THE ROLE OF PSYCHOLOGICAL SENSE OF COMMUNITY IN THE ADJUSTMENT OF 'COLOURED' SOUTH AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS

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Submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Victoria University of Technology

Department of Psychology
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1995

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Abstract

The aim of this thesis was to investigate how psychological sense of community (PSC) related to a group that had no choice in group membership. In the first stage of the study the PSC model was used to build a profile of a politically constructed group. Twenty-three people, who were racially classified as coloured in South Africa, now residing in Melbourne, Australia were interviewed with an instrument that assessed PSC. The data showed that the model represented two dimensions for this group. The first dimension reflected the externally constructed and imposed definitions of group membership under the Apartheid system. The second dimension related to the ways in which people socially constructed notions of community within their subgroup. Results also showed that the people rejected the imposed label of 'coloured', but they internalised some negative stereotypes associated with the label and status. The people also internalised the positive experiences of support in structures and networks that developed within the enforced groupings. It is suggested that the PSC model provides a useful tool for investigating group specific meanings and

understandings of community.

The second stage of this project investigated the extent to which a PSC developed in South Africa has been transferred to Australia. Ninety-seven participants responded to an adapted version of the SCI (Chavis, et al., 1986) and the GHQ-30. Data analysis confirmed that there were different underlying relationships among the elements of PSC for this community. Shared emotional connection was the key element that contributed to PSC. This element was characterised by quality networks that facilitated feelings of 'we-ness'. It was also shown that ethnic identification served as a catalyst for shared emotional connection. No significant differences were found between those with low, medium, and high PSC groups in terms of psychological wellbeing. Findings demonstrated that immigrant social support networks fulfil different needs for group members. They also demonstrated that culturally anchored methodologies can contribute to the knowledge about group responses to different contexts.

DEDICATION

To my parents and others who left their homes. May we all find strength and unity in our shared experiences.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to thank several people without whose support it would have been difficult to complete this thesis.

My partner, Mariela, has been a pillar of strength throughout this process. Her love, patience, and encouragement have been a constant source of inspiration.

To my children, Olivia and Kristen, for their unconditional love and patience, especially during those times when I spent long hours away from them writing up the thesis.

To Adrian, my supervisor and friend. With his support and guidance I have found a place in psychology through which I can express my voice. He has given me direction during very ambivalent times, and contributed to my professional and personal development in many ways, providing me with many opportunities to develop and express my ideas. Thank you.

To my parents, without their love and support, especially during very sparse economic times, it would have been difficult to complete this thesis. Thank you also to George and Hilda for your endless support.

To my friends who have given me opportunities to experience a sense of community, and who thus helped me adjust to life in Australia.

Thanks to my friends and former colleagues at Victoria University of Technology. In particular, Heather Gridley, Delwyn Goodrick, and Ross Williams for their support and encouragement; Wally Karnilowicz for his statistical advice during the early stages of my data analysis; and Mark Avasalu who has been very supportive, in his own way. Mark has always been prepared to challenge my thoughts and ideas.

I would also like to thank some friends and colleagues at Curtin University: Natalie Contos, who helped my family and I settle in Perth; Leigh Smith for his statistical advice; Māra Blosfelds for taking time to read drafts of my work.

Lastly, thank you to all those who participated in this study. Your participation has allowed me to explore and gain an understanding of our shared history. Throughout the thesis I have answered many personal questions about our place in the world and I hope that this work will answer some of the questions about "coloured South Africans" for others.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Community and social support systems have become key areas of investigation in community psychology. In view of the social disintegration, disenfranchisement, and alienation witnessed in communities, Sarason (1974) highlighted the importance of building and strengthening positive relationships, structures and networks in communities. He contended that there are potential benefits associated with these networks and relationships in areas such as the prevention of illness, empowerment, the promotion of well-being, adaptation and overall quality of life. Sarason suggested that the notion "psychological sense of community" (PSC) should guide psychology, a concept that reflects the networks, relationships, structures, and processes that underlie communities.

McMillan and Chavis (1986) proposed a framework of PSC. According to them, the PSC framework comprises the elements: membership, integration and fulfilment of needs, influence, and shared emotional connection. These elements interact, to varying degrees, to facilitate the experience of positive community membership. Some theorists

(e. g., Felton & Shinn; 1992; Heller, 1989) suggested that the framework provides a tool that can guide investigations into the structures, interpersonal factors, and processes that inhibit or facilitate cohesion in groups. Researchers have investigated the meanings and nature of PSC and have found social support networks, empowerment, community participation, social cohesion and self-efficacy to be correlates of PSC (Bachrach & Zautra, 1985; Chavis & Wandersman, 1990; Davidson & Cotter, 1989; Pretty, 1990; Pretty & McCarthy, 1991). Chavis and Newbrough (1986) emphasised the potential benefits associated with PSC and have suggested that the concept be further developed. Felton and Shinn (1992) also alluded to the potential value of PSC in investigating foundations of networks, relationships and other supportive structures.

However, previous researchers investigated PSC in predominantly urban North American contexts and have focussed on communities that came together by choice (Davidson & Cotter, 1989; Pretty & McCarthy; 1991). Blauner (1972) emphasised that choice is an essential element in deciding group membership. Some groups and communities can have membership imposed through oppressive sociopolitical systems. That is, some groups do not come together as a matter of choice or through voluntary association, but are constructed through sociopolitical processes.

The external imposition of membership, in combination with sociopolitical factors have implications for the development and experience of community, identity formation and psychosocial adaptation for individuals and groups. Therefore, the first part of this thesis employs the PSC model (McMillan & Chavis, 1986) to investigate the foundations of a group that had group membership imposed through the Apartheid system in South Africa.

For the second part of the thesis, the information gathered in the first stage will be used, with the Sense of Community Index (SCI) (Chavis, Hogge, McMillan, & Wandersman, 1986) and the PSC model (McMillan & Chavis, 1986) to investigate the translation of a PSC that developed in one sociocultural context into a new sociocultural context through immigration.

Statement of Problem

People who were labelled "Coloured" in South Africa represent a politically constructed ethnic group. Under the Apartheid system in South Africa all people were assigned to racial groupings according to criteria determined by the politically dominant minority white government. In the process of domination, separation and oppression of the different black groups, one group was assigned the rather dubious and pejorative label --

coloured. The group was also assigned a status that separated them physically and psychologically from both black and white groups. With the implementation of the Population Registration Act (1950), which defined "race" according to physical appearance and social acceptance and rejection, South African coloured people were defined as:

> i) any person who is not a member of the white group or of the native group; and ii) any woman, to whichever race, tribe, or class she may belong, between whom and a person who is, in terms of subparagraph ii), a member of the coloured group, there exist a marriage, or who cohabits with such a person; iii) any white man between whom and a woman in terms of sub-paragraph i) is a member of the coloured group, there exists a marriage, or who cohabits with such a woman.

Along with the black and white groups, using these criteria, all people were assigned to a racial category. An amendment to this Act later saw coloureds further defined and broken down into seven subgroups that, according to the architects of Apartheid, were supposedly different (Patterson, 1989). These groups included, for example, (a) the Cape Coloured; (b) Indian; (c) Asiatic; and (d) the other Coloured Group (which means anyone who is not in any of the above groups and who is neither white nor black).

The racial categories and residential areas to which people were assigned dictated life, as well as the social, political, historical realities of these groups in South Africa. In the short history since the introduction of the Apartheid system, questions about the foundations of the coloured group became more pertinent (e. g., La Guma, 1984; P.G., 1984). Others (e. g., Foster, 1993) also raised questions about the impact Apartheid oppression had on the different ethnic groups. For example, how did the groups respond to the Apartheid system, and how did the system influence the psychological wellbeing of people in the different racial strata?

Many people whom the government labelled coloured in South Africa emigrated and settled in other western countries, including Australia. According to Sonn (1991), who investigated variables that influenced the adaptation of black South African immigrants, the group experienced some similar adaptation challenges as other immigrant groups who had settled in Australia. Among the findings, he reported that people who immigrated as adults identified more strongly with Australia than individuals who immigrated as children with their parents. Also, people reported that they frequently participated with fellow South Africans and had social networks that intersected with the dominant group. Moreover, many participants identified the lack of formal social support networks as an unfulfilled need

(Sonn, 1991).

In view of the group's history, status under Apartheid, and the initial settlement patterns of members from this community in Australia a number of focus questions about the foundations, construction, and functions of community needs to be considered:

1. How does the PSC model relate to this politically constructed community?
2. What are the shared foundations of the community?
3. How did the Apartheid system influence the formation and development of a community identity?
4. How does PSC translate into the Australian context and what are the implications for identification and wellbeing ?

In order to address these questions, a number of concepts need to be explored. Chapter Two will review the development of PSC relating it to Tönnies' (1955, 1974) *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* and Leighton's (1959) notion of shared sentiments. It will be contended that the research on PSC has been narrowly focussed on groups that have a choice in membership. Some groups do not have a choice in group membership and this involuntary nature of association may impact on PSC. Consistent with others (e. g., Chavis et al., 1986; Heller, 1989), it will also be argued that the

PSC framework can be used as an heuristic to investigate the foundations of communities.

A review of models that explain individual and group responses to intergroup and intercultural contact (Bochner, 1982; Berry, 1984, 1986; Tajfel, 1981) will follow this discussion in Chapter Three. It will be argued that a synthesis of these models can be useful for evaluating adaptations to different sociopolitical contexts. There is also a growing literature about individual and group responses to oppression and other sociopolitical forces (e. g., Bulhan, 1985; Prilleltensky & Gonick, in press; Watts, 1994a). Therefore, two models (Bulhan, 1985; Watts, 1994a) explaining the various modes of adaptation to, and identity development in, oppressive contexts are also discussed. It is argued that these models can also provide insight into the ways groups adapt to different sociopolitical contexts.

Chapter Four provides an historical overview of the coloured South African community of South Africa. People of mixed ethnic and racial background had been part of South African society for many years before the introduction of the Apartheid system. However, it is argued that the coloured group was politically constructed under the Apartheid regime of South Africa. Since the introduction of the system, a range of sociopolitical forces impacted on the way the group adapted to life under Apartheid. It is

further contended that the shared history of this group in South Africa and the sociopolitical realities of the context would have influenced the group's foundations, understandings of community and identity formation. Therefore, the PSC developed in the South African context will have different underlying structures, relationships, and mechanisms.

In Section Two of the study it is argued that the PSC model will operate differentially for this group. It is argued that there will be different structures and relationships among the elements that underlie a PSC for the community. The shared positive experiences people had in coloured communities in South Africa combined, with shared origins, would serve as a catalyst of PSC in the new sociocultural context. It is also argued that a PSC that developed within the enforced racial strata in the South African context will, to some extent, be translated into, and adapted to, the new cultural context, Australia. That is, people will develop and perpetuate the positive experiences and understandings of community they had in South Africa in, the new context. The adapted PSC will facilitate adaptation to the new context.

CHAPTER 2

PSYCHOLOGICAL SENSE OF COMMUNITY

PSC is a central concept in community psychology that highlights the benefits associated with group membership and natural support systems. This chapter looks at the history and development of the concept of PSC, relating it to Ferdinand Tönnies' concepts of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* (Tönnies, 1955, 1974) and Leighton's (1959) notion of shared sentiments. The chapter also discusses the meaning of community in community psychology with specific emphasis on PSC, and the benefits associated with strong social networks (McMillan & Chavis, 1986). It is argued that research on PSC has been narrowly focussed, and that the PSC model represents a useful tool that can be used in culturally anchored research to investigate the structures and processes underlying communities in different sociopolitical and cultural contexts.

Historical Background

Within various social science disciplines, there are many understandings, definitions and applications of the concept of community.

These conceptualisations have evolved and changed with time, are embedded in different disciplines, and reflect the values and assumptions underpinning those disciplines. Although the definitions of community are diverse, their central theme is humans in contexts.

Earlier social scientists, such as Marx and Durkheim, wrote about communities and the various social, political, and economic forces that influenced and transformed the nature and functions of human communities. Durkheim, for example, discussed social systems in terms of mechanic and organic solidarity (Worsley, 1987). Mechanic solidarity referred to togetherness that stemmed from common systems of belief, shared norms, networks, etc. -- the type of solidarity characterised in rural communities. In contrast, organic solidarity emanated from the formalised rules and regulations associated with industrialisation (Worsley, 1987). Most important, according to Worsley, Durkheim argued that people who do not have solid social ties are at risk of maladaptation. Thus, according to Durkheim (cited by Worsley, 1987) solid social ties are essential to one's wellbeing; the absence of ties with family, community and other networks increases the risk of anomie and other negative psychosocial outcomes.

Tönnies (1955, 1974) discussed the range of social forces that influenced the nature and quality of human systems. His concepts,

Gemeinschaft and *Gesellschaft,* have been widely used to contrast and describe the nature and quality of life in pre- and post-urban industrial communities. According to Tönnies, *Gemeinschaft* reflects a form of social togetherness that can stem from the shared nature of a locality, but, locality is not a necessary condition for its development. He suggested that a " ... neighborhood type of *Gemeinschaft* can nevertheless persist during separation from locality, but it then needs to be supported more than ever by well-defined habits of reunion and shared custom." (1974, p. 9). Moreover, *Gemeinschaft* can reflect relations that are "of a mental nature" and which are founded "upon chance or free choice." (Tönnies, 1974, p. 10). *Gemeinschaft* can be separated at several interrelated levels: (a) locality (which refers to common habitat), (b) mind (common goals) and (c) kinship or common bond (common relation to and sharing with people) (Worsley, 1987). *Gemeinschaft* reflects the warmth, security, intimacy, interdependence and familiarity associated with rural communities and that which one is likely to experience with kin.

Gesellschaft, on the other hand, reflects formalised, impersonal, and structured relationships; it reflects relations that are mechanical and contractual in nature. According to Tönnies (1974), *Gesellschaft* deals with "an artificial construction of an aggregate of human beings" (p. 74). It

involves network associations that share similarities with *Gemeinschaft*, but it does not have the intimacy, familiarity, and emotional cohesion. (Tönnies, 1955, 1974). *Gesellschaft* associations are more individualistic and more fragmented.

Leighton's (1959) notion of shared sentiments reflects subjective experiences and internalisations of culture that link people to their environment. According to Leighton (cited by Hughes, Hughes, & Leighton, 1959, in Leighton, 1959), sentiments are "relatively stable and recurrent compounds of thought, feeling, and striving which relate a person to the objects in his environment" (p. 396). In turn, cultural sentiments are shared sentiments that reflect emotional connections, and are based on shared history, goals, worldviews, and customs. Shared sentiments emphasise the subjective relations and attachments between people who share common cultures, traditions, histories and other characteristics. These notions go beyond confining community to objective and physical characteristics and highlight the phenomenological content inherent in community.

Thus, like *Gemeinschaft*, shared sentiments reflect bonds that are of a subjective nature. These bonds develop within particular contexts and are premised on shared understandings, worldviews, and customs. As such,

shared sentiments reflect and facilitate feelings of interdependence, cooperation, and belonging among members of a community. It reflects the shared feelings, bonds, and the idea that people meaningfully belong to a collectivity.

More recently, Sarason (1974) argued that psychology should respond to the anomie, alienation, social isolation and the general disintegration of communities that have accompanied industrialisation and urbanisation. He said that PSC should become the "overarching criterion" that should guide psychology. Sarason also contended that the social and psychological processes and characteristics within communities reflect many experiences, associations, networks, that are indicative of a PSC. PSC reflects:

> the sense that one belongs in and is meaningfully part of a larger collectivity .... the sense that there is a network of and structure to the relationships that strengthens rather than dilutes feelings of loneliness (Sarason, 1974, p. 41).

Sarason (1974) essentially argued that if they integrate people into networks in which they can experience belongingness, have meaningful roles and relationships, they will be less likely to experience alienation. This, in turn, would promote psychological wellbeing and quality of life.

PSC implies that people will feel part of a group, they will share the

values and beliefs of that particular group, and they will have some significant affective attachment to, and investment in, that group. For each group the experience of community will be characterised and influenced by different experiences, constructs, processes, and social, political, historical and ecological factors, and an interaction of many contingencies. Thus, PSC incorporates elements inherent in the concepts of *Gemeinschaft*, *Gesellschaft*, and shared sentiments.

Definitions and Functions of Community

Recent writings (e. g., Heller, 1989; Hunter & Riger, 1986) have highlighted the many levels at which community has been defined and investigated. According to Hunter and Riger (1986), some conceptions of community have focussed on community as a place (e. g., a neighbourhood, a residential block, the city, a village), emphasising the objective features and boundaries of a setting, including structural criteria such as the demographic aspects of a location and the nature of housing changes within various settings. Other definitions and understandings of community have shifted from focussing exclusively on geographical settings to include notions such as members' sense of significance and solidarity, and sense of security (Clark, 1973; Gusfield, 1975; Worsley, 1987). Heller et al., (1984)

have exemplified this stating that "Community can consist of a particular geographical place, or it can consist of nonterritorially based networks of relationships that provides friendship, esteem, and tangible support" (p. 138). Hunter and Riger (1986) echo this position, but take it a step further, suggesting that community includes ecological community, social networks, and informal and formal groups, and notably the 'social-psychological' and cultural community or the sense of community.

The social-psychological and cultural community is premised on, and highlights, the importance of shared cultures and sentiments in the experience of community. Consistent with this, many people now attain their identities and experience feelings of belonging in communities that are not located within a specific geographical area (Heller, 1989; McMillan & Chavis, 1986). Heller (1989) wrote that community has been used in at least two recognised ways: (a) territorial and (b) relational. Territorial , or locality-based, communities (or community as place) are geographically bound and can be defined in terms of location, the physical, social, symbolic and demographic nature of a particular context (Gusfield, 1975; Heller, 1989; Heller et al., 1984; McMillan & Chavis, 1986). Relational communities (or community as a set of relationships and resources) can be conceptualised in terms of 'social-psychological' phenomena (Hunter &

Riger, 1986) such as shared interests, history, culture, common origin, goals, and needs, etc., around which communities form (Gusfield, 1975; Heller, 1989; McMillan & Chavis, 1986). Relational communities represent interpersonal networks that provide instrumental, tangible, emotional, and other forms of support to its members and are not necessarily bound by location.

There are many definitions of community, but few models and frameworks allow for the investigation of structures and processes that inhibit or enhance community cohesion and solidarity (Heller, 1989). Much attention has been focussed on the development of the concept PSC because it reflects the processes, relationships and structures that hold communities together. Investigators of PSC have targeted specific levels of community, such as neighbourhoods (e. g., Glynn, 1981, 1986) and work environments (Klein & D'Aunno, 1986; Pretty, 1990) to formulate and assess the dynamics of PSC. Glynn (1981), for example, designed an instrument to measure PSC and discussed various applications of PSC. He administered his measure to three different communities, Kfar Blum (an Israeli Kibbutz), and Greenbelt and Hyattsville (two suburbs of Washington D C).

