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‘Return-Migration in Contemporary South Africa’

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Johannesburg, September 2005

No man ever looks at the world with pristine eyes. He sees it edited by a definite set of customs and institutions and ways of thinking. […] The life history of the individual is first and foremost an accommodation to the patterns and standards traditionally handed down in his community. From the moment of his birth the customs into which he is born shape his experience and behaviour. By the time he can talk, he is the little creature of his culture, and by the time he is grown and able to take part in its activities , its habits are his habits, its beliefs his beliefs, its impossibilities his impossibilities. Every child that is born into his group will share them with him, and no child born into one of the opposite side of the globe can ever achieve a thousandth part.

Ruth Benedict (1960:18)

ABSTRACT

Against the background of theories of culture, this research questions the motives and experiences of expatriates that return to South Africa, their country of origin. In re-telling their personal stories the research aims to shed light on the decision-making processes that repatriates go through and explores the experiences associated with such migration so as to better comprehend what social re-integration and re-adaptation means for the individual returnee.

The research uses a range of interview-focused methodologies and concentrates on the interrelated topics of migration, home, identity and social experience as the primary thematic loci. In total, fourteen returnees were interviewed. The Life Histories of two of them are examined in greater detail and their fuller stories anchor the findings and research results.

All interviewees stated that special emotional bonds with South Africa had brought them back "home": they either wanted to 'reconnect' with their families or the country itself; they wanted to expose their children to it or they wanted to be part of the new South Africa and help bring about change. As a consequence of their migrant journeys the interviewees gained a much stronger awareness for the cultural (i.e., geographical and lifestyle) sources of their personal identities. By exposing themselves to different surroundings and cultures they developed hybrid identities, thereby layering international associations onto their established cultural traditions and senses of self. Existing models on repatriation do not adequately account for the importance culture plays in people's experiences of repatriation; yet clearly social as well as cultural issues play an important role. The main factors relating to ease of re-integration and re-adaptation (identified by the literature as economic, logistical, financial and social support) seem to hold true - but again the current literature tends to overlook the role that culture plays in these processes. The majority of these repatriates have established strong residential ties to overseas, whether it be through multiple citizenship or a foreign spouse, and several would consider leaving again should circumstances deteriorate locally.

The research was fundamentally qualitative and therefore narrowly focused in nature. A so-called 'snow-ball' system was used to identify possible interviewees. This resulted in findings that may have limited statistical validity in the strict sense. Nonetheless, the data generated valuable insights that might be considered applicable for later analytical incorporation and/or policy applications in regards to the continuing 'brain drain' out of South Africa and other countries of the Developing World.

DECLARATION

I declare that this report is my own, unaided work. It is submitted for the Degree of Master of Arts in Anthropology in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other university.

_____

Sandra Lauckner-Rothschild

_____ of _____, 2005

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ACRONYMS

GNP	Gross National Product
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IFC	Informed Consent Form
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMC	International Marketing Council
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
PO	Participant Observation
SANSA	South African Network of Skills Abroad
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees

CHAPTER I - INTRODUCTION

1.1 Problem Outline

> I wanted to come back for my children, [for] me and [to satisfy] a longing, to be part of a new society, which we had worked for. [To be back] was very hard, but also a great joy.
>
> Penelope van Houten[1], Life History Interviewee
> after 11 years in New York

> I had no interest in returning at the time, although I was not committed to any career in New York City. Once back, I connected with some close friends who had also returned after long periods overseas and we decided to start up financial services company together. Of course, it was wonderful to be back and experience a post-apartheid South Africa and to travel around the region to which I always felt strongly connected.
>
> Dennis Rodman, Life History Interviewee
> after 17 years in Europe and the US

What motivates people to return to their country of origin? How much do the concepts of home and identity influence people's decision-making with regards to return-migration? What are the experiences of re-integration and re-adaptation after such a return? What are the social experiences of returnees?

These questions form the underlying skeleton of this research. Their corresponding answers provide the flesh for its body. The research brings this body to life by telling the stories and portraying the lives of the informants, primarily those of Dennis Rodman and Penelope van Houten, with whom I conducted a series of in-depth Life Histories in 2004. It focuses on the repatriate community of South Africa, specifically those now living in Johannesburg. For the purpose of this research, I define an "expatriate" as:

[1] NOTE: Unless otherwise stated, when referring to informants and where interview quotes have been used, pseudonyms have been used to ensure informants' privacy and anonymity.

> a person who once left their home country in favor of another place for various reasons, such as political, social and economic and lived for an extended amount of time outside of South Africa (or intended to do so), possibly even with the intention to never return. This person may even have obtained citizenship in their new country of residence.

The research comprises two aspects: First there is an investigation into the motivations that lie behind return migration. This involves uncovering the reasons that convinced somebody who once left everything behind in order to start a new life, to do so again - this time in the opposite direction. Second, the research investigates the realities linked to such decision-making and the personal and social experiences that accompany return migration.

A number of broad yet related considerations informed the formulation of the analytical problem of this research:

As an overarching theme, culture plays a central role in any migration and - more specifically - in any repatriation process. Inevitably, a migrant must confront different cultures or people with foreign cultural backgrounds. In this research I investigate specific characteristics of repatriation and how culture plays a part in them.

Repatriation as a form of both physical and social movement is a subset of the wider theme of migration. The question here is whether or not I could detect any linkages between the various reasons for emigration, processes of immigration and subsequent reasons for repatriation.

When looking at the individual's reasoning behind migration (and specifically repatriation) it is necessary to consider the concepts of home and identity. Migrants, when faced with the realities of immigration and possible return migration must inevitably reflect on what home and identity means to them. I questioned if there are categories of use and identification that the informants may place themselves within.

A final theme relates to the social experiences that people undergo when leaving familiar cultural surroundings and adapting to new ones. In relation to this, I investigated whether or not the background of individuals, in terms of their previous experiences in South Africa, as well as the nature of experiences abroad, would have had strong, even defining impacts upon their personal senses of person and place. Out of this wider frame of reflection, I was able to extract factors that might be employed to ease re-integration into society.

1.2 Background and Relevance of the Research

I am an expatriate German now living in my third year in South Africa. On a daily basis, I face the loss of home and the challenges of integrating into this society. I also mix in a social circle that includes a number of South African repatriates who have had to deal with similar issues, both overseas and upon their return. Out of these very personal circumstances, I developed an academic interest in the discussion surrounding migration and return, the endpoint of which is this research report.

According to the International Organisation for Migration (IOM, 2005) 'international migration is moving to the forefront of policy issues worldwide, [creating] an awareness and interest in migration data and research issues'. Within this context 'research and analysis are [regarded] as important prerequisites to understand migration and develop sustainable practical approaches'[2]. The migration debate is essential to discuss migration trends and identify policy responses to migration challenges'[3].

With its focus on repatriation, this research seeks to create new data on migration, particularly with respect to the South African context. Not least, it might subsequently be used to help develop the above-mentioned, sustainable practical approaches.

[2] IOM (2005), further stating that 'credible data is indispensable for developing, monitoring and evaluating policy and legal issues in the field of migration'. It is also understood that 'the growing importance of international migration, its complexity and its inter-linkages, have emphasised the need for policy debate and guidance on migration issues'.
[3] IOM (2005)

More specifically, the research is important in the South African context given the continuingly high level of *brain drain*, or skilled labour emigration, from the country. The relevant issue here is that in most cases the people leaving are highly educated professionals who take away skills that are needed[4] as part guarantor for the successful transition of the former Apartheid state into a new democratic South Africa and its future political, economic and social stability[5]. Given this 'exodus of skilled professionals'[6], the question arises that with so many people leaving, what motivates others to come back? In telling the stories of people who decided to return, the research might be used for deriving policy applications to address the continuing *brain drain*[7].

1.3 Objectives and Aims of the Research Report

This research was conducted substantially as an anthropological study. It is understood that the subject of anthropological investigation is generally, 'the correlation between groups of people and their cultures'[8]. 'Human beings [are regarded] as creatures [of their] society [and] culture'[9] in which 'society is the organized aggregate of individuals who follow a given way of life'[10], i.e. is their culture. The chief aim of Social Anthropology is to gain an understanding of the culturally foreign[11]. Historically, this has often meant a scientific investigation into the differences and similarities between one's own culture and that of another, that of the Other. Today, it is accepted that the foreign can also exist, or can be perceived to exist, within one's own larger culture (i.e., its constituent subcultures). Here I agree with Sapir (1986:515) who notes that 'every individual is […] in a very real sense, a representative of at least one subculture which can be abstracted from the generalised culture of the group of which he is a member'. Within such an analytical frame, this research approaches the repatriate

[4] See also Kaplan & Meyer (2005).
[5] See also Marais (2001).
[6] Kaplan & Meyer (2005)
[7] For a detailed analysis of the *brain drain* as it affects South Africa also see Appendix 1.
[8] Rudolph (1998:70)
[9] Benedict (1960:17-18)
[10] Herskovits (1960:29)
[11] Kohl (2000:11ff); NOTE: All translations from German into English are the research author's.

community of South Africa as a subculture in South African society today - with the experience of emigration and subsequent re-immigration acting as the common anchor traits that create its self-defining, experiential boundaries.

This research further suggests that an essential experience of these individuals is the collision and confrontation of their cultural backgrounds with new and foreign ones in their countries of immigration. With regards to their ability to gain an understanding of the culturally foreign I agree with Kohl that:

> any anthropological research has to take into account that a person's norms, values and habits are culturally bound. [And that] a prerequisite for the attempt to gain an understanding of culturally foreign realities' is that a person recognises the relative nature of his/her own cultural view points. (2000:151)

With its overall motivation to elucidate the stories behind return migration, the research aims to shed light on three main themes. First, it explores the decision-making processes that expatriates go through with regard to possible repatriation to South Africa. One of my objectives in this regard has been to identify both push- and pull-factors in the South African context.

Second, it delves into the (cultural) experiences associated with such migration (so as to better comprehend what re-integration and re-adaptation means for the individual returnee). Within this context, one of my main aims has been to identify and analyse contextual factors relating to the ease of re-integration and re-adaptation.

Third, it responds to and adds to recent work addressing the existing gap in the literature on repatriation and reintegration[12]. In the existing literature, everything from the difficulties associated with integration and adaptation to the country of immigration[13], to return migration in the context of refugee studies[14] is covered. However, there is little emphasis on the motivations behind repatriation for the individual returnee and – more importantly – what experiences the individual

[12] Majodina (1995)
[13] Sanchez (1993)
[14] Black & Koser (1999)

associates with such return. Majodina (1995:210ff) was one of the first to address this gap, which is an important starting point for understanding the difficulties that former refugees and political exiles had to face when returning to South Africa. She took a close look at coping strategies and identified the role of social support as a central element in re-integration. In this context, my report can be seen as a complementary study, widening the analytical focus by assessing the motivations behind repatriation with the aim of opening up new avenues of discussion.

1.4 Limitations of the Research

The key research limitations relate mainly to methodological choices. Most of the research was conducted via interviews with the objective of obtaining qualitative rather than quantitative insights. It is an approach that goes along with Johnson's (1990:11) observations that 'the ethnographic strategy has been associated more with various qualitative methods than with quantitative ones […] and which therefore resulted in ethnography [being] described in terms of "thick description"[15] and "an interpretive act[16]"'.

In support of the above approach, the questionnaire format was substantially built around open-ended questions[17]. In terms of its statistical significance, this research is therefore limited.

I confined my perspective to the repatriate community in Johannesburg and employed a so-called 'snow-ball' method[18] consistent with anthropological research in order to identify possible informants. It is an approach that involved making contact with (two) key individuals known to me and who met the criteria for the research. These informants then connected me to other potential informants in their networks, who provided further appropriate connections, and so on. This approach self-defined the demographic profile of this research and as

[15] Geertz (1987); a term Geertz attributes to the philosopher Gilbert Ryle.
[16] van Maanen (1988)
[17] See Appendix 5.
[18] Coleman (1958)

it turned out, I interviewed only white South Africans. This does not mean that they necessarily constitute the majority of expatriates or returnees.

The final restriction relates to time and geography. The interviews relied heavily on the interviewees' memories once back in South Africa. By the mere fact that all information gathered was presented to me from a retrospective point of view, it was not possible to study people *in situ* during their migrant journeys. It is also possible that due to biases that may have developed over time, the informants could have incorrectly represented the actual motivations and experiences that propelled them through immigration and repatriation.

CHAPTER II - LITERATURE REVIEW

Under the overarching theme of *culture*, there are four key components to any re-migration process that are taken into consideration in this report. In the scholarly literature they can be identified as follows:

1. *migration* (theories of migration, aspects of migration, specific forms of migration and gender dimensions),
2. *home and identity* (focusing further also on *integration and adaptation*),
3. *social experiences* (social change, dislocation and cross-cultural experiences),
4. *repatriation and return migration*[19] (i.e., self-initiated individual repatriation).

This literature review first presents a graphic that illustrates the conceptual framework underpinning this research. It then explores relevant literature in general terms, ascribing specific definitions to key terms and concepts at the beginning of each sub-chapter[20]. It provides a distinction between those theoretical concepts regarded as important in the context of this research, versus those I concluded were not directly applicable[21].

2.1 Framework Design

The conceptual framework below (Figure 1) integrates the key terms and concepts underpinning this report:

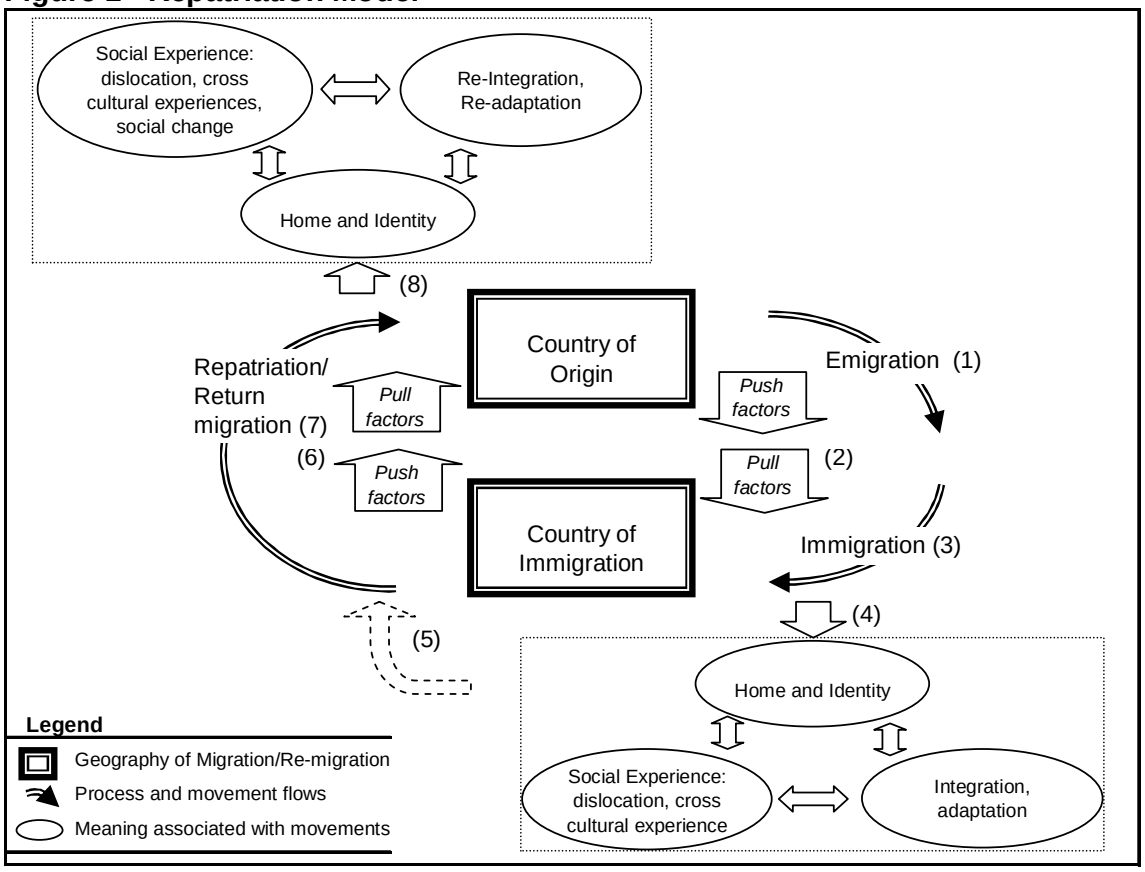
- geography of migration and re-migration,
- process and movement flows associated with these migrations,
- meaning and experience associated with these movements.

The process starts with emigration (1) from one's country of origin which is motivated by certain push-and pull-factors (2). This is followed by immigration (3)

[19] For the purposes of this research, the terms repatriation and return migration are used interchangeably throughout the report.
[20] Unless alternative or other classic definitions are otherwise specifically referred to in the text, the following definitions will be applied throughout the document.
[21] A detailed presentation and examination of those relevant concepts, with which to support the research findings will be provided within the chapter on research results (Chapter 4).

into a new country. It is suggested that to successfully build a new life for oneself, a process of integration into and adaptation to the new culture, with reflections on issues of home and identity, needs to occur (4). This process is accompanied by social experiences which depend on the meanings associated with home and identity, and which will impact on the way one assimilates in the new culture. At a certain point in time, one may start to think about returning home (5). One can identify new push-and pull-factors (6) that inform the wish to return home. When repatriation (7) finally occurs, an equally challenging process takes place involving reflection on the issues of home and identity and re-integration and re-adaptation (8). These are accompanied by social experiences that either lead to the ease of re-assimilation or exacerbate its difficulties.

Figure 1 - Repatriation Model



2.2 Theories of Culture

The concept of *culture* overarches all aspects of the migrant's journey. The aim in this theory section is to provide an understanding of what constitutes culture from an anthropological point of view and what 'impact […] culture [has] on personality'[22] It does so to support this report's argument that any repatriation experience and its accompanying aspects will fundamentally be influenced by consideration of the culturally foreign.

The starting point for this research is a definition of culture that interprets this variously defined concept as the 'human form of existence *per se*, since man, because of his release from instinct is only able to survive as a member of a group and its invented strategies to deal with his environment'[23]. There are numerous theories on culture that, for Social Anthropology, can be divided into two main schools of thought: First there are those which try to find 'the one unifying principle behind the diversity of human cultures'[24]. The main lines of thought of this school were '*diffusionism* and [its] search for the prime- (or primary-) culture, […] *functionalism* and [its] search for basic human needs [and] *structuralism* and [its] search for the universals of thought'[25]. Second there are those that 'search for the causes behind the seemingly endless variety of cultures'[26]. The main outcomes of this search were '*evolutionism, cultural relativism* and *cultural ecology*'[27]. Both schools argue that 'aside from their biology, culture is that which differentiates humans from animals'[28]. They were built on the classical definition of the British evolutionist, E.B. Tylor who proposed that culture is:

> that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society (1929:1).

[22] Mandelbaum (1986:ix)
[23] Rudoph (1998:65)
[24] Kohl (2000:133)
[25] Kohl (2000:133-146)
[26] Kohl (2000:133)
[27] Kohl (2000:146)
[28] Thiel (1992:8)

Tylor's theory was the first to direct attention towards the intellectual, spiritual and mental aspects of culture. Yet the decisive difference versus twentieth-century anthropological viewpoints on culture is that he posited that there was only one culture (in its different evolutionary stages) whereas a modern understanding considers culture in its plural.[29]

This research concentrates on the second school of thought, one that searches for the root causes behind the endless variety of cultures. It focuses on *cultural relativism* and its spin-off, the *culture and personality school*, as well as theories of *symbolic* and *interpretive anthropology*, building on the understanding that 'every culture is a unique and once-off entity, which finds its purpose in itself'[30]. The theories of cultural relativism further suggest that there will be at least a '(partial) cultural imprint on the psyche of the individual'[31]. For example, Lorraine Pritchard describes herself as a typical South African, in being generally a more open friendly and easygoing person than she encountered overseas[32]. I also made use of symbolic and interpretative anthropology, because of its emphasis on 'the social actors who are also the interpreters and commentators of their world'[33]. This school seems to provide the most plausible approach to gain an understanding of foreign cultures and the culturally foreign.

Two principal figures of cultural relativism were Ruth Benedict and Melville J. Herskovits. In *Patterns of Culture* (1960) Benedict addresses the problem of cultural diversity and is 'concerned […] with the relationship between each human being, with a specific hereditary endowment and particular life history and the culture in which he or she lived'[34]. In a comparison between the Indian tribe of the Zuni and the Melanesian tribes of the Dobu and Kwakiutl and their seemingly very different characteristics, she develops her *configuration* approach. This approach stresses 'the form before the function, [arguing that] human behaviour is culturally

[29] Barnard & Spencer (1996:137)
[30] Kohl (2000:146)
[31] Rudolph (1998:64)
[32] Also see Chapter 4.3
[33] Fuchs (2001:125), as famously illustrated by Geertz (1987:202-260) in his account of 'Deep Play – a Balinese Cockfight' and stating that 'what [the anthropologist calls his] data are really [his] own constructions of other people's constructions of what they and their compatriots are up to'.
[34] Mead (1960:vi)

determined [and] that there is not only one culture, but many'[35]. Benedict puts forward that:

> from the moment of birth the custom into which [an individual] is born shape his experience and behaviour. By the time he can talk, he is a little creature of his culture, and by the time he is grown and able to take part in its activities, its habits are his habits, its beliefs his beliefs, its impossibilities, his impossibilities. Every child that is born into his group will share them with him, and no child born into one of the opposite side of the globe can ever achieve a thousandth part (1960:18).

Benedict arrives at the conclusion that 'not only does culture mould the individual, but the individual also moulds the culture'[36]. Further Benedict's emphasis on 'ethos, the characteristic moral, aesthetic and emotional tone of a particular culture'[37] plays a significant role in this research given how dominant a theme cultural imprinting was in my informants' stories.

The way culture leaves its imprint on the development of an individual's identity and personality is famously argued by Herskovits (1960:39ff) and his '*enculturation*' theory. He describes it as a 'process of conscious or unconscious conditioning, exercised within the limits sanctioned by a given body of custom'[38]. That is to say that 'from birth any human being is continuously exposed to influences from his surrounding culture which moulds the psyche […] especially in the early stages of life'[39]. The consequence of this *patterning* is that usually 'people absorb the habits, traditions, customs and outlooks, and therefore also the standards of judging and assessing of the culture of their particular group'[40]. Herskovits (1960:63) further stresses that 'judgements are based on experience, and [that] experience is interpreted by each individual in terms of his own enculturation'. Candice Simpson recounted having had some difficulty in settling

[35] Schomburg-Scherff (2001:43-46)
[36] Schomburg-Scherff (2001:45); also note Benedict's (1960:219) point that 'society in its full sense […] is never an entity separable from the individuals who compose it. No individual can even arrive at the threshold of his potentials without a culture in which he participates. Conversely, no civilisation has in it any element which in the last analysis is not the contribution of an individual'.
[37] Barnard & Spencer (1996:139); also see Benedict (1960:53-55), where she posits that 'within each culture there come into being characteristic purposes not necessarily shared by other types of society [and that] the significance of […] selected behaviour [can only be understood] against the background of the motives and emotions and values that are institutionalised in that culture'.
[38] Herskovits (1960:39)
[39] Rudolph (1998:64)
[40] Rudolph (1998:64)

in Canada because locals responded to invitations in a way that was different to how South African would have.

A problem with cultural relativism has been the varying degrees to which its theorists have defined the extent to which an individual is indeed stamped by a culture. Is he 'a creature of [his] culture'[41], or is the human psyche only partially formed by culture? Is he able to understand culturally foreign manifestations and translate them into his own cultural context and experiences? Simply put, would he/she be able to communicate and survive in foreign cultural surroundings?

Answers to the above are found in Geertz' symbolical and interpretive anthropology in *Interpretation of Cultures* (1975) and in Boas' *Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians* (1895). Geertz understands individual cultures to be like 'different interpretations of the *conditio humana*'[42]. He defines culture as:

> believing with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning (1975:5).

Geertz sees cultures as hermeneutic systems of meanings that need to be read, analysed and interpreted. He searched for the symbols in the communication processes of a culture and posited that the social actor is the interpreter and commentator of his world.

By adopting elements of cultural relativism and interpretive anthropology and based on the case of Boas' 'cross border commuter between cultures'[43], this research argues that one can be profoundly influenced by one's culture of birth and still be able to at a later stage leave one's know cultural surroundings and both understand and take to a new one.

---

[41] Benedict (1960:18)
[42] Fuchs (2001:123)
[43] Description of Boas' main informant in his *Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians* (1895), as cited by Kasten (2001:52).

Irrespective of one's perspective on the role of culture in repatriation, however, it is clear that several key issues play a part in the overall process: migration, home and identity, integration and adaptation, social experience and return.

2.3 Migration

Repatriation is a form of geographical movement and comprises an important subset of the wider field of migration studies. Migration can be described as 'all different kinds of refugee or migrant movements that result in the spatial transfer of one's centre of living'[44]. The literature distinguishes between internal and international migration[45]. I will address only the latter[46] and more specifically, voluntary[47], legal[48] and permanent [49] migration.

The importance of migration study is reflected in a vast body of literature[50]. An all-inclusive summary covering the literature as a whole is beyond the capacity of this review. This is partly because of the topic's essentially processual nature. As Parnwell states:

> migration is usually preceded by a process of decision making in which advantages and disadvantages are carefully weighed up, and where the potential difficulties associated with migration may be traded off against those which might result from staying (1993:71).

