V331 : Amount of time spent reading the South African
             newspapers.

(d)   V332 : Amount of time spent reading South African
             magazines.

(e)   V333 : Frequency of inviting South African friends home
             for a meal.

(f)   V335 : Amount of involvement in South African

organizations.

(g) V337 : Amount of time spent watching South African
            television programmes.

(h) V338 : Amount of time spent listening to South African
            radio programmes.

(i) INTCOM : The variable factorized by the above eight
              variables.

(v) Acculturation level

The following variables dealing with acculturation level were
employed in this research :

(a) V419 : Chinese people should do national service at the
            legal age in South Africa after being granted
            citizenship.

(b) V436 : Respondent's preference regarding his/her first
            name (either Chinese or South African).

(c) V437 : Respondent's preference regarding the way of
            celebrating festivals (either Chinese or South
            African).

(d) V348 : The habit of drinking Chinese tea regularly.

(e) V349 : The habit of using Chinese seasoning and herbs
            regularly.

(f) V405 : Respondent's response to statement "My
            nationality is superior to others".

(g). V406 : Respondent's response to statement " Chinese
            should stick together, no matter where they were
            born".

(h) V528 to V552 : Respondent's knowledge of South Africa

(history; economic, political and general

knowledge; sports; ethnic groups; culture and

arts; wild animals).

(i) VA213 : English reading ability.

(j) VC213 : English speaking ability.

(k) ACCUL : The variable factorized by the above thirty-four

variables.

(vi) Dissatisfaction level

The following variables dealing with dissatisfaction level
were employed in this research :

(a) V445 : Respondent's attitude toward "Harmony in the

working environment".

(b) V446 : Respondent's attitude toward "Investment

environment".

(c) V447 : Respondent's attitude toward "Personal income".

(d) V448 : Respondent's attitude toward "Residential

environment".

(e) V449 : Respondent's attitude toward "Children's

education".

(f) V450 : Respondent's attitude toward "Job possibilities

for children".

(g) V451 : Respondent's attitude toward "Recreation

facilities".

(h) V452 : Respondent's attitude toward "Harmony in the

neighbourhood".

(i) V453 : Respondent's attitude toward "Mass communication".

(j) V454 : Respondent's attitude toward "Public roads".

(k) V455 : Respondent's attitude toward "Public facilities".

(l) V456 : Respondent's attitude toward "Personal involvement in local affairs".

(m) V457 : Respondent's attitude toward "Social security".

(n) V458 : Respondent's attitude toward "Political stability".

(o) TAIENV : Taiwanese respondent's dissatisfaction level regarding the environmental elements which is factorized by V446, V454, V455, V456, V457, and V458.

(p) TAIPER : Taiwanese respondent's dissatisfaction level regarding personal socio-economic activities which is factorized by V445, V447, V449, V450, V451, V452 and V453.

(q) CHIENV : Local Chinese respondent's dissatisfaction attitude regarding the environmental elements which is factorized by V453, V454, V455, V456, V457, and V458.

(r) CHIPER : Local Chinese respondent's dissatisfaction level regarding personal socio-economic activities which is factorized by V445, V446, V447, V448, V449, V450, V451 and V452.

(s) TAISATRE : Taiwanese respondent's dissatisfaction discriminant coefficient identified by V451,

V453, V456, V457, and V458.

(v) <u>Desire</u> <u>to</u> <u>re-emigrate</u>

The following variables dealing with desire to re-emigrate
were employed in this research :

(a)   V518 : "Bad work environment".

(b)   V519 : "Bad investment environment".

(c)   V520 : "Low income".

(d)   V521 : "Bad residential environment".

(e)   V522 : "Bad education for children".

(f)   V523 : "High crime rate or lack of personal safety".

(g)   V524 : "Race discrimination".

(h)   V525 : "Economic recession".

(i)   V526 : The desire "to reunite family".

(j)   TAIMOVE : Taiwanese respondent's desire to re-emigrate
                (discriminant coefficient identified by V518,
                V519, V522, V523, V524 and V526).

4.6   The sampling universe and the sampling procedure

(i)   <u>The</u> <u>sampling</u> <u>universe</u>

The increase in number of Taiwanese immigrants arriving in
the Republic of South Africa in the past 5 years has been
phenomenal according to recent research. According to the
Central Statistical Service, the number of Taiwanese
immigrants, which was barely a handful in 1985, swelled to
well over 2000 during 1990, an increase of three times

compared to 1989.

Proportionally, they become the fastest growing
immigrant group in South Africa, the amount of immigrants
being just behind these from the United Kingdom, Zimbabwe,
and Portugal.