Glynn (1981) found that the number of years one expects to live in a

community, satisfaction with life in the community, and the number of neighbours one can identify by first name were the strongest predictors of PSC. These findings suggest that shared history played an important role in contributing to a PSC among residents. His findings showed that satisfaction with life in the community and competent community functioning were positively related to PSC (Glynn, 1981). Glynn (1986) suggested that these findings were preliminary and that PSC may be a fruitful area for future research. He also mentioned that PSC could be of benefit in community development, planning, and assessment. However, Glynn's research has been criticised for not having a firm theoretical grounding (Bachrach & Zautra, 1985).

Riger and Lavakras (1981) investigated patterns of attachment and social interaction as reflected in neighbourhoods. Among other findings, factor analysis revealed two interrelated factors that were interpreted as social attachment or bondedness, and behavioural attachment or rootedness. Social bondedness referred to the extent to which a person had formed social networks with the neighbourhood. Behavioural rootedness referred to the extent to which a person had settled in the environment. Riger and Lavakras suggested that residents who had lived in a location for a relatively long time were more likely to be committed to the area and least likely to move.

Those who had shorter periods of residence were more transient and showed less stability and commitment. Thus, suggesting that social attachment and behavioural bondedness are indicative of a shared bond and emotional attachment that stemmed from a shared history within a locality. Subsequently, people who have strong bonds and a shared history are more likely to have a stronger PSC.

Bachrach and Zautra (1985) conducted a study investigating how people coped with a community stressor. Utilising a face valid instrument to assess PSC, path analysis revealed that PSC was related to coping and served as a catalyst for community involvement. This, perhaps, reflected that PSC could be related to both group and individual empowerment. The authors also suggested that members with a strong PSC were more attached, had solid support networks and were more involved in their community.

These studies reflect certain dynamics that underlie PSC that can be targeted to facilitate the development of stronger and more cohesive communities. On a different level, many (see Cohen & Syme, 1985) have written about the nature, dynamics and functions of support provided through social and interpersonal networks. This knowledge shows the processes and interpersonal relationships that underlie communities.

Social support and social networks have been conceptualised and operationally defined in many different ways. Frequently, these definitions reflect the many components and processes involved in social relationships. Social support has been defined as "the functional content of social relationships, such as the degree to which the relationship involve flows of affect or emotional concern, instrumental or tangible aid, information, and the like" (House & Kahn, 1985, p. 85). Social networks, on the other hand, have been defined as "the structures existing among a set of relationships" (House & Kahn , 1985, p. 85) (e. g., their density, homogeneity, range). Thus, social support refers to the functional content of relationships and social networks refer to the structural nature of relationships.

According to Orford (1992), many authors have elaborated on the nature of functional support provided by social networks. He summarised these into five main functions: material, emotional, esteem, informational and companionship support. Material, or instrumental, support goes beyond aid and physical resources and can include interventions that may change one's environment, (e. g., advocacy) (Rose, 1990; Wills, 1985). There exists, however, some ambiguity about what constitutes emotional support (Orford, 1992), but it generally implies the meeting of people's socio-emotional needs. Informational support, according to Wills, refers to

"a process through which other persons may provide information, advice, and guidance. Network members may serve a supportive function by providing independent assessments of the problem ...." (1985, p. 69). According to Cohen and Wills (1985), "Social companionship is spending time with others in leisure and recreational activities. This may reduce stress by fulfilling a need for affiliation and contact with others, by helping to distract persons from worry about problems, or by facilitating positive affective moods" (p. 313).

Furthermore, it has been suggested that social support can contribute to psychological wellbeing, adaptation, and quality of life directly and indirectly in a range of contexts and circumstances (e. g., Cauce, Hannan, & Sargeant, 1992; Cohen & Wills, 1985; Mitchell, & Trickett, 1980; Rose, 1990). According to Mitchell and Trickett (1980), researchers have attempted to delineate the ways in which social networks influence adaptation and psychological wellbeing. They have defined and assessed these outcomes in a number of different ways (Mitchell & Trickett, 1980). However, according to Cohen and Wills (1985) and Heller and Swindle (1983), researchers have generally used measures of stress (e. g., life events checklists) and symptomatology as indicators of wellbeing and adaptation.

Cohen and Syme (1985) said that the direct or main effect

hypothesis of social support states that support enhances health or wellbeing, regardless of levels of stress encountered. According to this view, social supportive functions occur because people are socially integrated into, and embedded in, networks within communities that provide them with social roles, norms, and positive experiences. Because of this social integration, it is expected that people will be less likely to experience negative psychological outcomes associated with stress (Cohen & Wills, 1985). Thus, social support will promote wellbeing despite levels of stress. Without strong social networks people exposed to stress would be at greater risk of negative psychological outcomes.

On the other hand, the stress buffering effect implies that support may intervene between "the stressful event ... and the stress experience by attenuating or preventing a stress response" (Cohen & Syme, 1985, p. 7). That is, support may facilitate the redefinition or reduction of perceived harm, and it may also contribute by enhancing a person's coping abilities. According to Cohen and Syme (1985), "Support may intervene between the experience of stress and the onset of the pathological outcome by reducing or eliminating the stress experience or by directly influencing responsible illness behaviours or physiological processes" (p. 7). Thus, support may facilitate coping in a range of ways depending on the nature of the stress

inducing factors.

According to Cohen and Wills (1985) and Orford (1992), there are differences in terms of how support operates to buffer stress. Heller and Swindle (1983) proposed a model of social support. In their model social support operates through two mechanisms. At one level there is perceived support, that is the belief that support will be available when one needs it. Researchers suggested that perceived support might mediate stress and bolster self-esteem and confidence (Cohen & Wills, 1985). At a second level, received support means people provide direct support to help an individual cope with stressors. Liang and Bogat (1994) investigated the effects of culture and individual variables on social support in a study involving Chinese and Anglo-American participants. They found support for main and buffering effects of perceived and received support for the Anglo-American participants who had an internal locus of control. For the Chinese group, they found main and buffering effects of perceived and received support for externals. Like Heller and Swindle, Liang and Bogat argued that received support does not necessarily lead to positive effects. More important, Liang and Bogat argued that cultural, individual, and social support variables interact and together influence support processes.

These effects are indicative of some dynamics of community, but

these formulations are limited because they are focused at an individual level of analysis and not at community or group levels. Others (e. g., Felton & Shinn, 1992; Hall & Wellman, 1985) have advocated going beyond individual conceptualisations of support to include systemic notions and measures. For example, Felton and Berry (1992) suggested that group membership can provide supportive functions through validating norms, providing a sense of solidarity and providing opportunities for, and facilitating, social integration. In fact, the supportive functions provided through group membership reflect Cohen and Syme's (1985) main effects of support. Likewise, researchers have shown that ethnic and racial group membership gives members a sense of history, shared values and norms, a sense of belonging, and opportunities for consensual validation, recognition of worth, and social integration (Church, 1982; Furnham & Bochner, 1986; Smith, 1991; Tajfel, 1981). To a large extent, these functions are indicative of the main effects hypothesis, highlighting attachment, social integration, conformity, consensual validation and belongingness. Therefore, systemic conceptualisations of social networks and support can inform researchers of the dynamics within groups as social network members (Felton & Berry 1992), and shed light on the elements and processes that are indicative of, and catalytic to, PSC.

Localities and neighbourhoods are no longer the central spheres where people live their lives, people belong to multiple communities (e. g., ethnic groups, the church community, the workplace, the local neighbourhood, sporting clubs, political groups) in which they fulfil various psycho-social needs and develop their social identities. The extent to which people feel a sense of belonging, have their psycho-social needs fulfilled, and shape identities, is dependent on the individual, the community, and other social, cultural, and political factors and different contingencies of interaction. Because of this, McMillan and Chavis (1986) proposed a definition and theory of PSC.

The Meaning of Psychological Sense of Community

Since the introduction of PSC into the realm of psychology, there have been considerable effort aimed at defining and measuring the concept (e. g., Chavis, 1983; Glynn, 1981; 1986). Some have employed face valid measures in correlational research seeking to gain an understanding of the role of PSC in community processes (Bachrach & Zautra, 1985). More recently McMillan and Chavis (1986) proposed a definition and framework to investigate PSC among locality-based and relational communities. They defined PSC as "a feeling that members have of belonging, a feeling that

members matter to one another and to the group, and a shared faith that members' needs will be met through their commitment to be together" (McMillan & Chavis, 1986, p. 9).

McMillan and Chavis' (1986) proposed definition of PSC comprises: membership, influence, integration and fulfilment of needs, and shared emotional connection. The elements contained in the model interact in varying degrees to produce a PSC (Table 1).

1. Membership is the feeling of belonging to and the identification with, a group, and it comprises boundaries that are reinforced by common symbol systems. The boundaries determine who belongs to the group and who does not and provide emotional safety to group members. The amount of personal investment people have in communities also influences membership. According to Chavis et al., (1986) the items contained in membership are strongly inter-related.

2. According to McMillan and Chavis (1986), influence is a transactional concept that relates to the members' feelings that they have some influence on the group, as well as the influence that the group has over members (even leading to conformity or uniformity). It also relates to the impact larger social structures can have on the group. Influence also includes consensual validation, which implies that people feel attracted to

those with whom they have things in common.

3. Integration and fulfilment of needs, they say, is indicative of the reward structure that maintains the sense of togetherness in a group and is largely directed by shared values. It relates to the ecological notion of person-environment fit, that is, the reciprocal meeting of the needs of the members and the collective.

4. Finally, shared emotional connection, which McMillan and Chavis (1986, p. 14) regard as the "definitive element for a true community", is indicative of the extent and quality of interaction between members who share, or identify with, a common experience and/or history. Shared emotional connection stem from the opportunities members have in communities to meet a variety of psycho-social needs.

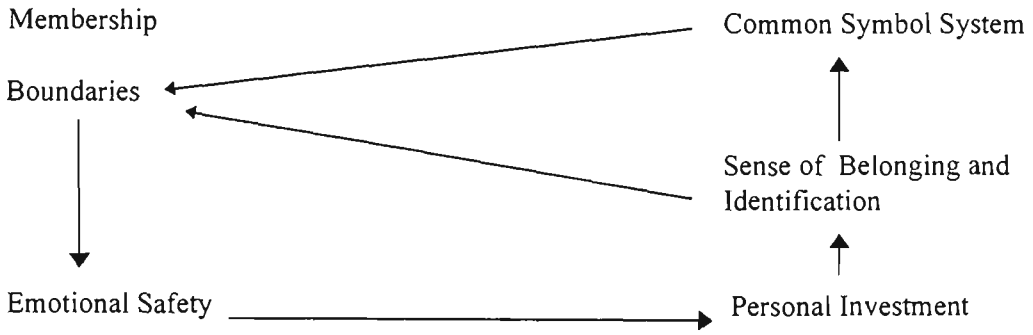
Furthermore, according to McMillan and Chavis (1986) strong cohesive communities will reflect a PSC, because such communities:

> ...offer members positive ways to interact, important events to share and ways to resolve them positively, opportunities to honor members, opportunities to invest in the community, and opportunities to experience a spiritual bond among members (p. 14).

Table 1

Elements of Sense of Community and Their Hypothesised Relationships

I. Membership



II. Influence

A. Member openness to influence by community members ↔ power of member to influence the community.

B. Member need for consensual validation x community's need for conformity = community's power to influence members (community norms).

III. Integration and fulfillment of needs

A. To the degree that communities successfully facilitate person-environment fit (meeting of needs) among members, members will be able to develop sense of community.

IV. Shared Emotional Connection

A. Formula 1: Shared emotional connection = contact + high-quality interaction.
B. Formula 2: High-quality interaction = (events with successful closure - ambiguity) x (event valence x sharedness of the event) + amount of honor given to members - amount of humiliation.

Source: D. W. McMillan, and D. M. Chavis, 1986. Sense of community: A definition and theory. Journal of Community Psychology, 14, p. 15.

The opportunities and qualities inherent in strong communities are also indicative of the various structures and processes implicit in social support networks. Therefore, support networks and, consequently, a PSC operate in ways that can positively influence health and wellbeing, either directly or indirectly. These social support networks can be construed as forms of community because they provide members with opportunities for investment, social integration, norms, values (Felton & Shinn, 1992).

Strong, cohesive communities also reflect the qualities inherent in Tönnies' (1955, 1974) *gemeinschaftlich* associations. These communities have a PSC because intimacy, dependability, shared culture, and togetherness are salient characteristics. However, not everything is positive within such communities. Tight knit groups with a strong sense of cohesion can result in greater pressures to conform, and may reflect a greater concern for the wellbeing of the group as opposed to the individual (McMillan & Chavis, 1986; Newbrough, 1992)

According to Tönnies (1955, 1974), the erosion and destruction of *gemeinschaftlich* societies through urbanisation, dislocation, and relocation led to experiences of alienation and anomie, and have contributed to difficulties in adapting to new contexts. In a sense, it meant the loss of community and saw the rise of *gesellschaftlich* associations.

Gesellschaftlich associations are interdependent, contractual, and emphasise individualism; they do not reflect the intimacy and togetherness associated with *gemeinschaftlich* associations (Tönnies, 1955, 1974). Therefore, the loss of community through relocation or dislocation could mean being bereft of processes, opportunities, norms and patterns of behaviour -- that is, support networks -- which would normally have facilitated a PSC. However, relocation does not always imply negative outcomes. In fact, communities or people might try to adapt to new contexts by applying and modifying social support and other systems developed in the old context to fit the new context.

It follows that communities with strong patterns of culture and customs could facilitate opportunities for *Gemeinschaft* in new contexts. Thus, if groups relocated and developed networks in the new context, characterised by *Gemeinschaft*, these groups can develop a PSC that would be conducive to adaptation. For example, immigrants with a strong sense of cultural awareness, ethnic identity salience, and loyalty may find that similar origin groups in the new sociocultural context may provide norms, values, and other opportunities that can positively influence psychological

wellbeing and adaptation. Therefore, a PSC may be fostered by taking into consideration structures and processes that characterise both *gemeinschaftlich* and *gesellschaftlich* associations. This is consistent with Newbrough's (1992) contention that linking *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* may be useful for building strong communities and facilitating the development of healthy individuals. According to Newbrough, combining these formulations of community may facilitate a new conceptualisation of community that would cater for the shortcomings inherent in each area. Some of these shortcomings include the extreme pressures of conformity and uniformity within *Gemeinschaft* associations and feelings of alienation and unconnectedness within *Gesellschaft* associations.

Psychological Sense of Community Research

The Sense of Community Index (SCI) derived from the PSC model has received some empirical validation, and it has further been suggested that the model can be used to investigate the meanings of community in different contexts (Chavis, et al., 1986). Since the introduction of the PSC framework and the development of the SCI, researchers have focussed on establishing correlates of PSC within specific urban localities (Chavis & Wandersman, 1990; Davidson & Cotter, 1989; Pretty, 1990; Pretty &

McCarthy, 1991). Some researchers (e. g., Pretty, 1990; Pretty & McCarthy, 1991) have investigated the relationship between PSC (using the SCI) and social climate factors in university and organisational settings. These contexts represented a combination of relational and locality-based settings.

Among other findings, Pretty (1990) and Pretty and McCarthy (1991) reported that levels of involvement, cohesion and support networks correlated with PSC. Consistent with Glynn, (1981, 1986), Riger and Lavakras' (1981) and Sarason (1974), these findings reflect the centrality of solid social networks in the experience of community. This is also indicative of the main effects of social support. That is, the integration into social networks provides opportunities that facilitate feelings of togetherness and meaningfulness, despite stressors. These contexts are also important because they provide people with social identities and other social roles. Having a sense of community may encourage people to become more involved in their communities, and in this way provide support that can mediate stress (Chavis, 1983). These social networks, in turn, influence quality of life and wellbeing.

Chavis and Wandersman (1990) found that sense of community is related to the perception one has of one's environment, social relations in the

neighbourhood, control and empowerment, and participation in neighbourhood action. According to Chavis and Wandersman, sense of community could serve as a catalyst for stimulating satisfaction in a neighbourhood and it could enhance "...one's perception of personal and group empowerment to influence what goes on around homes." (1990, p. 72) These findings confirm that sense of community contains an affective component and it can have a positive impact on overall wellbeing, quality of life and group cohesion. Sense of community, though serving as a catalyst for empowerment and stimulating satisfaction with one's environment, indirectly provides opportunities for development of individual and group level skills to cope with stressors. Chavis contended that:

> A sense of community is not only important for individual development because it enables a person to buffer the effects of stress, but, ..., it also empowers the collectivity to eliminate the stressor at its source or at least minimize its impact. (1983, p. 67)

Other studies (Pretty, 1990; Pretty & McCarthy, 1991) have contributed to the further understanding of PSC and provided support for the model within specific locality-based contexts. However, most of the research investigating PSC has relied on the SCI and was conducted in

urban North American settings in which group membership involved some degree of choice (Chavis & Wandersman, 1990; Pretty, 1990; Pretty & McCarthy, 1991). McMillan and Chavis (1986) said that membership is a feeling of belonging and that it suggests that one voluntarily invests "part of oneself" (p. 9). Blauner (1972) also stated that choice is an essential ingredient for commitment to any group. Yet, some groups are not the product of voluntary association or free will of membership and, due to various sociopolitical forces, the imposed group membership and membership criteria can have negative and devalued meanings. Thus, while there are many benefits that derive from membership or psychological engagement with one's community, there are potential negative impacts because of sociopolitical forces.

Highlighting that a distinction can be drawn between ascribed group membership and membership imposed through political and legal mechanisms is important. For example, social identities (e. g., gender and ethnic group identities) are ascribed and people voluntarily identify with these identities. These groups can be construed as communities. However, the institutionalisation of ethnic and racial identities implies oppression, and this entails an entirely different set of adaptive responses to those conditions. These responses may, in turn, be characterised by differential

social and mental health outcomes.

The relative power positions of differing ethnic and racial groups can be construed as the construction of dominant and subordinate communities, which often entail oppression (Smith, 1991, Tajfel, 1981; Turner, 1984, Wolf, 1986). The social and psychological processes inherent in, and emerging from, interactions between dominant and subordinate groups, and the subsequent modes of adaptation to oppressive sociopolitical contexts may have implications for the formation and development of cohesive and healthy communities. That is to say, the ways in which groups adapt to contexts characterised by oppression and other forms of asymmetrical power and resource distribution will influence PSC and wellbeing. This will, in turn, have implications for the meaning, nature and strength of PSC in oppressed and disempowered communities.