Using this analytical construct as a framing device, four theme complexes within migration became apparent: *gender dimension* and *theories on migration* that informed the research's investigation and consequent analyses; specific *aspects of migration* that I regard as important within the context of this report, such as

[44] Nohlen (2000:519)
[45] Hillman (1994:920)
[46] Nohlen (2000:519) who states that internal migration far exceeds international movements, yet the latter receives far greater attention due to its cross-border dimension and worldwide impact
[47] Hillman (1994:920)
[48] Nuschler (1995)
[49] Hillman (1994:920)
[50] This ranges from its history (Stalker 2005), to its numbers (Hillman 1994, IOM 2003, Nohlen 2000, UNHCR 1995/6), causes and effects (Parnwell 1993), its politics (Spencer 2003), economics (Isaac 1947), ethics also see Barry & Goodin 1992), related issues of xenophobia (Crush 2001), counter strategies (Nohlen & Nuschler 1993) and its trends and outlooks (Gritz, Kelly & Tomasi 1981 and SOPEMI annual).

immigration and *emigration* and; specific *forms of migration* such as forced migration and labour migration[51].

2.3.1 Gender Dimensions and Migration Theories

Recent statistics show overall female migration at 48% of the total of international migration[52]. The IOM (2005) notes that 'this change represents one of the most significant trends in recent international migration streams and is referred to as the "feminisation of migration"'. Consequently, more and more focus is put on gender relations within migration studies, as the work of Wichterich (2000) exemplifies. Buijs (1993:1) shows that 'until the mid-1970's women were invisible in studies of migrancy, and when they did emerge tended to do so within the category of dependants of men'. Mainly due to an 'impetus from a feminist orientated sociology and social anthropology […] women were no longer seen in an automatic association with men, but were increasingly regarded as social actors with their own fields of action'[53]. This change of focus resulted in an examination of the 'varied and complex responses of women to migration'[54]. Since more than half of my informants are women I also analysed my findings from a gendered perspective.

There are four major findings that argue for the reshaping of migration policies to address the different needs and concerns of women and men[55]. The ultimate aim is to remove the 'implicit gender bias in migration, if migration is to be effectively managed'[56]. The findings that support those demands are that

> 'migration impacts differently on men and women; men and women are motivated by different reasons in their decision to migrate; the experiences men and women undergo as migrants vary and are determined by their gender; most of these differences are due to the role, behaviour and relationships that society,

[51] Other specific forms of migration such as *Leisure Migration* (Böröcz 1996) and *Retirement Migration* (Czeglédy 1997, Moeller 1985) will be left out, since they proved to be not directly applicable to the research context.
[52] See IOM (2003), Stalker (2005).
[53] Goetze (2002:226)
[54] Bujis (1993:1)
[55] IOM (2005), and Hillman (1996), Zlotnik (1995, 1999)
[56] IOM (2005)

both in country of origin and destination, attribute to and expect from a woman or a man'[57].

Given the significance of migration to both sending and receiving countries[58], it is no wonder that the migration phenomenon has led to a variety of theories. There are four main theoretical positions on migration according to Goetze (2002:221ff): (1) the neo-classical position – making use of a 'cost and usage calculi'; (2) neo-economical migration theories – also adopting a cost-benefit approach, with the decisive difference being that the social actor is not the individual but the household; (3) world-system theories - looking at the connection between different social economies, and finally, (4) network and social capital theorems - representing a combination of the individual and the structural perspectives[59].

2.3.2 Aspects and Specific Forms of Migration

Aspects of migration include the directional flows inherent in different migration forms: emigration out of one's country, immigration into a new country and finally the return-migration back to one's country of origin. This section only addresses immigration[60] and emigration[61].

Emigration is the act of leaving one's country of origin in favour of another with the intention of taking up residence or settling there. More narrowly put, it is a migrant movement that entails the 'displacement of one's permanent residence to another national territory'[62]. For this research I have defined emigration more openly: it is the process of leaving South Africa in favour for another country and spending more time there than originally planned, without necessarily having officially emigrated or immigrated.

[57] IOM (2005)
[58] See also Appendix 2.
[59] A more detailed presentation of these theories is provided in Chapter 4 in connection with the research results.
[60] Cafferty (2000), Cooper & Grey (1997), Mendoza & Shankar (2003)
[61] Ward (2001), Whitlark & Aycock (1992)
[62] Hillmann (1994:60)

Immigration is defined as the act of moving to and settling in a country of which one is not a native[63]. Following the definition of emigration, immigration does not require an official emigration process to precede it[64].

It is widely accepted today that social and economic factors are the major forces behind migration flows for the individual migrant[65]. It seems that the concept of hope, the mere 'expectation of finding a better life'[66] needs to be considered as a primary driving force behind any kind of migration flows. Bearing this in mind, special attention is paid to the motivations behind forced and labour migration, since those proved to be the most prominent migration forms for the research informants.

Escaping from political conflict, war, persecution and other related dangers and personal security risks are some of the main reasons behind forced migration[67]. When asked about their motivations behind emigration, some of my informants, like Margot Stein, voiced 'concern about South Africa's high crime levels' and like Candice expressed concerns about 'the uncertainty and violence just before and after the 1994 elections'. Based on these statements I added the concepts of crime and fear of crime as applicable to forced migration. I also included in the definition the avoidance of serving in the South African army due to political convictions. For example, Stan Schmidt confided in me that he 'wanted to avoid military camps at a time when the military were being employed in urban areas of South Africa to control political unrest'. Here I support Zolberg, Suhrke & Aguayo (1989:vi) who state that '[migrant] flows [can be] viewed as structured events that result from broad historical processes'.

The literature also describes migration in terms of finding a 'promised land'[68], and yields the consideration that this utopian sensibility is the major incentive for migration for economic reasons and employment. With this sort of movement

[63] Muenz & Ulrich (1994:489)
[64] For a detailed description of immigration incentives for countries, see Appendix 3.
[65] Stahl (1988), Zolberg, Suhrke & Aguayo (1989)
[66] Parnwell (1993)
[67] Appadurai (1999), Naidoo (1998)
[68] Parnwell (1993:1)

there are not only economic opportunities involved and the pursuit for a certain standard of living but most often also major sacrifices on behalf of the individual, which Krane explores in *International Labor Migration in Europe* (1979).

The research looked at the above social triggers and how they shaped the migration flows of the informants. I questioned if the experience of forced migration would have a direct impact on the way an informant created notions of home and established the desire to come back in comparison to those who left for other reasons.

2.4 Home and Identity

All aspects of migration seem to closely resonate with questions of *home* and *identity* and the theories, concepts and notions associated with them. I investigated to what extent notions of home and identity impacts on the way one *integrates* into and *adapts* to a new society. Also examined was the extent to which all these concepts impacted on motivations behind repatriation and the realities to follow upon such return back to a person's home country.

2.4.1 Concepts and Notions of Home and Identity

Home, for this report, is defined as the 'territorial unity of a subjectively experienced space, with which a person associates a special relatedness'[69]. This encompasses 'the place and landscape within which a person grows into his/her identity and forms the first social relationships and connections'[70]. It further refers to 'all the traditions and special conditions of life which informed the experiences of one's childhood and youth'[71].

It is suggested that positive memories in relation to one's home function as effective measures of value and orientation for future social experiences and affiliations. Especially in times of personal crisis or change, all of which a migrant

[69] Hillmann (1994:327)
[70] ibid
[71] ibid

journey can include, the emotional relatedness and the possibility of a social 'retreat' to one's home can lead to feelings of social stabilisation and consolidation.

Black & Koser (1994:162)[72] note that 'home is the association of an individual within a homogenous group and the association of that group with a particular physical place'. This notion of home became very apparent in the reflections of my informants. I investigated how people on the move relate to new places and how much the memory and associated feelings with those places, spaces and landscapes left behind, inform this process. Here I made most use of a collection of essays edited by Bender & Winder (2001). Further insight on the effect of geography on peoples' lives is provided by Carter, Donald & Spires (1993). Another important contribution was Seirlis' article on "Islands and Autochthons" (2004) which provides a detailed description of how culturally grounded concepts and notions of home can be inseparably linked to a concrete, physical place – i.e. the soil on which one once walked. This sensation was strongly expressed by my informant Larry Paine, who stated that: 'I have always longed for the landscape of South Africa. That is something that no other country seems to give me. The highveld embraces my youth and it is hard to give it up'.

One of the topics I probed quite deeply was how the informants' migrant journeys influenced their perceptions of home. Rapport & Dawson (1998) investigate similar questions and jointly cite Carter (1998:v) who notes that 'the opposition between here and there is itself a cultural construction, a consequence of thinking in fixed entities'. This analytical construct is supported by Berger, who emphasizes that:

> home comes to be found in a routine set of practices, a repetition of habitual interactions, in styles of dress and address, in memory and myths, in stories carried around in one's head. People are more at home nowadays […] in words, jokes, opinions, gestures, actions, even the way one wears a hat (1984:64).

[72] Here referring back to Warner.

One can also distinguish between 'home as a […] concrete physical place and a personal space of identification'[73]. The author, Eva Hoffman takes a more integrating approach. She combined memories of a specific physical place with other stimuli that informed her search into what home meant, means and might mean for her in the future. In her widely acclaimed book *Lost in Translation* (1989) she reflects on her personal experience, mainly difficulties, of adapting to life in Canada after leaving Poland as a ten year-old child in the 1950's[74].

It is understood that to be separated from the place one used to call home urges one to reflect on one's own notions of what actually constitutes a home. Here I found that the idea of a separation of meaning was useful to the research as an analytical construct, although in line with the experience described above, my informants found it difficult to relate to such separation at an emotional level. Rather, they could relate to experiences like those described by Hoffman, such as losing one's points of reference and feeling lost in new surroundings, but with time passing, slowly growing accustomed to them. One of the main questions of this research was how such experiences could possibly redefine notions of home.

Inseparably intertwined with the above is an exploration into what forms and supports one's personal identity[75]. I define *identity* as the self-conception of a person, experienced in varying degrees of consciousness with regards to his/her own individuality, life situation and social affiliations[76]. One's identity constitutes itself out of both collective and individual dimensions. Collective identity is therefore not an *a priori* given one, but only starts to form itself with socialisation through interaction with others and the learning of social roles. For this process to take place Hillman (1994:350) regards 'puberty, adolescence and early adulthood' as the important phases. The individual identity is also developed through socialisation but needs to be understood as the spontaneous and active self of a

[73] Olwig (1998:225)
[74] Her intimate account the quest to make this new home her own, speaks to the central issue of losing one's primary points of reference on many, if not all, levels. There is nothing of this new place that resonates within her, leaving her feeling lost, inside and out. Yet, after years of living in Canada, this new place also started to make its imprints on her identity and on her notion of the meaning of home.
[75] Brennan (1988), Kershen (1998) and Rex (1996)
[76] As outlined in the works of Erikson (2000), Goffman (2003) and Mead (2000).

person. It refers to the uniqueness of an individual with regards to his/her distinctive life history. Geulen (1997:126ff) adds that socialisation also needs to be understood as a 'continuous, life-long process'. Here 'a very intensive form of socialisation can be the immigration into a new country during a person's adulthood, […] which can be experienced by some as a second childhood'[77].

For the purposes of this research, I took a closer look at one key concept of identity - "hybrid" identity - since it seemed to most closely resonate with the experiences of the informants, and particularly the men. Some of the most revealing contributions on this subject are found in Eidse & Seichel (2003). Here Ayer (2003:15) concludes that 'I fold up myself and carry it around with me as if it were an overnight case'. His notion of identity is informed by a childhood with no permanent physical home base, which prevented him from putting down permanent roots[78]. A forged or hybrid identity evolves when the person is denied the relationship and attachment to any specific environment and place.

An introduction into such varying notions of identity is found in Benmayor & Skotnes (1994). Equally enlightening contributions can be found in Friedman (1994), in which the author explores 'the interface between global processes, identity formation and the production of culture', which fundamentally informed the investigation of my research. Lavie & Swedenburg (1996) further investigate notions of identity as based on 'notions of nation and culture as bounded or discrete […] carefully examining various transnational hybrid, border and diasporic forces and practices'.

Both of the concepts of home and identity connect the intertwined notions of locality, community and belonging. These have long been recognised as crucial to the study of identity within anthropology and are, amongst others, explored by

[77] Geulen (1997:128)
[78] All the essays in this important book on the formation of identities in a world of movement speak about the experience of childhoods spent on the move and how those have impacted on individuals' current sense of person and place. Feelings of estrangement and disconnectness are recalled. Yet there is a longing to establish new relations and bonds in every new home, but at the same time fears of getting too attached are experienced. People also understand themselves as permanent outsiders, as people who find identity in contact, contrast and breakthrough in the different cultures they grew up in and which shaped their later adult lives.

Gupta & Ferguson (1999), Lovell (1998) and Westwood & Phizacklea (2000). These connected notions all form an intricate constellation of issues in the creation of a 'common socio-cultural consciousness in the face of displacement'[79]; they are all part of processes of integration and adaptation to a new life as reflected on by Buijs (1993), Sanchez (1993), Weintraub (1971) and Zetter (1999), who also ask what this means for the creation of the so-called 'myth of return'.

2.4.2 Integration and Adaptation

Following Parkin (1998:ix), I understand social/cultural *integration* to consist of 'the processes of behavioural and conscious integration in or assimilation to structures of value and patterns of behaviour' of a single person towards a specific culture or areas of it that have become relevant to him/her. The degree of migrant integration affects the stability of a society in that patterns of orientation and behaviour need to be both commonly and mutually recognised. In a recent interview on migration, the German Minister of the Interior, Schily (2005:60) noted that 'integration is the basic condition for a functioning and intact society and it is one of the, if not the most crucial prerequisite for leading a self-defined life in a new country'.

A prerequisite for integration is *adaptation* which is defined as the processes of change in the attributes, customs or habits, orientation and patterns of behaviour an individual undergoes in order to socially integrate with a new culture or parts of it. To a certain degree, adaptation is also a requirement for participation in reciprocal social relationships and the coverage of cooperation demands which, in part, are a guarantor for the existence of human societies in general[80].

In her popular book on the practical demands of mastering every day life in a new country, Mikatavage (1998:12) argues that in order to 'fit in as fast as possible it requires that [one first] learns how to communicate in [the country's language, … in order to] be understood and give people the feeling [one] understands them.

[79] Parkin (1998:ix)
[80] Hillmann (1994:29)

[Further, one needs to be] sensitive to the [country's] style, hygiene and appearance, and [one needs to] adopt at least some [of the country's] behaviours'. I investigated how prevalent and necessary this way of adapting to a country's way of life were for my informants to build a new life on a self-defined basis.

The stresses that can accompany such a process of adaptation are the subject of an expanding literature. Arcia *et al* (2001) and Weigers & Sherraden (2001), to cite prominent analyses, look at, amongst other things, at the characteristics and stages of stress associated with adaptation for different immigrant communities. They examine factors that influence it and others that can lead to the ease of it - again orientated towards the needs of those diverse cultural backgrounds. They conclude that research needs to take into consideration the differing environments of the countries of emigration and immigration when trying to understand what influences levels of adaptation.

2.5 Social Experience

The third key component of this research addresses the experiences that accompany the process of migration and how these might impact on the way people acclimatise to the country to which they immigrate or return. This section focuses on experiences such as social change, feelings of dislocation and cross-cultural experiences that lie on both sides of the migration process with a slight emphasis on the latter. Majodina (1995:211ff) acutely reflects on these processes of re-acclimatisation and their related difficulties. She discusses coping strategies and social support in detail and describes how they relate to two specific 'reintegration outcomes: quality of life and social well-being'. These are both critical indicators that helped me to assess whether or not returnees felt they had made the right decision to return home.

Social change at the macro level is defined as 'the change in qualitative or quantitative proportions and relations between the material and normative-

intellectual conditions, elements and forces within a given social structure'[81]. This describes the makeup of new social characteristics as well as higher degrees of complexity, organisation and disparities or integration. Macro level social tensions, such as existed in Apartheid South Africa, are often key drivers of social change. Here Dickens (1988:1) emphasises that it is always 'people that cause social change'. I suggest that one of the most challenging and painful aspects of repatriation to South Africa will likely be the experience of the massive social changes that have occurred in the society since 1994.

For this research, *dislocation* is defined as the act of being physically dislocated as a result of being uprooted[82]. I understand it to encompass specifically the emotional experiences that go along with the feelings of being out of place in the context of an individual's migrant journey. It has been noted that 'the movement from one society to another is often accompanied by intense feelings of psychological dislocation'[83]. 'The pain of leaving home, the disorientations following arrival, the traumas of resettlement, and the problems of acculturation [and the quest into] what, in short, is it like, to leave one's homeland and become a stranger in a strange land'[84] are identified in the literature. With respect to this, Larry remembered that when 'I was married to an Israeli I found that my relationship with her family and friends was often as an 'exotic' rather than as one of them'. All the different experiences constituting feelings of dislocations form an integral part of the investigation of this report.

A further point of investigation is that of *cross-cultural experiences* – the experiences and confrontations resulting of being "caught between cultures" following migration. These include the process of comparing and coping with two or more cultural models. This is possible as much as 'comparisons between cultures are possible, because they always have certain cultural traits in common, due to the fact that they exist in time and therefore show a temporal continuum

[81] Hillmann (1994:919)
[82] Cernea (2000:11ff)
[83] *Digital History (*2005)
[84] ibid

and development'[85]. The research assessed the relationship between culture, identity, history and one's personal destiny and looked at how people cope with confronting their own unique cultural backgrounds in comparison to the country they were immigrating into. In his article on "Globalization and Hybridity" (2000) Stafford identifies cross-cultural experiences as the outset for the creation of new hybrid identities and cultures that have become a reality in a current time of globalisation. With this impetus in mind, my research investigated if and to what extent the informants could relate to such notions and the developments of hybrid sensitivities.

2.6 Repatriation and Return-Migration

According to Krohn *et al* (1991:7) *repatriation* is defined as 'the act of returning to the country of origin either permanently or temporarily'. This definition can be refined to mean the country where one grew up for at least a substantial part of one's pre-adult years. It is meant to be the country to which one attributes the most significant and defining influences in terms of early socialisation and identification. This stands in contrast to a definition of repatriation simply as the return to a country of birth and or citizenship since this does not necessarily imply that the person has accumulated meaningful and defining life experiences there.

The above definition can be broadly applied to the following groups of repatriates: those forced out of their home country and later forcefully repatriated, such as refugees; those whose right to return home is denied or withheld for a certain amount of time due to political or military factors, but who can finally return of their own free will[86]. Finally there are those who leave and return to their country of origin voluntarily. (It is this last group of repatriates the research focuses on. In methodological terms this was reinforced by the results of the demographic selection produced by the snowball method.) Importantly, differences in the first steps of a migrant journey can impact on the way someone is willing to adapt to a new country and culture and how he/she thinks about the possibility of returning

[85] Petermann (2004:755)
[86] In this context, Drosdowski (1994:1183) refers specifically to the returning home of prisoners of war or civil prisoners and the act of being allowed to re-obtain one's former citizenship.

home someday. For example, among my male informants, for those that left to avoid military obligations on moral grounds, the possibility of returning played a much more prominent role earlier on in their migrant journey than for others.

Within the academic literature there are contradictory perspectives on the question of whether or not adequate attention is being paid to the issue of repatriation. The contradiction may be a consequence of when these observations were made. According to Allen & Morsink (1994:2) there is a clear 'lack of published material on repatriation', which they ascribe to 'the difficulties associated with discussing […] and studying return, post-return integration and reconstruction'. Preston (1999:24) argues against such thinking and observes that 'research into repatriation and its consequences are thriving', as well as there being a 'growth of research interest in repatriation, integration and reconstruction'. This latter observation is supported by Czeglédy (1997:476), who finds that 'repatriation [takes] on increasing significance when international migration is viewed from a temporal perspective'. This last statement has more to do with the historical process of repatriation in someone's life (as opposed to more narrowly focused understandings of migration over time).

The current research finds support for both positions. While I located a rich and comprehensive pool of published material on organised mass repatriation in the context of refugee studies, this was not the case for literature on self-initiated or voluntary repatriation by individuals. (This research does not address mass repatriation[87].) However, it seems that voluntary repatriation is increasingly regarded as important and is slowly gaining its deserved recognition.

What follows relate to those issues of voluntary self-initiated repatriation that I regard as important. Gaps in the literature – primarily on the issue of returnees' motivations – have already been pointed out. Key questions informing this investigation were if motives might include 'attempting to exploit family connections, language skills and other advantages of their personal history' as

[87] More detailed information on organised mass repatriation is provided in Appendix 4.

has already been suggested by the work of Czeglédy (1997:479) in the context of post-communist Hungary and Eastern Europe.

The shift in research from organised mass to individual and self-initiated repatriation involved a redefinition of repatriation in terms of remigration according to C.D. Krohn in *Exil und Remigration* (1991:7). He describes remigration as an act of conscious decision-making based on different choices the individual has made after already having been acculturated, locally integrated within the country of immigration. Following this definition, the research focused on people who were able to make a life for themselves in a new country and who as much as they could have stayed, also saw the alternative to leave and return home again.

According to the relevant scholarly literature there are two generic groups of people who return home by choice. Analytically the most coherent group and the one with the highest numbers are contract workers[88]. They represent the majority of people behind the phenomenon of temporary migration[89]. The second (and for this research, relevant) group comprise the 'many people who [either] migrate with the aim of long-term settlement and change their minds after a couple of years'[90] or those who stay longer than originally planned, but eventually develop the wish to return back to the country of their origin[91].

Stahl (1988:11) finds that migration preceding a return home is 'motivated [above all] by economic considerations'. With regards to such return, Stalker (2005) observes that people leave again in favour of their home country once 'they have accumulated sufficient funds'. Others leave when the dreams and hopes that motivated their emigration are not met by the reality of immigration. But the most prevalent reason and deciding factor behind return migration seems to be 'the situation in the home country. If the economic outlook improves then returning will

[88] Stalker (2005)
[89] This kind of migration implies the return back home to one's country of origin as the only and logical end to a migrant cycle. It seems that this kind of migration, which 'always has been a factor in international migration flows […] has in the last decades grown rapidly in significance […] and accounts for a very substantial proportion of total international migration' (Stahl (1988:10ff)).
[90] Stalker (2005)
[91] 'Of the 30 million people admitted to the United States between 1900 and 1980, 10 million are believed to have returned eventually' according to Stalker (2005).

seem a more attractive proposition'[92]. In the matter of this research, it remains to be proven whether or not Stalker's categories fully apply to the South African context. Next to this perspective it seemed appropriate that besides the economic outlooks, issues regarding political stability and crime rates also need to be considered as forming part of peoples' considerations with regards to the possibility of repatriation, as supported by the findings of this research[93].

The literature has identified three main issues associated with the process of returning home. The first is the 'existence and extent of social networks'[94]. The second deals with the 'creation of exacerbation of vulnerability'[95]. The third concerns 'the language of repatriation'[96] itself. I looked at all of these issues and to the extent to which my informants experienced and therefore could relate to them. They became key areas of focus for the research and will be presented and discussed in more detail later on[97].

[92] According to Stalker (2005).
[93] See also Chapter 4.4.
[94] Black & Koser (1999:11ff)
[95] ibid
[96] ibid
[97] Also see Chapter 4.5.

CHAPTER III - METHODOLOGY

This chapter provides an overview of the methods employed in the gathering of data for this research. Reasons are given as to why specific methods were more appropriate than others within the research context, including some reflection on methodological limitations. This is followed by a brief discussion on the ethical considerations that served as guidelines during the conduct of the research and an overview of the actual data collection and analysis. This chapter concludes with reflections on verification and credibility issues.

3.1 Research Design

This research is essentially exploratory in nature. I chose to conduct qualitative research according to Cresswell's reminder that:

> qualitative research is an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem. The researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyses words, reports detailed views of informants and conducts the study in a natural setting (1998:15).

I first had to find appropriate interview subjects. I contacted the Homecoming Revolution, a local civil initiative, who referred me to suitable informants. Another source for informants was my own expatriate network. Using these two channels I then employed a non-probability, "snow-ball" selection approach, since this process is best used in situations where the phenomenon being studied leads to open and available social networks. The person who was initially contacted referred me to other potential informants and so on. This approach proved to be both fruitful and effective.

The limitations of the snow-ball approach, however, are that the results are self-selecting and not typically generalisable to the population in question and the statistical value is therefore limited. But the outweighing benefits of this method are that I could follow leads to people who were comfortable with discussing their

personal stories and who had particular insights into the research topic. Furthermore, the in-depth and personalised nature of the interviews yielded valuable insights that were a direct product of the chain of relationships between people.

I planned on interviewing between ten and twenty people to get an adequate variety and range of responses. I ultimately interviewed fourteen people, two of whom participated in a set of detailed Life History interviews and spatial-orientated, transect interviews I was especially interested in identifying primary concerns and experiences, as well as relating specific demographics to them. This meant that I kept close track of such demographic markers as gender, age, ethnicity, profession, religion and marital status.

The elementary anthropological ideal of any investigative work in the field[98] is 'to realise a holistic perspective'[99] and 'to understand the indigenous point of view'[100]. The ultimate aim is the incorporation of all perceptions and activities of the research. With this aspiration in mind I had to choose my methods out of a pool of quantitative and qualitative data-gathering methods[101]. For this research emphasis was placed on qualitative data-gathering methods and emic perspectives. I employed the following primary methods: standardised Interviews; life history; and through spatially based interviews (with the house and its layout acting as triggers to stimulate memories) I was able to integrate the use of Participant Observation as a research tool.

The main method used in the research was the interview in its various forms, including structured, semi-structured and informal[102]. Interviewing is regarded by some as 'the ethnographer's most important data gathering technique'[103]. As a methodology, I found that it constructed meaning and knowledge through the

[98] Also see Fetterman (1998), Reich (1998)
[99] Kohl (2000:113)
[100] Malinowski (2001:49)
[101] The first issue refers back to statistical or closely connected countable or observable material that impact largely on an etic form of approaches. The latter are drawn from personal statements, stories and interviews in addition to observation, which inevitably emphasize an emic perspective. Also see Johnson (1990), Streck (2000), Wolcott (1999)
[102] Fetterman (1998), Fontana & Frey (1998)
[103] Fetterman (1998:37)

dialogue between myself and my informants and we therefore developed a mutual understanding of social reality.