Although there is no hard data available about the exact
size of the Taiwanese population in South Africa, it is
widely believed that some 8,000 (in contrast, there are
14,000 local born Chinese) are scattered around the various
parts of the country. The PWV area harbours some 4,000
Taiwanese and 8,000 local born Chinese and this is the
largest portion of this ethnic group in South Africa.

(ii) The sampling procedure

A few directories of Chinese associations or businesses owned
by Taiwanese or local born Chinese in South Africa are
available, but there are no comparable directories of regular
Chinese (Taiwanese or local born) households in South Africa.
In view of this absence of a complete list of Chinese
households in South Africa the best sampling procedure seemed
to be what Kerlinger calls "purposive sampling". This is a
non-probability sampling procedure; it is characterized "by
the use of judgement and deliberate effort to obtain
representative samples by including presumably typical areas
or groups in the sample" (Kerlinger, 1973: 305-333). It was
thought that this procedure would be useful in searching a

sufficient number of cases for this research.

The sample used in this study was mainly drawn from the PWV area and a deliberate effort was made to make it representative of the South African Chinese community by including people from as many settings as possible (social, cultural, religions, business and industry, etc.).

The information was obtained in three different ways, namely by mailed survey, face-to-face interviews and telephone interviews.

Mailed survey : Thirty sets of questionnaires were posted to a group of local Chinese and Taiwanese who attended certain activities at the Chinese Cultural Centre in Johannesburg. Another 50 sets were sent by mail to a group of people randomly drawn from the directory of the Transvaal Chinese Association. Each set had enclosed stamped self-addressed, return envelopes. Only 14 of these questionnaires were returned; 8 could not be used because they contained too many unanswered questions or inconsistent answers. The return rate was lower than 18 percent.

Face-to-face interview : Because of the fact that most mail surveys conducted among the Chinese population in Taiwan in the past have achieved response rates of no higher than 15 percent, and the lack of comprehensive directories of the target population, it was decided to interview Taiwanese immigrants and local born Chinese in the PWV area. The

following people were interviewed randomly :

- 8 members of an amateur music club in Johannesburg;

- 8 members of an assembly of the Catholic Church in Johannesburg;

- 15 members of an assembly of a Protestant Church in Johannesbury;

- 28 customers of three Chinese cafes and a small supermarket jointly owned by a Taiwanese and local born Chinese in Johannesburg;

- 17 inhabitants of four big flats in Johannesburg;

- 17 members of the Pretoria Chinese Association who attended a Chinese festival;

- 19 members of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce;

- 14 members of the Association of Chinese Industrialists in Southern Africa.

Telephone interview : Thirty respondents were randomly drawn from the telephone directories of Pretoria and Johannesburg according to their Chinese surnames and interviewed by telephone.

Of the 226 questionnaires that were distributed in June 1991, 170 were completed during the following two months - either by the respondents who received their questionnaires through the post or by the author and his helpers during the face-to-face and telephone interviews. Of the 170 completed questionnaires 8 could not be used because they contained too many unanswered questions or inconsistent answers (see mailed

survey above). Thus the final number of questionnaires
remaining for analysis were 162. Ninety-nine of the
respondents completed the Chinese version of the
questionnaire, and the remaining 63 respondents the English
version.

4.7 Demographic characteristics of the sample

Of the 162 cases, 68.5 percent were men and 31.5 percent were
women. The complete age distribution appears in Table 4-1.
About 81 percent of the respondents were married, 17 percent
had never married, and the remaining 2 percent were either
divorced or widowed.

As shown in Table 4-2, there were more than 60 percent
of the Taiwanese respondents who were the first people in
their family to settle in South Africa, 20 percent were
parents, 14 percent were grandparents, and 4 percent were
great-grandparents.

More than 85 percent of the respondents had lived less
than 6 years in this country which indicates the short
history of Taiwanese immigration (see Table 4-3). Only 9
percent of the Taiwanese and 9.5 percent of the local born
Chinese had less than a senior high school education,
25 percent of the Taiwanese and 36.5 percent of local born
Chinese have passed high school; 35 percent of the Taiwanese
and 16 percent of the local born Chinese had a college
education; 30 percent of the Taiwanese and 38 percent of the

local born Chinese had a university or post-graduate education. This is shown in Table 4-4. The educational figures indicate that South Africa is not a "brain drain" country for the Taiwanese.