Furthermore, it has been proposed that the PSC framework can be used as an explanatory tool in different locality-based and relational groups in which most attain their identities and feelings of belonging (McMillan & Chavis, 1986). Heller (1989) contended that the framework provides a useful heuristic that can clarify the structures and interpersonal processes that contribute to group cohesion or division. Glynn (1981) also argued that sense of community may be "a useful tool in community development and maintenance." (p. 810) Likewise, Chavis and Newbrough (1986)

encouraged the development of communities around the elements of PSC.

According to McMillan and Chavis (1986), the framework allows for the appreciation of cultural diversity and relativity -- key values of community psychology (Rappaport, 1977; Sasao & Sue, 1993; Vega, 1992; Watts, 1992). The model also emphasises the importance of the person environment interplay in the construction of communities. The model, therefore, reflects an underpinning social constructionist philosophy (Gergen, 1985). As a result, the PSC model will be used to investigate the foundations of the coloured South African community; a community that was constructed under the oppressive Apartheid system in South Africa.

In summary, this chapter looked at the historical origins of PSC, definitions of community and the dynamics of PSC. It is argued that investigations of PSC are limited mainly to an urban North American context and that the meanings, processes, experiences do not necessarily translate into different cultural contexts. Lastly, it is contended that the PSC framework provides a tool that can be used in culturally anchored projects to investigate structures, processes, and intergroup factors that contribute to, or inhibit, community formation and cohesion.

CHAPTER 3

ADAPTATIONS TO CONTEXTS

The formation of communities, group boundaries, and identities vary across contexts and is influenced by many factors including sociopolitical forces, intragroup dynamics, and intergroup differences. Oppressive and disempowering social structures and environments can have many impacts on individual and group development and functioning. The interactions between dominant and subordinate groups in different sociopolitical contexts influence the ways in which individuals and groups adapt to these contexts. These adaptive patterns are, in turn, reflected in terms of ethnic identification, group boundary formation, quality of life, and wellbeing.

Some researchers (e. g., Berry, 1984, 1986; Bochner, 1982; Tajfel, 1981) have proposed models that characterise individual and group adaptations to intergroup and intercultural contact. Other authors (e. g., Bulhan, 1985; Watts, 1994a) have emphasised the importance of understanding the role of sociopolitical processes in oppression and have proposed models that explain individual and group adaptations to prolonged oppression. The aim of this chapter is to review models of cross-cultural

adaptation and models of adaptations to oppression. It is argued that a synthesis of these models will provide a useful tool for evaluating positive and negative adaptive responses to different contexts.

Definitions of Ethnic and Racial Groups[1]

People are members of multiple communities. Often the ethnic and racial groups that people come from, and identify with, represent their primary membership groups that reinforce norms, values, identities and, provide structures and social support systems that are crucial to the well-being of their members. Ethnic groups are defined by De Vos (1982) as: "a self-perceived group of people who hold in common a set of traditions [such as religious beliefs and practices, language, a sense of historical continuity and common ancestry or place of origin] not shared by the others with whom they are in contact" (p. 6). Thus, "[e]thnic group membership accords the individual a cultural identity, a sense of belonging and group

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[1] The author is aware of the many hazards involved in using these concepts. For example, Zuckerman (1990) warned that using broad categories can contribute to the perpetuation of racial and ethnic stereotypes. Betancourt and Lopez (1993) and Vega (1992) argue that customarily used categories of ethnic and racial groups are often inappropriate because they do not account for cultural variations in responses and often lead to erroneous conclusions. It is, therefore, important to use a combination of social facts, histories, etc., to create meaningful cultural categories to maximise the explanatory power of a research design (Vega, 1992).

pride, and a set of prescribed norms, values and social behaviours" (Spencer, & Markstrom-Adams, 1991, p. 292).

Ethnicity is a term frequently used in reference to the identity of individuals or ethnic groups. Spencer and Markstrom-Adams (1991) defined ethnicity as: "a characteristic of shared unique cultural traditions and a heritage that persists across generations" (p. 292). Race on the other hand, is usually "defined in terms of physical characteristics, such as skin color, facial features, ... which are common to an inbred, geographically isolated population." (Betancourt & Lopez, 1993, p. 631).

The content, functions, and processes reflected and implied in the definitions of ethnic and racial groups are important for this discussion because they show the extent to which group membership provides opportunities which contribute to a sense of identification and belonging, and facilitates opportunities for integration and adaptation. Many have written about the benefits and importance of group membership and psychological involvement in one's community (Berry, 1984, 1986; Sherif & Sherif, 1964; Smith, 1991). For example, it has been demonstrated that ethnic groups and racial groups provide members with some sense of ethnic belonging that is psychologically important for people -- it serves as an anchor for individual relatedness (Berry, 1984, 1986; Phinney, 1990; Smith,

1991). Sherif and Sherif (1964) suggested that secure social ties are important because "... to have a dependable anchor for a consistent and patterned self-picture, which is essential for personal consistency in experience and behaviour, and particularly for a day-to-day continuity of the person's self identity" (p. 271). They suggest that the absence of such ties can lead to estrangement, alienation, and other negative psychosocial consequences. Turner (1984) suggested that a group as a psychological process "can be thought of as the adaptive mechanism that makes social cohesion, cooperation and collective action possible" (p. 535).

Ethnic and racial groups, and the social support structures within them, fulfil a range of functions for their members, including coming together to validate and share experiences with others who have had a similar history, providing opportunities for members to experience a sense of selfworth, dignity, and a sense of belonging (Smith, 1991; Tajfel, 1981; Turner, 1984), providing a protective haven from a harsh external environment (Church, 1982; Furnham & Bochner, 1986), and to share resources and support (Cox, 1989).

To demonstrate the benefits associated with group membership, Cox (1989) and Berry (1984; 1986) have encouraged the development of ethnically homogeneous social support networks because of the enormous

psychosocial benefits associated with such networks. In a similar vein, Williams and Berry (1991) argued for designing culturally-anchored programs to facilitate settlement processes for refugee groups.

Although there are many positives associated with belonging to a community, there may also be negative impacts because of sociopolitical forces. Within different sociopolitical and cultural contexts the power relationships and distribution of resources differ between groups. These differing power relations and unequal distribution of resources imply that groups have different social statuses in society. According to Smith (1991), the subsequent interaction between dominant and subordinate communities can lead to a number of individual and group adaptations (maladaptations) to particular social realities.

It is important to stress that the contact between groups does not always entail oppression and unequal power relationships. This is reflected in the fact that some models explain voluntary intercultural contact between groups, while other models specifically look at outcomes associated with oppressive relationships between groups. Still, in both types of model the patterns of adaptation are manifested at different levels (e. g., individual, family, social group, community) and are reflected in terms of identity, culture, group boundary formation, and other psychosocial variables (e. g.,

self esteem, wellbeing, quality of life, reference group orientation, stress) (Berry, 1984, 1986; Bulhan, 1985; Smith, 1991; Tajfel, 1981).

Outcomes of Intercultural Contact

Many human societies have been transformed from being culturally homogeneous into culturally heterogeneous and pluralistic societies through a range of processes and mechanisms. According to Blauner (1972), colonialism and immigration represent two of the ways through which heterogeneous and culturally diverse societies have developed. Immigration, from one cultural context to another, implies the *voluntary* (although people may indeed have moved because of political, economic or racial oppression) movement of ethnic groups into a host society (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 1992). Colonialism on the other hand, implies that a group becomes "part of a new society through force or violence; they are conquered, enslaved, or pressured into movement" (Blauner, 1972; p. 52). The nature of the contact between immigrant groups and the host population does not necessarily involve force or violence. Immigration, and the eventual settlement process, and intercultural contact between the ethnic group and the host society leads to a variety of individual and group adaptations (Berry, 1984, 1986; Bochner, 1982; Furnham & Bochner, 1986).

Models of Responses to Intercultural Contact

Table 2 presents models that reflect individual and group responses to voluntary intercultural contact. Bochner (1982) has proposed a number of outcomes associated with individual adaptations to voluntary contact between cultures. These types of responses include: (a) passing, (b) chauvinistic, (c) marginal, and (d) mediating responses. Passing means individuals respond by rejecting their culture of origin and embracing their new culture. The effects on the individual include a loss of ethnic identity and self-denigration. The chauvinistic response, according to Bochner, implies a rejection of the second culture and the exaggeration of one's first culture. The effects on the individuals in this category include racism and nationalism. The marginal type implies that individuals respond by moving between the two cultures, and the effects on the individual include identity conflicts, confusion and overcompensation (Bochner, 1982). According to Bochner, the mediating type implies a synthesis of the two cultures involved. This type of response usually implies personal growth, cultural preservation, and intergroup harmony.

According to Bochner (1982), some research has focussed on establishing links between personal and situational variables and the type of response a person is likely to adopt. Although the findings are not

conclusive, Bochner suggests that the nature of one's social networks and other contextual factors (e. g., policies of the country) can influence how individuals respond to intercultural contact.

Table 2

Models of Responses to Intercultural Contact

Author	Response	Characteristics
Bochner (1982)	Passing	rejects culture of origin, accepts second culture
	Chauvinistic	exaggerates culture of origin, rejects second culture
	Marginal	moves between two cultures
	Mediating	integration of both cultures
Berry (1984)	Assimilation	denounces culture of origin, moves into dominant culture
	Integration	maintains culture of origin, participates in dominant culture
	Separatism	maintains original culture, minimal contact with dominant culture
	Marginalisation	little interest in culture of origin or dominant culture
Tajfel (1981)	Assimilation	rejection of minority status
	Full	denounce culture of origin accepted by dominant group
	Partial	negative connotations maintained not fully accepted
	Passing	rejection of original culture acceptance of new culture
	Accommodation	retains identity and competes in terms of things dominant group values
	Internalization	internalization of status of inferiority

Bochner (1982) has also discussed group responses to intercultural contact. The responses outlined by Bochner are similar to those discussed by Berry (1984, 1986). Therefore, only Berry's model will be outlined here. According to Berry (1984, 1986), some of the outcomes of intergroup and intercultural contact include: (a) assimilation, (b) separatism, (c) integration, and (d) marginalisation. Assimilation, according to Berry, takes place when individuals or groups denounce their ethnic identity and culture and seek daily interaction with the dominant culture. Separatism entails maintaining one's original culture and limiting interaction with other groups. Integration takes place when individuals or groups wish to maintain and develop their original culture while moving to participate as an integral part of the larger society. Finally, marginalisation results when there is "little possibility or interest in cultural maintenance (often for reasons of enforced cultural loss), and little interest in relations with others (often for reasons of exclusion or discrimination)" (Berry, 1984, p. 40).

Tajfel's (1981) work reflects adaptations to contexts which can be applied to evaluate responses to both voluntary and involuntary contact. Some of the psychosocial patterns of adaptation Tajfel mentions are similar to those discussed by Berry (1984). The interactions between internal and external group membership criteria are conducive to conditions that

facilitate a variety of group responses (Tajfel, 1981). These interactions are influenced by a number of conditions which include: (a) the assignment of people to groups on the basis of some common criteria; (b) the need to preserve an existing identity; and (c) the need to redefine certain group boundaries (Tajfel, 1981).

Responses to a minority status are diverse and range from accepting a status of inferiority to challenging the status quo in order to change the system (Tajfel, 1981). Among his patterns of rejection a minority status is assimilation, which he distinguishes at a number of levels. For example, full assimilation implies a loss of most or all of the characteristics that define one as a minority, and one is fully accepted by the dominant group. Partial assimilation means that negative connotations associated with minority group membership are maintained and one is not fully accepted by majority. He also suggests that passing (an illegitimate form of assimilation) from a minority group to the dominant group may, over time, dilute the boundaries of a group. This entails the rejection of an original culture, and the acceptance of, and identification with, the new culture. The final category is accommodation or social competition which he defines as:

> ...the minorities' attempts to retain their own identity and separateness while at the same time becoming more like the

> majority in their opportunities of achieving goals and marks of respect which are generally valued by society at large (Tajfel, 1981; p. 335).

Tajfel also discussed patterns of acceptance of a status of inferiority. Some groups accept the status quo and internalise negative views of self because they see the social system as stable and legitimate. More importantly, through a range of legitimising processes, groups in subordinate positions come to believe that there are no alternatives to the system. Consequently, the absence of alternatives to an oppressive and disempowering system and the legitimising myths (Prilleltensky & Gonick, 1994) are central to the acceptance and internalisation of a status of inferiority.

These models reflect a cross-cultural orientation to understanding the interaction between groups and the subsequent adaptations to intercultural interaction. However, although he does not explicitly acknowledge oppression as a construct that can be utilised to explicate how people adapt to contexts, Tajfel's (1981) model specifically emphasises the importance of sociopolitical processes in the construction of groups and group identities. Thus, together Bochner (1982), Berry (1984, 1986), and Tajfel's (1981) models provide some insight into the ways groups respond when they come

into contact with each other. Understanding how groups respond when they come in contact and contextualising (placing it in an appropriate sociopolitical and historical contexts) evaluations of the interactions and ensuing adaptations can go a long way in facilitating our understanding about interracial and intercultural contact (Berry et al., 1992; Edgerton, 1992; Watts, 1992; 1994a).

Definitions of and Responses to Oppression

Much of the discourse about oppression, in psychology and related literature, has focussed on individual responses to oppression and has highlighted ensuing individual pathologies (Foster, 1993). Recently, there has been a growing literature emphasising the importance of investigating oppression and the various levels at which it operates (e.g, Prilleltensky & Gonick, 1994, in press; Wolf, 1986). Watts (1992) and Trickett, Watts, and Birman (1994) have argued strongly that the construct, oppression, among other constructs, should be central to a psychology of human diversity.

In some circumstances, the relationships between groups are characterised by oppression, domination, institutionalised racism, and other related processes which influence the formation of group boundaries, group preferences and identities, and the wellbeing of individuals and

communities. Fanon (1967) and Memmi (1967, 1984) discussed the deleterious effects that colonialism and oppression have had on cultures and individuals. Bartky (1990), drawing on the work of Fanon, suggested that oppression goes beyond the social, economic and political dimensions. She says that people can be psychologically oppressed:

> To be psychologically oppressed is to be weighed down in your mind; it is to have a harsh dominion exercised over your self-esteem. The psychologically oppressed become their own oppressors; they come to exercise harsh dominion over their own self-esteem. (Bartky, 1990, p. 22)

The definition of oppression proposed by Prilleltensky and Gonick (in press) reflects the different, interacting levels of oppression and also emphasises that oppression can be a state as well as a process:

> Oppression entails a state of asymmetric power relations characterized by domination, subordination, and resistance, where the dominating persons exercise their power by unjustly restricting access to material resources and by implanting in the subordinated persons self-deprecating views about themselves. It is only when the latter can attain a certain degree of conscientization that resistance can begin.

(Prilleltensky & Gonick; in press, p. 7)

Foster (1993) has reviewed some studies that have discussed the implications and consequences of colonialism, racial oppression, discrimination, and prejudice. He argued that the findings are diverse. Some studies specifically highlight the negative psychological impact colonialism and racial oppression have on individual functioning, while other studies dispute whether racial oppression results in negative psychological consequences (Foster, 1993). These disputes suggest that differences exist between frameworks that place the blame of oppression on the victim and those frameworks that focus on the role of social and political structures in influencing responses to oppression and in maintaining oppression.

Wolf (1986) and Prilleltensky and Gonick (in press) discussed the numerous dynamics and psychological processes which influence and contribute to the perpetuation of oppression. Prilleltensky and Gonick suggested that there are numerous interrelated levels (ranging from the intra-individual to the international level of analysis) at which the dynamics of oppression operate. Among the processes which contribute to the situation are: obedience to authority, accommodation, internalisation of images of inferiority, surplus powerlessness, self-fulfilling prophecies, political restrictions, and fragmentation of groups by powerful others (Prilleltensky

& Gonick, in press; Wolf, 1986). A central thesis in both discussions is the importance of explicating the various processes and dynamics involved which lead to the legitimation of oppression by subordinate groups.

The psychological level of oppression is important, and suggests that groups in subordinate positions, to some extent, acquiesce for their oppression to continue. Wolf (1986) and Prilleltensky and Gonick (in press) have said that there are many dynamics that facilitate such an adaptive response. Some groups become accustomed to, and accept, certain social patterns as normal (habituation); others learn to accept a particular social order (accommodation). Accommodation is facilitated through a number of processes including, relative advantage and group conservatism. Relative advantage occurs when groups legitimate the status quo through comparing themselves with groups in lower strata (Wolf, 1986). Group conservatism, Wolf argued, entails a group's unwillingness to take risks and clinging to what it has. According to Wolf, dependency also encourages accommodation. She maintains that dependency occurs when a relationship between the oppressed and the oppressor can come to be seen as one "in which the powerholder has a responsibility to care for, provide for, and protect the subordinate in exchange for compliance, deference, or whatever exchange is perceived as required" (p. 222).

These patterns, according to Prilleltensky and Gonick (in press), suggest that people come to accept their fate, that is, there is a belief in the group that they get what they deserve and they sometimes show signs of learned helplessness. Through various social forces groups internalise and perpetuate these notions of inferiority which are projected onto them (Montero, 1990). This, further, reflects the dynamic and bidirectional nature of oppression.

Memmi (1984) referred to the ways in which dominated groups respond to constraints imposed upon them by dominant groups as subjection. Among other forms of subjection, Memmi contended that the dominated, at some stage during their existence, identify and admire characteristics of their oppressor whilst rejecting their own traits. Evaluations of self and culture in terms of dominant group criteria (the process of looking at oneself from the outside) are some of the outcomes associated with intergroup interaction where there are dominant and subordinate groups and pressures such as prejudice and discrimination (Myers & Speight, 1994; Tajfel, 1981). Externalising to reference groups and the rejection of one's own group are correlated with the development of negative group and individual identity. Smith (1991) says that "negative identity is often characterised by using the majority group's standards as a

means to judge and accept or reject oneself" (p. 186). James Jones (1990) mentioned that some responses to dominant and nondominant situations are characterised by self-hate, and the aspiration to, and evaluation of, self in terms of an ideal that is representative of the dominant group.

Furthermore, Wolf (1986) emphasised that the acceptance of a status and its characteristics implies the internalisation of an inferior position or identity and, as part of the process of identity formation, subordinate groups actually internalise notions of inferiority-- subsequently conforming to an oppressive social order. Internalising notions of inferiority not only take place at an individual level; Montero (1990) argued that oppressive ideologies of inferiority can be internalised by collectivities, subsequently maintaining and perpetuating oppression.