The informants were asked to talk about their reasons for having wanted to come home, their prior experiences overseas and social and material realities they encountered upon return. The majority of the interviews were conducted in surroundings familiar to the informants, such as their homes or work places. This 'siting' of the research was aimed to make the interview informants more comfortable, relaxed and therefore responsive to questioning.

A second method employed was the Life History[104], which can be seen as a "deeply personal interview"[105]. As such I used it for this research because it adds a "supreme touch of humanity to ethnographic data"[106]. It transformed the informants from objects of the research to its subjects, enabling them to tell their story, letting them choose the events that matter to them and therefore leaving them with their own 'voice', even though, in the end, it was still my 'interpretative framework that [structured] understanding'[107].

The Life History provided the research with considerable depth and a level of multi-vocality, 'letting the informants choose the events that matter to them and […] put their own construction on them'[108]. Whereas interviews may reduce voiced perceptions to a before/after dichotomy, the Life History approach and its greater processual sensibility provided the research with more descriptive depth and richness as a consequence.

Finally, I incorporated Participant Observation by way of exploring the peripheral areas of spatially-based, transect interviews. Participant Observation is considered 'the paradigm of modern social anthropology'[109] and regarded as

[104] Langness & Gelya (1981), Musson (1998)
[105] André Czeglédy (personal communication 2004)
[106] ibid
[107] Josselson (1996:xii)
[108] Ochberg (1996:97)
[109] Kohl (2000:112)

'crucial to effective fieldwork'[110]. Yet due to time constraints and other practical constraints Participant Observation could not be used as the core method, since it was not practically feasible for me to follow or accompany someone in the actual process of repatriation. Still there was the opportunity to trace these moments in a reflective fashion. Some of the informants had just recently returned to South Africa. Catching them at such a time provided me with greater contemporaneous insight into re-integration.

The spatially based, transect interviews were used to combine the techniques of interviewing and observing, within a specific cultural place and context, the home of the interviewee. It involved reflection on cultural adjustment and made use of spatial and material triggers of everyday life. This allowed for and triggered memories and comparisons in conjunction with the practice of everyday life.

3.2 Ethical Considerations

'Ethnographers do not work in a vacuum, they work with people'[111]. With this understanding comes a high degree of responsibility. I understand that the ethnographer's first and foremost priority must always be the people studied and their rights[112]. The research therefore made use of pseudonyms to guarantee anonymity. It also employed Informed Consent Forms (ICF) to ensure that the participants had a clear understanding of the nature and purpose of the research and that they understood their rights within the conduct of the research.

I further tried to be aware of the possible effects my inquiry might have on my informants such as touching on very emotional, maybe repressed memory or raising issues that might create a personal conflict for the informant with regard to the limits of confidentiality. Finally I tried to foresee possible future outcomes of the research and its possible impact on the informants.

[110] Fetterman (1998:34). It is described as being 'conducted by the repeated performance of five fundamental tasks: watching, asking, listening, sometimes doing and recording' (Langness & Gelya 1981:32).
[111] Fetterman (1998:12)
[112] LeCompte *et al* (1999:55)

3.3 Data Collection and Analysis

After documentary investigation on civil repatriation initiatives in South Africa, I decided to approach the Homecoming Revolution with a request to gain referral to its client base. This entity seemed to be both open to the general public and to addressing issues I had already identified as critical to my research such as support and coping mechanisms and strategies with regard to repatriation.

With the help of the chief manager of the Homecoming Revolution and making use of my own expatriate network, I was able to select appropriate participants. I contacted them, described my research project and asked if they would be willing to be interviewed. The interviews took place in a location that was comfortable to both participant and me. The need to maintain confidentiality was critical in determining the location. The interviews took an average of two hours. I used a questionnaire[113] as a guideline, took notes and made observations, and the interviews were recorded and transcribed afterwards. In addition I subsequently followed up with the interviewees (where necessary) to clarify and expand on the information they had provided. This was done primarily via a combination of email communications and telephone conversations, but in some cases I also followed up with face-to-face interviews.

Two of the informants agreed to participate in subsequent interviews, specifically Life History interviews. The process of choosing these two persons was based on my sense of their level of comfort within the interview process while talking about personal and intimate experiences during the first interview, as well as my instinctive feelings of being able to extract more significant and relevant information in further sessions. For the physical siting of these life histories, I met them in their homes on a number of occasions to get a richer understanding and gain more insights into who they were and who they have become through the course of their migrant journeys, so as to provide a more complete and personalised background for the research. Throughout the conduct and evaluation

[113] See Appendix 5.

of the research I have had continuous contact with them with regard to further clarification or detail needed.

For the analysis and interpretation of collected data I orientated myself around the data analysis spiral formulated by Creswell (1998). I organised, perused, classified and then synthesised the raw data into a final report. All the transcriptions and notes collected from the individual informants were perused in order to establish an overall sense of what they contained as a whole. The information was then summarised into four tables that recapitulated key aspects of all the informants' data, experiences and stated opinions[114]. Following this classification and analysis process I then interpreted the data and formulated some tentative conclusions and recommendations. These where then verified against existing theories in the literature and were established as valid or invalid.

3.4 Verification and Credibility

The analysis and 'conclusions [of this research] originated in [my] own complex conceptual processes'[115] and ultimately:

> the research product […] is that of the researcher. With very rare exceptions it is the researcher who narrates, who "authors" the ethnography, a written document structured primarily by the researcher's purposes, offering the researcher's interpretations, registered in a researcher's voice (Stacey 1988:23 in Josselson 1996:61).

To further ensure the reliability, credibility and authenticity of the qualitative research, I followed two applicable verification procedures, as identified by Cresswell (1998). First of all I applied the process of triangulation[116]. I therefore ensured that the hypothesis and final conclusions and recommendations are valid by comparing data, experiences and opinions stated by the individual informants against each other. A second and more literary procedure employed was that of "thick description"[117]. Here it is understood that practices and discourses that take

[114] See Appendices 6, 7, 8 and 9.
[115] Josselson (1996:61)
[116] Fetterman (1998: 93ff)
[117] Geertz (1987)

place in a society not only provide information about them, but also refer to basic cultural meanings. They therefore need to be described in their (cultural) context or else they become meaningless to an 'outsider'. Through their detailed descriptions they open up the possibility for an understanding of culture. I therefore made all the definitions and descriptions in this report as detailed as possible and also provided the necessary cultural context for them. The reader is hence able to determine the transferability of the information, so that it becomes meaningful to him/her and it creates a point of access to the thoughts of the subjects.

There is always the possibility that informants are not fully open or fully honest in their answers – whether consciously or unconsciously. I could only be sensitive to this and take it into account for the data analysis and interpretation and where appropriate, highlight possible areas of concern in the final analysis.

CHAPTER IV - RESEARCH RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents the findings and analysis of the research. It starts with the demographic profile of the informants[118]. It is then structured around the life histories of the two primary informants, whom I shall call Penelope van Houten and Dennis Rodman - both of whom I met through my own expatriate network - and follows them through their stories of *emigration, immigration, repatriation* and *new-found realities*[119]. Insights from the other informants are interspersed where appropriate and a discussion and the subsequent conclusions are linked back to the supporting theories.

4.1 Demographic Profile of the Subjects

The informant group comprised 57 percent women and 43 percent men, providing a more or less balanced gender perspective to the research and enabling me to make comparisons along the gender divide. Their average age at the time of the interviews was 40 years (women: 36, men: 47 years).

All informants were white. This demographic fact needs to be taken into consideration when developing policy applications, since the motivations of South African blacks and whites regarding emigration and return have and will probably continue to differ primarily due to the political environment, economics and issues of personal freedom.

Approximately two-thirds are of Jewish descent (half describe themselves as non-practising) with the balance being of Christian background (all describe themselves as non-practising). Most informants grew up in Johannesburg, Durban or Pretoria. One comes from a regional town and one from a country town.

[118] See Appendix 6.
[119] See Appendices 7, 8 and 9.

All of the informants are university graduates and are practicing professionals[120]. These findings generally mirror recent statistics since 'by comparison with other countries, very high proportions of South African emigrants are professionals'[121].

More than two thirds have dual or more citizenship, with the balance carrying a South African passport only. This proves to be a strong, supporting indicator in regards to a central question: *After having returned to South Africa could the informants imagine leaving again*. Almost two thirds responded that they would consider leaving again[122]. Dennis reflects this ambiguity by stating:

> I was pretty certain I would remain in the US so I become a citizen. After having got my second passport, I returned to South Africa. I would never give it up, since it gives me and my family an option should we ever want to leave South Africa again.

Half of the informants are married, 15 percent live in relationships and one third is single. Almost 50 percent have non-South African partners. Half of the informants have children, almost half of whom had their children born in South Africa. Just over 70 percent of the children carry dual or more citizenship. These findings again establish a strong, continuing link with overseas. Penelope explained to me that due to being married to an American, with whom she has two children 'we are permanently torn between two countries as my husband's family lives in New York and L.A and it had become a second home to me and my children'.

What follows are summary profiles of the two Life History informants. Their stories are further elaborated in greater detail in the sections that follow below.

Penelope van Houten, a vivacious, passionate, energetic, social and intelligent brunette was born in 1960 in Vryburg, a farming town in the Free State, South

[120] One exception is one woman, who had been a professional overseas, was at the time of the interview a housewife

[121] Kaplan & Meyer (2005); Figures for South African migrants to the US suggest that more than '77% have tertiary education [and that] while there is significant variation amongst the different professions, it is likely that between one-eighth and one fifth of South Africans with tertiary education now reside abroad' note Kaplan & Meyer (2205). The highest number of emigrants from South Africa is found amongst science and technology and medicine and health professionals. Also see Kaplan & Meyer (2005) and Statistics South Africa (2003) for a further breakdown of the numbers, as well as Chapter 1.2.

[122] Explored in greater depth in Chapter 4.5

Africa. Her biological father died in an accident while her mother was pregnant with her. The mother, of Afrikaans descent, remarried an English immigrant when Penelope was four years old. The family subsequently moved to live in Midrand, Gauteng when she was 10 years old. She was brought up bilingually into what she calls a 'relatively conservative' Christian family. Today she values this heritage as part of her identity, but describes herself as a non-practising Christian. She has an older natural sister and two younger half sisters. Penelope describes herself as always having been quite rebellious and an independent thinker, with strong left-wing ideals. This created tensions in her family over the years and she still has a limited and somewhat strained relationship with her older, conservative sister. At school, in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg, she was outspoken, especially on political issues and learned to stand up for her convictions. This revolutionary and free-spirited perspective on life was further consolidated when she went to the University of Cape Town, where she earned her first degree, a B.A. in History. She then became a high-school teacher until she was blacklisted and arrested for engaging in anti-Apartheid demonstrations and activities. She subsequently left South Africa for the United States in 1987 at age 27 where she completed her Masters in History and Film and commenced working on a doctorate in women studies at New York University although she did not complete her PhD. In New York she met her American husband, with whom she has two children, one of whom was born in the US and one back in South Africa. After having lived in New York for 11 years she and her family returned to South Africa in 1998. Today she is employed as a broadcast editorial manager. Penelope carries a South African passport only, but she has a 'Green Card' (allowing her permanent residence in the United States). Both of her children hold dual citizenship and her husband has obtained permanent resident status in South Africa.

Dennis Rodman is a fairly serious, analytical, compassionate person and is an active cyclist. He was born in 1959 in Johannesburg. His parents are first and second generation Jewish South Africans, with their parents/grandparents having immigrated from Germany and Eastern Europe at the end of the nineteenth century to escape persecution and poverty. Even though Dennis was born into a

fairly orthodox Jewish household, today he describes himself as agnostic, but he nonetheless recognises his Jewish heritage and cultural identity as important to his sense of self. He grew up substantially in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg, although from the age of eighteen months to three years his family moved to live in Israel. His sister was born there. Dennis' younger brother was born in 1967. Dennis first went to Jewish day school, then at age twelve he elected, with a friend, to go to boarding school in Potchefstroom, where he spent two years before finishing high-school at Greenside High, Johannesburg in 1976. In 1977, he spent 'a miserable year as an infantryman in the South African defence force', which included a four month tour of active border duty in the then South-West Africa, overall an experience which ' I did not enjoy at all. Fortunately [I] was not forced to shoot at anyone'. From 1978 to 1980 he studied for a Bachelor of Commerce at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. In 1980 he left South Africa with the intention of furthering his studies in the United Kingdom but instead settled in Houston, Texas. There and in Belgium he worked in the oil industry before returning to South Africa in 1986 to study for an M.B.A. On completion he returned to Brussels to work with a leading international strategy consultancy before moving to New York with the same firm. He remained in New York for nine years, during which time he obtained his citizenship before returning to South Africa in 1997. He now works as a business and technology consultant. He is married to a German wife, whom he met in South Africa and with whom he has one child. Both he and his child hold dual citizenships.

4.2 Emigration

South Africa in the 1980's was a 'repressed, insular and hunkered down society with a fascist government that few of us believed in or wanted'. We are sitting in Dennis' house, when he takes me back 25 years to when he was 21 years old. He is trying as accurately as possible to reconstruct what motivated him at the time to leave South Africa:

> As a 21-year old, I was keen on getting international experience and exposure following my B. Comm. [degree]. I believed that the Chartered Accounting qualification in the United Kingdom was world class and while I did not want to

> practice as a C.A., I felt that it would be exciting and life expanding to live and work in London. However once I was there and had gone through some interviews and experienced British bigotry and snobbery I decided to look for other options. I travelled to the United States stayed in Houston, both because of the oil boom that was happening and because I met a great bunch of guys with whom I played rugby. While that initial exploratory trip was planned for only six weeks I landed up living overseas for almost seventeen years.

Dennis showed me photos of him playing rugby with the Houston RFC and recounted with amusement how he had had a drunken altercation with Naas Botha (the captain of the Springbok rugby team in the late 1970s) after a game in Dallas.

Penelope's motivations differed in parts dramatically from those expressed by Dennis. I met Penelope through a mutual friend and we are now part of the same social circle. She invited me to her home in Linden, Johannesburg for the interview. Going back to 1987, the year she left South Africa, brought to mind very different memories. Penelope then was a young high-school teacher who together with her pupils started to take a stand against the Apartheid regime in demonstrations and outspoken protests. For this she was arrested in 1986 and sent to jail. Upon her release it was clear to her that:

> some avenues of work had been closed to me as a result of a "blacklisting". I had to think about my future in South Africa. I was so angry and furious and anxious about my country and really did not know where to go from here. I began to explore other paths such as studying further. I wanted to pursue a field of study that combined history, teaching and film, Public History. This kind of course was not offered in South Africa so I started looking for where it might be offered. Attending a lecture at Wits one day I spoke to a person from New York who made films about history in America. I found out from him that there was a course at New York University that was called Public History. In this course one studied history as well as methodologies of making history public. I could thus attend both film courses at New York University film school as well as the History Department. I was also excited by what lay beyond South Africa. I guess I felt a little trapped inside the country and wanted to have options or at least know what other options there are in the world. I was not forced but I did feel that what I wanted was not possible to do in the country at that time. However selling everything I had and saving money to go would not have made it possible for me if I had not received a full-fee scholarship to study at New York University. This finally made the decision to go a lot easier.

Penelope recounted in some detail the awful experience she had of being put in prison and how claustrophobic she felt. She described this experience with the

same intense mix of passionate humour, insight and a hint of sadness as she did her other experiences. She seemed to me to be someone who thinks deeply about the issues affecting her life and does not take decisions lightly.

These two stories bring to light what Hillman (1994:60) sums up as 'strongly increased emigration out of economically stagnating and politically repressed developing countries and towards more attractive western affluent societies'. When both Penelope and Dennis left South Africa, pre-1994, it was during the reign of a discriminative and oppressive Apartheid regime that aggressively persecuted its opponents, had military conscription and was under sanction from the international community. This resulted in a stagnant economy, cultural and social isolation and personal risk, in addition to ethical and moral dilemmas.

The majority of my informants left before 1994. They share similar experiences to those of Penelope and Dennis in that they both wanted to flee South Africa's isolated international position and wanted to gain new experiences through travel. As Lorraine Pritchard, a 38 year-old housewife with three children, who left South Africa in 1989 at age 23 for London in the United Kingdom, described it very pointedly: 'South Africa in those days was cut off'. She wanted to 'explore other countries and other ways of life'. Lorraine is a very friendly, warm and outgoing person, slender and attractive. Her home communicated her personality in some ways in that it was modern, very light, sunny, yet tastefully decorated. Her extrovert personality suggested to me her interest in experiencing new things and her desire to be close to the "centre of the action" as she put it. When she initially left South Africa she had earned her undergraduate degree and wanted to travel and explore the world. Upon her arrival in London, she enjoyed the first few months 'jolling around and partying'. Soon thereafter she met her current husband, a successful real estate agent, and decided to remain in the United Kingdom and start working there. She worked as a desktop publisher and did so until the birth of her first child. I met Lorraine's youngest child and was struck by how much of a devoted mother she is. I got the feeling that she is living her repatriate life in South Africa with exactly the same drive and positive attitude as that which motivated her to leave and take on a new life overseas.

The above motivation somewhat mirrors that of Jane Lewinsky who left South Africa to take up post graduate studies in New York under a Fulbright Scholarship and to be with her new boyfriend. That enabled her to safely 'explore what was to be found outside of South Africa'. Jane is today a successful 39 year-old business process consultant, who left South Africa in 1992 at age 27 and who returned in 1995. Jane is a very serious, intense and focused individual who manages to juggle a demanding career and being a mother to two pre-school boys. When interviewing her in her flat it was clear that she was fully in charge of the management of her home, staff and the weekly schedule for her children. Jane gave me the impression of being quite a traditional person and "home-body" and seemed rather sensitive to big changes - it took her almost a year to come to terms with the death of her father - so upon reflection it seemed unlikely to me that she would have gone overseas without the scholarship as impetus, and even then she did not make the decision easily. She returned to South Africa earlier than she probably would have liked, largely to be with her ailing father and to support her mother and brother with whom she was very close.

Another prominent motivation was to avoid military service under the then Apartheid government, an opinion that strongly resonated with a number of informants' liberal and anti-racist political convictions. Here Stan felt strongly that 'I wanted to avoid military camps, at a time when the military were being deployed in urban areas of South Africa to control political unrest'. He, an investment fund manager, left South Africa in 1986 at age 27 for New York and returned 11 years later in 1997. Stan is also a very intense, driven and intelligent individual. He is very meticulous and fastidious with his possessions and his home is impeccably tidy with everything in its right place. The house and garden exude a "Zen-like" atmosphere, possibly emphasised by the samurai sword hanging in the study. He is a bit of a paradox in that he seems very tough as a business person and as someone who is very senior in his style of karate in South Africa, yet in his social and personal relationships he presents a very sensitive side as seen in the way he interacts with his partner of five years and his friends. He mentioned having being unhappy in personal relationships for much of his life, following traumatic

experiences in his upbringing. He admits that he has come a long way and is now able to approach life with a spiritual and philosophical attitude, which seems to me to be consistent with the nearly Zen feel of his home. He considers his time overseas as crucial to this process but claims that he always felt that he needed to return to a democratic South Africa to close the circle and find internal peace. Important lifestyle factors for Stan are ready access to the outdoors and close personal friendships, both of which he feels South Africa offers a lot of.

For the remaining informants, one of whom left in 1994 and the others afterwards, I still found that the prevailing reason was to travel and find work and - as Bonny Harrington stated - with the intention of 'wanting to broaden international and work experience'. Politically motivated emigration did not play a part of the considerations for this group of people anymore. Bonny is a single woman and business consultant who left South Africa in 1998 for six years and lived in the United Kingdom and France. At the time of conducting the interviews she had just returned to South Africa and taken over her brother's flat. The flat was sparsely furnished and still displayed a lot of her brother's belongings, including his painting and a huge strange kitchen table made of metal. For our evening interview, Bonny rushed in late from a meeting in full business attire and needed some time to settle down. During the course of the interview, she took a number of phone calls, both business and social. She struck me as a somewhat reserved, yet friendly and very ambitious person who had aspirations of creating her own consultancy. She seems to be in charge of things and to be a decisive and independent decision-maker.

The motivation to travel and find work abroad can be described as *push factors* out of South Africa, due to its unsatisfactory political, economic, cultural and social situation at the time. Under the definitions given earlier, they fall in a wider sense under the category of labour- and even forced- migration. It also supports Benedict's argument that generally recognises humanity's ability to be critical towards its own culture[123]. The motivation to work abroad seems also to speak to a human desire for development, in that, if circumstances are unsatisfying one is

[123] Also see Benedict (1960:218ff)

driven to change them or – I would posit - if one cannot do so “at home”, to leave for better environments. This is consistent with theories of cultural relativism that describe culture as ‘the totality of the results of innovations […] at whose beginnings one always finds psychological processes of man’ [124]. By this, I understand that the individuals perceived that there were restricted opportunities for them to innovate or develop in South Africa (and hence to contribute to the development of the culture). They therefore chose to leave South Africa to meet their development needs.

These reasons behind emigration, together with the age at the time of departure (on average 25 for the women and 23 for the men), indicate that the informants left at a time of their lives for what can be described as a *rite de passage*. This symbolises the transition from one developmental stage into the next, here from adolescence into early adulthood. If one’s adolescence is conventionally marked by the ‘discovery of one’s self and the development or marking out of one’s plan of life, with which one wants to enter specific areas of society’[125], then one’s early adulthood stands for the realisation of these dreams. As Sheehy (1976)[126] further describes: ‘the young adult is a person, who strives for taking over and achieving social and self proclaimed tasks, which above all concern the planning and realisation of a person’s professional and social life’. Dennis confided in me that:

> most of my life growing up in South Africa was pretty sheltered and we were quite spoiled by my parents. I felt a bit stifled in the community with everybody knowing everybody else’s business and I wanted to strike out on my own terms. Some of it was based on a long-term desire to travel and explore the world and some of it was about building my life independently and anonymously without the suffocating “support system” that seemed to always be around.

Dennis showed me kelims he bought in Istanbul in 1984 during a four-month tour through Europe and Turkey. He also showed me photos from his travels through South America and China, at the same time as recounting anecdotes from those travels. These clearly were significant events in his life and equally clearly

[124] Rudolph (1998:57 - 65)
[125] Spranger (1924, cited in Olbrich 1997:441)
[126] Cited in Olbirch (1997:441).

presented his adventurous spirit and his search for a non-conformist way to live his life.

Dennis' search for independence was similar to that presented by other respondents. This leads to the insight that the informants left South Africa – at least in part - in pursuit of a self-defined "growing-up" process and with a view to exposing themselves to conditions that hopefully would meet the objectives highlighted by Sheehy, as noted above.

I would further suggest that when people leave in their early- to mid-twenties out of motivations mainly ascribable to their quest into adulthood, the chances are higher that they might return back home to their country of origin to apply and further develop or even finish what they started off before leaving for overseas. This is supported by Bonny's story. She specifically left South Africa to acquire experiences she knew she would one day want to apply to a career based in South Africa. I also suggest that it is less likely that somebody in his/her early- to mid-twenties would make a decision of permanent emigration, when life experience and self-knowledge are generally still too immature to base such substantial decisions on - indeed none of my informants set out with that objective when leaving South Africa.

The above observations were further supported by the fact that all informants were single at the time of their emigration, a circumstance that speaks to the pursuit of an independent exploration into new experiences. Also none of them officially emigrated. In fact, they all originally planned to stay overseas for only of a few years but ended up staying longer than initially anticipated (for an average of twelve years). As Penelope told me, she had planned to go overseas for only '2 years [but] landed up staying for 11 years' or Dennis, whose 'intention was [to travel initially] for 6 weeks and then study for a year or two [and who] eventually returned to South Africa 17 years later'. Similarly Emma Smith, today a 33 years-old TV producer, left South Africa in 1994 at the age of 23 to 'spend a year overseas [and] ended up staying 10 years'. I met Emma after she and her English husband had just arrived in Johannesburg following a one year overland trek from

Europe through Africa to South Africa. This adventure and its experiences still resonated very strongly with them – they seemed infused with the spirit of the adventure - and they seemed to have hardly yet settled here. When I interviewed her, they were renting a furnished cottage on someone else's property, still waiting for their belongings to arrive. She has a very friendly outgoing persona, clearly is an outdoorsy person, is quite athletic and seems to be somewhat unconventional.

Stan shares a comparable story in that he 'initially had no sense of how long [he would stay]. I began a 2-year study program, so initially that is how long I was committed for. I stayed until 1997/98—11 years'. Since almost all of the informants stayed overseas for much longer than originally intended, it is possible that either the countries of immigration were more attractive than initially anticipated or some level of inertia may have set in and slowed the return process. This clearly translates into a challenge for South Africa in terms of its ability to attract people back should it choose to promote return migration.

When analysing the emigration stories of my informants I found they could be explained by at least one of the four main theoretical positions on migration as laid out by Goetze (2002:221ff)[127] – the neo-classical position, the neo-economical theory, the world-system theory and the network and social capital theorems. Agreeing with Stalker (2005) 'migration [is of a highly] integrated and complex nature', I found that each of the four theories proved important but was insufficient on its own.

The *neo-classical position* is grounded upon 'cost and usage calculi'. The idea is that the individual weighs the necessary costs of migration against its possible benefits. Only when the benefits outweigh the costs is a decision in favour of migration made, as Penelope's case illustrates. This theoretical construct incorporates the 'push' and 'pull' factors behind migration and represents a kind of 'systematization attempt close to the 'rational-choice' theories'[128]. It is an

[127] Also see Chapter 2.3.
[128] Goetze (2002: 221)

'individual approach, [one which] considers each migrant as a rational human being who assesses the available destinations and chooses the optimum combination – of wages, job security and costs of travel' [129]. The theorem is therefore also called the 'human capital [approach, since] each person can be considered as the product of a series of investments, and who is looking for the best place to use them'[130].