In contrast, only 21 percent of the Taiwanese were employees while 65 percent of the local born Chinese were employees. This difference is caused by the government granting permits of permanent residence for the Taiwanese who intend to invest in this country (see Table 4-5).

It is difficult to calculate precise mean and median incomes because the respondents checked one of the interval income categories, a measure taken to reduce the probability of a no response by a respondent who might hesitate to reveal his actual income.

Table 4-6 presents the distribution of income levels of the two groups of respondents. Another similar phenomenon is the money transferred from overseas by Taiwanese immigrants in Table 4-7; only 19 percent of them did not transfer any foreign currency to South Africa.

Even though there are 16 percent of them who refused to answer, it is believed that all of them must have transferred some money and probably quite a high amount. This means that the South African immigration policy towards Taiwanese really allows the receipt of a high percentage of "financially independent" Taiwanese immigrants.

Taiwanese immigrants give more residential assistance to their Taiwanese friends or relatives than local born Chinese (see Table 4-8). Thirty percent of the Taiwanese live with their friends or relatives, but only 10 percent of the local born Chinese and 9 percent of single parent families.

This rate is lower than was expected. The reason is probably that the interviews were conducted during the school holidays in June to August, during which the families from Taiwan were together. As was expected, the research shows that : (i) the extended family rate of the local Chinese (19 percent) is higher than the rate of the Taiwanese (3 percent); (ii) the number of single persons or persons living with a friend (19 percent) is higher among the Taiwanese than among the local Chinese (8 percent).

Two percent of the Taiwanese but 22 percent of the local born Chinese reported no religious affiliation (see Table 4-9), 74 percent of the Taiwanese said they were either Buddhist or adhere to the traditional Chinese religion, as against 14 percent for the local born Chinese; 16 percent of the Taiwanese identified themselves as Baptist but only 8 percent of the local Chinese did so; 11 percent of the local born Chinese confessed to be Anglican and another 40 percent of the local born Chinese indicated that they go to a Catholic church; 2 percent of the Taiwanese immigrants and 7 percent of the local born Chinese stated they belong to

another religion.

The English language abilities of the respondents are shown in Table 4-10. All the local Chinese reported that they can read and speak English very well; 97 percent can also write English well. But only 25 percent of the Taiwanese can read well, 11 percent can write well, and 20 percent can speak well.

Table 4-11 shows the existence of organizational involvement amongst the two groups. Sixty percent of the Taiwanese respondents were not involved in any Chinese club and 76 percent in any South African club, but only 30 percent of the local born Chinese were not involved in Chinese clubs and 54 percent in South African clubs.

The frequency of ethnic, intercultural and interpersonal contacts per month by respondents is listed in Table 4-12. What is interesting is that the invitation to have a meal with Taiwanese and local born Chinese people is relatively low : 27 percent and 46 percent respectively; but the Taiwanese immigrants invite their own group frequently: 86 percent of Taiwanese and 98 percent of local Chinese. The number of local Chinese respondents who invite South African whites to have a meal is higher than Taiwanese respondents: 69 percent to 89 percent respectively.

Table 4-13 shows the exposure to Chinese and South African print media by the respondents. Twenty-nine percent

and 49 percent of Taiwanese respondents do not read Chinese newspapers and South African newspapers respectively; and local Chinese respondents who do not read Chinese newspapers and South African newspapers were 84 percent and 2 percent.

The respondent's exposure to South African television and radio programmes is shown in Table 4-14. Respectively, thirteen percent and 50 percent of Taiwanese respondents do not watch TV or listen to the radio, but there were 100 percent and 90 percent of local Chinese who respondents watch TV and listen to the radio every day.