Negative intergroup experiences and oppression do not always lead to the rejection of an ingroup, but might lead to the rejection of the status of inferiority. Groups might respond by accepting a particular identity, while distancing themselves from other groups. In these instances, groups respond by accepting and advancing their own identities and separateness while trying to achieve equality and acceptance in terms of things valued by dominant groups. This response is characterised by the notion "separate but equal", and is referred to as social competition by Tajfel (1981). Such

groups respond by developing mechanisms and structures that offer their members a protective haven against a hostile outside environment. It is within this context that individuals have opportunities to experience dignity, pride and belongingness, and a sense of relatedness. However, contrary to notions of social change, empowerment, and critical consciousness, this is still an adaptive response and implies the acceptance of unjust social systems.

It has been suggested that negative and/or threatening experiences, racism, prejudice, and discrimination can serve as factors that unify and mobilise groups (A. C. Jones, 1990; Reynolds & Pope, 1991; Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1991). Spencer and Markstrom-Adams (1991) have also mentioned studies that suggest negative experiences may encourage an ingroup preference and may also encourage people to gain an understanding of their own group. Cross (1991), in his theory of black identity development in the United States, refers to an event that stimulates people to explore their identities as an 'encounter'. Encounters can be positive as well as negative; regardless, they serve as catalysts for identity exploration and development.

Recently, authors (Bulhan, 1985; Seedat, Cloete, & Sochet, 1988) have argued that liberation and resistance movements can play a crucial role

in enhancing the consciousness of oppressed groups about the social and political realities of, and in highlighting alternatives to, oppression. Through empowerment and consciousness raising efforts, people may become aware of the asymmetrical distribution of resources and, subsequently, become more unified and better equipped to deal with the impacts of oppression and to encourage social change (Bulhan, 1985; Fanon, 1967; Freire, 1972; Kieffer, 1984). These arguments also highlight how imperative it is for psychologists and other social scientists to consider a psychology of liberation and the roles liberation movements fulfil for those in subordinate and depowered positions.

Some authors (e.g., Tajfel, 1981) have argued that responding to a nondominant/dominant group situation by making comparisons with ingroups or groups of similar social status, rather than dominant outgroups or groups in lower social strata, may reduce the negatives associated with a particular group. That is, rather than working in terms of a principle of relative advantage or disadvantage, group comparisons are based on notions of equality. However, this process is also an adaptive response that does not encourage the development of a critical awareness of the sociopoltical realities of the particular contexts.

According to some (Cross, Parnham, & Helms, 1990; J. M. Jones,

1990), redefining negative connotations associated with a group is an important step for group and individual development because positively belonging to a group and experiencing relatedness is psychologically important for people. The processes involved in redefining group identities and changing systems entail some form of empowerment or consciousness raising, and may involve changing cognitive sets or ideologies which maintain and perpetuate oppression (Montero, 1990; Prilleltensky, 1989; Tajfel, 1981; Watts, 1994a). In contrast to externalising reference groups, identification with a dominant group, and accepting a particular inferior identity and status, some groups respond by redefining and reformulating the meanings, histories, and definitions associated with their group and community, or they may revitalise their customs and cultures. According to Myers and Speight (1994) by "getting to the core of the [oppression] dynamic, liberation and empowerment are made possible through a cognitive restructuring process that enhances individuals' capacity to control their thoughts and feelings through reconnection with a more authentic sense of identity." (p. 110)

Mays (1986) suggested that the recognition, reconstruction, and revitalisation of a group's culture, and coming to terms with a history characterised by oppression (reconstructing a positive history) is important

for the development of a positive sense of self and identity. Biko (1988) argued along these lines advocating for the liberation of black people in South Africa. In fact, he stated that the first step in the liberation process of black people:

> .... is to make the black man come to himself; to pump back life into his empty shell; to infuse him with pride and dignity; to remind him of his complicity in the crime of allowing himself to be misused and therefore letting evil reign supreme in the country of his birth. (Biko, 1988, p. 43)

Thus, research and action aimed at unravelling the processes that are conducive to conformity and the legitimation of oppression should be a central concern for psychologists and other social scientists. Watts (1994a, 1994b) contended that an understanding of the oppressive processes that affect people's lives is important for countering oppression, encouraging social change, and developing a positive sense of self.

Overall, research about oppression in psychological literature is diverse, reflecting a variety of ways in which groups respond to oppression. The findings indicate that responses can lead to both negative and positive psychological outcomes. Moreover, the research highlights the interrelatedness of the political and psychological levels of oppression.

Models explicating adaptations to oppressive contexts reflect this and also elucidate the ways in which groups sometimes allow the oppression to continue.

Models of Responses to Oppression

There is a growing literature that highlights the importance of recognising oppression as a phenomenon adversely affecting many groups, which also emphasises the need to investigate and redress the situation. As part of this process, some have developed relevant frameworks that can be used to understand and evaluate adaptations to oppressive contexts and facilitate working towards social change (e. g., Bulhan, 1985; Watts, 1994a). Table 3 presents frameworks that explain group responses to oppression.

Bulhan (1985) proposed a theory that includes various stages of psychological adaptations and identity development among groups that have been oppressed for prolonged periods. Bulhan's stages are as follows:

a. Capitulation which alludes to the assimilation of the oppressed into the dominant culture and the rejection of one's own culture.

b. Revitalisation which reflects the reactionary rejection of the

dominant culture and a romantic attachment to the indigenous or original culture.

Table 3

Models of Responses to Oppression

Author	Response	Characteristics
Bulhan (1985)	Capitulation	assimilation into dominant culture and rejection of original culture
	Revitalisation	rejection of dominant cultures romantic attachment to original culture
	Radicalisation	commitment towards social change
Watts (1994a)	Acritical	internalised feelings of inferiority and powerlessness
	Adaptive	attempts to maintain positive sense of self through *accommodationist* strategies or *antisocial* means to gain from what they perceive to be an immutable system
	Pre-critical	developing doubts about adaptation
	Critical	develop understanding of forces maintaining oppression
	Liberation	involvement in social action

c. Radicalisation which implies a commitment towards social change. Radicalisation represents a shift from adaptation to empowerment. Thus, instead of adapting to some particular environment, people actively engage in processes aimed at

changing the system they live in.

Bulhan's stages are not mutually exclusive and more than one can be present in a person or group at any time.

Watts (1994a) proposed a model of sociopolitical development that reflects a progression from the uncritical acceptance of a particular situation towards critical consciousness. Although the theory represents a model for development of sociopolitical awareness, it can also be used as a framework to investigate levels of oppression and the different strategies developed by groups and individuals to cope with and change oppressive realities.

His stages are as follows:

a. The acritical stage: is characterised by internalised feelings of inferiority, powerlessness, and perceptions of an immutable and stable system.

b. The adaptive stage: is characterised by attempts to maintain a positive sense of self by using *accommodationist* or *antisocial* strategies. Thus, individuals or groups employ strategies to gain from a system that they perceive as unchangeable.

c. The pre-critical stage: signals the start of developing doubts about adaptation.

d. The critical stage: involves, gaining insight about social and

historical forces that maintain oppression, a recognition of injustice and the illegitimacy of the system, and a call for social-change efforts.

e. The liberation stage: in this stage people refrain from using adaptive strategies and are actively involved in social action, seeking ways to change the system.

Obviously the levels and nature of oppression will not be the same in different sociopolitical contexts. In fact, Trickett, et al. (1994), in advocating for a human diversity perspective in psychology, noted that such a perspective does not "...imply that the history or depth of oppression for these populations is equivalent, because the ranges and foci of different groups' experiences are distinct" (p. 22). It follows that models and understandings of responses to oppression will, therefore, have to be adapted to the context in order to enhance their explanatory power. As a result, a synthesis of the models of responses to intergroup contact (Berry, 1984; Tajfel, 1981) and those explaining responses to oppression (Bulhan, 1985; Watts, 1994b) can be used productively to investigate and evaluate individual and group responses to different sociopolitical and cultural contexts.

In summary, ethnic and racial groups have responded to

intercultural contact and to oppression in a variety of ways. In some instances, the different adaptations to settings share similar characteristics. Oppression, racism, ethnocentrism, and other such processes influence the formation of group identities, boundaries, preferences, construction, and experiences of community, and subsequently have numerous implications and consequences for the wellbeing of individuals and groups. Understanding the processes and mechanisms involved in intergroup interaction, and how they impact on communities and their wellbeing is important because of the implications they hold for the positive development of individuals and communities. t is important to contextualise evaluations and understandings of the adaptive strategies developed by communities within different contexts because they can inform the ways in which psychologists and other social scientists approach such groups (Edgerton, 1992; Watts, 1994b).

CHAPTER 4

POLITICAL CONSTRUCTION OF THE COLOURED COMMUNITY IN SOUTH AFRICA

Historical Overview

The oppression and disenfranchisement of the indigenous and slave groups by colonial groups for more than three centuries have characterised race relations in South African history. The different colonial groups (i. e., Dutch and English) in South Africa have used many structures and systems to oppress and subjugate black populations, while maintaining their own hegemony (Sparks, 1991). Consistent with a history of white domination, moves that saw the compartmentalisation and racial stratification of all groups in South Africa, have characterised the political history since the 1940's in South Africa. These moves disempowered the black majority. The politically dominant group argued that the ethnic/racial groups in South Africa all differed in terms of their psychological, biological and cultural make up, and should, therefore, also have different life paths (Patterson, 1989). However, reality suggests that Apartheid represented a systematic attempt to maintain white domination over black

people in South Africa (Sparks, 1991).

According to Adhikari (1991), the coloured community of South Africa has had a long, ambivalent, and ignored history. This community was created under the Apartheid system (which included the Population Registration, Immorality, Mixed Marriages, and the Group Areas Acts that were commonly regarded as the cornerstones of the Apartheid legislation) and assigned an identity label and status that separated them from black and white groups. It has been argued that the coloured population in South Africa originated from the intermixing between slave groups[2], indigenous groups and the whites (Western, 1981). In explaining the origin of the label coloured, Western suggested that after the abolition of slavery, ex-slaves were called 'coloureds' by the white group. With the implementation of the Population Registration Act (1950) "race" was defined according to physical appearance and social acceptance or rejection.

The racialisation of the country signalled the creation and hardening of racial boundaries, and rigid ethnic boundaries in South Africa. According to James (1986), the racial boundaries entailed the legal physical and psychological separation and oppression of black groups based on skin

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[2] Prior to the abolition of slavery in 1834, slaves were brought from Madagascar, West and East African countries, Ceylon, Bengal, Indonesia, and Malaysia by the Dutch East Indies Company (Western, 1981).

colour, ethnic or racial background and origin. Ethnic boundaries[3], on the other hand, separated groups based on some cultural aspect (James, 1986). For example, ethnic boundaries separated English and Afrikaans speaking whites (on the basis of language and countries of origin). It also distinguished between several black groups, such as Coloureds, Xhosa, Zulu, Venda, Indians, Sotho's and so on (James, 1986). According to James, these boundaries could be soft and voluntarily maintained, but in different social spheres of life, in South Africa, the boundaries were coercively enforced.

Over the centuries of colonisation, racial subjugation and oppression, indigenous South Africans have lost many cultural practices and traits, and many groups have become involuntarily assimilated into the white population. However, sections of the coloured community still have residual cultural aspects of their ancestral groups (McDonald, 1992; Western, 1981). Western, for example, stated that:

> apart from the fact that one in seventeen Colored people professes Islam, nearly all the cultural traits the Colored people possess are of European origin, learned through the

[3] There appears to be a lot of overlap between definitions of racial and ethnic groups in South Africa. It is still clear, however, that the architects of Apartheid managed, in some instances, to equate colour with ethnicity (Foster, 1993).

176-year-long experience of slavery and there after through their subordination to whites. (1981, p. 13)

Before the implementation of the Group Areas Act[4], many coloured people, in particular in the Cape Province, shared residential areas with the white population. The introduction of the Group Areas Act meant the forceful removal of families from areas reclassified for whites, and the relocation of these families into coloured areas by the government (Platzky & Walker, 1985). This Act meant the entrenchment of racial separateness, isolation and oppression, and it entailed family separation (even to the extent that some members of families were classified white while others were classified coloured, see James, 1992), the reclassification of many people, and implied the discontinuity and destruction of ways of life, communities and cultures (James, 1992). In essence, the Act became a tool for division and domination.

The institutionalised identity label, coloured, and the accompanying racial status in the hierarchy, signified the political construction of the coloured group. It meant the creation of a heterogeneous national subjugated group. The coloured group had an extremely diverse physical and 'cultural' make-up. Some coloured people might physically seem white

[4] It should be emphasised that segregation was in place before the introduction of the Apartheid system (Sparks, 1991).

and some might physically seem black. In general, however, the coloured community was strategically located in an intermediate position characterised by privilege and oppression in relation to black and white groups, respectively. Culturally, however, many coloured people shared the culture of the white groups in South Africa (James, 1992; Western, 1981). According to some (e. g., Adhikari, 1991; Sparks, 1991), those cultural traits were predominantly depicted by language and religion. Also, initially, coloureds aspired to, and often shared, western cultural and intellectual values and yearned to be accepted by the white community (James, 1992; Sparks, 1991).

Coloureds[5] were notably affected by the implementation of the Apartheid system because they shared the cultural practices, religion and values of the whites and originally had franchise in certain geographical areas (Sparks, 1991), but were now confronted with a cruel and self-serving form of subordination. The community had assimilated and internalised part of the value and cultural systems of the white group, but were now told that similar cultural practices and value systems did not entail equality. They were confronted with a situation that separated them from blacks and whites on economic, social, psychological, physical, and political levels.

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[5] Black and Indian groups had been subjected to many oppressive policies since the 1920's and 1930's (James, 1992).

They were inferior to whites because of their skin colour, and occupied a status (of relative privilege assigned to them under Apartheid) that was materially, politically, and socially above that of some of their indigenous ancestors. This dual status of privilege and semi-oppression was reinforced and maintained by many discriminatory laws, social structures, and internally divisive political rhetoric (Beinart, 1994; Jansen van Rensburg, 1992). Naturally, this confused and ambivalent status of oppression and privilege would have affected the way the group adapted to this sociopolitical reality.

Some research referred to ways in which groups adapted to life under Apartheid oppression. Some discussions about the origins of the coloured identity also reflected the issues implicit in group identity development and oppression. Nieuwoudt and Plug (1983) investigated attitude changes among the ethnic groups in South Africa. Although they recognised the limitations of their methodology, they reported that Afrikaners were the most unpopular group among coloured people, coloureds politically identified with blacks, but they culturally identified with English-speaking whites. The political identification with blacks could be linked to the merging political interests of blacks and coloureds and the impact the Black Consciousness Movement had on black groups in South

Africa (Sparks, 1991). The cultural identification with Europeans is reflected in the group's sharing of languages (Afrikaans and English), and their aspiration to western values and their sharing of Western religions (Sparks, 1991). This reinforces the idea that the group had assimilated (voluntarily or involuntarily) a large part of the white South African culture[6] and aspired to a status equal to that of the oppressor.

The responses to this 'in between' status can, to some extent, be explained using the models of responses to intercultural contact (Berry, 1984; Bochner, 1982; Tajfel, 1981) and responses to prolonged oppression (Bulhan, 1985; Watts, 1994a). Sections of the group adapted by rejecting the imposed identity label and identifying with the cultural identity of the English-speaking white community. This type of response is depicted by assimilation (Berry, 1984; Tajfel, 1981), capitulation (Bulhan, 1985) and adaptive (Watts, 1994a) in the various models.

Kinloch (1985), in a review on racial attitudes in South Africa, reported similar findings. He claimed that there was an increased rejection of Afrikaners over time by the coloured group. He confirmed the marginal status of the group; a status characterised by negative social conditions, high

[6] It is noted that these may also be manifestations of adaptations to oppression rather than culture. Refer to the previous discussion about the group's yearning to be accepted by the colonial groups in South Africa.

levels of alienation, significant levels of crime and low levels of political participation (Kinloch, 1985). Western (1981) mentioned certain stereotypical views that existed about the powerlessness and hopelessness of the coloured group when he attempted to explain aspects of the group's culture. He emphasised that these were views held by other racial groups about the coloured group.

In relation to Kinloch's findings it seems that the group did internalise some views that outgroups projected onto them. These responses are diverse and reflect characteristics of the adaptive responses, assimilation, and marginalisation (Berry, 1984). If viewed as responses to oppression, these characteristics correspond with Bulhan's (1985) stage of capitulation and Watts' (1994a) acritical and adaptive stages. Categorising these responses in terms of the existing models is, however, difficult because of the unusual political and social position assigned to the group. Still, these findings, in particular the group's apparent marginal status, further suggest that the group did not have a strong ethnic/cultural identity. This, in turn, raises questions about the nature of the sources and settings that provided opportunities for the development of PSC and shared sentiments in the absence of strong cultural bonds.

Western (1981) continued, saying that the coloured group was seen

as powerless because it posed no political threat to the politically dominant white minority. The fact that the group was perceived as non-threatening could be linked to its small numerical size, compared with the other groups that were socially constructed under Apartheid. The South African Year book (1992) showed that, in 1985, coloureds made up 10.7% of the population, blacks 68.8%, whites 17.4%, and Asians 3.2%. Furthermore, the group's powerlessness has been shown in its history of passive acceptance of its status (although, this changed after the Soweto uprising in 1976). This sense of powerlessness was perhaps an adaptation to the Apartheid system. In fact, Wolf (1986) argued that groups, through various processes (e. g., accommodation, habituation, relative advantage), conform and legitimise oppressive social realities. The coloured group adapted to a particular sociopolitical reality, a reality that seemed to equate social, political, and economic status with skin colour. By evaluating its assigned social and political position through comparisons with the other groups that existed in the system, coloured people saw that they had an advantage over groups placed lower in the racial hierarchy. Therefore, through comparative processes, the group legitimated its position and, as a result, acquiesced to the system.

Sparks (1991) said that some sections of the coloured community

responded by promoting the coloured ethnicity as a platform for the advancement of the group's interest. They encouraged the notion of a separate ethnicity while establishing equality in terms of dominant group values, a response Tajfel (1981) classified as social competition -- a form of assimilation. This response Watts (1994a) categorised as adaptive, and it is characterised by self advancement within a particular system; a response in line with the intentions of the then government. They wanted coloureds to define themselves as different from other groups and introduced many laws to facilitate and force this (Beinart, 1994).

Some (e. g., Unterhalter, 1975) also suggested that political ideologies, especially those advocated by Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement, combined with the rejection of coloureds by whites, might be some forces that contributed to the emergence of a coloured identity. This view reinforced the idea that coloured people differed from other racial groups and represented a separate political and ethnic/cultural entity. This argument was consistent with certain political parties within the coloured community that promoted the notion of a coloured history and ethnicity. These activities are further indication that sections of the group adapted to the system in an assimilationist way.