Neo-economical theories on migration also adopt a cost-benefit approach, with the decisive difference being that the social actor is not the individual but the household. This anchoring entails that decisions about migration are based on a combination of 'strategies of risk reduction and existence-securing for other members of the household'[131]. In the main, this opens an opportunity for a whole set of other strategies based on a comparative model. One can compare one's own household relative to others in the same social context and base decisions about migration on that. This theory begins to touch upon a 'structural perspective, which sees people's fate determined ultimately by structures – social, economic and political that shape their lives'[132]. While in my sample there were no family units that emigrated, I found some evidence for this theory in the proposition of the structural perspective as, for example, in Larry's case – he left because of the political and social climate in the country at the time:

> after completing matric, I started a BA at Wits. But after one year, I quit. My military deferment was dependent on my being a full time student and I did not want to serve in the SA army for two years. I was also very uncomfortable being a privileged white in an Apartheid South Africa, so I left.

Larry Paine is a 45 year-old video-documentary producer. He is a man who has explored alternative and less-travelled routes in his life. He left South Africa in 1980 at age 20 for Israel, where his family had emigrated to and where he lived for 13 years. There he married and had his first child, a son. Larry's very open and liberal way of looking at and living his life started to collide with his first's wife growing fundamentalist orthodox religious beliefs. They divorced and he moved

[129] Stalker (2005)
[130] ibid
[131] Goetze (2002:222)
[132] Stalker (2005)

on to live in Scotland for one year, followed by two years of travel through Africa – alone by bicycle, before settling in Tanzania for 8 years. This solo travel through Africa was both cathartic after the divorce and gave Larry a unique of achievement that remains part of him today. In Tanzania he met his second wife, an American woman, with whom he had his second child, born in Tanzania and a third one born in late 2004 back in South Africa, both boys. He returned to South Africa in early 2004, after a 24 year gap. They have recently bought a house which they have filled with art, furniture and mementos, largely from his African travels. Larry is a very open hearted, sharing and embracing person yet he is also very assertive and occasionally dogmatic about certain issues such as religion. He clearly embraces change and he still travels a lot into Africa for his work. While this is emotionally difficult on a personally reflective level, he also finds it both exhilarating and meaningful too.

World-system theory looks at the connection between different social economies. It understands that 'structural factors such as unemployment or the influence of international media or population pressure can be seen as 'pushing' emigrants from their homes and 'pulling' them to their destinations'[133]. The main theoretical advancement of this theory lies in its ability to 'systematically include historical preconditions and to incorporate the complexity of political determining factors and economical utilization interests'[134]. Support for this theory is found in Mr. Ettinger's experiences. This doctor and now CEO of a local hospital felt motivated to leave South Africa when he learned that the job he had hoped for was not available to him and he consequently started to look abroad for alternative job offers. He left for Chicago in the United States in 1967 at age 22 and returned, a divorcé 35 years later in 2002. Mr. Ettinger is the oldest of my informants, yet he is also quite young in the way he takes to new things, such as technology. He is charming, wants to get things done and wants to be recognised for his achievements. He was quite open and talked about his personal challenges and short-comings and how he overcame them. Of my interviewees he was the most formal in dress and probably the most established. I met him in his offices which

[133] Stalker (2005)
[134] Goetze (2002:222)

exuded a professional and distinguished atmosphere and which supported his appearance. He first seemed to be somewhat intimidating, yet we enjoyed a frank, open and relaxed interview during which he took interest in my story.

On a more general level, one can look at the theory of a 'dual labour market…created by capitalist developments'[135] - with secure and well paid jobs at the one end and temporary and badly paid jobs at the other end of the scale - as one of the factors one needs to look at in order to find explanations behind the phenomena of migration.

Network and social capital theorems represent a combination of the individual and the structural perspectives. Massey *et al* defines them as follows:

> migration networks can be defined as sets of interpersonal relations that link migrants or returned migrants with relatives, friends or fellow countrymen at home. They convey information, provide financial assistance, facilitate employment and accommodation, and give support in various forms (1999:291).

This way of using network models with regards to migrant decisions (and effects) acknowledges a greater number of explanatory factors behind migration processes. This theory is best exemplified through Lorraine, who based part of her decision to travel to England on the fact that she would commence this adventure with a close friend of hers. She is somebody who seems to make sure that she has both adequate and readily available social support around her. This also fits with the rest of her story in which she clearly communicated the importance of family, friends and social networks in her life in general and overseas in particular. I found further support for this theory at a latter stage of evaluation of my research. Both Penelope and Dennis spoke to me at length about the importance of their new social networks in much the same vein as other South African expatriates overseas and, especially, about their importance once returned back to South Africa[136].

[135] Stalker (2005)
[136] See also Chapter 4.5.

During the interview process and, more importantly, the evaluation of it, I found that no single theoretical approach could be applied exclusively across all the informant histories. Thus I suggest that it might be advantageous to apply a combination of the theories. This analysis could be accomplished along the following lines: it would focus on an individual actor, who needs to be seen in his/her wider social context, with other and greater factors influencing his/her decision making and who increasingly joins up in migrant networks.

4.3 Process of Immigration

Migration imposes on the individual the need to leave parts of his/her identity behind and to be open to the complex process of refining his/her identity to new cultural surroundings. I posit that at the outset of this refining process, one must have an implicit understanding of Kohl's (2000:151) already stated definition of culture which argues that 'a person's norms, values and habits are culturally bound. [And that] a prerequisite for the attempt to gain an understanding of culturally foreign realities' is that a person recognises the relative nature of his/her own cultural view points'. Penelope supported these notions when she related to me that:

> after having left South Africa, I started to become less sure about many issues. I developed a profound sense of being unable to be a nationalist in an American or contemporary South African sense. Out of this I became more able to see the universality of human life on earth. I developed a profound sense of being able to work with the same purposes anywhere rather than being defined by South African boundaries or the context of its history. The difficulty of sorting this out is that it is easy to feel very empowered in South Africa and have real agency as an individual as you were part of a great historic change. Similar experiences were not available in the United States and I had to redefine myself accordingly.

From the above description and other similar experiences, it appears that the challenge is for the individual and both sending and receiving countries to work with the losses and the gains of those identities, since otherwise the 'threat of instabilities through unresolved social conflicts arises'[137].

[137] Goetze (2002:217)

Half of the informants went to live in the United States, a rough third of them to the United Kingdom, one to Canada and one to Israel. The dominance of the United States and the United Kingdom as the favourite destinations can be explained by some combination of several reasons.

First, there is a bias inherent in the snow-ball system with which I identified my informants. The two persons who were originally asked to participate in the interviews had left South Africa for the United States and the United Kingdom.

Second, since all my informants were white/Caucasian, English speaking and educated, it seemed reasonable for them to exploit their ethnic profiles in countries that mirror those characteristics. Dennis commented that he chose the United Kingdom and later the United States as places to think about gaining life experience largely because he felt that the environments would be similar enough to the one he had experienced in South Africa and the languages in both countries were English yet they were dynamic and open societies. He felt that he would be able to integrate and adapt more easily and find work more easily without the requirements of learning a new language. It almost seems as if Dennis set out with a somewhat instinctive understanding of his Geertzian ability to be social actor and interpreter and Boasian abilities to be a 'cross-border commuter between cultures'[138].

Once Dennis had gained experience and confidence living alone overseas, he was keen to take on the challenge of living in Europe in a non-English society and moved to Brussels with the CEO of the oil trading company for which he worked in order to establish an office over there. It was exciting at first, but there he found it very difficult to relate to the locals and their way of life. Dennis' notion supports a definition of culture 'as that intellectual-mental system which a people has acquired and through which it differentiates itself from all others'[139]. Here Benedict (1960:45) notes that 'every culture, every era exploits some few out of a great number of possibilities'. Simply put 'it is local and man-made and hugely

[138] Kasten (2001:52)
[139] Thiel (1992:8)

variable'[140]. She goes on to posit that 'no man can [therefore] thoroughly participate in any culture unless he has been brought up and has lived according to its forms'.[141] This kind of thinking puts constraints on Geertz' and Boas' propositions, in that it posits that it is more difficult to interpret new cultures and to integrate into them when language and culture are materially different from one's own.

Third, the migration patterns of my informants roughly mirror global statistics[142] since people tend to follow friends and family that have moved to new places. This is supported by the migration profile of for example Lorraine, who went to the United States since, as part of her reasoning she already had friends living there like her boyfriend. Here I argue that culture can be understood as the 'totality of the typical forms of life of a people, including its sustaining states of mind and especially its morals and values'[143]. Rudolph (1998:64) also proposes that 'culture is group-specific and selective'. On the basis of these arguments I argue that one has a wish to surround oneself with people who share one's own specific cultural background in new and foreign surroundings, so as to be able to identify with and be identified by at least by a few fellow men.

Finally, the motivations behind immigration are in large part the flip side of the motivations behind emigration. In other words, what pushes a person out of one country can often be found in another one. In this case my informants expected to find equal, democratic and open societies, exposing them to political, economic, cultural and social experiences and freedoms they were denied in South Africa.

4.3.1 Impact on Concepts and Notions of Home and Identity

For me, concepts of home and identity are integral to any understanding of culture, given the above definitions of Tylor, Benedict, Herskovits, Kohl and

[140] Benedict (1960:52)
[141] Benedict (1960:45); stating further that man 'can [only] grant to other cultures the same significance to their participants which he recognizes in his own' (1960:45).
[142] Also see IOM statistics (2003).
[143] Bernsdorf (1972:5 as cited by Thiel 1992:8)

Rudolph. In the course of my own review of the relevant literature[144], I was struck by the distinction between 'home as a […] concrete physical place and a personal space of identification'[145]. This distinction somewhat parallels the dichotomy between the evolutionist anthropological view of the material aspects of culture and Tylor's definition, which recognised the intellectual/mental/spiritual aspects of culture.

'Home for me means smells, lack of expectations, comfort, picking fruit off tree, belonging, ability to be sick, bare feet, pain and childhood'. Penelope described this while we were sitting in her big garden, which to me reflected those things that she had just described – the avocado tree, herb garden, grape vine. Here she could look around and see and experience home in a way she could not find when living overseas. On the one hand, home for her was so connected to a certain way of outdoor, countryside-like living which she was not able to realise for herself and later her children while living in New York. This resonated strongly with Bonny's explanation. She told me that:

> home is very much a physical place for me, the place where I grew up. It is a place where people speak my language and I feel naturally understood, without having to explain myself. It is also sunshine and wide, open spaces.

On the other hand, home can also contain notions of 'spiritual contentment, safety and a place that gives one a sense of being anchored' as Stan reflects. He claims to be very happy and content back home in South Africa. I have had numerous social interactions with Stan independent of this project and he has consistently seemed to me to be very satisfied with life. Moving back to South Africa at a similar time of his life, Dennis, then 37, felt that:

> after years of travels and living all over the world, I appreciated that home is a place where one wants to or gets to settle and build a life, with familiar surroundings, friends and a social network. It is the place that one sees when envisioning one's potential family. South Africa has offered me much of that in the last 7 years.

[144] Also see Chapter 2.3.
[145] Olwig (1998:225)

Dennis described his last apartment in New York which was comfortable yet he felt that it had a vaguely negative "karma" and even though he lived in it for three or so years; he never invested in the space because it never felt like it had the potential to be a "home". When travelling, whether to China, South America or back to South Africa on the big trip that eventually led to his return, he never felt like he was leaving his "home" in the care of a tenant. Even though New York felt like home to him at the time, his actual living space (I.e., his apartment) did not feel like a home and this created something of a conflict. However since he was at the time in a long distance relationship with someone he did not want to move to a new apartment before clarifying the relationship.

Against a background of reflecting on the meaning of the term home at a time when the informants had completed a journey of emigration, immigration and repatriation, it became clear to me that this distinction in the meaning of home is a clear outcome of the experiences of their migrant journeys. As Simmel (1984:93ff)[146] puts it, 'home entails a unique synthesis: an aspect of life and at the same time a special way of forming, reflecting and interrelating the totality of life'. Only, after having been separated from the place they used to call home, without much reflection on it during their childhood and adolescence years, could awareness emerge for my informants of what home actually means.

'Being away from home makes one aware of all the things that actually constitute a home and make a home important' reflected Emma. She remembered how in her first years in London, she felt a strong sense of not being part of any kind of community. There was no sense of familiarity with people or places and she felt estranged and longing for South Africa, her family and friends. Similar thoughts were shared by Rachel Gibbons, who told me that 'when being away you realise how different you are and South Africa emerges to the conscious as being home'. She specified further that 'against the different cultural backgrounds I all of a sudden started to become aware of what constitutes home for me'. Rachel a 34 year-old strategy consultant, who left South Africa in 1996 at age 26 for four-and-a-half years in London before moving on to Sydney, where she spent another

[146] In Rapport & Dawson (1998:8).

three and a half years. She returned to South Africa in 2004 and is currently living with her boyfriend in a cottage. She originally trained as a speech therapist in South Africa, and then obtained her Masters in International Development in Australia which forms the basis of her consulting work. I interviewed her by telephone (which was complicated to set up due to her busy work schedule) so I found it more difficult to get a holistic sense of her personality and character, yet she was both friendly and interested in sharing her experiences and in fact shared a number of intimate thoughts with me.

Emma and Rachel's comments reflect Lavie & Swedenburg's (1996) notion of any culture being 'bounded or discrete', as well as Benedict's proposition[147] that any culture is a 'closed system of emotional responses, forms of thoughts, social habits and view points of reality, which in its specific form represents only one segment out of the big range of possibilities that once lay at the hands of all societies'.

To be physically and geographically separated from the place of their upbringing clearly resulted in my informants' reflecting on their notions of what actually comprises a home, the feelings associated with it and the longing for it. Notions of home became filled with and translated into memories of that place. A sense of familiarity with one's environment, in which one feels truly reflected and therefore naturally understood, is what people called their concepts of home, as stressed by Kevin Kline, a 40 year-old TV producer. He left South Africa in 1986 to avoid serving in the military and to further his studies at New York University. His parents had immigrated earlier to a town near New York and he had spent a few high school years in the city so he was very comfortable with the transition. He returned to South Africa in 1990, after four years. Kevin is a single, world-wise man, somewhat flirtatious in a charming way. He exudes an easy-going nature yet there are sides to him that seem very serious and driven. He is very interested in political, social and development issues and over the years he has done quite a lot of documentary and journalistic work on related issues. He currently lives alone

[147] As summarised by Kohl (2000:148), and as already discussed in Chapter 4.3., for further reading also see Benedict (1960:33ff).

in a modern and stylishly decorated flat which he recently purchased, after having renting space in a house from a friend for a few years after his return. Kevin travels extensively back to the United States and Europe for both work and to connect with his family and friends that live overseas. For him, home means familiarity and only because of the years spent overseas he came to an 'increased awareness of that meaning of home, in the sense that it implies a feeling of belonging created through an understanding of encoded signs in communication, which was hard to get overseas'. Yet for many years after his return, and until quite recently, he has not been committed to remaining long term in South Africa. The purchase of the flat reflects a shift in his commitment to being here.

All of these reflections by my informants lead me to conclude that home can take on those two meanings - a material place and a social space where one feels naturally recognised as to who one is. This was experienced and eloquently described by Hoffman in her autobiography *Lost in Translation* (1989), noted above. Through the painful process of cultural alienation and the loss of her mother tongue as her means of communication, she was able to reflect back and understand what constitutes a home, but also what kind of changes of meaning it can undergo. Here she can associate with her new home the liberating experience of rediscovering herself in another language.

A consequence of spending a long time overseas can be that the physical place once representing home becomes replaced by a new place in the person's new surroundings. This was clearly understood by Mr. Ettinger. He stated that 'you have to create a new home for yourself where you go'. He told me this with what I read as a somewhat pragmatic attitude. The 'doer' clearly shines through. He made a decision and he then had to live up to it according to his sense of making this a success. Similarly, Candice outlined that 'home can also be where [one] lives right now'. She is a 34 year-old, single, financial consultant who left South Africa in 1998 at age 28 to live in Canada. She returned four years later, in 2002. Candice seems very self-assured and outgoing, yet I sensed she is somewhat self-conscious. She seems to be a fighter, someone who needs to prove things to herself and others and takes pride in her accomplishments. She is a larger-than-

average woman and talkative which made it very pleasant to be with her, but somehow she struck me as being a bit lonely. This may have been due what she described as a shift in her religious beliefs: she was raised strongly Christian, in what she now calls a narrow-minded community. Through her travels, her perspective on religious and social issues expanded and upon her return her revised views of the world collided with that of her old friends and social network. She now finds that there are only a few of her old friends that she can still relate to and who accept her as she now is.

Her views are shared by Lorraine, who stated thoughtfully that 'over time London also became home in association with my daily life there and also because I grew into an adult there'. She admitted openly that this process was made much easier for her once she had met her husband and they started to have children. She says that in comparison to the friend with whom she had traveled to London (and who was still there and single), it was much easier for to integrate into a new life and make it her new home. She attributed this to the fact that she had this very close social support, which her friend did not have. Penelope elaborates on these thoughts in noting that home can change its meaning following migration:

> In the depth of one's difficulty in dealing and being in a new country one grows an immense empathy for forced migrations and for the history of that across the centuries. One only begins to understand that the term lacks the depth of emotional experience that the doing of emigration entails. The depth of the changes that one experiences makes one unable to be in either place without being restless about the other home or in a sense ever really fitting in either place very comfortably. It is the fast track to coming to terms with non-belonging and the journey that one then embarks on. Sometimes the kind of travel and living in different spaces makes one less sure about many issues. Arriving back in South Africa was often difficult as those that had never left seemed to have such surety about their opinions and the world that they lived in.

With regards to the above, Augé (1995:108)[148] argues that 'in a quintessentially migrant age […] people are always and yet never 'at home': always and never 'at ease with the rhetoric of those whom they share their lives''. What shone through in my informants' stories was that the men generally took much easier to this concept. In the main, their associations with home are not an 'identification of

[148] In Rapport & Dawson (1998:6).

socio-cultural places […] as fixities of social relations and cultural routines localised in time and space'[149], as still much more so for the women. For the men home is 'neither here nor there […] rather, itself, a hybrid, it is both here and there – an amalgam, a pastiche, a performance'[150].

I suggest that the term home and what it means forms the basis from which a person develops socially and psychologically, and through which s/he recognises his/her identity. Rapport & Dawson - connecting their thoughts back to the understanding of home as 'itself a cultural construction, a consequence of thinking in fixed entities'[151] – go on to argue that:

> at home and being homeless are not matters of movement, of physical space, or of the fluidity of socio-cultural times and places, as such. One is at home when one inhabits a cognitive environment in which one can undertake the routines of daily life and through which one finds one's identity best mediated – and homeless when such a cognitive environment is eschewed. Most common, then, is to find individuals at home in the story of their lives: in the narrative of identity with which and through which they traverse their social environments (1998:10).

I asked my informants to reflect back on the impact that immigration had had on their perceptions of their identity. Through a set of questions, I essentially asked them to 'reconstruct the past [as] an act of self-identification, […] a practice that is motivated in historically, spatially and socially determinate circumstances'[152]. Through this it became very clear that especially for the majority of the women a 'growing awareness of a uniquely South African identity emerged', as emphasized by Lorraine, and that their identity is above all culturally bound. Rachel stated that emigration had a 'very strong impact' on her sense of identity in that it 'made [her] much more aware of being a South African and not English for example'. In that context she confided to me that this growing awareness of her foreignness brought about anxiety attacks and a panic disorder. She started to become depressed and felt completely demoralised. She felt both out of place and

[149] Rapport & Dawson (1998:4)
[150] Bammer (1992:ix) in Rapport & Dawson (1998:7)
[151] Carter (1998:v)
[152] Friedman: (1994:45)

unrecognised. This resulted in her having a repeated nightmare of being in the sea at night and being attacked by a monster.

These comments correspond with findings made by Friedman (1994:86), who notes that 'identity is based on primordial loyalties, ethnicity, race[153], local community, language and other culturally bound concrete forms'. For Bonny this revelation came with a great relief, when she learned that 'what I had thought were racially based issues, are actually cultural ones. This realisation consequently made me, for the first time in my life, comfortable with being a white South African'. Having grown up under the then Apartheid regime, she had always felt 'very uncomfortable with [her] status as a white South African', but at the same time 'felt [caught] in my own history and life-circumstances and those of my parents'. That changed after she went overseas and especially through her time spent in London. There she learned that the difficulties she experienced in communication, understanding, recognition, and sometimes even appreciation, where not at all racially motivated, but rather resulted out of the confrontation of different cultural backgrounds. She told me that 'particularly as a white South African I really had thought that all issues were black and white, racial issues'. The newly gained understating of herself as a white South African seemed to leave her feeling very comfortable with being back in South Africa and engaging and socialising with blacks, which is something she did not do before leaving.

The above experiences exemplify the way in which especially women tend to agree on having become more aware of who they are and their 'uniquely South African identity traits' - Lorraine described them to me as a 'certain openness, friendliness, general more positive attitude towards life. A little bit more of an easy-going style'. Lorraine seems comfortable with being back in South Africa and expressing these characteristics again. Her description of the specificity of national identity traits strongly resonate with Benedict's observations of the Zuni, Dobu and Kwakiutl in *Patterns of Culture* (1960) and her conclusion that human behaviour is culturally determined. For Benedict this means that 'man is born into

[153] Here race is understood 'not as a biological category, but a shifting line of demarcation, culturally constructed and reconstructed over the last five centuries' Benmayor & Skotnes (1994:7).

a collective structure of cultural implicitness, habits, values and morals, which from the beginning influence one's thinking and behaviour'[154].

With regards to what this newly gained knowledge translates into, the women among my informants overwhelmingly stated that leaving South Africa and setting out to try and start a new life somewhere else created an increased awareness and reflection of who they are - their personal identity. These reflections support notions of 'identity coming to the fore, when there are doubts about belonging' (Kershen 1998:1). The women also seemed to embrace these newly gained insights much more, especially with regards to the uniquely South African traits of identity, as a profound and strong component to their sense of self.

In contrast, the men appeared to be more self-assured about their sense of self before embarking on the journey into adulthood and new countries. With regards to the South African traits in their identity, they seemed to rather try and distance themselves from them. This was remembered vividly by Dennis who stated that 'I grew up and distanced myself from the sheltered upbringing in South Africa'. I suggest here that men seem to be more at ease in orientating themselves towards an understanding of identity that is not bound to specific places. Here Larry also noted that having left South Africa 'had more impact on [my] sense of Jewish rather than South African identity, since that was the one constant wherever I travelled'. Larry's response raises two possibilities. First, one's identity is not uni-dimensional, in that it comprises at least both geographic/ nationalistic/language and religious cultural components. So when one leaves "home" for a new society, one tends to draw on those aspects of one's identity and culture that are more applicable to the new society and which more strongly resonate with who one believes one is. In Larry's case, his Jewish identity was stronger and more applicable than his South African identity, which leads me to a second suggestion: The Apartheid government strongly emphasized cultural differences amongst its ethnic groups, which made it difficult for people to build a strong identification with the country as "one-nation" or to build a common national culture. In Larry's case, he found it more difficult to identify with his South African

[154] Kohl (2000:148)

self since there were many possible interpretations and he did not “know” what it was supposed to mean.

Generally I propose that men seem more at ease within themselves with the processes of migration. It might also mean that even though some men have returned, their sense of having returned to the place that functions as a primary source of identification will likely be less of a factor when considering re-emigration than for the women.

It seems to me that with regard to identity, the men found it much easier to relate to concepts of hybridity[155] and non-places[156]. This is manifested by their longer sojourn overseas in foreign places and foreign cultural surroundings. They seemed less tied to, and emotionally bound to, specific constants in their life, but much more at ease with embracing a multitude of meanings of home and a multitude of identities[157].

In summary, what my informants described when asked about home and identity very strongly resonates with what the literature and its theorists define as culture. I therefore propose that notions of home and identity, and related processes of remembering and becoming aware of them, are important contributors to what constitutes one’s culture.

4.3.2 Integration, Adaptation and Social Experiences

When researching the literature on immigration and focusing especially on accounts of integration and adaptation, I got the clear sense that these processes are generally very painful. Aside from the sense of personal development and achievement that might accompany them in their aftermath, to endure geographical dislocation certainly seemed to generate very ambiguous feelings. However, when listening to Penelope and seeing her as someone whose whole

[155] As explored by Eidse & Seichel (2003) and discussed in Section 2.3.
[156] Augé (1995)
[157] The possibility for further research into deeper levels of understanding for this divide can be seen for the field of psychology and even neurobiology and anthropology.

attitude towards the challenges of integration and adaptation was generally positive and all-embracing, her immigration experiences clearly do not seem to have been only painful. Very soon after having enrolled at the New York University she 'began to feel that [she] was adapting to New York City life in particular but [did] not know if that has ever meant American acculturation. There are times that you can recognise a New Yorker is profoundly different to what is [found] the rest of America'. So maybe she was also just in the right place at the right time of her life? Nonetheless, she presents so much more of an attitude of being able to accept and even embrace unavoidable changes and different cultural settings without judging them as opposed to how she used to live her life:

> shopping at Zabars, walking and jogging in Central Park, having a circles of friends in which I was the only South African at times, studying for my PhD exams with a group of Americans and forming bonds with them, going to the bookstore -first Shakespeare's, the birthday parties for my kids, sharing with mother's in the apartment block that I lived in, doing the laundry with other people's rhythms in a huge building, playing ultimate Frisbee in the park every Wed night, eating a slice of pizza and ordering it, July 4th weekend and Thanksgiving, having family in America is a huge part of integration, sharing meals in other American homes, driving through the heart of America, teaching in America and studying in America.

Similarly Dennis said that when 'I moved to New York in 1989, and for the next 9 years there, I felt like it was my home and that I was in the right place for me. I never seriously imagined moving away or returning to South Africa'. I found support for these strong connections with New York when I looked around in his house. It is filled with New York art, the fridge, cupboard door and photo walls are plastered with photographs that capture in time the years spent overseas. On the other hand, he also admits that even though it was very easy for him to adapt to a New York life style, he nonetheless experienced feelings of 'trying to fit in that was a bit unnatural always, as I always felt like a special item, a foreigner, an outsider in some ways'.