Figure 4-1 : Path diagram indicating the mediating functions
of acculturation and dissatisfaction level with
regard to the desire to re-emigrate.
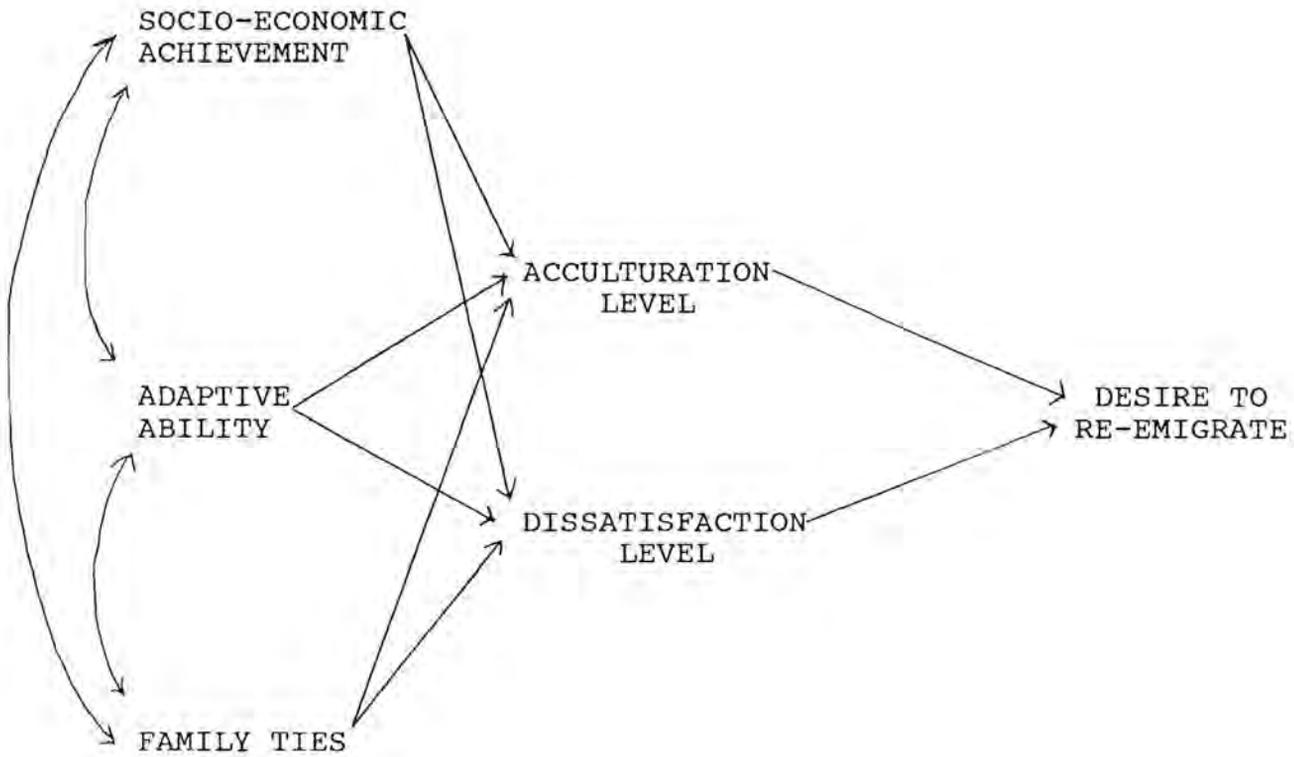
Table 4-1 : Age distribution of the respondents (N=162)

Age category	Frequency	Percent (%)
20 - 29	25	15.4
30 - 39	58	35.7
40 - 49	55	34.0
50 - 59	15	9.3
60 - 65	9	5.6

Table 4-2 : The first person in the family to settle in South Africa (N=162)

Person in R.S.A.	Frequency	Percent(%)
Self	99	61.1
Parents	33	20.4
Grandparents	23	14.2
Great-grandparents	7	4.3

Table 4-3 : Length of stay of the Taiwanese respondents in South Africa (N=99)

Length of stay	Frequency	Percent(%)
Less than 2 years	44	44.5
2 - 3 years	31	31.3
4 - 5 years	10	10.1
6 - 9 years	7	7.1
10 - 19 years	4	4.0
20 - 29 years	1	1.0
More than 30 years	2	2.0

Table 4-4 : Level of education of the respondents

Level	Taiwanese (N=99)		Local Chinese (N=63)	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
No education	-	-	1	1.6
Primary school	2	2	-	-
Junior high	7	7	5	7.9
Senior high	25	25	23	36.5
College	35	35	10	15.9
University	24	24	18	28.6
Post-graduate	6	6	6	9.5

Table 4-5 : Type of occupation of the respondents

Type	Taiwanese (N=99)		Local Chinese (N=63)	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Employee	21	21	41	65
Owner	36	36	16	25
Partner	17	17	5	8
Financially independent	25	25	1	2

Table 4-6 : Family income distribution of the respondents

Monthly Income Category	Taiwanese (N=99)		Local Chinese (N=63)	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Less than R1000	2	2	-	-
R1000 - R2000	11	11	3	5
R2000 - R3000	21	21	5	8
R3000 - R4000	15	15	8	13
R4000 - R5000	9	9	14	22
R5000 - R7000	16	16	15	24
R7000 - R9000	8	8	7	11
More than R9000	17	17	11	18

Table 4-7 : Money transferred from overseas by
          Taiwanese immigrants (N=99)