The introduction of the Tricameral parliamentary system, in 1983,

represented further attempts by the South African Nationalist government to divide and conquer the black population of South Africa. The system allowed coloureds and Indians token political representation in the white government, while blacks remained powerless. Implementation of this system provided further evidence of the politically dominant government's divide and conquer agenda. The ways in which the community responded to this system reflected the divisive effects of the Apartheid system. Sparks (1991) said that the attempts to coopt these communities were not quite successful. Only some coloured and Indian people participated in the Tricameral parliamentary elections. Some sections of the community responded by rejecting and boycotting the elections, while other sections accommodated the system by encouraging and promoting it. Sparks argued that sections of the community promoted the system on the understanding that they would be allowed more autonomy in political processes and would be responsible for their own ethnic affairs. Various sociopolitical forces influenced these responses, including a South African version of Black Consciousness and the increasing politicisation of the coloured community. The formation of the United Democratic Front reflects this (UDF[7]) and its

[7] The United Democratic Front, which developed in response to the proposed Tricameral system, represented one political (resistance) movement, that provided some form of legitimate political organisation which could represent the voice of the oppressed South Africans. At that

resulting influence on the community (Sparks, 1991).

According to some (e. g., Molteno, 1987; Sparks, 1991), the empowering messages advocated by the Black Consciousness movement and other political developments, such as the Soweto uprising in 1976, the creation of the non-racial UDF, and the National Forum in 1983 signalled the heightened politicisation of coloured people. Other events, including school boycotts of the 1980's (orchestrated by the Congress of South African students) also served as a means to alert the government of the people's demand for non-racial education. The sporting boycotts and non-participation in white sports initiated by the South African Council of Sports (that had a motto of "no normal sport in an abnormal society") are also examples of sociopolitical developments that influenced the coloured group. These events reflected resistance and liberation politics, especially among the younger generation. The events also contributed to the political mobilisation and consciousness raising of greater sections of the coloured population. It had a noteworthy impact on individuals who had previously accepted their fate. Molteno (1987), for example, reflecting on the 1980's boycotts, confirmed that the unrest and school boycotts contributed to a

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time in South African political history most Black political movements were banned or repressed in some way under the Repression of Communism and other Acts (Sparks, 1991).

greater awareness of sociopolitical factors affecting the country, in particular sections of the coloured older generation that accepted their fate.

Some responses to the Tricameral system represented forms of assimilation. In terms of Tajfel's (1981) and Watts' (1994a) models, those who promoted the system responded accommodatively. They encouraged working within the system to promote the interests of their group. Sections of the coloured community were, therefore, successfully coopted and they attempted to promote the coloured group's interest without advocating for social change.

Jansen van Rensburg (1992) contended that there are differing viewpoints about the origin and development of the coloured community that, in turn, reflect different adaptations to the Apartheid system. He says that one view maintains that the coloured identity was an imposed and externally constructed label; the other view suggests that the identity had historical origins. Also, the discourse on political activity in South Africa has not recognised the overwhelmingly important role the Black Consciousness movement has played in the struggle for liberation.

The key underlying philosophy of Black Consciousness movement encouraged all black people (including "Coloureds") to take pride in their blackness and to overcome the status of inferiority that enslaved them (Biko,

1988). Black people had to free themselves from the colonial mind set which played such an integral part in their oppression. This would lead to the emergence of a unified and empowered racial majority. A philosophy of psychological empowerment is consonant with notions of decolonisation of the mind (Fanon, 1967), critical consciousness or *concientizacion* (Freire, 1972; Watts, 1994a), and radicalisation (Bulhan, 1985). To an extent this represents a progression from adaptation to empowerment.

Some letters that appeared in the African National Congress'(ANC) official journal Sechaba (July & August, 1984) have confirmed contemporary questions about the foundations of the Coloured identity. Two letters, in particular, questioned the parameters and implication of the label "so-called coloured" (a term that has been linked to the UDF). One person rejected the notion "so-called coloured", contrasting it with a so-called human (La Guma, 1984).

Essentially, many regarded the label as negative and imposed on a group of people -- people who were neither white nor black, the 'isn't' group. These arguments were broadened by the opinion that "so-called" might have some positive value because it implied the rejection and distancing from white South Africans, the imposed label, and it meant the empowerment of the group identity (P.G., 1984). It also reflected possible changes in the

relationship that existed between the coloured and the white group. These letters highlighted some questions about the actuality of the coloured people and the boundaries that defined the group[8]. Moreover, political lobbying by major political parties (e. g., the ANC and the National Party) in South Africa has brought to the fore the political forces influencing this group, and has also contributed to feelings of confusion, fear and intimidation that are characteristic of the group's position and status (Beinart, 1994).

These comments also reflect the different ways in which the community responded to oppression. Some comments (e. g., La Guma, 1984; P.G., 1984) suggest that the community responded by rejecting the label coloured and showed an increasing alignment with black political movements. Beinart's (1994) comments suggested that the community, through different social and psychological mechanisms, and a combination of social forces, adapted by aligning itself with the National Party. This response was encouraged through perceptions of relative advantage (Wolf, 1986). That is, members of the community felt that their status would be threatened if an ANC government was elected and felt that their status would be secure and protected if a Nationalist government was elected.

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[8] Foster (1993) have also criticised much of the research into racial groups in South Africa which have taken for granted the existence of constructed racial groups.

Through various social and psychological mechanisms sections of the community conformed to the system and responded in an adaptive (Watts, 1994a) and an assimilationist manner (Berry, 1986; Tajfel, 1981).

Because of this, it seems that the racial stratification and other Apartheid-related phenomena facilitated the development of a collectivity by emphasising and institutionalising visible physical distinguishing characteristics and enforcing racial inequality. Consequently, the coloured group's identity and notions of community were influenced by factors made evident by the racial (skin colour) boundaries, internalised stereotypes, oppression, other social and political forces within the Apartheid context. The status of 'in-betweenity' also facilitated several different adaptive responses to the sociopolitical context.

However, little research has investigated the foundations of the coloured community, the impact Apartheid oppression had on the identity formation, the nature and meaning of community for, and psychological wellbeing of, the community and its people. This project aims to investigate structures, processes and other sociopolitical factors that influenced the formation of the coloured community and to explore how the PSC model relates to this community -- a group that was politically constructed.

For the first stage of this project McMillan and Chavis' (1986) PSC

framework will be used to build a profile of the coloured community in South Africa. The first stage is guided by the following research questions: How does the PSC model relate to this politically constructed group, a group that did not have choice in group membership, and how did the group adapt to Apartheid oppression? It is hypothesised that (a) because people did not have a salient ethnic identity they would develop opportunities within the enforced racial categories for positive experiences of belongingness, significance, solidarity and cohesion; and (b) the PSC model will represent two levels for this community. The first level will represent the legal definition of identity and membership imposed on the community and the second level will represent the social construction of community within enforced racial categories. These hypothesised relationships are presented in Figure 1.

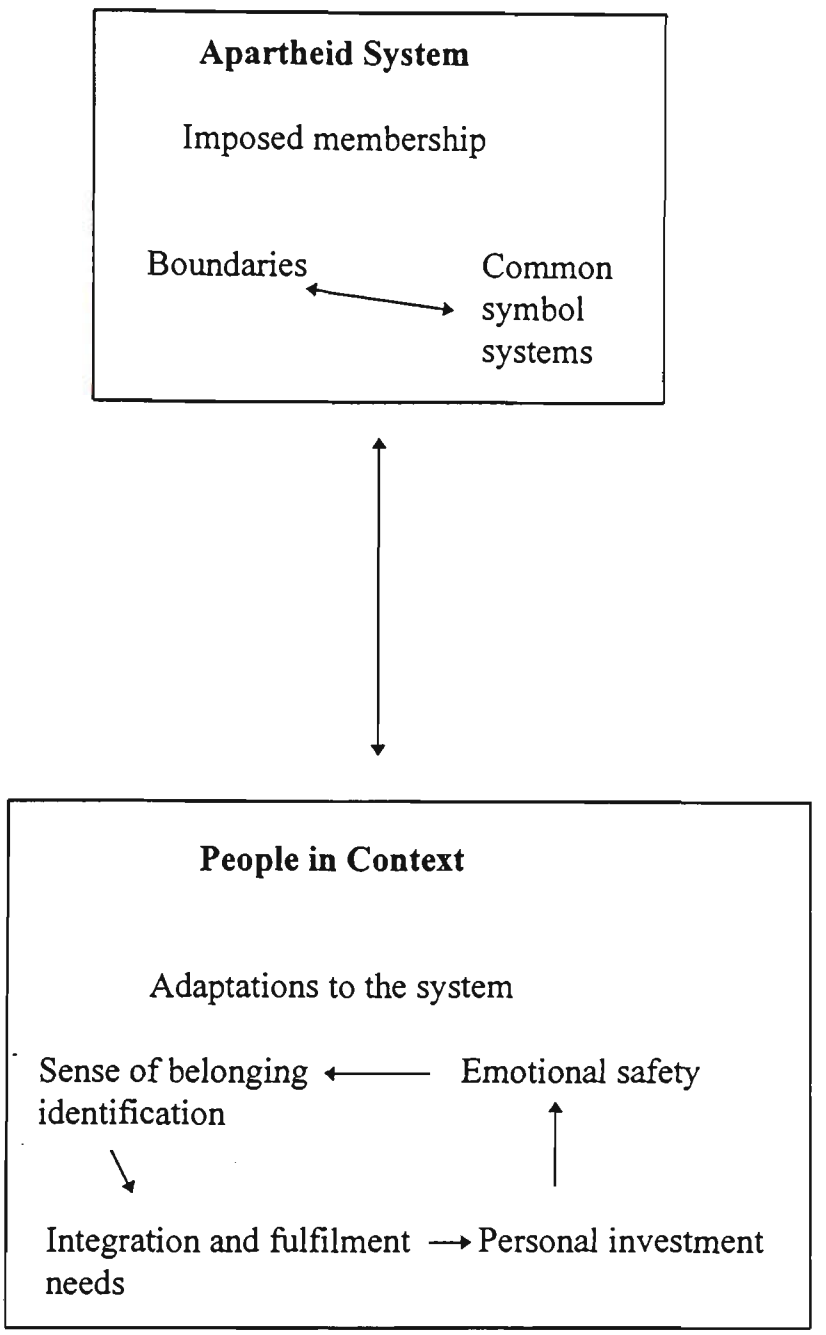

Figure1. Hypothesised Levels of PSC for the Coloured South African Community

STUDY ONE

CHAPTER 5

INVESTIGATING PSYCHOLOGICAL SENSE OF COMMUNITY IN A POLITICALLY CONSTRUCTED GROUP

Introduction

Groups exist in relation to each other in different contexts, and often, the power relationships between these groups differ. Implicit in the asymmetrical power and resource distribution between groups are notions of inequality and oppression. According to Blauner (1972), oppression is a dynamic process of constructing dominant and subordinate communities. The dominant group maintains privilege and power over the subordinate groups who are "...burdened and pushed down into lower levels of the social order" (Blauner, 1972; p. 22) through a variety of processes and mechanisms (Watts, 1992). Thus, some groups are not the product of voluntary association or free will of membership. Because of various sociopolitical forces, the imposed group membership and membership criteria can have negative and devalued meanings. Consequently, while many benefits occur from membership or psychological engagement with one's community, there are potential negative impacts that stem from imposed membership and

interrelationships between groups in contact.

The social and psychological processes inherent in, and emerging from, interactions between and within groups that are in dominant and subordinate positions influence the ways in which groups adapt to contexts. The subsequent adaptations to these contexts can have many implications for the psychosocial development of individuals and groups. That is to say, the ways in which groups adapt to contexts characterised by oppression and other forms of asymmetrical power and resource distribution will influence the nature and strength of PSC and wellbeing.

The coloured South African community represents a group that was constructed, subordinated and oppressed by a politically dominant group. The community had identity criteria and social status imposed and maintained through legal structures of the South African Apartheid system.

Therefore, the aim of this stage of the project is to use the PSC framework (McMillan & Chavis, 1986) to build a profile of a community that was classified as coloured in South Africa. It is hypothesised (a) that the community will have developed structures and processes within the enforced racial categories in which members could experience a sense of dignity, pride and belongingness, and (b) that the model will operate at two levels for this group.

Method

Participants

All participants were recruited through the researchers social networks. Twenty-three South African immigrants who were classified as coloured in South Africa, (eight female and 15 male) between the ages of 23 and 74 years (mean age = 38.48 years) participated in the study. All participants were at least 18 years old before emigration. This age limit was set to ensure that participants had experienced a significant part of their lives in South Africa -- a time frame that would have allowed for identity formation, and the internalisation of cultural practices, worldviews, and other attributes of their group of origin (Erikson, 1985).

Participants resided in suburbs of Melbourne, Australia (predominantly the southern and outer eastern suburbs). At the time of interviewing, participants had been living in Australia between three and 16 years. The average length of education for the group was 14 years (with a range of 12 - 21 years). Most of the participants had completed matriculation (the final year of secondary school in a Coloured community in South Africa, year 12). Most males had completed some technical or trade qualification whilst most of the females were employed in clerical and administrative occupations, both in Australia and in South Africa.

There are of course many limitations associated with using samples of convenience. According to Kerlinger (1973) and Neuman (1991), samples of this nature can be prone to bias, systematic errors, and they can misrepresent the population. These issues would, in turn, have serious implications for the external validity of the study. However, when samples are difficult to reach, as it was here, accidental samples or samples of convenience can be used if the researcher "use extreme circumscription in analysis and interpretation of data." (Kerlinger, 1973, p. 129)

Instrument

An open response format interview schedule was developed using the four elements of the PSC framework (McMillan & Chavis, 1986) and findings of a study conducted by Sonn (1991). (The four elements of the PSC framework are membership, influence, integration and fulfilment of needs, and shared emotional connection.) Two people (one Australian and one South African) read the interview schedule to ascertain the face validity, specificity and clarity of the questions. Recommended changes were implemented before conducting the interviews (see interview schedule in Appendix A).

Procedure

The researcher made telephone contact with potential participants. Potential participants were informed about the nature of the research. The interview schedule was used to collect data through face to face semi-structured in-depth interviews which were tape recorded (with the participants verbal consent). Prior to interviewing, participants were informed about the confidentiality and anonymity of the project and their prerogative to abstain from responding to any or all questions.

In-depth interviewing allowed the interviewer to gather detailed information about the participants' perceptions, thoughts, attitudes and experiences they had in their communities in South Africa. As Patton (1980) suggested: "Qualitative measures describe the experiences of people in depth. The data are open-ended to find out what people's lives, experiences, and interactions mean to them in their own terms and in their natural setting." (p. 22). Others (e. g. Hughes, Seidman, & Williams, 1993) have also argued in favour of combining modes of research to facilitate the development of culturally appropriate methodologies and measures. More generally, adopting a qualitative approach allows the researcher to explore group specific meanings, wordviews and constructions of reality and how these factors influence people's adaptations to contexts. This is consistent

with community psychology's commitment to value human diversity and understanding people in contexts (Trickett, et al. 1994).

In the first wave of interviews 15 participants were interviewed. Two of the interviews were conducted with both husband and wife present. (It was felt that this was appropriate because the respondents said that they would feel more comfortable in such a situation.) After initial analysis of the data, a second wave of interviews was conducted using an edited version of the original interview schedule. Eight participants were interviewed. In one session, a husband and wife were interviewed together (a decision based on participant availability and time constraints).

The formal interviews lasted approximately 25-50 minutes. Informal discussions usually followed the completion of the formal interviews. These discussions were very fruitful and provided valuable data (this information was recorded in writing) which was incorporated into the results section. Four participants did not respond to questions that related to Coloured political participation in South Africa, for reasons of their own.

CHAPTER 6

RESULTS AND INTERPRETATIONS

The first study addressed the question: How does the PSC model relate to a group that was constructed through sociopolitical processes (the coloured South African community)? To answer this question the interview data were recorded on a question ordered matrix (Miles & Huberman, 1984). A question ordered matrix has its columns organised in sequence, so that the researcher can view participant responses to the interview questions. Summaries of responses to the questions posed during the interviews and key words reflecting the summary are entered into the cells of the matrix. The rows were used for participant responses and the columns were used to represent each question (Appendix 2). This allows the researcher to search across the columns for recurrent and unique themes and issues (Miles & Huberman, 1984). These are considered for how often they are mentioned, or even avoided by individuals. Keywords and quotations are used in reporting to illustrate the salience of such themes and to demonstrate how they influence the construction of the participants' experiences. Theme analysis was also aided through categorising information according to the

elements of the PSC model (McMillan & Chavis, 1986) as shown below. Also, two other people cross-checked the author's interpretations of the results as a validity check.

For clarity, the findings are presented in two sections. The first section shows how the PSC model relates to the data collected. The data is discussed in terms of the various components of the PSC model. Personal investment and influence, however, are not discussed in any great length because they were not as clearly identified as the other components of the model. The data suggest that the PSC model operated at two levels for this group. The first level represented the externally constructed legal definitions of group membership. Level two represented the adaptation to life in enforced categories, that is, it represented the social construction of reality within the enforced racial groupings. The recognition and acceptance of the shared history, circumstances, and experiences characterised this reality of life as coloureds under Apartheid. Implicit in this shared construction of community is the interaction between the externally constructed and imposed aspects of group membership and life in coloured communities.

The second section reflects themes that show how the group responded to racial oppression and the various justifications and

rationalisation that facilitated the maintenance of the status quo in South Africa. This section also reflects the different community dynamics that facilitated conformity and acquiescence to the Apartheid system.

Section One: PSC and Coloured South Africans

Membership

According to McMillan and Chavis (1986), membership is a feeling of belonging and suggests that one voluntarily invests "part of oneself " (p. 9) to become a member of and feel that one belongs to the community. Membership has five attributes (i. e., boundaries, common symbol systems, emotional safety, sense of belonging and identification, personal investment) that interact to facilitate a sense of group membership.

Boundaries. Boundaries determine who belongs and who does not belong to a group (McMillan & Chavis, 1986). In South Africa, this group's boundaries, which was perhaps the most salient aspect of the community, were externally created and enforced. The coloured group's character, like other oppressed groups in South Africa, was dramatically altered with the introduction of Apartheid system. According to the data, most participants suggested that the construction of the coloured group represented a political act of social engineering by the dominant group.

One participant said:

> Ethnic groups were political terms, [they] were decidedly political terms.... For political experiences, differences were highlighted, emphasised and recognised by the government. We use the term [coloured] because we are familiar with them. When we use them we know exactly who we are talking about ... we do not necessarily accept these terms.