The challenge of integration and adaptation arises out of the simple fact that 'most people around the world behave the way they have been taught'[158]. For the immigrant in a new country this means that his own precepts and types of

[158] Althen (1988)

behaviour collide with those of the new country. In order to successfully build a new life in another country, one needs to let go or at least put in the background some of one's own behaviours and start to take on and act according to the new ones[159]. Mr. Ettinger was the one informant who seemingly made the most conscious effort in trying to fit in and therefore giving tribute to the necessity of understanding other ways of life:

> I realised that all those things like sport, television, women, style, cloth and so forth were essentially different from the way I understood them and that was due to different ways of having been brought up. I did not share their understanding of these things, but I made a conscious effort to catch up with it. In the first weeks after my arrival in America, whenever I had the chance I watched those soap operas, because that was what people talked about and referred to.

Mr. Ettinger is also the only one who, when asked about adaptation, said that after fifteen years he felt like an American. He also stayed overseas for the longest period of time – 35 years. Talking to him in his Johannesburg offices he left no doubt about how accustomed he became to an American life style and way of life and how much South African business and service culture is lacking, particularly as it affects technology, business and bureaucracy. Even though his offices were equipped with modern technology, he commented on constantly being frustration when dealing with service delivery and customer services (i.e. poor responsiveness, limited professionalism and slow service), low quality telephone and internet services (expensive and slow download times as an example), slow bureaucracies such as the licensing department. In some regards, he feels that he has taken 'a step back' and it is very difficult for him to accept or adjust to the lower standards. This very same frustration was mentioned by many of my respondents.

All the informants could relate to the above-described differences in behaviour that made themselves most evident in everyday communication[160]. Even though all of them had immigrated into English-speaking countries, the ways of expressing themselves, making themselves understood and therefore feeling recognised, still differed dramatically in its nuances and patterns to the

[159] See also Schily (2005).
[160] See also Mikatavage (1998).

expressions they employed in their language. This reinforces Geertz' notion of understanding cultures as hermeneutic systems that all employ their unique symbols to transmit understandings of their inherit world view points, values and ethos.

The majority of the informants agreed that they certainly felt successfully adapted in terms of coping and starting to feel comfortable within the new culture after a certain amount of time. What was missing was 'a feeling of belonging' to this new culture they had immigrated into, as admitted poignantly by Lorraine, even though one would have started to understand it and get accustomed to it. Lorraine told me that she very frequently travelled back to South Africa to spend her holidays and that it was always accompanied by a feeling of 'coming home [back to my] roots, family and history'. Back in London after these visits she doubted her decision of living away from home and frequently thought of the possibility to return. For her these holidays helped clarify where she felt she belonged.

With regard to the above, my findings agree with Friedman (1994:141) who notes that 'the past is always practised in the present, not because the past imposes itself, but because subjects in the present fashion the past in the practice of their social identity [and that therefore] a past that affects the present is a past constructed and/or reproduced in the present'. This viewpoint further supports the assertion that informants may have biased their recent responses to events in the distant past.

After having explored how my informants remembered their processes of integration and of adaptation, I wanted to know if those also might have been accompanied with feelings of dislocation or similar cross-cultural traumas. In this respect, Penelope recalled very intensely and vividly that she felt like:

> the day that Mandela walked out of jail [and] I was taking care of some of the richest kids in New York in a ski lodge. I wanted to watch Mandela walk out and felt profoundly sad that in the ski lodge I was one of the only one that felt the enormity of the occasion. On the night that bombs went off in a cinema in South Africa I felt profoundly dislocated and a deep sense of longing came over me to be back. The day my sister got married and in particular when she had her first

> child I felt profoundly sad not to be there. When I was pregnant with my first child I needed to be home and needed to be with my mother, neither was possible at the time. My first pregnancy may have been profoundly different had this been possible. Family and the dislocation between tow countries became more marked once we had children.

'Migrants often experience a sense of profound loss at leaving their homeland as well as the pangs of adapting to a new society'[161]. This experience is shared also by the majority of my informants, who speak of feelings of dislocation, based on cross-cultural experiences, the experience of being caught 'between cultures'[162]. This notion further supports both the cultural relativistic and the Geertzian propositions that cultures are hermeneutic entities. '[Especially in France] I felt very out of place, there were differences in the culture and nuances in the language for which I simply lacked understanding', remembers Bonny. When, after her two years spent in France, she finally returned to the United Kingdom she realised how much easier it had actually been to adapt to English rather than French culture. Equally affected, Rachel recalls that 'there were profound feelings of disconnectedness, especially in every day communication and I also felt completely cut of from what was happening back in South Africa'. She returned to South Africa in 2004 at the age of 34 after having lived overseas for altogether eight years.

In the course of speaking to my informants, I found that cross-cultural experiences and feelings of dislocation strongly referred back to language and communication where feelings of being lost and disconnected occurred and became most apparent. 'People were definitely friendly, but still one was also always given the feeling of not really fitting in. It was just all so different, one's humour, one's use of language, one's historical background…I just always felt like the odd one out', recalls Candice. The way Candice confided these memories in me helped me to grasp the pain and disappointment these experiences had caused her, especially as someone with as open and welcoming a nature as hers. Lorraine, after having spent 14 years overseas reflected that 'there was just a different way of speaking and dealing with day-to-day situations. To cope with that or try to fit in, it felt

[161] *Digital History* (2005)
[162] Stafford (2000)

unnatural and more of a thought through, logic approach towards everyday communication'.

These remarks about losing one's language and the natural way of being and feeling understood are further supported by Kevin Klein who noted that he 'never felt a familiarity and connectedness to the United States that allowed me to feel able to relax and grounded' or what Larry stated sadly, that 'when [he] was living in Israel, [he] always felt like being an exotic, even towards the family of my then Israeli wife. [He] never was one of them. There were just too many different speech patterns and cultural references'. It is through language and the way one uses it that a person expresses her/his inner self, expresses who s/he is. Losing this natural way of communicating oneself to others results in the fact that one is left with feelings of not being able to express or make oneself understood. A person can feel unreflected, not understood and unrecognised. These experiences can lead a person to take a closer look at him-/herself and enable one to become so much more aware of who one is and what constitutes one's identity. Via these social experiences a person seems to be so much more enabled to reflect on the inter-relationships or interplay between one's culture or cultural background, identity, history and one's personal destiny.

4.4 Repatriation

As laid out in the graphical illustration in Chapter 2, repatriation is one link in a chain of migrant movements. Indeed, 'one important aspect of international migration [is] the prospect of repatriation, the return to the homeland of ethnic affiliation. [The return then can] highlight the separation between the "homeland" and the social and residential 'home' where [one] has settled since [one's] departure'[163]. When and why the informants started to think about repatriation and on what grounds they finally acted on those thoughts is laid out below.

[163] Czeglédy (1997:476)

4.4.1 Motivations behind Repatriation

To establish if there might be any pattern behind repatriation and related motivations, I first took a look at the age of my informants at the time of their return. The women returned at an average age of 34.3 years old and men at around 38.5. This, I suggest was a time in the informants' lives (and for the men more so than the women) during which they were starting to approach the transition from the first to their second half of life. The first half of life can be characterised by 'the development of a person's designation in society, one's broadening, diversification and reproduction, and finally also by starting to worry about one's children's future'[164]. In this sense a person is fully focused on his/her relationships with the outside world, his/her 'self-assertion and interaction'[165] in it. In contrast, in the second half of life, starting between forty and fifty, a person begins to focus on his/her inner self. Here 'the acquisition and the transmission of culture lend sense to life'[166]. Support for this theory is found in oral societies, in which it is the 'old people who pass on laws, traditions and religion. It is they who above all, are responsible for a tribe's or society's culture'[167]. Anthropological theories of enculturation further support this, particularly where they state that 'various beliefs are handed down from one generation to the next'[168]. That is to say that 'the specific culture of one group of people influences in a lasting way the psyche of the up-and-coming generation, which is an important factor for the adoption and further transmission of this (selective) group culture'[169].

With relevance to the findings of this research, the above observations imply that people seem to return to South Africa at a time of their lives when an increasing awareness for those aspects of a person's self and life have emerged, as well as a growing desire to pass on one's culture. It seems that something started to resonate within my informants that strongly connected them to South Africa. Rachel Gibbons, who returned at age 34, stated enthusiastically 'I wanted to

[164] Olbrich (1997:459ff portraying Jung's work on the psychological development of adults)
[165] ibid
[166] ibid
[167] Olbrich (1997:459ff portraying Jung's work on the psychological development of adults)
[168] Herskovits (1960:26)
[169] Rudolph (1998:65)

participate in the development of the new South Africa due to my strong sense of identity as a South African'. Similarly, but with more emphasis on the passing on of certain aspects of the South African culture to their children Lorraine, returning at age 37, Penelope returning at age 38 and Jake Osher[170], also returning at age 38, reasoned this aspect as a very strong motivation behind their return. They had all left South Africa originally as young adults. This means that they had been socialised within, and deeply identified with, the culture of the country. As they move into the second half of life, it became evident to them that it is this culture that they want to transmit to future generations.

With regards to the time spent overseas before returning, the first divide between men and women became apparent. The women lived an average of eight and a half years overseas before returning home. The men spent an average of sixteen years overseas.

The motives behind return also differed between men and women in my study. The main motivation for women to repatriate was ascribed to family. Aside from not wanting to be separated from their families anymore they also wanted to return to the place where they felt naturally understood and recognised and where they could expose their children to the place that meant family and familiarity to them – i.e., their culture. Penelope describes this reasoning in the following way:

> I wanted my son to have a childhood and more space to play, as I had experienced it throughout my upbringing, than we were able to provide him with in New York. The lack of garden space in New York also meant that you were constantly in your children's' fantasy space. Now, here in South Africa, they can disappear into a world of fantasy in the garden without bumping into their mother in the corridor every 5 minutes. […] My fantasy [for them] was of my own barefoot childhood with lots of space and few regulations. And then I also wanted to be part of a new society, which we had worked for.

[170] Jake Osher originally left South Africa in 1984, at age 27 for the United States, (first to Dallas and then New York), to specialise in medicine. He stayed overseas for 11 years and returned back to South Africa in 1995, where he has since married, has two children and has become a partner in a medical services company. He is a somewhat anxious and neurotic person, not terribly settled in South Africa, which may be as a result of having been hijacked some years ago and concerns for his children's future. The interview situation was somewhat more difficult than with others since he jumped around between thoughts and it was difficult to extract personal information.

A secondary reason could be that the women anticipated they would have better work opportunities as senior managers or self-employed women in South Africa than in countries overseas. This was especially important for Bonny, who 'wanted to gain more independence work-wise and […] saw better opportunities for that being realised in South Africa'.

These reasons are all pull-factors towards South Africa. As with regards to push-factors out of the countries that they had made their second homes, half of the female informants voiced discontent with the life-style and way of life overseas, 'in terms of life-balance', as Bonny put it. Emma adds that she 'got fed up with life in the United Kingdom. I missed the South African climate, my family and familiar rituals. Also the living costs in the United Kingdom were hugely high, so the standard of living appears to be much better in South Africa than in the United Kingdom'. These notions did not refer to explicit reflections or confessions that one 'did not make it'. It was rather that the way of life and standard of living envisioned for oneself and one's family seemed to be so much more achievable in South Africa.

For the men, the overall reasons lay in their vision to help bring about change for the new South Africa and also to a certain extent exploit opportunities provided by it. I suggest that such thinking includes an implicit understanding of Benedict's argument which generally concludes that 'change […] is inescapable'[171], that a 'culture [is open] towards individual and social change'[172]. Here Herskovits (1960:40)[173] posits that the 'enculturation …process, as it is operative on more mature folk, is highly important in inducing change'.

Another related reason was that they missed South Africa. Stan recalled vividly how he could only witness from abroad how 'South Africa had changed dramatically over the period and was becoming the society I had always longed for .I had a deep sense of missing out on a unique historical moment – participating as a spectator from New York'. Stan always felt a strong connection

[171] Benedict (1960:45)
[172] Schomburg-Scherff (2001:46)
[173] Also see Chapter 2.5.

to the country and declined a lucrative senior management position in a leading investment bank in New York to return to run the family business in Johannesburg. He claimed that he never misses New York nor ever regretted the decision. He has invested in a bush and a beach property to take full advantage of the outdoors South Africa offers. Likewise Mr. Ettinger told me that 'I was driven by a romantic ideal, I wanted to come back to help rebuild and participate in the new South Africa'. Thiel (1992:8) supports such notions, stressing that 'the members of a society feel obliged towards its specific system and orientate their thoughts and actions towards it'. Such line of thinking enables me to close a circle in my argument: With regard to an explanation of the push factors out of South Africa, I had pointed towards theories of culture which see them as the 'the totality of the results of innovations […] at whose beginnings one always finds psychological processes of man'[174] and here I do so again. It seems that as soon as circumstances allow, people may return home to bring about change (and/or to innovate), driven by their ideal and maybe feelings of obligation towards their culture.

Mr. Ettinger communicates very strongly that he thinks he really has something to give to South Africa and that as much as this is motivated by a romantic ideal, it is also appears to be motivated by the desire to be acknowledged for his contribution. These reasons also clearly translate into pull-factors lying behind their motivations. Furthermore I would argue that this reasoning can be connected to the notion that South Africa is a developing country and given its recent historical developments, the country provides so many more opportunities for the qualified individual to contribute to creating its political, economical, cultural and social future. This is in comparison to developed countries where many economic and social parameters seem to be more defined and fixed. It is a very attractive prospect for the individual to truly have an impact on society and leave behind their imprint.

All of the above statements lead me to agree with Czeglédy (1997:479), who has identified motivations behind return migration that notably include 'attempting to

[174] Rudolph (1998:57 - 65)

exploit family connections, language skills and other advantages of their personal history'[175]. This proved to be true among my informants. Women and men both returned to South Africa because they saw an opportunity for them to live a better life. They envisioned a life in which they could make use of and exploit their personal histories, such as exposing them to surroundings where they felt naturally comfortable and assured. They also wanted to be able to expose their children to a South African upbringing with the support of their families.

Because all of my informants left South Africa of their own free will and did not officially emigrate, I would argue that this open-ended migration made it easier for them to ultimately return to South Africa. It seems likely that it is more difficult for a person to justify such a return back home after having officially emigrated, since their process has been both more formal and they have had to make a more clear legal and financial split from South Africa[176]. This may be in part because an official emigrant may be more likely to be "accused" of not having been able to successfully build a life overseas and is now returning a failure. I found indirect evidence for this in what Candice told me somewhat self-consciously. Even though she did not officially immigrate to Canada, she nonetheless went overseas with certain self-set expectations as to what she wanted to achieve in Canada with regards to her job and her being able to build a life for herself. Only once she felt she had accomplished these goals was she ready to return home to South Africa, not dreading to be commented on by family and friends. For her then return home also included a level of achievement abroad that would be accepted and recognised in South Africa.

In the course of speaking to my informants I found considerable evidence for Stalker's (2005) idea that one of the most prevailing factors behind return migration seems to be 'the situation in the home country. If the economic outlook improves then returning will seem a more attractive proposition'[177]. To this description, my analysis adds the issues of political stability and perceptions of

[175] Also see Chapter 2.5.
[176] Similarly for those who were forced migrants, unless the initial reasons to leave have substantially disappeared, there is little to motivate them to return.
[177] See also Chapter 2.5.

crime. Since all informants returned after 1994, I agree with Stalker's assumptions. Seeing as the political situation improved in South Africa post-1994 and with the more recent improvement in the economic situation, the impetus to return clearly increased among my informants.

Those informants that stated they had left to avoid military conscription or who resisted the Apartheid regime, like Penelope, Kevin, Larry, Stan and Mr. Ettinger, were the ones that voiced the strongest longing for South Africa and the desire to be part of the social changes taking place. They all left me with the feeling that as much as they had made an effort to build a life for themselves overseas, they had somewhere deep down always waited for the opportunity to return. This supports the idea that reasons behind forced migration can have a direct impact on the way a migrant creates notions of home, which further defines the way one establishes the desire to come back to the place s/he was forced to leave.

4.4.2 Impact of Immigration Experiences on Return Migration

I investigated the extent to which concepts of home and identity and processes of integration and adaptation - as well as the interplay between them and experiences connected with them - might have reshaped both ideas and fantasies about wanting to return to the country of origin. Linked to this investigation was the thinking that most people set out on their migrant journeys with the hope of finding 'a better life'[178] somewhere else. It was suggested that this start of a person's overseas trajectory would strongly influence the way someone considers the possibility of returning home someday and, furthermore, would be willing or able to integrate and adapt to a new country and culture. In the case of a return home after such processes of integration and so forth have been taken place, I investigated whether or not they would have had a strong, even defining, impact on the following processes of re-integration and re-adaptation.

When I asked Penelope to reflect on how much the concepts of home and identity and the experiences abroad had played a role in her decision to return, she was

[178] Benmayor & Skotnes (1994:5)

very clear about the immense impact it had indeed had: 'it was about wanting to be with my mother, with my children, a fantasy of a different childhood for them and for me to come back to a South Africa, whose enormous changes play a great historical agency in my identity'. To me it appears that she has met a lot of these objectives – she and her family have taken numerous bush trips in the region, she is close to her mother who is very close to her grandchildren. Tellingly, Penelope is very actively involved in South Africa's cultural and political evolution, having been a key participant in a number of important local documentaries, development of local broadcasting material and talent. She also returned to her teaching roots and taught a number of university classes on film and culture.

For Dennis on the other hand, the impact of such notions on his decision-making seemed to have come as much more of an afterthought. He only returned to South Africa because:

> my girlfriend at the time wanted to travel to the region and so we planned a 3 month trip here with the intention of holidaying and finding some project work for a while. I had no real interest in returning to South Africa at the time, although I was not committed to any career in New York. Once back, I connected with some close friends who had also returned after long periods overseas and we decided to start up a private investment firm. So I only started getting serious about returning when I was back here already. Looking back, I think I had never truly gotten South Africa out of my system, particularly the red soil, elephants, smells, weather... and of course my family was still here. I no longer felt like South Africa was my home, but there was still a strong link back to my early years and South African friends I had all over the world. I really felt that I had left South Africa behind me after almost 17 years overseas, yet was surprised at how much "unfinished business" I must have had in relation to South Africa and particularly in regards to my family that were all still here.

The research data shows[179] that the informants firstly experienced a growing awareness for such issues as home and identity following their immigration. Arguing with Herskovits (1960:27)[180], who posited that 'experience is culturally defined' and that experience is interpreted by each individual in terms of his own enculturation'[181], I put forward that this growing awareness is a result of interpreting new experiences through one's own cultural lenses and against the

[179] See Chapter 4.3.
[180] Also see Chapter 2.2.
[181] Herskovits (1960:63)

foreign background, becoming more aware of what constitutes these lenses. Here Bonny remembers strongly that ‘if it was not for feelings of belonging and being understood and recognised naturally, all of which makes life much easier, I might not have returned at all to South Africa’.

The above statements take into account that all informants had made conscious efforts to integrate and adapt themselves to the new cultural environments they had immigrated into. The experiences underlined their different cultural heritage, which the informants consequently recognised and appreciated to a greater extent. Against these findings, it did not come as a surprise that the meanings and experiences associated with their immigration played a vital role in the decision making process as regards to return migration. Here Mr. Ettinger summarised for them all with the comment that ‘the thought of coming “home” played a big part behind my decision for returning to South Africa. Even after 35 years in America, South Africa is and at the same time is not home anymore’. He said this in a melancholic way, admitting that the reality was different from his memory.

Dennis noted that he at times quite enjoyed being the ‘exotic in a sea of the common’. Initially when in Houston, he was amused that some Texans did not know that South Africa was an independent country, he found that people were interested in his accent which helped social networking, and he enjoyed being a member of a ‘club of alien weirdos’. Yet the ‘differentness nagged at’ him – he felt that something about himself was missing or not fully expressible. These statements further underline the impact home and identity and the experiences associated with immigration can have on motivations behind return migration. The process of alienation almost inevitably leads to some reflection on who one is and what is important and hence to a heightened sensitivity of the choices one has made. In this respect the women seemed to voice (and in a sense even admit) this much more openly than the men of my study.

4.5 New Found Realities

In this section, I investigated the extent of re-integration and re-adaptation and the nature of the social experiences the returnees underwent. I questioned what the informants' current sense of home and identity are against the background of their migrant journey. I also wanted to know if they were still in favour of having come back or if they would consider the possibility of leaving again. I inquired as to what the informants think about South Africa in comparison to other countries and what their recommendations for policy applications addressing the brain drain would look like. Aside from different experiences based on gender, important differences were found to exist between recent and long-term returnees.

4.5.1 Processes of Re-integration, Re-adaptation and Social Experiences

As noted above, Penelope had based her decision to return to South Africa on the strong sense of wanting to become a second-time mother in surroundings familiar and more comforting and supportive to her. She also felt the strong desire to provide her children with childhood experiences similar to her own. Yet, upon returning and settling back into South African life, she experienced mixed emotions. On the one hand, it was:

> very hard, [but then again] also a great joy. There were very guilty feelings for separating my husband from his family and a continual battle to not take all the emotional fall out to heavily. There were all sorts of family problems because of the decision. Also I constantly feel responsible if my husband is not happy in his work or in South Africa in general. It puts a great strain on a relationship. The kids also have serious dislocation problems and this is partially strong in my older son's case. He still refers to himself as an American living in South African. He has also had some bouts of depression as a result.

Penelope admitted that she felt very, and sometimes, solely responsible for these family-related problems. This made her constantly question her decision to come back. On the other hand, she saw herself as easily 're-adapting and […] feeling in part totally back in the mix of things but not as committed to staying as I thought I

might be. I can imagine living elsewhere for a while and now feel that none of this is permanent anymore'. This realisation came as somewhat of a surprise to her. Especially in relation to the difficulties her family experienced, Penelope consequently also felt a sense of distancing herself from the South Africa she had just returned back to. On this topic, she said that re-adapting or re-integrating was 'quite an ambivalent experience' in that:

> at first we felt quite alienated but then as others were returning that we had become quite close to it was a lot easier. But the fact is that many of our closet friends have all had exile experiences so that there is an appreciation for that amongst all of us. There was also often hostility to returning people and I often had comments directly made to me about a lack of knowledge of South Africa because I had been away. It is a very slow and long process to become 'part of the inner sanctum' again.

For Dennis, the early re-integration process seems to have been somewhat similar in that, on the one hand, he had experienced 'wonderful travels around the region, reconnected with some old friends, [and the] prospect of creating a new business with close friends was important motivator'. On the other hand 'my ex had an exceptionally hard time settling in, we struggled a lot and ultimately separated'. He certainly admits to having undergone a re-adaptation process:

> since South Africa was in a sense a new country. Most of my old friends had left and so I created a new set of friendships, mostly old "expat" friends who had returned, many of whom I had initially met overseas. It was quite difficult tuning into the South Africa way of doing business – lots of dishonesty, etc.

However, it was those very new friendships that helped Dennis to socially re-integrate and which made social experiences:

> mostly quite easy since most friends had had similar "expat" experiences, and I'd maintained contact with a few close local friends over the years. However, it did feel a bit strange to leave New York for Johannesburg – on the one hand I fully exploited being in Africa and near and often in the bush, yet in some ways it felt like a bit of a step down in lifestyle and life choices.

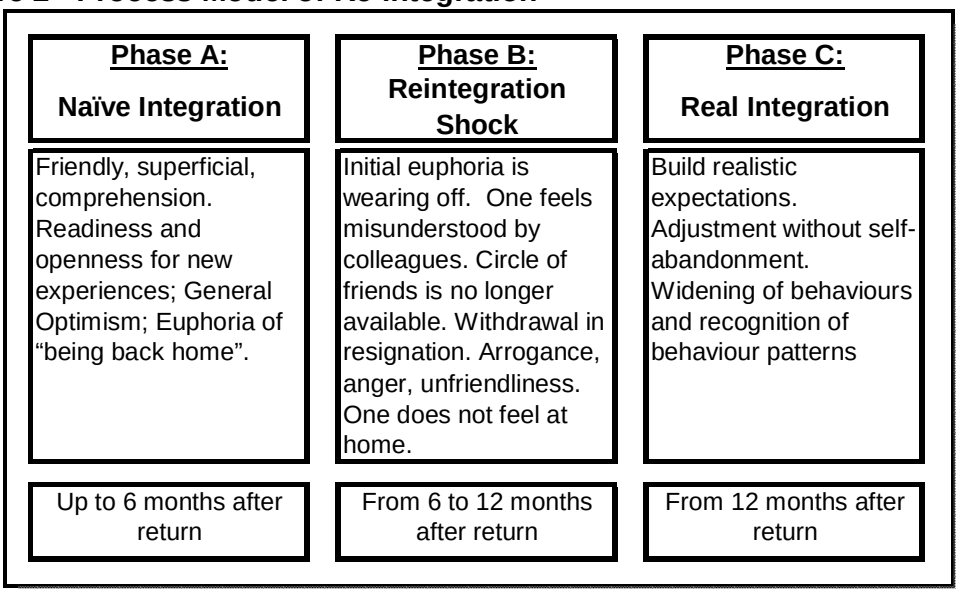
In order to evaluate these experiences as voiced by the informants, I applied two different models as follows:

The first evaluation model is the “Three–Phase-Model of Repatriation” developed by J. Fritz (1982:33). He understands the re-integration of an individual as a process of three phases in which ‘one can identify characteristic patterns of behaviour originating from the development of different expectations’[182]. The phases are anticipation, accommodation and finally adaptation. During the anticipation phase the individual tries to gain an understanding for the changes that lie ahead of him/her with regard to his/her return home. S/he tries to anticipate the effects of this change and return upon his private and professional life. In the second phase of accommodation, the individual ‘recognises the differences between the behaviours that lead to success overseas and those necessary back home’[183] This might lead to a ‘reverse case of a culture shock’[184]. Finally, in the adaptation phase, the individual starts to identity again with his/her country of origin and a process of re-integration can take place.