Category	Frequency	Percent(%)
Nothing at all	19	19
Less than US$50,000	38	38
US$50,001 - US$200,000	16	16
US$200,001 - US$400,000	2	2
US$400,001 - US$600,000	3	3
US$600,001 - US$800,000	2	2
US$800,001 - US$1 million	2	2
More than US$1 million	1	1
Refuse to answer	16	16

Table 4-8 : Family structure of respondents (N=162)

Structure type	Frequency			Percent(%)		
	Total	Tai[1]	Chi[2]	Total	Tai[1]	Chi[2]
Extended family	15	3	12	9.3	3	19
Nuclear family	85	48	37	52.5	48	59
Single parent	11	7	4	6.8	7	6
Extended family with friend or relative	3	2	1	1.9	2	2
Nuclear family with friend or relative	20	18	2	12.3	18	3
Single parent family with friend or relative	4	2	2	2.5	2	3
Alone	15	11	4	9.5	11	6
Alone with friend or with relative	9	8	1	5.6	8	2

[1] - Taiwanese (N=99)
[2] - Local born Chinese (N=63)

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Table 4-9 : Religion of the respondents

Type	Taiwanese (N=99)		Local Chinese (N=63)	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Catholic	5	5	25	40
Anglican	-	-	7	11
Baptist	16	16	5	8
Buddhist	27	27	1	2
Traditional Chinese Religion	47	47	7	12
	-	-	-	-
Other	2	2	4	7
None	2	2	14	22

Table 4-10 : English language ability of the respondents

Type	Taiwanese (N=99)		Local Chinese (N=63)	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Read well	25	25	63	100
Read some	61	61	-	-
Read none	13	13	-	-
Write well	11	11	61	97
Write some	57	57	2	3
Write none	31	31	-	-
Speak well	20	20	63	100
Speak some	76	76	-	-
Speak none	3	3	-	-

Table 4-11 : Number of organizations that the respondents are actively involved in by frequency (%)

Number	Taiwanese (N=99)		Local Chinese (N=63)	
	Chinese club	SA club	Chinese club	SA club
0	60 (60)	76 (76)	19 (30)	34 (54)
1	31 (31)	14 (14)	23 (37)	20 (32)
2	3 (3)	7 (7)	9 (14)	6 (9)
More than 2	5 (5)	2 (2)	12 (19)	3 (5)

Table 4-12 : Frequency of ethnic and intercultural inter-personal contacts per month by frequency (%)

	Taiwanese (N=99)		
Frequency	Invitation to Taiwanese	Invitation to local Chinese	Invitation to South African whites
None	14 (14)	73 (73)	31 (31)
Seldom	18 (18)	12 (12)	35 (35)
1 - 2 times	49 (49)	12 (12)	25 (25)
3 - 4 times	11 (11)	2 (2)	7 (7)
More than 4 times	7 (7)	-	1 (1)

	Local Chinese (N=63)		
Frequency	Invitation to Taiwanese	Invitation to local Chinese	Invitation to South African whites
None	34 (54)	2 (3)	11 (17)
Seldom	22 (35)	29 (46)	37 (59)
1 - 2 times	7 (11)	25 (40)	9 (14)
3 - 4 times	-	4 (6)	5 (8)
More than 4 times	-	3 (5)	1 (2)

Table 4-13 : Exposure to Chinese and South African print media by frequency (%)

Taiwanese (N=99)

Amount	Chinese newspaper	Chinese magazine	S. A. newspaper	S. A. magazine
None	29 (29)	51 (51)	49 (49)	67 (67)
1	50 (50)	20 (20)	30 (30)	18 (18)
2	16 (16)	16 (16)	10 (10)	9 (9)
More than 2	4 (4)	12 (12)	1 (1)	5 (5)

Local Chinese (N=63)

Amount	Chinese newspaper	Chinese magazine	S. A. newspaper	S. A. magazine
None	53 (84)	52 (82)	1 (2)	7 (11)
1	7 (11)	10 (16)	15 (24)	13 (21)
2	3 (5)	1 (2)	33 (52)	26 (41)
More than 2	-	-	14 (22)	17 (27)

Table 4-14 : Exposure to South African television and radio programmes per day by frequency (%)

	Taiwanese (N=99)		Local Chinese (N=63)	
	Television	Radio	Television	Radio
None	13(13)	50(51)	0(0)	6(10)
Less than an hour	44(45)	26(26)	10(16)	28(44)
1 - 2 hours	29(29)	10(10)	38(60)	22(35)
More than 2 hours	13(13)	13(13)	15(24)	7(11)