The participant continued: "What the coloured group had was political. We, as a group, were established as a political instrument, as a political means to an end -- for separation." Another participant, when asked about events that shaped the coloured group, said: "Unfortunately one can't divorce oneself from the political structure in South Africa because I feel that the whole political set up is what sort of shaped the development of the so-called coloured group." Another person highlighted the predetermined nature of life in a racial category: "The label you're given from the time that you are born until the time you die. If you live there everything you do socially, economically, educationally, you name it, ...it is slotted into those three racial groups." A range of themes that indicate boundary construction and reflect different components of the Apartheid system were also revealed (see Table 4).

Table 4

Themes Indicating Boundaries

Early inter-racial mixing between slaves, colonists and indigenous groups
Population Registration Act - People were racially classified according to this Act
Introduction of the Group Areas Act - relocation of groups to designated coloured areas', splitting of families.
Demolition of District 6 - declared as a white area
Removal from Voters Role (disenfranchisement) - coloured's were no longer allowed vote
Separation of public amenities - people were restricted to use amenities reserved for their particular ethnic/racial group
Introduction of the Coloured People's Representative Council-- to supposedly represent the group's interest

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Some participants said that the Group Areas Act meant the destruction of ways of life and the relocation of families into settings to be shared with other "people of similar origin." Those who were defined as coloured "were to live among their own people." People responded to the enforced grouping of "similar origin people" in different ways. For example, it was suggested that "all people from the same culture reinforces the idea that it is one group, and depending on how you see it, that either makes the group stronger or weaker."

These comments indicate that people recognised the imposed boundaries and they also reflect shared perceptions and understandings of Apartheid oppression. Generally, most of the responses suggested that the coloured group's boundaries were constructed and based on the notion of being "neither black nor white, but in between." This intermediate status and identity was determined and enforced by the structures inherent in the Apartheid system. The coloured group had relatively little control about who belonged to the community. The structures within the Apartheid system effectively institutionalised identity and membership criteria and subsequently separated the entire population.

Data analysis further suggested that participants did not accept the label coloured in South Africa. They mentioned a number of emotionally laden responses typifying the rejection of this label -- for example, to be labelled coloured felt "awful", they "hated it", it was "depressing", it was "an insult", and it was "derogatory in South Africa." The following comment illustrates the lack of acceptance of the label and what it represented:

> I think the reason that there isn't anything in particular [about the coloured group] in my mind is the fact that I don't think coloureds are proud of who they are ... Some of them could

say I'm black and proud of it -- maybe? But that comes down to history, the Group Areas Act, we were put there so to speak. You were a coloured!

When participants were asked how coloured people would define themselves, most responded that they would prefer to be defined in terms their national identity, that is, South African "irrespective of colour or creed...," as one participant suggested. This essentially implied that the imposed racial tag culminated in something that was culturally empty and meaningless for the group. In contrast to McMillan and Chavis' (1986) notion of personal investment into a community, this rejection of the imposed label reflected a lack of investment in, and commitment to, this particular imposed identity label. It was clear that people did not accept the label and that the imposed boundaries were externally constructed and represented an important shared event in the history of the group. Alternatively, this lack of identification with the label represented the community's resistance to the imposition of external boundaries and identity criteria.

Common symbol system. Common symbol systems play an important role in maintaining boundaries and they also serve as a vehicle that unify group members (McMillan & Chavis, 1986; Smith, 1991).

Symbols indicate membership or allegiance to a group and they can facilitate notions of separateness and belonging. Accordingly, participants were asked about particular ethnic/cultural characteristics, myths and stories that were representative of the coloured community. For this group, symbols can be classified at two levels, one level represented symbols inherent in the Apartheid system and the other represented symbols developed at a community level. These two levels were not mutually exclusive.

A number of comments made by participants suggested that the group shared cultural features with the colonial groups in South Africa[9] (see Table 5). Participants noted that "features of our group [the coloured group] were also features of the white group." Some participants confirmed this by stating that the group reflected a "western influence." It was also suggested that most coloureds were urbanised and enjoyed a "westernised style of living." This was reinforced by another participant who specifically noted that coloureds enjoyed a "westernised life style in terms of religion and cultural experiences."

These comments are perhaps also similar to saying that "there were

[9] Some participants mentioned that they felt that South Africans people with a mixed ancestry often over-emphasised their European heritage and under-emphasised their indigenous ancestry.

no distinctive symbols" in the coloured group. This is similar to saying: "I don't think there are any coloured traits." These comments are consistent with arguments that coloured people had assimilated and internalised much of the dominant group's culture prior to the implementation of and since the introduction of the Apartheid system (Adhikari, 1991; Sparks, 1991; Western, 1981).

Table 5

Themes Reflecting Common Symbol Systems

Similar to western society in terms of culture and religion
Language -- "Broken" Afrikaans, dialects, own language, accent
Blacks were culturally different to coloureds -- a perceived differentness
Westernised -- yet, identified with Africans
Don't think there were any coloured traits
Can't really contrast the group with other groups
Traits include a combination of traits taken from ancestral groups
Group had no culture, you were neither white nor black

In contrast, some participants suggested that the coloured group evolved out of inter-racial mixing and inherited cultural traits from most of its "ancestral groups."[10] A participant said that the group's traits and

[10] One participant, in particular, talked extensively about the history and settlement of the Cape and mentioned numerous groups that intermixed in the Cape. Among the groups the person mentioned were: indigenous groups, Dutch, and slave groups from the Malays, St. Helena, Canary Islands, Chinese, and people from the East Coast of Africa.

characteristics were "taken from other groups." This is also reflected in comments such as: the group stemmed from "inter-racial mixing" or coloured people represented a "mixed-race." However, generally most participants contended that the group had a "westernised lifestyle." These comments suggests that participants felt the group also shared symbols and other cultural characteristics with other groups in South Africa.

There were many responses, however, that reflected the ambiguity and negative content associated with common symbols that developed within the enforced social contexts. For example, a number of participants mentioned that "the minstrels" (a choir group) was perhaps a "visible reflection of (coloured) culture." Some participants suggested that they did not identify with the minstrels and said that the minstrels did not represent the group's culture. Reasons for this disparity could possibly be attributed to the nature of the minstrels and the context of its origin (i. e., it originated in areas with a low socioeconomic status and was associated with "skollies"[11]). An alternative explanation could be that members of the dominant group regarded the minstrels as circus and this facilitated the rejection of the minstrels by certain members of the coloured community, in particular those

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[11] This term refers to thugs or hoodlums in South Africa.

members who aspired to be like the dominant group. This is consistent with responses to intercultural contact (e. g., passing, assimilation) and oppression (e. g., adaptive; capitulation) which are characterised by the rejection and devaluation of ingroup cultural traits (Bochner, 1982; Berry, 1984, 1986; Bulhan, 1985; Prilleltensky & Gonick, in press; Watts, 1994a).

Many coloureds spoke only Afrikaans and English, and not a native language (their first language depending on the city in which they lived and other social and political factors). Some respondents thought that the way the group spoke Afrikaans (i. e., the accent and vernacular associated with Afrikaans that developed in coloured settings) could be representative of something unique to the group. However, there were some that did not feel language per se, or the accent of the people, represented something culturally unique to the group. The language could, perhaps, be representative of sub-cultures within the coloured community, therefore, reflecting the dynamic nature of language development within a racially isolated (insulated) context. In turn, it could also represent of a symbolic rejection of the Afrikaner Afrikaans. This latter response implies that there were changing views about the identity and loyalties of the coloureds in South Africa.

These comments suggest that the overall criterion for membership was linked with the group's social status within the racial hierarchy rather than a distinct cultural identity. The comments further suggest that the group's imposed definition and certain politically determined and manipulated symbol systems were premised on the group's origin and people's physical appearance. Symbols, ideally, fulfil positive functions such as integrating and unifying groups, and reinforcing group boundaries. In South Africa, however, some symbols were associated with imposed boundaries and were highlighted for the purpose of racial segregation and subjugation. Although the coloured group had internalised and shared the culture of the white group and also its ancestral groups, many symbols did not serve an integrating and uniting function because of the negative connotations associated with them in the Apartheid context.

It seems that skin colour and origin were equated with ethnicity and represented the key elements that were used in the Apartheid framework to separate coloureds from both blacks and whites. Thus, the cultural uniqueness of the coloured community, as promoted by the dominant group, served as a facade for the ideologies upon which racial segregation was premised.

Sense of belonging and identification. Sense of belonging and identification is essentially a positive phenomenon and indicates the psychological importance of belongingness and relatedness (McMillan & Chavis, 1986). Table 6 presents themes indicating sense of belonging and identification.

Participants said they "felt accepted" and "could relate to people in coloured communities" (that is sub-groups within the coloured communities). Also, living in common group areas and "sharing social networks" served as catalyst for the experience of belonging and the feelings of "togetherness." Some participants suggested that they felt at home in the coloured community because of some sense of "relatedness." People were integrated into homogeneous social networks which facilitated feelings of belongingness and identification. Importantly, according to Cohen and Wills (1985) social networks provide opportunities for social integration and companionship which, in turn, facilitate feelings of belongingness and identification. Moreover, this sense of relatedness and belongingness is indicative of a depth of sentiment and common bond implicit in *Gemeinschaft* (Tönnies, 1955, 1974).

Participants mentioned a number of positive processes in sub-groups which fostered feelings of belonging and identification. They said that "the

group is humorous and lively"; groups were characterised by "sharing and doing things together", and "people could belong to, and feel part of, groups". The following comment provides a fitting summation of what people experienced in such contexts: "It [a youth group] nullified the negative images projected by the white [political] majority. There was a feeling of I'm here and belonging -- I was part of something."

Table 6

Themes Indicating Sense of Belonging and Identification

Doing things together and sharing the same things
Mini-nation -- Apartheid and oppression contributed to feelings of being a group
Struggle against oppression contributed to togetherness
Could identify with a specific group -- social networks
Felt at home because of relatedness
Living in a certain location
Neighbourhoods in larger coloured community
Feel part of a specific group
People you can relate to
Sense of togetherness based on idea of belonging to coloured group
Large and strong family units
Neighbours and friends in community

Thus, these networks not only facilitated identification and belongingness, they could also have mediated the harsh realities of oppression in South Africa. Moreover, these processes and opportunities

also reflected a number of conditions which were conducive to a shared emotional connection. In particular, frequent contact with members, shared valent events, and opportunities to positively interact with others (McMillan & Chavis, 1986) are reflected in these comments and the themes in Table 5. This highlights the important relationship that exist between components of membership and shared emotional connection.

The following was suggested by a participant as events or customs that made one feel part of the community:

> Social togetherness, dress, language and because the coloured community as a whole was repressed by the laws that existed at that time and even to date. I could even go so far as call it [the coloured community] a mini-nation because of the repressiveness of the government at that time.... [The] repressive laws made you feel a sense of belonging to the so-called black community[12] as distinct to the coloured community.

In addition, participants said that: "segregation impinges on all spheres of life, it determines where you fit in." Thus, "coloureds were different, not

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[12] This particular comment was intended to indicate an identification with all the black groups that were subordinated under the Apartheid system.

part of other groups" and "[we] belonged to the coloured group -- not black, not white." Also, "I grew up as a coloured and did not know any different." Therefore, sense of belonging and identification can be tied to the overall system of racial oppression and it also reflects how the group adapted to this sociopolitical reality. The relationship between the legal Apartheid structures and the shared reality of people in enforced categories is obvious.

Some of these comments would, perhaps, be more appropriately categorised as events that facilitated the development of feelings of belonging and identification. The comments suggest that people accepted their situation and many accommodated and legitimated the dominant group's hegemony through a variety of psychological mechanisms and community dynamics. Further, Wolf (1986) suggested that the acceptance of a particular social reality is central to identification and identity formation.

Emotional safety. Emotional safety is premised on the idea that people feel, both physically and subjectively, safe and secure with other members of their in-group (McMillan & Chavis, 1986). This notion is linked with sense of belonging and identification. The interview data indicated that people felt secure with people of their "own kind and colour." Some participants reported that they could "identify with other coloureds."

It was also commented that: "People lived in the same communities as their families and friends." This form of social integration is indicative of *gemeinschaftlich* associations (Tönnies, 1955, 1974) and is also central to social support (Cohen & Syme, 1985).

The shared locality, extensive social networks, extended kinship structures, a "neighbourliness" in the community, an "interdependence among members of the group" (in particular family), and an "underlying spirit of togetherness" were some of the physical and social characteristics of the coloured community which provided its members with psychological and tangible security (see Table 7).

Table 7

Themes Reflecting Emotional Safety

Feel secure with people of your own kind and colour
Lived in the same community as family and friends
People were always ready to help
Felt at home in community
Spirit of togetherness and sharing and openness
Members of the Coloured community tended to protect each other in times of struggles
Feel attracted to those who have had similar experiences

Being integrated or embedded within a particular community provides forms of support and security in a direct and indirect manner. The comments in Table 7 reflect that being integrated into the coloured community and

feeling part of the group provided members with forms of social support that mediated stressful events. For example, participants said that "members of the coloured community tended to protect each other in times of struggles", and "people were always ready to help each other." These comments are indicative of the buffering effects of social support (Cohen & Wills, 1985; Heller & Swindle, 1983). They specifically suggest that perceptions of support and feelings of togetherness facilitated an emotional safety in the community.

It was commented by a participant that:

> It was easier to go out and mix with your own kind. I found it hard in going out to mix with someone who was white. I found it easier to mix with a black person but not as easy for me to mix with a white person.

This comment mirrors the reality that it was easier to mix downward than it was to mix upward in the Apartheid structure. Also, feeling secure with your own kind is linked with Apartheid oppression and stereotypes inherent in this oppression. People evaluated notions of acceptance, security and safety in terms of the overall racial order in South Africa and their relative position in it. Your own kind implied not white and not black, but the particular group to which you belonged and were embedded in.

Subsequently, the stereotypes, norms and patterns of behaviour that emerged as a result of racial isolation and racial oppression influenced feelings of safety and security and subsequently also sense of belonging and identification.

Although there are many negative social and psychological outcomes reflected in these responses, there is also a significant number of positive qualities that have developed in response to Apartheid oppression. As can be seen in Table 7, the community developed quality social networks within the coloured areas that fulfilled a number of positive functions for group members. This is consistent with Tajfel's (1981) suggestion that groups do not always respond in a negative manner. Sometimes groups adapt to harsh sociopolitical realities by providing members with a protective haven and opportunities for positive experiences. This, in turn, facilitates the wellbeing of group members.

Integration and fulfilment of needs

Integration and fulfilment of needs plays a central role in PSC and reflects a number of rewarding and positive factors that contribute to group cohesion (McMillan & Chavis, 1986). Most participants said that they belonged to predominantly sporting and religious organisations entrenched

within the coloured community in South Africa. According to the data, participants invested a lot of their time and emotional energy in activity settings (e. g., church-based and sporting groups), networks, and groups in which their social and psychological needs were met.

It was suggested that the different organisations to which people belonged provided a variety of opportunities for the fulfilment and integration of needs (see Table 8). Some participants suggested that they had opportunities to experience unconditional acceptance as "human beings" or had the "opportunity to feel accepted as a human being." People could "share with others who have similar beliefs and interests", and these groups fostered one's sense of "pride", "self-esteem", and "confidence". These networks also "increased political understanding and awareness", people could "belong to and feel part of groups", and provided opportunities to socialise and "have fun". Moreover, participants suggested that belonging to sporting organisations and church groups, and having extended family social networks within the coloured community made them feel part of the community. Within these homogeneous settings, people could fulfil their needs and validate and integrate experiences and understandings of the sociopolitical reality in South Africa. That is, the processes and mechanisms in both *gemeinschaftlich* and *gesellschaftlich* (Tönnies, 1955,

1974) associations within the coloured communities facilitated the integration and fulfilment of needs.

Consistent with McMillan and Chavis (1986) and Chavis et al. (1986), comments indicative of a sense of belonging and identification, emotional safety, and integration and fulfilment of needs reflect the interrelatedness of these components within the model. In fact, these elements probably do not occur in isolation but rather together, much like social support functions which also operate interactively (Cohen & Wills, 1985).

Table 8

Themes Indicating Integration and Fulfilment of Needs

Participating in a close knit community
Togetherness
Felt part of something in groups
Treated as an equal, participated on equal grounds
Sharing of events and affiliations
Opportunities to have input in groups
Forming attachments with others
Kinship networks and extended networks facilitate need fulfilment
Shared aspirations and ideals with members
Shared localities, activities and events
Political education
Treated as equal or human being

Shared emotional connection

McMillan and Chavis (1986) suggest that "research should focus on the causal factors leading to shared emotional connection, since it seems to be the definitive element for true community" (p. 14). Shared emotional connection is, to a large extent, premised on the idea of having a shared history and the quality of shared experiences people have in communities.

Shared history. For the coloured community, part of the shared history is reflected in the imposition of a negative race label and the relegation to a status of racial inferiority. This imposed label represents the legal and external component of group membership (boundaries). The categorisation and subordination represented a process that people shared and which brought group members together. This is consistent with the notion that people who share negative events or crises may actually rally around those experiences (Sherif & Sherif, 1964). For example, it was articulated by participants that the group experienced a sense of togetherness "probably because of the whole political structure within South Africa." It was also suggested that the "laws" made people "feel a sense of belonging." People did not necessarily identify with or accept the identity label but they recognised that people who were categorised as coloured shared a history and a social reality.

It was suggested that:

> You look for people that you know have gone through the same thing before. It is only natural, I think, that you feel more attracted to that group of people -- because there is a lot of things that they can identify with that you can too...,

Therefore, people did not necessarily accept the label that they were ascribed, but they recognised that the community shared a similar history under Apartheid in South Africa.

Quality relationships in shared social networks. The coloured community was described as being close knit reflecting an underlying shared bond -- a kind of "brotherhood" one person said. Participants said that they experienced a "sense of togetherness" with other coloureds and they experienced a communal life characterised by a pervading 'spirit' of "closeness, a sort of comraderie". It was also suggested that the large and shared friendship and social networks ("everyone knew everyone") contributed to a "sense of feeling at home". A family-oriented life style, sharing, an "openness in the community", and a "social togetherness" reflected the nature and quality of the social networks that members of the community experienced.

The interdependence, positive attachments, and togetherness were

influenced by Apartheid oppression. This was echoed by a participant who suggested that Apartheid and the oppression "contributed to feelings of being a group". Others suggested that in the coloured community "you grow up with certain groups of people -- you experience a feeling of togetherness as far as you belong to the coloured group".

These responses reflect a combination of values which underlie the community and also the group's responses to the sociopolitical context. These and earlier comments reflect that networks and associations provided respondents with a range of opportunities to do things together, to share events, to feel significant, and to feel part of a group. Together the negative experiences associated with the relegation to a racial minority status and the positive experiences people had in communities facilitated the development of a shared emotional connection.