A second model is the “Process Model of Re-Integration” proposed by K. Hirsch (1996:291, see also Figure 2 below). Hirsch describes ’three phases of re-socialisation: *naive integration, re-integration shock* and *real integration’.* In the first phase, the individual embraces his return with ‘great openness and even euphoria’[185], but re-adaptation is only of a superficial nature. This is then followed by *re-integration-shock*, in which the individual is faced with, and has to deal with, a changed environment and experiences adaptation difficulties. This phase can be considered comparable to Fritz’ *accommodation* phase. In the last phase of *real integration* the individual finally ‘develops realistic expectations and is therefore able to re-adapt to the changed environment’[186].

[182] Fritz (1982:33)
[183] ibid
[184] ibid
[185] Hirsch (1996:291)
[186] ibid

Figure 2 - Process Model of Re-integration



Source: Hirsch, K. 1996 "Reintegration von Auslandsmitarbeitern", in: Bergman, N & Sourisseaux, A. L. J. (eds.) Interkulturelles Management, Heidelberg, 285-298.

Bearing these models in mind, among my informants there emerged a significant divide between male and female recognition of the processes of re-integration and re-adaptation. This can be linked back to their previous experiences with regards to integration and adaptation processes in the country of immigration.

As one might expect, all of my informants described excitement, a new sense of possibilities and a positive attitude in the months immediately following their return. Yet, after that initial period they admitted to experiencing difficulties settling back in South Africa and finding themselves estranged from old social networks and the "general flow of life". They realised how much they themselves had changed while overseas and how much the local society had started to undergo fundamental changes. The informants had to accept that rebuilding lives for themselves back in South Africa was not as easy and as natural a process as they had previously anticipated. Subsequently, they experienced a certain degree of disappointment and conflict. With regards to South Africa's political and social changes they even experienced an element of culture shock. Some of this may be a function of their age upon return – a number of them remarked to me that making a life move in their mid-thirties was much less easy and carried more risks

than their initial “exploratory”, outbound moves experienced in their twenties. After a difficult period of questioning whether they made the right decision, and only after they started to accept that re-settling back into their country of origin was not as easy a process as anticipated, most realised that in order to fit in again they had to make similar efforts to those they made overseas. Herskovits summarises these experiences when stating that:

> should [an individual] have contact with another people who [behave differently], an alternative [behaviour] has been presented that must be grappled with, if only because it is a medium of intercourse with this strange folk. If he accepts the new mode for himself he may meet with resistance at home (1960:41).

Of the female informants, only one of them, Rachel, stated that she immediately ‘had a feeling of fitting in naturally again’. For her, right from the start everything fell into place and she was able to exploit her ‘social capital [in that] it allowed [her] to be who [she] wanted to be’. She got the job she had applied for, was close to her parents, found a nice place to live with her boyfriend and reconnected easily with her friends. She remarks on this with her motto that ’if you do what you believe in, things will work out’. All the others related strongly to difficult and ongoing processes of re-integration and re-adaptation mixed with sensations of being strongly aware of feelings of belonging to South Africa - and also feeling a bit foreign and also ambivalent about having come back, as illustrated in Penelope’s story above. ‘It was much more difficult than I had thought it would be, even though being here feels much more natural’ is what Lorraine remembers. Candice added that that was because ‘of the realisation [upon return] that nonetheless one had changed being away’. I have already commented on the broadening impact her travels had on her religious beliefs and the negative effect these changes had on her relationships with members of her local church group.

For the men, their stated experiences seem to be more homogenous in tone. This does not come as much of a surprise if one remembers how well they claimed to have adjusted overseas. In contrast to the women, most of them were much more at ease with confirming that they had quickly re-integrated and re-adapted[187]. As

[187] See also Chapter 4.3.

an observer, I challenge this conventional attitude and argue that it is possibly just as difficult for men to re-adjust but it is more difficult for them to admit to these difficulties.

I have concluded earlier in this report that with regards to notions of home, a growing awareness, reflection and understanding takes place once one is separated from one's known surroundings. It is interesting to note here that somewhat the same process took place with regards to the way people felt about the new culture and the way it had impacted on them and left its traits or imprints with them after they had returned back to South Africa. My informants' descriptions of the ways foreign cultures imprinted themselves on them supports the existing criticism of cultural relativism and specifically Benedict's (1960:18) position of the human being as a 'creature of his culture'. This criticism, as put forward by Kohl (2000:150), argues that cultural relativism (per Benedict) has an in-built problem if thought through to its logical end. Benedict's position that the human psyche is 'some form of a *tabula rasa* which through the processes of enculturation gets conditioned in such a way that all a person's viewpoints, ideas, experiences and feelings are culturally dependent, [would mean that an] understanding of any culturally foreign manifestations and the translation of them into one's own cultural horizon of experiences would be impossible'[188]. This research shows that individuals are indeed able to show such understanding and make such translations, enabling them to adapt to new cultures. Through these processes a number of my informants now consider themselves to be international citizens[189].

What emerged as a very important issue in relation to the above was that the informants wanted to find a balance between re-adapting to South Africa while not letting go of the "hybrid-identities" developed while overseas. They became aware that they had developed hybrid sensitivities mediating between the norms and traits of behaviour of both the cultures of their country/ies of immigration and their country of birth. By exposing themselves to differing surroundings and cultures

[188] Kohl (2000:150)
[189] See also Chapter 4.5.2.

they suggested to me that they had developed hybrid identities by layering more international associations onto their established cultural traditions and senses of self. Bonny started to appreciate that re-integration and re-adaptation are 'an ongoing process, in which I hope to adapt back to South Africa's culture again. But at the same time, I also do not want to totally revert and lose certain aspects of the other culture that enriched me'. Similar thoughts were shared by Emma who said that she 'feels lost between the United Kingdom and South Africa, which makes it very hard to adapt and feel at home. I got used to the way things operate in the United Kingdom and now it is difficult to adapt to and accept different way of things here'. She told me how especially frustrating it was for her to get re-accustomed to service delivery in South Africa. 'There is a certain amount of efficiency that we took for granted in England that wasn't to be found here: banks, post offices, legal contracts etc were all much harder. SA is still very disorganised in some respects. My husband is still not through with all his paperwork and trying to get new ID books, (with my married name) and new driver's licences is a complete nightmare'.

These insights lead me to agree with arguments that speak of a 'life long change of personality'. To concur with Olbrich[190]:

> it is the person, who needs to be understood as the "constructor" of his/her creation of the person-environment-interaction. Personality specific characteristics make the person to a constructor of consistency. […] Within the boundaries, set by biological and social ties, a person is able to undergo, more or less so, successful adaptations, which are based on processes of examination [here: home and identity] and coping with new demands [here: social experiences] […] A person keeps their ability of flexible reaction towards new situations, which take into account personality and social factors as well as biographical characteristics. […] Within the development of personality, a person needs to be seen as his/her own translator and interpreter of experiences. A person constructs his/her past and future (1997:454ff).

Drawing upon my informants experiences, I suggest that the returnees will generally relate to the phases described in the two models above, but propose two additions: first, to more directly address the impact that issues of culture play in re-integration processes, (since these models fall short of doing so) and

[190] Olbrich builds on the works of Block (1982), Elder (1986), Haan (1981) and Neugarten (1972).

second, to further include an additional phase in these models which could address how to ease re-integration and re-adaptation processes. Here the work of Majodina (1995) has already been pointed out, and Black & Koser (1999:11ff) have been referenced for their identification of three main issues associated with the process of returning home: (1) 'existence and extent of social networks', (2) the 'creation of exacerbation of vulnerability' and (3) concerning 'the language of repatriation'[191]. The majority of the informants could relate to the first two issues, in that for once family become a very important factor in their attempts to re-settle back into South Africa and that old social-networks no longer existed. This made it much more difficult to re-establish oneself and also led to 'the creation or exacerbation of [feelings of] vulnerability'[192]. Informants found it harder to fit in than anticipated. Penelope remembered how upon her arrival she had to deal with 'resentments from friends towards my American husband and guilty feelings for separating him from his American family'. I met her husband who has a strong American accent, but who now seems in many ways to be quite South African in his interests – he is hugely passionate about rugby, about travelling in his 4x4 though the South African bush, loves eating biltong and braaing.

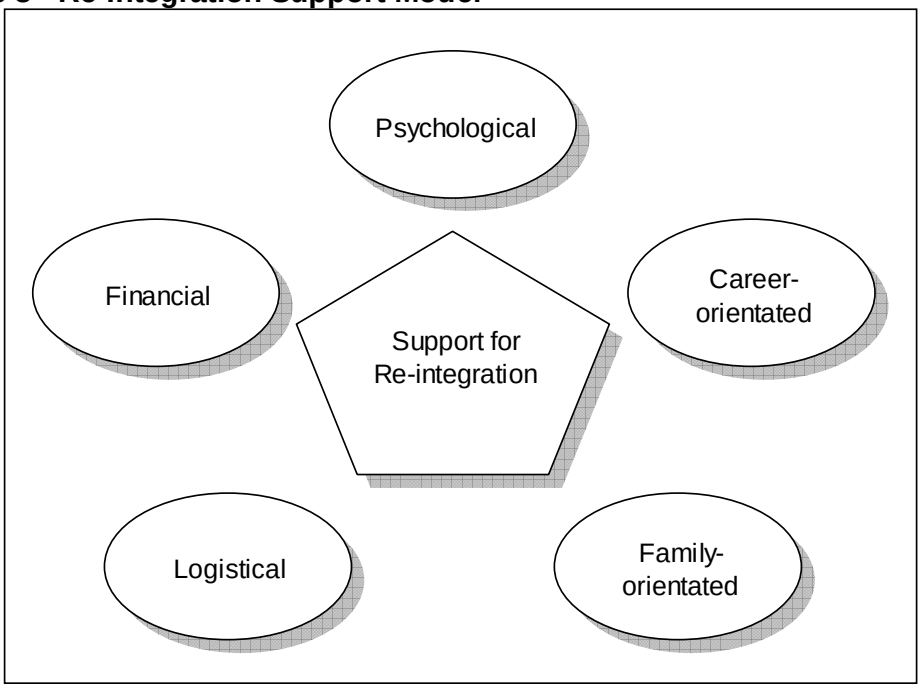
Nonetheless, all of them had also a support network of family and either some old friends who they were able to reconnect with or newly established circles of friends, many of who were expatriates themselves. These were mainly people who could relate to their experiences and therefore could support their re-integration. Most importantly, they came back of their own free will and were excited about it, meeting challenges with a positive attitude even though at times the process was more difficult than anticipated.

Taking all of these above experiences and aspects of re-integration into account, one can apply the "Re-integration Support Model" by Pawlick (2000:120, Figure 3, below). This model appears to address comprehensively many of the difficulties my informants experienced, whether directly or indirectly stated. These were:

[191] See Chapter 2.5.
[192] Black & Koser (1999:11ff)

financial, logistical, family-orientated, career-orientated and psychological in nature.

Figure 3 - Re-Integration Support Model



Source: Pawlick, T. 2000 *Personalmanagement und Auslandseinsatz: Kulturelle und Personalwirtschaftliche Aspekte*, Wiesbaden.

In spite of its schematic strengths, the model nevertheless falls short of addressing culture as an issue that needs to be taken into account when wanting to ease re-integration. The importance if it is mirrored in my informants' social experiences after their return. These can refer to experiences with regard to social changes that have taken place, or cross-cultural experiences and feelings of dislocation. Penelope and Dennis' stories have already been portrayed.

The most acute and prevalent experience encountered by my informants was that of the country's social change, which is not surprising, given that most of them left before 1994 and only returned after the first democratic elections. Closely related are cross-cultural experiences. With regards to both of these themes, the majority of the female informants describe them as positive, even though they add to processes of necessary adaptation. 'I was and am amazed by the new social connections and interactions between black and white South Africans', attests

Lorraine. In comparison, the men experienced such changes, especially with regards to their professional lives and opportunities, as much more difficult situations on a psychological level.

The feelings of dislocation the informants felt were quite intense and resulted in the main from recognising and acknowledging the many different ways in which one as a person had changed due to exposure to other patterns of behaviour and which now collide with those of South Africa. Many of these feelings have already been described above primarily in relation to losing touch with their old social networks and feeling that one had developed in different directions.

Again I refer to Majodina (1995:211ff) who discusses coping strategies and social support in detail and describes how they relate to two specific 'reintegration outcomes: quality of life and social well-being'[193]. Assessing these two critical indicators I found that the majority are still in support of having come back to South Africa, even though with more years spent back here it seems that considerations of leaving again are becoming more prominent, a conclusion that forms part of the following section.

It should be noted that there are an ever increasing number of civil and private initiatives taking up the call to motivate people to return to South Africa. At the forefront in addressing issues for the individual returnee and providing facilities to ease repatriation is the *Homecoming Revolution*. This private initiative, in co-operation with an ever-growing number of institutional partners, already offers financial, logistical, career-orientated and even psychological support[194]. For my informants these initiatives did not play a role in either attracting them back or in providing support for them upon their arrival (although some are currently involved in some of these initiatives). The future will show how much these organisations can indeed have significant impact and provide appropriate support mechanisms.

[193] See Chapter 2.4.
[194] In the form of chat-forums and social occasions.

4.5.2 South Africa as Seen Through the Lenses of Returnees

My informants described that the terms home and identity now have expanded meaning for them following their journeys. For Emma 'home can change. If it would not have been for family I might have well stayed in the United Kingdom and made that home'. Having been able to live overseas and more or less adapt easily or eventually, they understood themselves much more as *international citizens* rather than particularly bound to one country. Penelope expressed this feeling most pointedly by saying that:

> my identity has begun to embrace the idea of a global citizen rather than of one nationality. It far more important to me the smell of my childhood, the veldt and the rain than any of the political identities bestowed upon us. And now I also love Woodstock in upstate New York. I also love the snow and skiing in it. It is more through nature that I have begun to find myself in the places I have lived. Being married with children also allows for a loosening of 'the sentiment of national belonging' because of the exigencies of raising children in the best human way possible and ensuring that they are living in a place on earth that most allows for them to make choices in their lives. All of this is to say that we may leave, because of our sons and perhaps to grow ourselves again in other ways. I also feel more like I embrace more universal ways of seeing people rather than through the idea of national arbitrary borders.

This same thinking was expressed by Mr. Ettinger, who stated that 'South Africa is where my sense of home and identity originates from and was formed to a large extent, but over 35 years of living overseas one is not solely South African anymore, but has adapted and even acculturated to other meanings of home and identity'. His opinion is shared by that of Kevin who observed that he 'feels like now being able to live anywhere in the world and being able to adapt'. Equally Dennis after having lived 16 years overseas, found that:

> I feel more like an international person rather than 100% South African even though I came to the realisation that family and childhood experiences play a defining role in one's life and create a kind of barrier to fully adopting to a new culture. But obviously my years overseas have significantly expanded my relationship and views of the world and now that I am back in South Africa, I actually feel just that twinge of being an outsider, just a certain separation towards South Africa. While I am happy living in South Africa now, given that I have a European wife and still have a desire to explore new places and lifestyles and want to expose my kids to as many different living-concepts and

> options I do more than occasionally imagine us leaving South Africa for a life somewhere else.

Having listened to these accounts I support my informants' suggestion that they feel they have expanded their understanding of home and themselves, in terms of their identity as more international citizens. These terms now embrace multiple meanings for most of them. They feel confident of being able to make a life for themselves almost anywhere in the world.

These views lead me to Rudolph's (1998:61ff) conclusion on the anthropological classification of culture, where he states that 'for humans, culture is a typical and vitally necessary means of adaptation, which adaptation is diverse in a unique way in comparison to all other living things. [Second,] human adaptation is social and therefore focused towards the preservation of groups of people. This determines the same basic structure of culture for all social groups of people, as well as within them, a minimum amount of [both] social standardization and obligingness of culture'. I further agree with Tylor (1929:19) who argued with Wilhelm von Humboldt that 'man always builds on things already in existence'[195].

Rudolph and Tylor both talk of a human ability to leave known cultural surroundings, to relate to some parts of foreign ones and to translate them back into their own cultures. People do so in order to understand foreign cultures and to be able to (partially) adapt to them, becoming somewhat of Boas' "cross-border commuter". I further pose that another outcome of these processes is that not only, as summarised by Kohl (2000:171)[196] 'have individual cultures, in the process of their mutual penetration, become more diverse and faceted and the only things they have lost in the process of globalisation is their firm connection to a specific place', but that this holds also true for the individual.

This new sense of self resulted in them responding overwhelmingly in the positive to the possibility of leaving again. This thinking provides a strong insight into

[195] The original translation from the German (i.e., 'man ever connects on from what lies at hand') was, in my view, incorrect. I have accordingly retranslated the German in a way that made more sense to me.
[196] This idea is based on arguments by Augé 1995 and Bhabha 1994

repatriation as an increasingly open-ended process and has important implications for possible future policy applications. Only a few informants, like Stan and Rachel, admitted to me that they still felt the same or even stronger about home and identity as bound solemnly to South Africa, and would not consider leaving again. In this respect, Rachel said emphatically that she 'feels even stronger [about being a] South African, than before [she] had left, this is the place where [she] belongs and should be'.

I found a clear division between recent versus long-term, and male versus female returnees with regards to a number of issues. The first divide surfaced when I asked my informants what they thought about South Africa in comparison to other countries. Recent (mainly female returnees) were generally more positive about living in South Africa versus other countries, as for example Bonny, who let me know that

> I love South Africa and my quality of life here is fantastic compared to what I experienced in the United Kingdom, United States and France, as well as traveling in other parts of the world. I need sky and air and space and I have that here. Most of my other needs are also met, in terms of interesting work at remuneration levels that enable me to do what I want to do, my family and many of my friends are here, and I came home for specific reasons.

Her telephone rang a number of times during the interview with party invitations or business calls which seem to very much support this statement. Likewise, Rachel 'feels very positive about South Africa. True it has a lot of challenges ahead of it, but it also has the right mindset to master them' and Candice joined them in telling me that 'for me right now, South Africa is the only place to be. There are issues that are worrying me, like crime, unemployment, Aids and a 'one' party democracy, but hopefully the country and the people have the strength to hold it together'.

Such excitement is not felt as strongly by the more long-term returnees and especially the men, who (while positive to some extent) also voiced greater concern about their future prospects. Dennis for example noted that 'South Africa really is an exciting place in many ways and provides important social

experiences for its people. [But] what I see as problematic is the Black Economic Empowerment policies and a reverse racism, which seems to be on the increase'. In this opinion, he is supported by Stan, who found that 'as defined by its Constitutional vision South Africa is one of the most enlightened nations. On the other hand is it defined by its challenges and cannot match up with more developed nations. But in terms of its moral stature, South Africa has accomplished a lot'.

The second divide relates to informants' willingness to leave again. It seems that as the time spent back in South Africa increases, particularly the men show much more openness to thoughts of leaving again. This is often reasoned with statements such as 'trying to secure the future of my children', as Jake openly acknowledged. Dennis confided:

> to be honest I have concerns about the emerging glass ceiling for guys with my skill set and so work and career opportunities in South Africa are becoming more circumscribed. So I am a bit worried about long-term life-style and the future for my children.

I argue that this kind of reasoning results from the classic gender role that many males still identify themselves with: they regard themselves as the main providers and securers for the family and the future of the children. In the context of affirmative action policies for employment, they feel they may not be able to live up to these responsibilities in South Africa, and, in particular, are concerned about the extent of future opportunities for their children.

Following anthropological conventions that dictate giving explicit voice to the informant, I finally wanted to know from them what policies they think could be implemented to stimulate return migration and/or keep people from leaving in the first place. Bonny started off with suggesting that since:

> many of the people leaving or who have left are white South Africans; politics can therefore ensure that South Africa remains a country of equal opportunity for all South Africans. I understand the need to address the imbalances of apartheid but it is also necessary to think of the future of the

> economy and the country and to understand the role that white South Africans can play in that.

Emma advised a wide-ranging programming, sending out the right messages because:

> politics are key to keeping people happy in their home country. I am still undecided whether South African politicians are going to make a success of South Africa. The politicians need to reassure it's people, those resident and those away that South Africa is not going to be another Zimbabwe, I am not yet convinced, if you look at the way the rest of Africa has coped with life after colonialism, it is a tough example that South Africa has to set for the rest of the continent. The politicians need to reassure people living away from South Africa that they can handle things like corruption and also cope with the huge crisis of aids, employment and education. On returning to South Africa I am not yet convinced that they are doing enough.

On the same note, Margot advocated the 'need to address fundamental issues of crime and poverty, unemployment, sustainable economic strategies and corruption, since they result in knock off effects on each other and send out positive signs for people overseas, who might consequently consider returning home'. Lorraine advised that 'politics play an enormous role in keeping people here or encourage them to return. So tackling major issues like crime, unemployment, poverty, affirmative action would make people feel a greater sense of security for their daily lives as well as their futures'. Finally, from a distinctly feminist and socially progressive perspective, Jane recommended that South Africa needs to 'send out the right signals to its population and the world, that it is willing to address key issues and that the government is really interested in a multiracial society, where every citizen is granted equal rights'.

Such responses suggest that my informants have a deep appreciation for South Africa's political, economical and social challenges and how they stand in the way of re-attracting expatriates back. In support of this conclusion was Dennis, who proposed 'to make inward migration easy, work on personal safety and crime issues and create the sense that whites are and will continue to be valuable contributors to the country and ensure that they also get fair job opportunities'. Equally, Mr. Ettinger recommends that the government must 'be careful where taking Affirmative Action and Black Empowerment, [with regards to] what

messages it is sending out to its people [and the proposition of an] integrated society'. Finally, I let Stan end on a more general but all-encompassing note that in order to stimulate return migration:

> politics is critical. It is hard to have a sense of belonging if one is made to feel like an outsider. It is hard to have confidence in the future if bad political decisions are made, or good ones fail to be implemented.

CHAPTER V - CONCLUSIONS

Against the background of different theories on culture, I set out on this research with the objective of identifying those motives that function as deciding factors behind expatriates' return to South Africa. I investigated if linkages exist between reasons for previous emigration and recent return. Furthermore, I explored re-integration and re-adaptation processes and associated experiences against the background of the individuals' preceding migrant histories. I specifically considered how the individuals' experiences abroad could impact on their current sense of person and place. I further examined what categories of use and identification they place themselves within with regard to home and identity. Finally, I also exposed factors that relate to the ease of the re-integration and re-adaptation processes.

Specific insights and conclusions have been presented above in Chapter 4 under the individual sections on *emigration, process of immigration, repatriation* and *new found realities*. Rather than repeat them here, I now draw a few concluding remarks and end with some suggestions for areas for possible future research.

The idea for this research originated out of my personal life circumstances - living as a recent German expatriate in South Africa and socialising with a number of South African repatriates. Through listening to their stories that resonated with me I became interested to find out if there are common determining factors that inform emigration and repatriation and related experiences.

Through the course of this research a number of common themes emerged: The informants are all highly educated professionals who gave the impression of having successfully established themselves overseas. Yet they decided to return back to South Africa. All of them stated in one form or another that the main reasons for return were very personal, very emotionally driven. Both men and women felt a special bond to South Africa, both its geography and culture. They either wanted to reconnect with their families or the country itself; they wanted to

expose their children to it or they wanted to be part of the new South Africa and help bring about change[197].

The above leads me to conclude that the informants went through a realisation process that first of all 'culture is not one but many'[198]. They left their known cultural surroundings and were confronted with new outlooks on life and different ethos, values and habits to deal with. To speak with Benedict they further realised that:

> no man ever looks at the world with pristine eyes. He sees it edited by a definite set of customs and institutions and ways of thinking. [And] the life history of the individual is first and foremost an accommodation to the patterns and standards traditionally handed down in his community. From the moment of this birth the customs into which he is born shape his experience and behaviour (1960:18).

The effect of this was a growing awareness of what constitutes their home culture and that indeed 'culture [is located] in the minds and hearts of man'[199]. They further became aware of their interpretive and adaptive abilities with regard to foreign cultures. On an individual and microscopic level the informants confirmed that culture can be seen as 'man's adaptive dimension [in which his] past is working upon the present to create the future'[200]. In this regard they produced new nuances to their already-established cultural traits thereby developing hybrid sensitivities and describing themselves today as international citizens.

With regard to the aspect of re-integration, I conclude that existing models available in the literature and employed in this research seem generally to be more of a behaviouristic nature from the fields of psychology. They fall short in addressing the overall issue culture plays in these processes and the experiences of people, who have rightly been described as 'culture-bearing-animals'[201]. My findings suggest that one cannot separate culture as an aspect of repatriation and its associated experiences. The research has shown how much culture is 'a

[197] Here I suggest that campaigns to re-attract expatriates should emphasize the emotional benefits of "coming home" rather than the generic delights and benefits of the country or the economy.
[198] Krader (1973) as cited in Kohl (2000:132)
[199] Geertz (1975:11) quoting Ward Goodenough
[200] Montagu (1968:vi)
[201] Benedict (1951:10)

typical and vitally necessary means of adaptation'[202] that cannot be divorced from any integration or re-integration process.

When I asked my informants about the possibility of them leaving again, the majority of them confirmed that they are keeping that option open. This leaves South Africa at some risk. It does not mean that when people come back they are, so to speak, simply newly gained 'capital' the country can rely and build upon. On the contrary, the majority of them might leave South Africa yet again. The informants stated that this was chiefly due to concerns for the future for their children. Since they are all white, what they are implying or have openly stated is that they do have concerns and doubts with regards to seeing them given equal economic opportunities and being treated in a fair manner later on in their lives. This I suggest is an area that policy makers may wish to address if they are interested in ensuring a sustainable return of expatriate South Africans of all colours.