Section Two: Responses to Apartheid Oppression

The following results represent responses that reflect the way in which people responded to Apartheid oppression. These responses also reflect the various within and between group interactions which influenced the ways in which people responded to oppression and intergroup contact. The responses further reflect influence, that is, the impact the group had on its members and the impact social structures had on the group.

Political oppression

The socialisation of people into their respective racial strata played a part in imparting a second class status and notions of separateness. A number of comments made by participants reflect racial oppression, segregation, and how participants felt the group adapted to life in a coloured community (see Table 9).

Table 9

Themes Reflecting Responses to Apartheid Oppression

Coloureds had nothing - you were neither white nor black.
As a kid it was basically the skin colour - I knew I was coloured because I was told I was coloured ... that was basically it.
We were socialised with the label,.... socialised into subservience.
Whites wanted to deny that the features of our group were also the features of the white group.
Superiority was based on skin colour... (but) coloureds saw themselves as equal to the white group because they could speak both English and Afrikaans perfectly, or most of them could anyway.
People perceived themselves to be coloured because they had to be coloured.

The following comments reflect some of the adaptations and psychosocial outcomes associated with Apartheid oppression. Some participants said that coloureds "belittled (themselves) as far as the white man was concerned," but this was because they "were indoctrinated to

respond in this way." A participant responded: "We were told that we were coloured and had to accept the idea"; another said that "it was normal (to be viewed as coloured) for people, you were born in the system."

One participant said that:

> It is very easy for someone who is coloured to think that they are one step better than someone who is black and stay in their place because they are one step inferior to someone who is white, because that is the stereotype that is created there and that myth gets perpetuated all the time. In a way you are brain washed into thinking that's the way things are and that's the way it's supposed to be.

The internalisation of negative racial stereotypes and projected negative group images, and political maneouvering (e. g, the Tricameral system of political representation) served as catalysts for reinforcement of imposed differences.

These comments are typical of groups that are in subordinate positions (Wolf, 1986) and suggest that, through a range of internal and external social, political and psychological processes, the coloured group conformed and acquiesced for its oppression to continue. People felt that there were no alternatives to the system -- they had become accustomed to the system, they had to accept the idea, and they even viewed themselves in

terms of the pejorative label that were projected onto them by the dominant group.

Participants suggested that they believed whites viewed coloureds as inferior: "They (whites) saw coloureds as a lower class people, ... dependent on the white group"; coloureds were "domestic servants", and whites "did not have a high regard for us (coloureds)." On the other hand, it was felt that blacks viewed coloureds as a "non-entity", they had "no identity" and "no say". Also, some felt blacks viewed coloureds as a group that "were not with them". Further, one participant asserted that coloureds were viewed by blacks as being:

> More towards the whites because of the fact that they lived a middle of the road existence in terms of economics .... [T]he blacks felt that the coloureds did not always identify with their cause. They saw the coloureds as a buffer between the black and white nations of South Africa.

Some participants offered explanations about the origins of the stereotypes, notions of dependency and subordination. For example, "coloureds felt superior to Africans because of instilled beliefs -- a result of Apartheid." It was also said that "each community perceived themselves as just under the white group, Apartheid created and reinforced these perceptions and

hierarchical divisions." Some participants suggested that some coloureds had negative views of blacks and felt threatened by them.

These stereotypical views and fears are summarised by one participant who said that certain coloureds did not mix with blacks "because they were bastards, dirty - they can kill you. ..., sounds stupid but those were the reasons people were giving." Also, coloureds "could tell or sense that a lot of black people hated them so they would either sit on the fence or move to the white camp."

These comments reflect sociopolitical forces which operated in a manner that served the status quo. It is also important to emphasise that these comments reflect that people did not blame themselves for these views but rather the evil system within which it was constructed and perpetuated. Moreover, these comments reflect the variety of responses that are typical of outcomes associated with both voluntary intercultural contact and oppression (Berry, 1984, 1986; Watts, 1994a). The responses reflect differential outcomes ranging from marginalization and separation (Bochner, 1982; Berry, 1984, 1986) to capitulation (Bulhan, 1985) and being uncritical and adaptive (Watts, 1994a). However, as suggested earlier, this does not necessarily mean that all the experiences people had in these communities were negative.

Politics and domination

In relation to the political participation of the coloured group, in contrast to other groups, this group was "...not very politically active" a participant said. It was suggested that the coloured group was politically "apathetic". One person said: "sometimes they ignored political strife and lived a routine life". Another person explained that the groups "lack of involvement was a result of fear and persecution". The comments suggests that the group was complacent with its status and people were wary to question the legitimacy of the system. When they did question the system they feared persecution by the oppressor.

The data also suggested that the proposed Tricameral parliamentary system caused considerable disunity within the coloured community. Most participants suggested that the Tricameral government caused "division", "it split the coloured group." It was also said that the Tricameral government implied that "coloureds were better than blacks." Another participant said that an outcome of the Tricameral government was that the community "could not present a united front." This provides further evidence that people perceived that they lived in a racially tiered system characterised by domination, division, and fear. It also highlighted the fact that external forces were using obvious political mechanisms to further

fragment the community. This fostered a diversity of responses from the group -- some people supported the system while others resisted the fragmentation of the black population. This mirrors the divide and conquer reality of the Apartheid system.

Some respondents said that the school boycotts of 1976 (which were a by-product of the Soweto uprising), the active South African Council of Sports (SACOS), the United Democratic Front (UDF), the liberation theology espoused by certain churches and their leaders (in particular Alan Boesak and Desmond Tutu), and the unrest of 1984-5 represented the political voice of a changing coloured community and served as an indicator of the group's increasing political awareness and resistance to pressures from outside. These activities and politicisation followed attempts by the politically dominant group to further fragment and divide the black communities in South Africa. These organisations' political philosophies (e. g., "no normal sport in an abnormal society", one government for all, a non-racial society) and political strategies (consumer and school boycotts, supporting your community, non-participation in white sports, etc.) encouraged certain behaviours, commitments and beliefs and served as an indicator of the group's increasing political awareness and involvement in the struggle for liberation.

These comments suggest that there were changes in how the coloured community responded to the system. To a large extent, it seems that sections of the community were moving from accommodation and compliance to Apartheid to a stage that is more accurately represented by Watts' (1994a) critical stage and Bulhan's (1985) radicalisation. Other sections, however, acquiesced for the system to remain. Yet, in view of some literature (Bulhan, 1985; Potts, 1993), it is reasonable to argue that these movements would have contributed positively to the psychological wellbeing of the group members.

Overall, the comments in this section reflect a number of dynamics within the community, of which some facilitated conformity, uniformity, and the legitimation of the oppressive racial order. It is obvious that the group influenced its members and, through a range of social, political, and psychological processes, group members conformed and adapted to the social order. Therefore, coloured people found some sense of security in the label that was imposed upon them.

Some of the comments are reflections of the stereotypical views, rationalisations, justifications and other defense mechanisms which the group developed in response to Apartheid oppression. Consistent with literature on responses to oppression (e. g., Montero, 1990; Prilleltensky & Gonick, in press; Watts, 1994a; Wolf, 1986), some of these internalised worldviews and other adaptive responses (combined with other forces in the

system) played a functional part in perpetuating a racist status quo.

The group's boundaries were externally constructed and imposed, and dictated much of the group's functioning, way of life, and construction of reality. The group did not determine its membership; membership was imposed. Given the dynamic nature of communities, this group gradually developed internal boundaries and common worldviews which were embedded in the groups isolation, the imposed racial minority status, oppression and time spent together in enforced categories. Thus, shared emotional connection stemmed from the nexus between the external notions of membership and the internal responses to imposed membership.

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION

The aim of this study was to investigate the foundations of a politically constructed community using McMillan and Chavis' (1986) PSC model. Some interesting observations were made in relation to the PSC model and the experience of community for this group. Different from the theory, for this group, the model has two dimensions because of the Apartheid laws. The first dimension represents the legal definition of the group and other legal components of the Apartheid legislation that entrenched notions of separateness and identity. The second dimension represents the ways in which the community adapted to the sociopolitical reality in South Africa, that is, it is indicative of the social construction of community within the enforced racial categories.

The results showed that people who were classified as coloured showed a lack of identification with that label in South Africa. In South Africa, most of the respondents rejected the imposed identity construct (coloured) in favour of their national identity (South African). For many participants the label represented nothing more than an imposed racist tag, a

tag that served the function of separating, stratifying, and oppressing people. This is consistent with Jansen van Rensburg's (1992) contention that many viewed the coloured identity as a political construction. Thus, with other components of the Apartheid system, the racist labels were enforced and seemed unchangeable, immutable.

There is also evidence that the imposed identity label, combined with racist laws[13], contributed to ambiguity and uncertainty among members of the coloured group about their political loyalties and social identity (Jansen van Rensburg, 1992). The social, psychological, and political consequences associated with the label and status reflected the divide and conquer (Freire, 1972) agenda of the dominant white minority. This is consistent with James (1986) and Sparks (1991) who contended that the coloured group was internally divided in terms of politics and identity and were also separated from other oppressed groups. Thus, some people accepted the status it was assigned under Apartheid, and its by-products, while others rejected the status and its by-products. These differential adaptations to the system, in turn, were underpinned by different social and psychological processes (Wolf, 1986).

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[13] Most laws were discriminatory and some provided privileges and entitlements according to racial definitions. This, naturally, encouraged a desire for upward mobility, but, most importantly, it influenced definitions of identity and relations between coloured and black groups.

According to the findings, the coloured group's boundaries were based on skin colour, racial origin and other stereotypes that underpinned the Apartheid laws. The group did not decide membership; membership was externally controlled, enforced, and maintained. Participants' comments reflect the negative group labels and stereotypes associated with Apartheid oppression. The negative label and group status were difficult to redefine or change because they were enforced and maintained by the system. The perception of the system as unchangeable and immutable represents an adaptive response to an oppressive context (Tajfel, 1981; Watts, 1994a) and in this situation the identity label and their accompanying stereotypes were institutionalised and reified by the government. The group adapted by recognising that these labels were unchangeable but they did not necessarily accept the labels.

The grouping of people according to 'ethnicity' facilitated the development of in-group preferences and some sort of coloured group climate. This in-group preference could be a learned response that has its foundations in racial oppression (Memmi, 1984; Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1991, Watts, 1994a). That is, people have learned to adapt to certain social contexts in a way characterised by low levels of contact with dominant outgroups. In Apartheid South Africa, certain laws regulated

social interaction and, combined with residential segregation, these laws effectively limited those with whom one could socialise and interact. This implies that certain social systems can facilitate the development of intolerance and a lack of appreciation of diversity, although, as argued earlier, responses characterised by a lack of intergroup interaction do not necessarily imply a lack of tolerance for diversity, but can be construed as an adaptive response to a particular context. Facilitating the development of social settings that are appreciative of diversity and that allow for the expression and development of individual and group differences is in the interest of people (Kelly, Azelton, Burzette, & Mock, 1994).

High levels of interaction with in-group members, however, might not necessarily have resulted in, or reflected, negative adaptive responses. Tajfel (1981) and Turner (1984) suggested that even if membership is imposed and membership criteria are devalued, groups can still develop forms of group behaviour and attitudes that are indicative of group cohesion. Researchers (e. g., Cox, 1989; Furnham & Bochner, 1986) have indicated that people are drawn to same origin ethnic/racial groups and that groups that form around some shared criteria are vital to the adaptation process of immigrants. These groups provide various supportive functions including emotional, informational, and tangible support and they also facilitate the

adaptation process (Berry, 1984, 1986; Cohen & Wills, 1985). Moreover, such groups (in less oppressive environments) can provide contexts in which people can reconstruct and reformulate negative and devalued notions of group identity and conceptions of community. In a sense, these groups facilitate social integration and the development of PSC.

Further, in South Africa people did not identify with the imposed label, but identified with the experiences they had in activity settings (O'Donnell, et al., 1993) (such as church groups, family networks, sporting organisations) that were located within 'ethnically homogeneous' contexts. Within these mediating structures, activity settings, and other networks people could experience security, stability, belongingness, and identification. The structures and relations provided opportunities for people to experience acceptance and equality regardless of skin colour. These settings represented the contexts in which a "coloured group" climate was propagated, and they moderated the effects of the Apartheid system. The networks reflect both *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* (Tönnies, 1955, 1974) associations, and reinforce the idea that drawing on the positives of both types of association may facilitate the development of stronger and healthier communities (Newbrough, 1992).

However, on the negative side of this concentration of positive

experiences of community in activity settings and mediating structures is the unintended perpetuation of, and conformity to, the status quo. People recognised the group's boundaries and used the boundaries and the accompanying status as a marker to assess their position compared with the other racial groups in South Africa. Although the group showed a lack of identification with the imposed boundaries, the boundaries were still used by the group to protect its members and its position in the racially tiered system. This reflects the notion of relative advantage (Wolf, 1986), the idea that one conforms and legitimates a particular status because one is better off than others, and its centrality to the legitimation of oppression and conformity to oppressive systems. This, in turn, reflects an important dynamic implicit in the divide and conquer agenda of the Apartheid system.

In addition, coloured people, like all other black groups, were politically powerless and disempowered, and had only limited (token) formal political representation (e. g., participation in the Tricameral parliamentary system). In the absence of unified formal political representation, the mediating structures served as vehicles from which a political voice of the group emerged. Within these settings, people's consciousness was raised about the sociopolitical realities of South Africa. For example, the liberation theology espoused by some the church leaders

(e. g., Allan Boesak, Desmond Tutu), and the proactive resistance politics advocated by some sporting organisations, influenced the group's awareness about the oppressive politics of South Africa. It was within these settings that group members learnt about the illegitimacy of the system and the alternatives that existed. This lends further support to the importance for social scientists to investigate the various roles liberation movements fulfil for members in oppressed communities (Bulhan, 1985; Potts, 1993). These roles can range from protecting groups from harsh political realities, through providing a PSC, to facilitating the development of a critical consciousness (Watts, 1994a).

These mediating structures that existed within the enforced categories represent the second dimension at which many elements of the PSC model operated. Thus, the second dimension relates to the way in which the group socially constructed notions of community within the coloured context -- that is the development of a PSC. A combination of internalised stereotypes, psycho-social needs, Apartheid policies, and racial oppression (among other forces) played a part in facilitating the displacement of community from the imposed categorisation to social network-type structures.

This is consistent with minority group responses to oppressive social

settings. According to Tajfel (1981), groups may withdraw and create opportunities in which members can experience a sense of dignity, pride and belonging. Members of the coloured community did not derive this major sense of community from the imposed label and status. Instead local sporting, church, and family networks (still within a larger social structure) provided opportunities in which people could experience community. As the results suggest, in these social networks there existed a range of opportunities and processes that were conducive to a PSC. In Tönnies' (1955, 1974) terms there existed both *gemeinschaftlich* and *gesellschaftlich* type associations within this community that facilitated a PSC.

Furthermore, central to the experience of community is shared emotional connection (McMillan & Chavis, 1986). Apartheid, and the common shared group experiences associated with the system, dictated and permeated the ways in which groups developed and responded to the system. Although these responses were diverse, personal and situational factors (e. g., enforced grouping, oppression, history, shared circumstances of the group) and the interaction between these, potentially provided a catalyst for the development of a shared emotional connection. That is, the sociopolitical realities, in combination with histories and common experiences of Apartheid oppression, contributed to a shared emotional

connection.

Most of the elements contained in the model were supported in this study, therefore, demonstrating the validity and applicability of the PSC model. Furthermore, the study also confirms the interrelatedness of the different elements contained in the model and it demonstrates the difficulties inherent in separating the elements. Consistent with some values of community psychology (cultural relativity and diversity), using the model in this manner allows the investigator to explore and evaluate the meanings, experiences, ideologies, and understandings that influence PSC within specific populations (Chavis, et al., 1986; Rappaport, 1977; Watts, 1992). In this context, the model specifically allows one to unravel the factors that have played part in the oppression of this group and also the ways in which the group responded to the particular sociopolitical reality. This knowledge will, in turn, shed light on how individuals and groups adjust and cope in new settings that do not have the same enforced race categories.

Yet, given the complexity and interrelatedness of the components of PSC and the nature of the group some elements were more difficult to investigate and were subsequently neglected while other components were validated. Also, the methodology employed might limit the generalisability of the findings, but the process can still be used in other contexts to investigate the foundations of specific communities. However, many

findings, in particular about the group's responses to the imposed label, members' political participation, and identification are consistent with findings reported in other studies (e. g., Adhikari, 1991; Kinloch, 1985; Nieuwoudt & Plug, 1983) reflecting that the sample's responses represent the group. Also, consistent with Chavis and Newbrough's (1986) views, the value and elements of PSC can be of great benefit in building stronger communities.

In conclusion, the coloured group did not internalise or identify with the label they were assigned. Yet, people internalised some of the negative aspects associated with the imposed identity, status, and Apartheid oppression. This, in turn, implies that the group unwittingly played a part in perpetuating the unjust and inequitable sociopolitical structure (Bartky, 1990; Montero, 1990). Most important, the group internalised positive experiences, attachments and other forms of group behaviour that evolved out of enforced categorisations and time spent together. These positive supports and experiences could have played an important role in moderating the effects of Apartheid oppression. The next stage of this project is to investigate the extent to which the group has transferred these qualities, worldviews, and belief systems into the Australian context and to examine how this influences cross-cultural adaptation. That is, what is the significance of the label coloured outside South Africa, does the group have a PSC, what underlies PSC for this group, and what role does PSC play in the adaptation process?

STUDY TWO

CHAPTER 8

FACTORS INFLUENCING IMMIGRANT ADAPTATION TO NEW CULTURAL CONTEXTS

Introduction

Many factors influence the adaptation processes of groups (immigrants, sojourners, refugees) which move from familiar sociocultural contexts to settle in new and different sociocultural contexts. Among other factors, researchers (e. g., Furnham & Bochner, 1986; Krupinski, 1984, Taft, 1985) have identified language and social status, experiences of racism and discrimination, policies of the receiving country, and social support networks as factors that can influence the adaptation process.

Coloured South Africans represent a recent group of immigrants who have settled in Australia. Sonn (1991) investigated variables that influence the adjustment of 'non-white' South Africans to Australia. He found that some of the settlement and cross-cultural adaptation processes and challenges experienced by this group were similar to those experienced by

other immigrant groups (Furnham & Bochner, 1986; Krupinski, 1984; Taft, 1985). Among other findings, Sonn reported four factors positively influenced adaptation for this group: (a) access to similar origin social support networks, (b) an equivalent or better socioeconomic status in Australia, (c) a compatible cultural background in terms of language and education standards, and (d) experiences of relative freedom and the meeting of needs. Experiences of racism and perceptions of Australia as a closed society negatively influenced the adaptation process, and their satisfaction with life in Australia (Sonn, 1991).