This conclusion leads me to pose the following closing questions: To what extent has return to South Africa been strongly bound to the recent historical events this country has undergone and is a continuous repatriation likely to be sustainable? Alternatively, what is the likelihood that people who have not returned by now, will ever come back to South Africa and what, if anything can the government do to influence a sustainable return of expatriates?

During the course of this research I identified some areas where possible future research could yield further social insights:

This research profiled a narrow demographic sample (professional, white Johannesburgers). Further broad-based research encompassing multi-ethnic, multi-class and cross-country subjects could reveal important additional insights that could impact on policy formation.

[202] Rudolph (1998:61)

The research found directional evidence that men generally seem to take more easily to concepts of hybridity[203]. This suggests that they may be more adaptable than women to new situations and environments. I see potential for deeper research into this potential phenomenon for the fields of psychology, neurobiology and anthropology.

A final area would be to investigate more deeply the motivations behind return migration. In this research all of the answers I received could be categorised under pull factors back towards South Africa. I suspect that these may well be surface motivations that are much easier to state than for example reflecting back on personal failings, such as failed integration processes and difficult social experiences. Further research, especially in the fields of psychology and/or anthropology could reveal such deeper levels and influence factors behind return migration.

[203] See also Chapter 4.3.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: The Impact of the Brain Drain on South Africa

'Brain drain' is defined as 'international migration of highly skilled professionals, most often, from developing to industrialised countries'[204]. The consequences of this definition translate into the loss of human capital for so-called 'sending' countries, i.e. countries from which people are emigrating. In the specific case of South Africa, this loss of human capital steadily increased from the 1970's and peaked just before the end of the Apartheid regime in 1994[205]. Since then the figure has remained at a consistently high level with 'as much as 20% of [South Africa's] skilled work force'[206] having left the country in the pursuit of opportunities overseas.

These numbers[207] stand for a significant loss of desperately needed skills, particularly in the 'medicine, commerce, education and engineering'[208] professions. They contextually quantify the 'growing shortage of high-level skills in South Africa today'[209]. Some analysts have even suggested that this can result in a difficulty 'to create a middle class consisting of doctors, engineers and other professionals'[210]. I regard this aspect as particularly critical to the new South Africa since the outcome of its effect may be 'a two class […] society: a massive underclass that is largely unemployed and very poor people and a few rich people that are mostly military and government officials'.

[204] Egger, Stalder & Wenger (2003:11)
[205] See also Kaplan & Meyer (2005).
[206] Lindow (2004)
[207] Most papers agree that the official data on emigration collected and published by Statistics South Africa and other official government figures only account for a quarter of the real numbers of people leaving South Africa annually, also see McClelland (2002).
[208] Mutume, referring to IOM Statistics (2003)
[209] Kaplan & Meyer (1998)
[210] Emeagwali (as cited in Mills 2005)

The associated costs of the brain drain are 'about R2, 5 billion a year and […] the loss of 10 unskilled jobs with every skilled emigrant who leaves the country. Emigration already has cost South Africa R285 billion in the form of loss of potential contributions to the country's GNP (Gross National Product)'[211]. Furthermore, as former President de Klerk stated in an interview[212] '[one] can not expect investors to have confidence in a country that [given the current numbers of the brain drain] does not have confidence in itself', resulting in a further loss of much needed capital to rebuild this country's economy.

The main set of motivations behind the emigration of highly skilled individuals is similar from country to country. It is, on the one hand, primarily the search for career opportunities overseas combined with prospects that those individuals cannot see being realised in their own country[213]. The availability and offer of these offshore opportunities can be categorised as *pull-factors.* They are defined as 'positive incentives which […] originate from the target areas'[214]. In most cases these go hand in hand with, as Carnell (2002) states, 'lack of economic growth and rampant poverty – often caused by political repression and a lack of freedoms'. These latter factors can be categorised as the *push-factors* behind emigration. Push factors are 'unsatisfying or even threatening circumstances that motivate people to leave their country'[215].

For South Africa, and specifically its white expatriate community, one can differentiate between the pre- and post- Apartheid years with respect to push-, and pull-factors. In the years leading up to the end of Apartheid it was mostly 'push-factors' that drove emigration, and in particular fear of crime and political instability -(as most strongly voiced by one of my informants, Margot, who left in 1989[216]).

[211] van Rooyen (2000)
[212] Nolte (2005)
[213] Emeagwali (2003)
[214] Nohlen (2000:520)
[215] ibid
[216] See also Appendix 7

Following the first democratic elections in 1994, the country was filled with grand hopes and exuberant optimism for its political, economic and social future and the changes that had to be accomplished in all those spheres associated with the task of rebuilding a nation. Yet, as Nolte (2005) puts it: 'the glow of [the] rainbow soon faded'. South Africa had to face up to and address its history of years of 'isolation in business, academia and research'[217] in its pursuit of trying to restructure its economy. The first results of 'the country [embracing] the global marketplace in the '90s, after decades of economic isolation and [after not having been able to] attract enough foreign investment, were disappointing'[218]. South Africa was 'faced with massive social and economic problems and headlines that cried: Aids, crime, poverty, corruption [and] unemployment'[219] and 'studies … casting grim scenarios of a crippled economy feeding downward spirals of crime, poverty and societal dysfunction'[220].

All of the above mentioned developments triggered a 'white tide of mass emigrations'[221], with some of the "old" push-factors like fear of crime still remaining motivations behind emigration. But the main new reason, according to Naidu (2004) seems to be the fear of many, mainly white, South Africans that there will be limited career opportunities for them in the face of the aggressive Affirmative Action campaigns in place. Against the background of these hard-line Black Economic Empowerment and Affirmative Action policies, this has the effect of increasing the push-factors for whites to leave, and on a local basis lowering pull-factors for potential white returnees[222] (although black returnees could still benefit). Here Kaplan and Meyer (2005) reveal that 'high rates of professional emigration are likely to continue [and that it was] found that the likelihood of the well educated remaining was lower for South Africa than for any other country'. The tide of emigrants out of the country resulted in the incorporation of the term brain drain 'as part of [South Africa's] everyday vocabulary'[223].

[217] Kahn *et al* (2004)
[218] Lindow (2004)
[219] Nolte (2005)
[220] Lindow (2004)
[221] ibid
[222] *Mail and Guardian online* (2005), Sapa (2002)
[223] Nolte (2005)

Still, South Africa is a 'relatively wealthy country in comparison to other countries on the continent'[224]. Hence, South Africa attracts high numbers of immigrants from other countries. Given the numbers of people leaving and the numbers of people immigrating into the country[225], the gap in terms of lost human capital might be less significant then otherwise. Yet, the majority of people leaving are well educated professionals and the majority of immigrants are far less skilled[226]. So there might very well be no overall brain gain that offsets the losses of the brain drain.

Although the above negatives are real, there have also been many positive social developments. One must not forget that, under the current circumstances, South Africa is experiencing an economic boom. It has been rated highly by the international community and investors, as well as by South Africans themselves[227]. This was supported by my informant, Bonny, who returned in 2004, and who states that 'especially as a South African this is a very exciting place to be right now, with regards to the opportunities this country holds for its society'. Stan adds that South Africa as 'defined by its constitutional vision is one of the most enlightened nations'. These positive perceptions today seem to be attracting more returnees and others to South Africa.

However, given the number of people leaving South Africa and the associated costs to the country, there are increasingly more voices heard calling for the need to reverse the present brain drain. From ministers to civil initiatives to private individuals, all are starting to speak out in order to stimulate return migration and to create the right environment stopping people from leaving in the first place. They are all driven by the hope, amongst others 'to see […] the return of Southern Africans currently living overseas'[228].

Mutume (2003) observes that it is 'high time programmes and policies are put into place to reverse the devastating effects of the brain drain'. He is supported by

[224] Nohlen (2000: 519)
[225] See also Statistics South Africa (2003).
[226] Statistics South Africa (2003)
[227] See Malala (2005)
[228] Hatchuel (2003)

Carrington and Detragiache (1999), who have addressed policy makers directly in their demand to 'offset existing incentives for highly educated people to emigrate'. These authors are joined by a wide range of newly established public and private initiatives which have developed different sets of strategies to end the brain drain.

The outlook for South Africa's future at the moment is sufficiently of concern that Selassie (2001) concludes his thoughts on the brain drain situation by stating that 'unless serious steps are taken to develop critical institutions and human capacities, the recent positive developments in the economy will not be sustainable'. As a corollary a recent article in the *Mail and Guardian online* (2005) states that 'with a gradual easing of South African problems a growing number of repatriates could return and only further accelerate positive social and economic development in the country with their influx of individual productive talent and leverage of foreign ties'. Crush (2001:2) emphasizes that 'the government and other agencies have a major task ahead of them if they are to convince South Africans' both overseas and in South Africa of the opportunities this country can provide them with. They have to enact policies that are 'actually in the interest of the country'[229] instead of accusing other countries of "stealing" skills[230] or just overlooking the problem and challenges associated with the brain drain altogether.

[229] Crush (2001:2)
[230] See also Asmal (2004)

Appendix 2: Migration Numbers

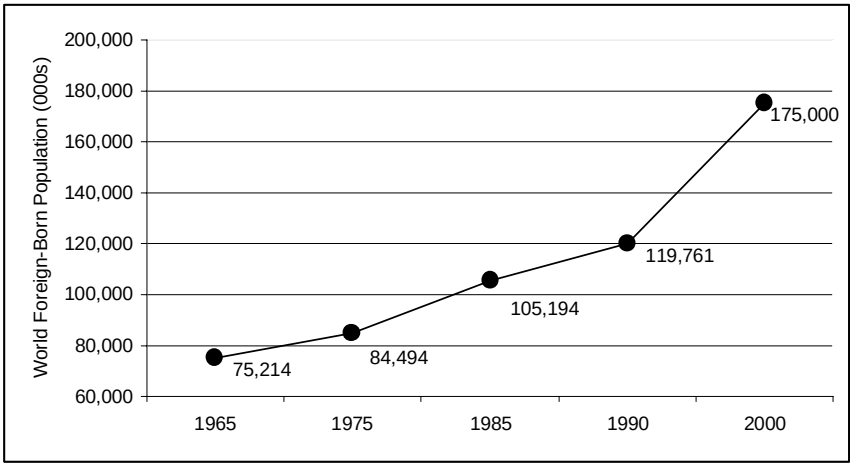
Migration today is a worldwide phenomenon. There are a hundred countries today that can document high numbers both for immigration and emigration[231]. Of these, almost a quarter are as much sending as receiving countries. This results in increasing difficulties to apply a traditional differentiation between immigration, emigration and transit countries.

In 1995 there were an estimated 120 million people living in countries other then that of their origin. This compared to 75 million people in 1965. Refugees whose numbers arose from 2 to 15 million only account for some part of the worldwide migration[232]. The recent numbers from the ILO (2003) prove a further rise of these numbers to 'over 150 number million people living outside their countries of origin or citizenship' in 2000. They also suggest that 'it is now incontestable that the numbers will continue to grow, as both pressures to move and demand for foreign workers, rise unabated'. These numbers are topped by statistics provided by the IOM (2003) who found an astounding number of '175 million international migrants' for the year 2000. Current estimates are that 'the migrant population represents some 2.9 per cent of the total world population; or put differently, 1 out of every 35 persons is an international migrant'[233] (for these numbers, also compare Figure 4). They sum up that 'if all international migrants lived in one place, it would be the world's fifth biggest country'.

These differences in estimates indicate that documentation on immigration and emigration varies from country to country and poses huge challenges for accumulating accurate numbers.

[231] According to the ILO as cited in Nohlen (2000:519).
[232] UNHCR (1995/6)
[233] IOM (2003)

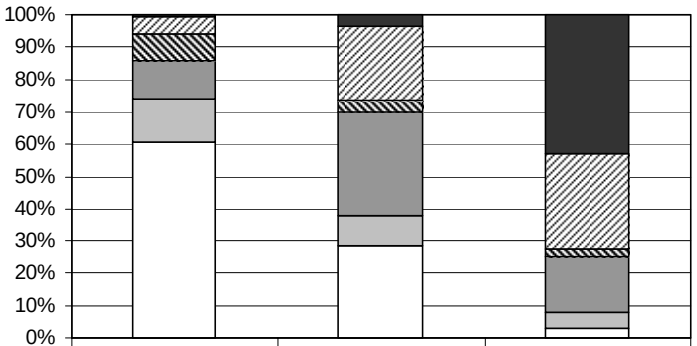
Figure 4 - The World's Foreign-Born Population from 1965 to 2000



Sources: United Nations (2002b); Population Reference Bureau (2002), Zlotnik, H. (1998), in IOM 2003 (downloaded 2005) World Migration 2003, [http://www.iom.int/DOCUMENTS/PUBLICATION/EN/chap17p303_316.pdf]

As shown in Figure 5, statistics further reveal that the 'geographical distribution of the world's international' migration stock is dominated by Europe and Asia 'sheltering the largest number of migrants'[234].

Figure 5 - World Population and Migrant Stocks by Continent, 2000



	Total Population (millions)	Migrants (millions)	Percent of Total Population (%)
Oceania-Pacific	30.5	5.8	19
NorthAmerica	313.1	40.8	13
LatinAmerica/Caribbean	518.8	5.9	1.1
Europe	727.3	56.1	7.7
Africa	793.6	16.2	2
Asia	3,672.3	49.7	1.4

Source: United Nations (2002b), in IOM 2003 (downloaded 2005) *World Migration 2003,* [http://www.iom.int/DOCUMENTS/PUBLICATION/EN/chap17p303_316.pdf]

[234] IOM (2003)

Appendix 3: Immigration - Incentives for Countries

This brief overview of the effects emigration can have for the sending country[235], in this case South Africa, shall provide this report with a further understanding of what emigration of large numbers of people can mean for a country. This shall help to emphasise/highlight the urgent demand for policy applications addressing the continuing brain drain out of the country and on the other hand, be able to give hindsight to why they might not be in place already.

The most obvious effect is clearly the brain drain issue, as addressed at the very beginning of this report[236]. Those findings suggest that 'emigration can cost poor countries some of their most valuable people. The thousands of dollars spent on educating a doctor or an engineer [for example] disappear when they take their skills with them'[237].

As for the social impact, the consequences of emigration can become very hard felt. Traditionally this has been especially true for women who were mainly left behind and who therefore had to carry extra domestic responsibilities[238]. Today, when women 'account for around 48% of international migrants', their leaving can become 'very disruptive for family life'[239]. This mainly affects impoverished peoples who leave home to earn a basic income, e.g., Zimbabweans working as domestics in Johannesburg. Another concern is that there is the risk of the 'creation of a culture of emigration'[240], which brings with it a significant risk of depopulation for small-scale communities.

One of the more 'positive' effects of emigration for the sending countries is the money that is sent back home via remittances and which provides much needed

[235] See also Stahl (1988:18ff)
[236] See also see Chapter 1.2.1.
[237] Stalker (20050
[238] See also Murray (1981)
[239] Stalker (2005)
[240] ibid

foreign exchange[241]. The unofficial amount of this sum for the year 1999 was some $ 100 billion[242]. It is stated that for some countries these 'remittances have become a crucial source of income and foreign exchange'[243]. A classic example can be found in Lesotho, whose labourers mostly work in South Africa. In most cases the money goes directly to the families of the emigrants. It is then either spent on 'food and other household essentials'[244] or is invested. Via this system, the remittances can have a so-called 'multiplier effect'[245] where they increase the output of businesses.

A last effect that emigration can have is the 'creation of new social spaces'[246]. What is meant by this are the diasporas that can be found everywhere, but which today 'form more coherent trans-national communities'[247], where individuals - due to advances in telecommunication and more affordable air fares - can stay in touch with their home countries. This can result in their being more willing to support developments back home or even return home eventually. The sizeable and relatively affluent South African communities overseas are a case in point.

There are numerous incentives for a receiving country[248] to promote immigration. Stalker (2005) identifies four major incentives: 'economic growth, filling job gaps, employment and the impact on population'. These incentives complement the incentives behind voluntary immigration, which are 'usually motivated by economic considerations'[249]. As for the sending country, emigration can have a multitude of both positive and negative effects. Stalker (2005) identifies six major impacts: 'population and jobs, social impact, brain drain, remittances, return migration, trans-national communities'.

[241] Stalker (2005)
[242] ibid
[243] ibid
[244] ibid
[245] ibid
[246] ibid
[247] ibid
[248] See also Stahl (1988:12ff).
[249] Stahl (1988:11)

Appendix 4: Organised Mass Repatriation

The following brief overview of organised mass repatriation shall function as stark contrast to what this research is actually focusing on.

As indicated by the term 'mass repatriation' this concept deals with the return migration of a substantial number of people at the same time. The group that is to be repatriated constitutes itself according to Cernea and McDowell (2000:1) primarily of two main factions. There are the 'involuntary resettlers' who have been 'uprooted by development-inducing programs… [and who] typically remain inside national borders'. And then there are 'refugee populations … generated by wars, civil conflicts, ethnic persecutions, or famines and other natural disasters …who often cross national borders and become international refugees within a different country'. Castles (2004) further subdivides the latter group into 'asylum seekers', who are the people that due to the already mentioned reasons are forced to cross international borders and then there are the 'internally displaced persons (IDP's)', … who have been 'forced to abandon their homes and leave their usual place of residence, [but] who remain within the borders of their own'.

A look at the numbers behind these definitions show us that as for the involuntary resettlers, or 'development displacees'[250], there are an estimated 10 million people worldwide that are internally displaced every year. With regards to international refugees, statistics reveal that over the last years according to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) (2005) the numbers have been reduced to almost half of what they have been 10 years ago, but still account for some 10 million people worldwide today. IDP's by far outnumber the worldwide refugee population and are 'estimated at 25 million in some 52 countries'[251].

[250] Castle (2004)
[251] ibid

In the following sections, I only consider refugees as defined above, with regard to their conditions of life, motivations behind their repatriation and what it might mean for them to return home. Since this digression is meant to create a contrast to what aspects of repatriation can look like for self-initiated and individual re-migration, it makes sense to constrict consideration to these refugees who have crossed international borders and had to live for a certain amount of time in a foreign country before being repatriated into their homeland.

A host of literal accounts and monitoring campaigns by international aid agencies have left comprehensive evidence of what life is like for most people having been forced to resettlement or to take refuge into another country[252]. Overwhelmingly, these accounts report experiences of further suffering on arrival in a host country for people who were already fleeing such extreme circumstances as wars, civil conflicts, ethnic persecutions, or famines and other natural disasters. They speak about almost unreasonable living conditions in camps where the majority of refugees find their first new 'home'. There exists a lack of food, sanitation, medical and legal assistance and very often security too. In addition to such basic considerations then too is the question of integration into the new country most often an unanswered one, since the host countries rarely anticipate or plan for such emergencies. Understandably, these conditions lead to repeated calls by international aid agencies and other organisations for a closer monitoring and securing of proper living conditions, as well as the ever louder call for repatriation into people's country of origin.

The three main reasons behind organised mass repatriation have been mentioned or indirectly referred to already. The first is brought forward mainly by developed countries which try to control immigration flows via the means of organised and large scale-return of millions of refugees to their country of origin[253]. Within this context, the main question that most research concentrates on is how to bring an end to displacement[254] and exile[255], usually by the means of an organised, large

[252] See also Amnesty International (1997), Compher & Morgan (1991), North & Simmons (1999)
[253] Black & Koser (1999)
[254] Ager (1999), Escalona & Black (1995)
[255] Said (2000), Pfeiffer (1962)

scale-return to the country of origin for millions of refugees[256]. A second reason is that urged by international organisations to recreate as soon as possible normal living conditions for internationally displaced persons again. This is as much driven by concerns about human rights violations in the host countries as the need to rebuild what has been destroyed in the home country. A third reason is put forward by the refugees themselves, who never want to leave their homes in the first place and who 'do [want to] return home as soon as circumstances permit, generally when a conflict has ended, a degree of stability has been restored and basic infrastructure is being rebuilt'[257].

The above-mentioned reasons already hint at the fact that not all repatriation is *either* voluntary or involuntary. Looking at the numbers one first of all finds evidence that the majority of refugees actually never return home. Out of a rough 12 million refugees in 2000 only some 786,000 ever went back to their home country[258]. Of those who return home to their country of origin, it seems that in recent years the gap between voluntary versus involuntary repatriation in its percentage is closing, as indicated in Figure 6.

Figure 6 - World Refugee Statistics

World Refugee Statistics

Refugees and Asylum seekers (millions)	Dec-92	Dec-94	Dec-96
Africa	5.7	5.8	3.7
Europe and North America	3.4	2.6	2.6
Latin America and the Caribbean	0.1	0.1	0.1
East Asia and Pacific	0.4	0.4	0.5
Middle East	5.6	5.5	5.8
South and Central Asia	2.3	1.8	1.8
Total asylum seekers	**17.5**	**16.2**	**14.5**
Significant Voluntary Repatriation	2.4	2.7	0.5
Involuntary returns and expulsions	0.1	0.2	0.2
Total Returnees	**2.5**	**2.9**	**0.7**
Ratio of returnees to refugees	14%	18%	5%
Ratio of involuntary to voluntary returnees	4%	7%	40%

[256] Black & Koser (1999)
[257] UNHCR (2001)
[258] ibid

Source: United States Committee for Refugees, World Refugee Surveys, 1993, 1995, 1997, in Preston (1999, 19).

For the people who are to be repatriated - as for the organisations involved in their repatriation - to return home posses huge challenges. There is the issue of a mass departure out of the country of emigration as well as a mass arrival in a home country. They need to be addressed in their effects as well as they need be logistically and structurally organised. In most cases the conditions in a home country after man-made or natural disasters are not the least welcoming for thousands of people to return to. In dealing with the structural logistics of a mass arrival of thousands of people most countries simply struggle with providing the right infrastructure. Even so, repatriation can be or is seen as part of the reconstruction efforts of those countries.

The countries of return, and above all the individual returnee are challenged with such issues such as 'land loss and land-based relocation, joblessness and re-employment, homelessness and home reconstruction, marginalization and re-inclusion, regaining food security and overcoming health risks, regaining and securing access to common property resources and [finally] social re-articulation'[259].

There are similarities between organised mass repatriation and a self-initiated and individual one, mainly when it comes to the problems or challenges returnees are faced with upon arrival in their country of origin. Still, the differences between these two kinds of returns and above all the stories and experiences leading to them are in the main of a completely dissimilar nature.

The main difference between organised, mass versus self-initiated, individual repatriation can mostly be found in the experiences preceding these different events. In organised mass repatriation it is suggested that the majority of people

[259] Cernea & McDowell (2000:viff)

were in the first place 'forcibly driven from their homes'[260] so that their wish to return home someday might have been part of their migrant journey from the beginning. Acting upon this wish might only have been determined by conditions in their country of origin later on.

This consequently is thought to have a strong impact on the way a life was built in the country of refuge or asylum. Buijs (1993:2) states that in most cases it can be said that these people 'hoped to retain the essentials of the culture and lifestyles which were their homes, [even though] the exigencies of being a migrant […] forced them to examine their conceptions and adopt both social and economic roles that might have been rejected at home'. The key aspect here is that they most likely would integrate less well and to a much lesser degree than a self-motivated migrant.

[260] Bujis (1993:2)

Appendix 5: Questionnaire for Individuals

'Return Migration in Contemporary South Africa'

An interview guideline for the personal stories of emigration, repatriation and new-found realities

Researcher Name: Sandra Lauckner

Affiliation: Department of Social Anthropology,
University of the Witwatersrand

I. General

Name:
Gender:
Age:
Place of birth:
Nationality:
Profession:
Ethnicity:
Religion:
Martial Status:

II. Emigration

1. When did you (or your parents) leave SA?
2. Why did you leave SA?
3. Would you be able to call the kind of migration you went through either of the mentioned: forced, labor or retirement migration? And if it is none of the above how would you describe it?
4. For which country did you leave?
5. How long did you plan to stay overseas and how long did you end up living overseas?

6. What had you planned of doing overseas/there in the first place and what did you end up doing?
7. Did you obtain the citizenship of that country?

III. Process of Emigration

1. What do you associate with the term home?
2. In the context of your emigration/ following your emigration did that term change its meaning for you or gain new importance?
3. Would you say that your process of emigration had any or even profound impact on your sense of identity?
4. Did you ever and if when start feeling acculturated and adapted to the new culture you emigrated into?
5. What are the feelings and experiences like you associate with that process of acculturation and adaptation?
6. Can you give examples of feelings of dislocation, feeling out of place or any of the like?

IV. Repatriation

1. When did you first start to think of wanting to return back to SA?
2. What were your motivations behind those thoughts?
3. How much time passed between those first thoughts of wanting to return and finally doing it?
4. Why did you return?
5. How much did the concepts of home and identity play a role behind your considerations?

V. New-found realities

1. What was the process of returning like?
2. Did you and if yes to what extend went through a process of re-acculturation and re-adaptation?
3. In that context what where your social experiences like?

4. Can you relate to any of the concepts of dislocation, cross-cultural experiences and/ or social change and if what do they mean for you?
5. Against your background of once having left SA for another place and now having returned to it what is your current sense of person and place/home and identity like? (Now that you have returned to SA does and if how has your perspective changed on issues such as home and identity?)
6. Did you make use of any kind of repatriation initiatives/organizations on arrival in SA?
7. Would you ever leave SA again? If so for what reasons?
8. What do you think politics can do to stimulate return migration or keep people from leaving in the first place?
9. How do you feel about SA in comparison to other countries in general and especially the ones you returned from?

VI. Other.

Please detail any other issues or comments you would like to make on emigration and repatriation that you consider important and /or relevant?

Appendix 6: Demographic Profile of Informants

APPENDIX 6 - Demographic Profile of Interviewees

	Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Place of Birth	Citizenship	Profession	Ethnicity	Religion	Marital Status	Nationality of Partner	Children	Place of birth of Children	Age of Children	Nationality of Children
1	Bonny Harrington	female	33	Durban	SA	Consultant	White	Christian/ non practicing	single	/	0	/		
2	Emma Smith	female	33	Johannesburg	SA + British	TV Producer	White	Christian/ non practicing	married	British	0	/		
3	Rachel Gibbons	female	34	Johannesburg	SA+Australian	Consultant	White	Jewish/ non practicing	single	/	0	/		
4	Candice Simpson	female	34	Pretoria	SA+Canadian	Financial Consultant	White	Christian/ non practicing	single	/	0	/		
5	Margot Stein	female	34	Durban	SA + British	Marketing, PR -manager	White	Jewish	single	/	0	/		
6	Lorraine Pritchard	female	38	Johannesburg	SA+German+ British	Desktop-publisher/ now Housewife	White	Jewish	married	British	3	England	under ten	British
7	Jane Lewinsky	female	39	Johannesburg	SA	Financial Consultant	White	Jewish	married	SA	2	SA	6,3	SA

	Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Place of Birth	Citizenship	Profession	Ethnicity	Religion	Marital Status	Nationality of Partner	Children	Place of birth of Children	Age of Children	Nationality of Children
8	Penelope van Houten	female	44	Vryburg	South African	Broadcast Editorial Management	White	Christian/ non practicing	married	American	2	US and SA	11, 7	American +SA
9	Kevin Klein	male	40	Durban	SA	Film Producer	White	Jewish	single	/	0	/		
10	Larry Paine	male	45	Johannesburg	SA+Israeli	Video producer	White	Jewish	divorced/ remarried	American	3	Israel, Tanzania, SA	13?, 2, 4 month	Israeli +SA
11	Dennis Rodman	male	45	Johannesburg	SA+American	Businessman/Consultant	White	Jewish/ non-practising	married	German	1	SA	1	German+SA
12	Stan Schmidt	male	46	Johannesburg	South African	Investment Advisor	White	Jewish/ non-practising	relationship	SA	0	/		
13	Jake Osher	male	48	Johannesburg	SA+American	Doctor/Director	White	Jewish	married	SA	2	SA	6,3	SA
14	M Ettinger	male	59	Springs	SA+American	Doctor/CEO	White	Jewish	divorced/ in relationship	American	2	America	in their teens	American

Appendix 7: Migration Profile of Informants

	Pseudonym	Country of Immigration	Motivation behind Emigration	Obtained other Citizenship	Marital status when leaving	When left SA	When returned	Motivation Behind Return-Migration	Years overseas	Age at time of Emigration	Age at time of return	Years lived in SA versus Overseas	More Years in SA than overseas	Possibility of leaving again	Due to what scenarios/reasons
1	Bonny Harrington	UK (3 years) + France (2Years) + travelling (1 year)	1. Labour (broaden international work-experience), 2. Travel, 3. Insecure about SA future	no	single	1998 (after 94)	2004 (after 1994)	1. work (wanted to gain more independence => better opportunities in SA), 2. general discontent with where was at in her life in UK in terms of life-balance (work, life-style, family, friends, weather) 3. Saw better opportunities for finding that in SA	6	27	33	27<->6	yes	not at the moment	
2	Emma Smith	UK	Travel for a year -> stayed on for altogether 10 years	had British Passport already via father	single	1994	2004 (after 1994)	1. wanting to be part of the changes taking place in the new SA, 2. also got fed up with life in UK -> missed climate, family and familiar rituals 3. living cost in UK hugely high=> standard of living appears to be much better in SA than Auk	10	23	33	23<->10	yes	yes	1. miss England, but also possibilty of living somewhere else for the experience of it => possible scenario: make SA base and do short phases away
3	Rachel Gibbons	UK (4-1/2 years) + Australia (3-1/2 years)	1. Travel/adventure (explore other countries and ways of life than SA)	yes	single	1996 (after 94)	2004 (after 1994)	1. Family -> father got sick, 2. wanting to participate in development of new SA (due to strong sense of identity as SA)	8	26	34	26<->8	yes	not at the moment	
4	Candice Simpson	Canada	1.Insecurity about SA future =>other Passport , 2. Labour (broaden work experience)	yes	single	1998 (after 94)	2002 (after 1994)	1. Family, 2. missing SA as the place where she felt at home	4	28	32	30<->4	yes	maybe	having children -> where will SA be at or heading for: crime, work,.
5	Margot Stein	UK	1.Travel, 2. Political instability of SA future	yes	single	1989/199 1 (before 94)	2003 (after 1994)	1. Family -> father got sick, 2. work opportunities, she could not have anywhere else	13	23	37	25<->14	yes	not at the moment	
6	Lorraine Pritchard	UK	1. Travel/adventure (explore other countries and ways of life than SA)	yes	single	1989 (before 94)	2003 (after 1994)	1. missing SA as the place where she felt at home, 2. certain aspects of life-style, esp. for kids, that are more attractive in Sa than elsewhere	14	23	37	24<->14	yes	no at the moment	but 1. if feeling the future of children might get jeopardized (education, employment) => consideration of moving again, 2. husband British => always possibilty of returning back to UK
7	Jane Lewinsky	US	1. further her study, 2. explore what was to be found outside SA	no	single	1992 (before 1994)	1995 (after 1994)	1. family, father was dying, mother and brother who needed special care=> felt kind of obligated to them 2. never intended of staying long term overseas, so even though longer than originally planned and maybe playing with thought of not returning, when thinking about starting family, SA really was the play that she envisioned for that, the place where she felt home and familiar -> wanted to give that to children	3	27	30	36<->3	yes	yes	due to crime and future for children, which not very sure about here in SA

	Pseudonym	Country of Immigration	Motivation behind Emigration	Obtained other Citizenship	Marital status when leaving	When left SA	When returned	Motivation Behind Return-Migration	Years overseas	Age at time of Emigration	Age at time of return	Years lived in SA versus Overseas	More Years in SA than overseas	Possibility of leaving again	Due to what scenarios/reasons
8	Penelope van Houten	US	1. was blacklisted => work opportunities became limited => looked into maybe studying further and was also interested in exploring opportunities beyond SA => wanted to study sth. that was not offered in SA => looked abroad-> found in NY -> got scholarship = chance to go	no, was not ready at time -> seemed to much of a commitment, but got green Card	single	1987 (before 1994)	1998 (after 1994)	1. second pregnancy -> missed home terribly, wanted to experience different pregnancy + wanted 2. child to be born in SA, 2.shooling problems with 1. child => SA might provide better way/attitude to deal with it 3. general differences of looking after/raising kids in NY <-> SA => wanted to provide children with barefoot childhood with lots of space and few regulations like had one herself in SA 4. also wanting to be part of the change	11	27	38	33<->11	yes	yes	1. identity more of a global citizen, rather than one national identity 2. children => loss of sentiment of national belonging 3. wants them to live in place that most allows them to make free choices 4. grow oneself again in other ways 5. through travelling has seen and connected with lots of likeminded people from all over the world => adds to imagine to be able to make new life for oneself somewhere else
9	Kevin Klein	US	1. Avoiding military, 2.further studying	no	single	1986 (before 1994)	1990 (before 1994)	1. felt like treading water in US, waiting to get back to SA -> when no more risk of getting recruited for military, 2. wanting to make a film and work for news company to get news out of SA during imposed news blackouts	4	22	26	34<->4	yes	yes	which not very sure about here in SA
10	Larry Paine	Israel (13 years) + Tanzania (8 years) + Scotland (1 year) + travelling (2 years)	1. did not want to serve in the SA army, 2. Travel/adventure (explore other countries and ways of life than SA)	yes	single	1980 (before 94)	2004 (after 1994)	1. longing for the SA landscape = memories of youth ->identity , 2. thought to be great place to re-discover after 1994 election -> nor more entrenched inequalities and institutional injustices	24	20	44	20<->24	no	maybe	American wife may want to wish to join family in US and life there
11	Dennis Rodman	US (13) + Belgium + Travelling (3 years)	1. Travel 2.(maybe)study	yes	single	1980 (before 94)	1997 (after 1994)	not a planned return: came back for holidaying and once here decided to stay, when opportunity for business came up	16	21	38	28<->16	yes	yes	1. family-want to expose children to European way of life etc. 2. work/career opportunities 3. life-style and future for children
12	Stan Schmidt	US	1. Semi-forced: wanted to avoid military camps, at time when military was employed to control political unrest	no	single	1986 (before 1994)	1997/1998 (after 1994)	1. wanting to be part of the new SA, after the 1994 elections, which was becoming the society, he had always longed for	11	27	28	35<->11	no	not at the moment	
13	Jake Osher	US	Study medical speciality, life experience	yes	single	1984 (before 1994)	1995 (after 1994)	To get married and start a family in SA	11	27	38	38<-> 10	yes	yes	trying to secure future for children, crime
14	M Ettinger	US	1. Labour, did not get job he wanted => looked for opportunities overseas, which came up => went 2. was also drafted -> did want to go join white SA army 3. political reason in background (always knew he would leave for a while at least)	yes	single	1967 (before 94)	2002 (after 1994)	1. romantic ideal -> coming back to help rebuilt and participate in new SA .	35	22	57	24<->35	no	yes	1. children want to attend University only in US, 2. recent partner is in US and does not want to come to SA, 3. having been away for too long from SA => difficulties to resettle

Appendix 8: Integration and Adaptation Profile of Informants

APPENDIX 8 - Integration, Adaptation & Acculturation Profile of Interviewees

	Pseudonym	Associations with the Term Home	Gaining new Importance (1)or Change of Meaning (2) after Emigration	Impact of Emigration on Identity	Ever felt adapted and acculturated to Country of Emigration	Feelings of Dislocation and Cross-cultural experiences	Impact of Concepts of Home and Identity on Decision of wanting to Return to SA	Process of Re-adaptation and Re-acculturation to SA post Return	Experiences of Dislocation, Cross-cultural Experiences and Social Change in SA	Current Sense of Person and Place and Home and Identity
1	Bonny Harrington	1. physical place: house, where one grew up; 2. sunshine, wide open spaces, 3. where people speak one's language and where one feels naturally understood without having to explain oneself, 4 also to extent house of current residence	yes (1), because increased awareness of those meanings of home	hugely profound impact -> learning that thought to be racial issues are actually cultural issues => learning to be comfortable with being white SA	after roughly 2 years felt adapted to English culture but not French, acculturated to certain extend where changes in oneself became visible -> overall it was experienced as constant process	the first two years in London felt very out of place, differences in cultural, also language nuances, which she lacked understanding for	large -> if it was not for feelings of belongings, being understood and recognized naturally = which makes life much easier => might not have returned to SA	yes -> ongoing process, in which she hopes to adapt back to SA culture again, but also not totally revert and loose certain aspects of other culture that she felt have enriched her, no process of re-acculturation, that came naturally	definitely with regards to social change -> after 1994	Home = place where one grew up, images, smells... associated with that, identity resulted to substantial extend out of that, but there are now also other identity traits associated to life and adaptation processes overseas
2	Emma Smith	1. place of familiarity, where family are and where one feels part of the community	yes:(1) being away makes one aware of all the things that make home important	totally -> felt initially very foreign in UK => began to evaluate what it meant to be SA	after about 6 years UK began to feel like home -> but only when returned back to SA => realization how much UK had been home => home had changed	when speaking to family back home in SA => feeling very isolated, small things like shops and socializing make one feel very uncomfortable	very much , since felt that loosing SA identity, felt like stranger in SA when coming home for holidays	very hard; feeling lost between UK and SA, it is hard to adapt and feel at home; got used to way things operate in UK -> difficult to adapt to and accept different way of things here	yes to certain extend due to different way of life	home can change, if it would not have been for family, might have well stayed in Auk and made that home
3	Rachel Gibbons	SA	definitely (1) -> against different cultural backgr ound one becomes aware of what constitutes a home for oneself	very strong impact; in sense that very much more aware of being a SA and not English for ex.	England: never, everything was to different and hard, Australia: yes, even certain sense of belonging in the end	feelings of disconnectedness in every day communication, also felt cut off from what was happing in SA	very strong	very easy and good experience -> feeling of fitting in naturally again	awareness of social change which is experienced as very positive	feeling even stronger SA than before having left, this is the place where I belong and should be
4	Candice Simpson	place where your heart and your roots (language, culture, history; connectedness) are, which will always be SA	both (1) + (2): (1): where roots are, which crystallized as a much stronger feeling (2): home can also be where one lives right now: house, work, ...	huge impact in of developing strng sense of self-reliance, self-confidence -> affirmation of oneself being able to 'make 'it	adapted to certain extend, when got confirming responses from Canadians, acculturated never -> to many differences	people were friendly, but still gave one the feeling of not-fitting in, different humour, different use of language, different historical background => always the odd one out	Big impact -> knew once again I would fit in -> feelings of relief at the thought of that	yes-> because realization that nonetheless one had changed being away => process of re-adaptation, re-fitting in	yes -> feelings of dislocation with certain groups of people towards which one had grown estranged and did not fit anymore	Feels same about home, identity has changed in sense that she feels much stringer and confident about herself than before having left
5	Margot Stein	mixed: - place of living, still flat in London, - right now home is family in SA	not really, because not having had planned to officially emigrate -> did not think about home	definitely: sense of identity strongly related to having had the strength to built a life for herself in a foreign country/ environment	adapted really quickly, but never felt English, also given SA's political situation -> much more aware of unique SA traits in foreign environment	not really fitting in, needing to learn how to be English	big sense of home in terms of family that had remained in SA and big sense of identity as being SA => big impact	yes, even though day to day communication came and was so much more natural and easy, realisation that also had taken on certain English traits and expectations	a little bit with still longing for London, as place of physical home => weird experience of SA as home	home: really stands for different meanings (family <-> physical place...), identity: has strongly fostered
6	Lorraine Pritchard	1. roots, history, family = SA, 2. London: daily life (friends, house, teachers, hairdresser...)	SA always felt like home, but overtime London also became home in association with daily life and also having grown into an adult here	growing awareness of unique SA identity	after many years and only after having children feeling of adaptation, but never felt feeling of belonging there	different way of speaking and dealing with day-to day situation => felt unnatural, more of a conscious logic, thought-through approach towards every day interactions	tremendous impact -> wanting to expose children to home, where mother came from and which formed her identity	more difficult than thought to be, even though being here feels much more natural, actual daily life (friends..) are in London => twisted feelings with regards to re-adaptation	1. feelings of dislocation because all over a sudden feelings of belonging more to London, than here, 2. amazed by social change and hence cross-cultural experiences between black and white SA	feelings of having one foot in each country = home has many meanings, identity feels reassured and is so much easier expressed and recognized
7	Jane Lewinsky	1. family, 2. childhood, friends 3. place where one feels understood and recognized as who one is	yes (1) became more clear about those meanings, in the reflections on them from a distance (US)	became more aware of her uniquely SA identity traits in contrast to her new surroundings, accepted and embraced them more as essential parts of who she is	adapted to certain extend, young and hip culture, which wanted to be part of -> made effort, but never really acculturated	yes, building up relationships and friendships followed different way of doing that -> unnatural	very big, wanted to come 'home' for herself and family, and exploit her SA identity here in terms of building a career, which seemed to be much easier here than overseas	to certain extend, in terms of having gotten used to different way of life, experiences, tempo -> different in SA, missed some of them	little	strongly SA, very connected here inside and outside

	Pseudonym	Associations with the Term Home	Gaining new Importance (1)or Change of Meaning (2) after Emigration	Impact of Emigration on Identity	Ever felt adapted and acculturated to Country of Emigration	Feelings of Dislocation and Cross-cultural experiences	Impact of Concepts of Home and Identity on Decision of wanting to Return to SA	Process of Re-adaptation and Re-acculturation to SA post Return	Experiences of Dislocation, Cross-cultural Experiences and Social Change in SA	Current Sense of Person and Place and Home and Identity
8	Penelope van Houten	1.smells, 2. lack of expectation, 3. comfort, belonging, 4. ability to be sick 5. barefoot, picking fruit form tree, childhood 6. pain	1. -> depths of experiences make son unable to be in either place without being restless about the other home or in a sense of ever really fitting in, fast track of coming to terms with non-belonging, kind of travel and living in different places => can make one less sure about many issues	-> becoming less sure about many issues, profound sense of being unable to be a nationalist, more able to see universality of human life, => sense of being able to work anywhere rather than being able to be identified by SA boundaries and its history, but also via SA and its changes great historical agency as part of one's identity -> sense e that having grown up here => can change the course of history	yes to New York City life, even acculturated, but not to America in general	when Mandela was released out of jail, when bomb went off in SA cinema, when sister got married and had her first child => felt wrong to be not there, but being in NY, strong feeling of dislocation and belonging to SA, once children were born family and dislocation became more marked	1. wanting to be with mother for 2. pregnancy and provide children with childhood as experienced herself, 2. also wanting to be part of change -> identity	did re-adapt, but not as committed to staying as thought she might be	resentment from friends against American husband's leftie ideology, guilty feelings about separating husband from American family, plus strain on relationship in terms of feeling to extend responsible for husband being happy and successful here	idea of global citizen, more through nature that has found herself in different places,
9	Kevin Klein	familiarity	yes (1), because increased awareness of that meaning of home, in sense that it implies a feeling of belonging created through an understanding of encoded signs in communication -> was hard to get there overseas	became more committed to help bring about change in SA	no (even though had been to US before for High school -> then feeling of adaptation), but still after while picking up accent, loosing ties with people back home=> less sense of alienation	never felt familiarity and connectedness to US to feel able to relax and grounded	not so much at time, but idealistic sense of duty to the ANC due to having been recruited in NY	simple, did not feel like re-adapting or re-acculturating	covering the news => seeing other side of SA leading up to 1994, strange to reconcile that with comfortable student life experienced in SA before	feel less like a patriot and less of conviction for any particular cause in SA => fell like now being able to live anywhere in world and adapt
10	Larry Paine	family	no	had more impact on sense of Jewish rather than SA identity -> that was the one constant wherever travelled	in sense that felt comfortable = adapted, but always longing for sense of space and wilderness represented by SA childhood	living in Israel, always feeling of being an exotic, even towards family of Israeli wife, never one of them, very different speech patterns and cultural references	1.getting closer to parts of the family = home, was important reason, 2. identity as SA national was not important behind decision to return	slightly -> since for once SA differs in a lot of aspects from the places where lived before and also since it has changed in so many aspects, on the other hand are so many things still the same	not really	1. home = family, 2. identity: as Jewish SA has solidified after return, but it is not really of great importance here -> in case of leaving again that might change when it contrasts with different environment again
11	Dennis Rodman	1. place were one wants to and is building a life with familiar surroundings, friends, social network, potentially family	kind of both: only really took on that meaning after 24 years of travel and living all over the world,	yes: grew up and distanced himself from sheltered upbringing in SA	after 9 years in US, in moving to NYC in 89 that's were it felt like home and right place to be (also still felt like kind of strange item over there)-> never considered coming back to SA at that point	particularly in Brussels found culture and people very difficult to relate to and to develop meaningful connections	once back => realization how much still strong link to SA (soil, smells, weather, friends, family, early years of life) and unfinished business (family, friends) => played actually strong part	yes Sa was a new country, even though great to be back, re-discover the place and excited about setting up business with friends, but Danish girlfriend struggled to settle=> made it difficult	with regards to business (cross-cultural, dislocation)-> used to different way of doing business => difficult, and SA had changed	feels like more of an international person, less SA, even though realization that family and early years play defining role on one's life and create a separation with new culture, but also process of further growing in later years => after lived overseas and now being back in SA feels certain separation towards SA: not 100% SA anymore
12	Stan Schmidt	place of spiritual contentment, safety and sense of being anchored	yes (1), because increased awareness of those meanings of home	no	certainly adapted after 2 years, but never felt acculturated		they were key factors plus that all family had remained in Sa	no	not really	due to returning home => reaching a place where feeling spiritually connected and strong => having been able to find life partner, who now defines in part sense of home, place and identity
13	Jake Osher	Family familiarity with a way of life Friends	yes (1), because increased awareness of those meanings of home	yes; realised that "the grass is not always greener on the other side" learned about myself and broadened my horizons	yes, esp NYC	generally found it relatively easy to integrate and build up a new social network in Dallas or NYC	girl of my dreams was/is SA'n. & she was living in JHB. Relatively easy to return since parents, brother and other friends still in SA	no	not really, although being a white male in the new SA made life and career more complicated	not specifically bound to SA as home sure and comfortable that I can make a new life almost anywhere English is the main language
14	M Ettinger	friends, comfort, old papers, knowing your way around and knowing where you go when you are scared	(1) you have to create new home where you go and it is never the same to the one you left behind => you come to value that more	not really, but it made more clear	yes after 15-20 years I felt like American, even though friends would still see clear differences => maybe 75% American	sport, television, women, style, cloth -> all different and to extend important part of their growing up => did not share that, but made conscious effort to catch up with that	played big part, thought of coming home -> even though it is and it is not, same for identity	yes, after having become so adapted to first world country	yes	SA is where sense of home and identity originates from and was formed to large extend, but over 35 years overseas one is not solely SA anymore but has adapted and even acculturated oneself to other meanings of home and identity traits

Appendix 9: Informants' Policy Recommendations

APPENDIX 9 - Recommendations of Interviewees for Policy Application

	Pseudonym	Contacted any repatriation organizations	SA in comparison to other countries	Recommendations for Government to stimulate Return Migration or stop Brain Drain
1	Bonny Harrington	No	loves SA and quality of life is fantastic compared to what experienced in the UK, US and France, as well as traveling in other parts of the world. Needs sky and air and space. Most of other needs are also met: interesting work at remuneration levels that enable to do what she wants to do, family, many friends are here, and came home for specific reasons	Many of the people leaving or who have left are white south Africans, politics can therefore ensure that South Africa remains a country of equal opportunity for all South Africans. Understands the need to address the imbalances of apartheid but it's also necessary to think of the future of the economy and the country and to understand the role that white south Africans can play in that. Currently believes that the balance is pretty good. Politicians/government can also ensure that south Africa is a safe place to live – addressing the crime issues is essential. Things seem to be getting better and that should be made more public, it's certainly the impression I have from being back here.
2	Emma Smith	no-> but thought about hooking up with one via the internet out of curiosity	on the one hand SA really has chance to shine -> lots of encouraging signs (emerging black middle class) on the other hand struggling and disappointment with efficiency! (ID for British spouse is not happening => can not lead normal life=> does not feel welcome) of government departments, the way people get into power, corruption, non-existing transport system and public health (SA can be a risk health wise)	politics is key to keep people happy in their country => still not sure if SA politicians are making a success of it, politicians need to reassure people overseas and here that SA is not following Zimbabwe and other African countries, at the moment it does not appear that they are doing enough fighting corruption, Aids, unemployment and boost education
3	Rachel Gibbons	no	very positive, country with big challenges but the right mindset to master them	actively engage with the SA Diaspora overseas and welcome them back to SA as part of the society and as an important part to help rebuilt the society
4	Candice Simpson	yes, to meet other recent returnees and exchange experiences as well as socialize	the only place for her to be, her home; there are things that are worrying (crime, unemployment, aids, 'one party' democracy), but hopefully the country and people have the strength to hold it together	address those issues (crime…); honestly act on equal rights for everybody
5	Margot Stein	no	SA far more exciting place to live, more opportunities here than in a lot of places	need to address fundamental issues of crime and poverty, unemployment, sustainable economic strategies and corruption =>knock off effects on each other => positive signs for people overseas, who might consequently consider returning home,
6	Lorraine Pritchard	yes - the Homecoming Revolution	one of the best places in the world: combination of climate, people, space, lifestyle, energy, natural beauty of SA => wonderful place to life in comparison to many other countries	1. politics play an enormous role in keeping people here or encourage them to return, 2.tackeling major issues like crime, unemployment, poverty, affirmative action….=> people would feel greater sense of security for their daily lives as well as their futures
7	Jane Lewinsky	no	Provides great opportunities for individuals, but has huge challenges ahead of it in terms of building this into an integrated society, addressing crime, unemployment, Aids, …	send out the right signals to population and world, that willing to address those mentioned issues and that really interested in a multiracial society, where every citizen is granted equal rights

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	Pseudonym	Contacted any repatriation organizations	SA in comparison to other countries	Recommendations for Government to stimulate Return Migration or stop Brain Drain
8	Penelope van Houten	no	mixed, some great chances for herself to explore work and life, amazing open and wild spaces, but fear of lack of civic debate and non-too intellectual political climate	massive campaigning overseas, as well as death of sycophancy with in govemment, more interesting civic conversation
9	Kevin Klein	kind of - the ANC underground, which at time could be called kind of repat. Initiative	today better off than ever, with great opportunities and a system that is still being established, -> but to sensitive towards criticism and one feels a little cut of from global trends	giving people stronger feeling that what they do does in fact matter and that other people are in the same situation
10	Larry Paine	no	SA is far more developed than Tanzania and equally to Israel, also it generates a sense of personal insecurity, which other places do not	liberate financial system, cut tax on cars, but actually back to short to really be able to give recommendations
11	Dennis Rodman	no	1. exciting in many ways: important social experience 2. problematic BEE and reverse racism seem to be on increase 3. easier lifestyle and cost of living attractive 4. more psychic connection to SA than most other places	1. make inward migration easy, 2.work on personal safety/crime issues 3.crate sense that whites are and will continue to be valuable contributors to the country and ensure that they also get fair job opportunities
12	Stan Schmidt	no	defined by its Constitutional vision = one of the most enlightened nations, defined by its challenges it cannot match up with more developed nations, in terms of its moral stature SA has accomplished a lot	1. policies are critical to make one feel welcome and not like an outsider, 2. to have confidence in future => good policies need to be implemented and bad ones recognized and banned
13	Jake Osher	no	generally concerned about crime (have been a victim of a few incidents) but more concerned about the future for my children	Sort out crime Don't push reverse discrimination too hard
14	M Ettinger	no	a country that still has a long way to go, to catch up with 'international standards' of those countries, that it aspires to compete with	be careful about where taking AA and BE, what messages it is sending out to its people -> integrated society????