The aim of this chapter is to discuss group responses to intercultural contact and to explore factors that influence how immigrant and refugee groups adapt to new sociocultural contexts. Specific emphasis will be placed on discussing the role of PSC and social support networks for psychological wellbeing of immigrants. This will be followed by a discussion of the patterns of adaptation among South African immigrants. Many factors (whether they stem from experiences in one's country of origin or from experiences in the new country) can inhibit or enhance PSC. This, in turn, will have implications for adaptation to new contexts.

Immigrant Adaptation

International migration, whether voluntary or involuntary, involves the movement from a familiar environment, in which a person has learned the culture, customs, and codes of interaction, to a new environment. In the new context old patterns of interaction and meanings become confronted, sometimes rendering a person's coping skills insufficient. The negation of old codes of behaviour and cultural patterns of interaction require that one learn new skills and extend existing skills to cope with, and function, effectively in the unfamiliar environment (Furnham & Bochner, 1986).

Some theorists have called immigration a process of desocialisation; and the eventual settlement in, and adaptation to, the new environment as a resocialisation process (Hertz, 1981). According to Taft (1985):

> Immigration to a new sociocultural environment may render irrelevant much of the earlier social learning and thus may increase feelings of shock and helplessness until new, appropriate competencies are developed. These in turn may lead eventually to new feelings of familiarity, belonging and identity. (p. 354)

Those who enter unfamiliar environments have to learn the cultural codes and adapt to the new setting to function effectively, that is, become

acculturated. According to Taft (1985), acculturation and adaptation have been used to show similar processes. He wrote that adaptation:

> ...refers to changes in a person's attitudes and behaviour brought about by an attempt to cope with changes in the environment. This term is an appropriate one to describe the resocialization process and refers to all aspects of behaviour: cognitive, emotional, and motivational as well as overt actions. (p. 365)

Others (e. g., Williams & Berry, 1991) have suggested that acculturation and adaptation go beyond the individual level to include group level changes in terms of social, cultural, economic, and sociopolitical factors.

Cross-cultural transition and adaptation to new cultural environments have stimulated a wealth of research (e. g., Adelman, 1988; Barou, 1981; Batrouney, 1991; Berry, 1984, 1986; Church, 1982; Furnham & Bochner, 1986; Kirkland, 1983; Krupinski, 1984; Nicassio, 1983; Scott & Scott, 1982, 1985; Taft, 1985). Within specific sociocultural contexts the interaction between external group boundaries, social structures and processes, and internal group dynamics contribute to different social and psychological adaptations to a particular social reality. Patterns of adaptation are reflected at individual and group levels in terms of identity

formation, strength of ethnic identification, group cohesion, and wellbeing.

Berry (1984, 1986) and Bochner (1982) have proposed models that explain adaptations to voluntary intercultural contact. Bochner has described some outcomes associated with individual adaptations to voluntary contact between cultures. These include (a) passing, (b) chauvinistic, (c) marginal, and (d) mediating responses. Bochner (1982) discussed research between personal and situational variables and the type of response a person is likely to adopt. Although the findings were not conclusive, Bochner suggested that the nature of one's social networks and other contextual factors (e. g., policies of the host country) can influence how individuals respond to intercultural contact.

Berry (1984, 1986) also discussed responses to intercultural contact. According to him some of the outcomes of intergroup and intercultural contact are: (a) assimilation, (b) integration, (c) separatism, and, (d) marginalisation. Both Bochner (1982) and Berry's (1984, 1986) models can be used to explain the different ways individuals and groups may respond to intercultural contact.

Immigrants, Refugees, and Sojourners

Researchers have concentrated on two distinct groups, immigrants

and sojourners, involved in intercultural transition and contact. Refugees, however, have received increasing attention (Williams & Berry, 1991). These groups can be distinguished in terms of Berry, Poortinga, Segall, and Dasen's (1992) criteria of mobility, permanence, and voluntariness of contact. Permanence relates to the length of time a group intends to remain in a particular context. Voluntariness relates to the nature of the interaction between groups in contact. Mobility refers to the movement of ethnic groups within a particular society. Berry (1984, 1986) suggested that the category and nature of immigration will influence how groups adapt to a context. For example, those who decide to immigrate voluntarily will have a smoother transition and adaptation.

Immigrants are people who voluntarily decide to move to another country with the intention of permanent settlement. The voluntariness of their immigration, however, is relative. In fact, Blauner (1972) suggested that some groups, due to social, economic, and political pressures may feel that they have no alternative but to move. Such groups may leave their country of origin due to enormous economic and/or political pressures yet are not defined as refugees.

Sojourners have been defined as "relatively short term visitors to new cultures where permanent settlement is not the purpose of the sojourn"

(Church, 1982, p. 540), for example, students, temporary workers, and the peace corps. Sojourner adjustment differs from the cultural adaptation of immigrants because immigration implies a decision to remain permanently in a country, while sojourners usually enter a new situation with the intention to return home. Therefore, sojourners are more inclined to maintain their ethnic identity and less likely to feel the need or pressure to become acculturated. They need only obtain the skills needed to function in the new environment; Taft (1985) refers to this as obligatory acculturation.

Refugees have been defined as "a subset of immigrants who flee their homes because of fear of persecution for their beliefs, politics, or ethnicity." (Williams & Berry, 1991, p. 632). According to Williams and Berry (1991), refugees differ from other groups because they are forced to flee from their countries, and if given a choice most would rather stay in their homelands. This, in turn, has many implications for the adaptation of refugee groups.

In terms of Berry et al.'s (1992) criteria, coloured South Africans are immigrants because they voluntarily decided to move and settle in Australia. However, they moved because of enormous social, political, and economic pressures. These factors, in turn, have implications for the group's adaptation to Australia.

Variables Influencing Adaptation to New Contexts

Permanent or temporary settlement involve dislocation and mean changes in environment, community, and interpersonal relations and networks. Many physical and psychological stressors accompany the dislocation and the eventual process of resettlement. These stressors influence patterns of adaptation and are reflected at individual and group levels in terms of identity formation, strength of ethnic identification, group cohesion, and wellbeing.

Immigrants, sojourners, and refugees, have reported many similar adaptation challenges during the initial stages of their post-arrival encounters. For student sojourners the "most important problems appear to be language difficulties, financial problems, adjusting to a new educational system, homesickness, adjusting to social customs and norms, and for some students, racial discrimination" (Church, 1982, p. 544). Furnham and Bochner (1986), in their review on culture shock, cite alienation, language competence, cultural distance, social background, expectations, absence of social support networks and resources, and country of origin as variables that influence adaptation. A number of recurrent individual-level responses and experiences have been associated with sojourner and immigrant adaptation difficulties (Barou, 1981; Church, 1982; Furnham & Bochner,

1986; Klineberg, 1980, Krupinski, 1984; Saran, 1980). These include depression, isolation, alienation, homesickness, anger, disillusionment, and discrimination. Thus, these changes in people's environments present stressors that influence psychological wellbeing, and physical and mental health (Furnham & Bochner, 1986; Krupinski, 1984). Church (1982), however, warns that estimating the extent of adjustment difficulties might be difficult because of the cultural relativity of perceptions and interpretations of adaptation difficulties.

Many variables have been identified, at both individual and group levels, that influence immigration and adaptation. These variables can be construed as risk and protective factors and include expectations of the new country (Hertz, 1981), length of residence, level of education and language, life experience, group and personal histories, reasons for immigration, experiences in the new country, policies of the receiving country, salience of culture and ethnic identity, and social support networks in the new country (Berry, 1984, 1986; Cox, 1989; Furnham & Bochner, 1986; Krupinski, 1984; Taft, 1985).

Language and social status. Many individual characteristics, ingroup characteristics, and intercultural relations influence the adaptation process. For example, Nicassio (1983) conducted a study investigating correlates of

alienation among Indochinese refugees in the United States. According to Nicassio, refugees with poor English ability were more likely to experience feelings of alienation. Similarly, other authors (e. g., Berry, 1986; Furnham & Bochner, 1986; Scott & Scott, 1982, 1985) have reported that being able to speak in English allowed immigrants in Australia, the United States, and Canada to participate in the larger social structure, and to develop social networks with the host nationals. These social networks, in turn, facilitated integration into the new society.

Language competence has been found to be positively correlated with reports of satisfaction with sojourning and immigrant settlement experiences (Church, 1982; Furnham & Bochner, 1986; Krupinski, 1984; Sonn, 1991; Taft, 1985; Wiessman & Furnham, 1987). For example, Taft suggested that language proficiency and socioeconomic status are strong correlates of satisfaction with life in the new setting, with language proficiency as an indicator of cultural adaptability. Sonn (1991) argued that the ability to speak English facilitated South African adaptation in Australia.

Indicators of social status have also been identified as predictors of satisfaction and settlement in a country. For example, Scott and Scott (1982) found that level of education predicted the socioeconomic status attained by immigrants in Australia, and socioeconomic status helped

predict the person's level of cultural competence. Having the necessary resources and cultural adaptability (as reflected in level of education) may be advantageous and conducive to a less traumatic entry into the new country.

On the other hand, changes in socioeconomic status and concomitant changes in social status represent risk factors that can have adverse effects for immigrant adaptation to new environments (Berry, 1984; Nicassio, 1983; Stoller, 1981). For example, if the host country does not recognise the qualifications from one's country of origin, or if immigrant groups are faced with underemployment and unemployment they may be at a greater risk of experiencing feelings of being devalued. These feelings, in turn, can lead to difficulties in adjusting to the new country (Batrouney, 1991; Krupinski, 1984).

Krupinski (1984) and Furnham and Bochner (1986) also showed a relationship between length of residence in a country and adaptation. Krupinski stated that: "...increasing length of stay was associated with social, economic and to a lesser extent, cultural assimilation especially of those groups, who came from more developed backgrounds." (p. 936) According to Furnham and Bochner (1986), researchers have reported a U-curve pattern of adjustment by immigrants settling in new countries. That

adaptation. Because length of residence influences adaptation (Sonn, 1991), it is also hypothesised that coloured South Africans who have lived in Australia for longer will have a lower PSC than those who have lived in Australia for a short period.

Contextual factors: Racism, discrimination, and policies. Many researchers (e. g., Barou, 1981; Berry et al., 1992) have suggested that contextual factors can also influence the way in which people respond to intercultural contact. For example, negative experiences encountered by immigrants during the settlement process can have negative implications for subsequent adaptation patterns and wellbeing. In particular, incidents of racism and discrimination are discernible difficulties encountered by migrants entering a new social milieu (Barou, 1981; Church, 1982; Cox, 1989; Nicassio, 1983; Saran, 1980). The effects of racism and discrimination can be extremely damaging to the individual, the group, and to the larger social structure. It has been argued that some groups, in particular those that are visibly different from host groups, are at greater risk of being discriminated against (Krupinski, 1984). On a different level, there has also been support for the culture distance hypothesis, which suggests that immigrants who come from a culture congruent with the host culture might experience fewer adjustment difficulties (Furnham & Bochner, 1986;

Krupinski, 1984). Those who come from a culture that is incongruent with the host culture may experience greater levels of stress and subsequently increased mental and physical health problems (Barou, 1981; Furnham & Bochner, 1986; Saran, 1980). Krupinski (1984) supported this view, and added that a lower social and occupational status in the new country, compared to what people had in their country of origin, also contributes to the stress encountered by immigrant groups.

Research findings are diverse, but some effects of, and responses to, discrimination and prejudice include a loss of self esteem, an increased sense of isolation, the devaluing of one's own culture, externalisation of reference groups, and marginalisation of the individual and/or group (Batrouney, 1991; Berry, 1984; Saran, 1980). For example, Saran (1980) stated that some major adjustment difficulties experienced by Indian immigrants stemmed from the major cultural differences that existed between the Indian culture and the culture of host (USA).

Other external dynamics and social forces (e. g., dominant group tolerance, government policy and levels of support) have been discussed as factors that can influence the adaptation process (Berry, et al., 1992). Many of these factors influence the emergence, nature, and function of ethnic and other minority communities, as well as the strength of identification in such

communities (Boekestijn, 1988; Cox, 1989; Smith, 1991; Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1991).

Batrouney (1991) and Prilleltensky (1993) have emphasised the role government policies play in facilitating the adaptation process, in particular where groups come from very diverse and culturally different contexts. For example, supportive national policies and programs (e. g., English as a second language program, recognition of qualifications, provision of culturally sensitive social and welfare services, anti-discrimination legislation) embedded within a larger multicultural framework can positively influence immigrant adaptation to the new context (Batrouney, 1991; Berry, 1984, 1986; Prilleltensky, 1993).

Expectations of the new context. According to Furnham and Bochner (1986), expectancy-value theory posits that a relationship exists between one's level of expectation and the actual the experiences a person has. The incongruencies that might exist between actual and expected experiences may influence adaptation. For example, Wiessman and Furnham (1987) relate the disparity that exists between expectations and the actual experiences of sojourners to wellbeing. Hertz (1981) suggested that positive expectations could be beneficial in the sense that this prepare the immigrant for change. However, Hertz stated there might be potential

dangers inherent in the denial of future difficulties, and the idealisation of the new country. Stoller (1981) argued that the adjustment experience and outcome might be detrimental for immigrants "if overvaluation of the culture of the country of settlement takes place" (p. 29). According to Berry (1984), anticipation of success at the pre-entry level of migration is often met with the reality of unrealised and unfulfilled expectations during the post-arrival stage, which, in turn, can have negative implications for the adaptation process.

Furnham and Bochner (1986), however, stated that not all positive changes (i. e., increase in living standards, better education, and health facilities) lead to positive results (increased psychological and physical health) or that negative changes (difficulties in learning a new language, absence of close friends or family) necessarily lead to negative results (e. g., depression, neurosis). One should, therefore, be cautious in interpreting the success of the immigration and settlement processes and take into consideration the array of factors that mediate and impact on the process.

Psychological wellbeing, PSC, and social support networks. The roles of PSC and social support networks in facilitating adaptation to new contexts have received considerable attention. It has been argued that social support can contribute to psychological wellbeing and quality of life in

different contexts and circumstances (e. g., Cauce, Hannan, & Sargeant, 1992; Cohen & Wills, 1985; Mitchell & Trickett, 1980; Rose, 1990). Psychological wellbeing has been used as an indicator of adjustment, and has been defined and assessed in many different ways (Cohen & Wills, 1985; Mitchell & Trickett, 1980). The different measures used to assess psychological wellbeing have typically included measures of stress (e. g., life events checklists), psychological and physical symptomatology, and indices of psychiatric disorders. These measures reflect the different dimensions of psychological wellbeing.

The various forms of the General Health Questionnaire (GHQ) have been used to assess psychological wellbeing in a number of studies (Goldberg & Williams, 1988; McDowell & Newell, 1987). Liang and Bogat (1992), for example, used a version of the GHQ as an indicator of adjustment because it assessed both psychological and physical symptomatology. The subscales contained in the GHQ-30 measure depression, anxiety, insomnia and lack of energy, and social functioning (Goldberg & Williams, 1988). These are some of the symptoms associated with the stresses of cross-cultural transition and immigrant adaptation (Church, 1982; Furnham & Bochner, 1986).

Social support networks are often severed because of immigration,

exacerbating levels of stress and increasing the risk of negative psychological outcomes. Cohen and Syme (1985) stated that social support can enhance health or psychological wellbeing in direct and indirect ways. Direct social supportive functions occur because people are socially integrated into, and embedded in, networks within communities that provide them with social roles, norms, and positive experiences. A result of social integration is that people will be less likely to experience negative psychological outcomes associated with stress (Cohen & Wills, 1985). Thus, the loss of social support networks caused by immigration can put people at greater risk of negative psychological outcomes.

The stress buffering effect implies that support may intervene between "the stressful event ... and the stress experience by attenuating or preventing a stress response" (Cohen & Syme, 1985, p. 7). That is, support may facilitate the redefinition or reduction of perceived harm, and it may also contribute by enhancing a person's coping abilities. According to Cohen and Syme (1985), "Support may intervene between the experience of stress and the onset of the pathological outcome by reducing or eliminating the stress experience or by directly influencing responsible illness behaviours or physiological processes" (p. 7). Thus, immigrant support networks may facilitate coping in a range of ways depending on the nature

of the stress inducing factors.

Researchers (e. g., Berry, 1984, 1986; Krupinski, 1984) have stated that having access to same origin social support networks and social resources in the new country is psychologically and socially invaluable to immigrant groups. To demonstrate the role of same origin social support networks, Cox (1989) argued that some community development efforts should focus on developing social networks along ethnic and cultural markers because of the unparalleled contributions such structures and networks make to the wellbeing of immigrant and other groups. According to Cox (1986), "Within the familiar surroundings of the ethnic group, the immigrant or minority group member will usually find acceptance, common interests, opportunities to give and receive and a sense of belonging." (p. 147). Such networks provide opportunities for PSC, and in turn, are related to lowered probability of mental and physical illness (Furnham & Bochner, 1986).

Krupinski (1984) also found that the mental and physical health of immigrants are related to a number of factors inherent in the immigration process. In particular, he reported that psychiatric disorders can be related to the stresses of immigration and settlement in a new country. These stresses included employment issues, accommodation, isolation, boredom,

and language proficiency. Moreover, Krupinski suggested that lowered rates of psychiatric morbidity can be associated with the development over time of immigrant communities. Similarly, Furnham and Bochner (1986) argued that the loss of support networks associated with immigration can lead to increases in negative physical and mental health outcomes.

Chavis (1983), Cohen and Syme (1985) and Sarason (1974), among others, have advocated for the development of social support systems on the basis that such systems can serve as vehicles that can be used to facilitate the development of stronger, healthier, and more cohesive communities. According to Church (1982), "Psychological security, self esteem, and a sense of belonging are provided (by protective enclaves), and anxiety, feelings of powerlessness, and social stress are reduced" (p. 552). These social support networks provide opportunities for social integration and facilitate the development of sense of belonging and identification. Social support networks also fulfil a linking function through connecting people to the larger social context. They provide support through mediating between stressful events and experiences of stress (Cohen & Wills, 1985). The structures and functions characteristic of strong social support networks reflect the elements underlying PSC (McMillan & Chavis, 1986). In light of the above information, it is hypothesised that (a) there will be significant

differences between those who have a high PSC and those who have a low PSC in terms of psychological wellbeing, as measured by the GHQ-30, and (b) there will be negative relationships between PSC and psychological wellbeing, because a greater score on the PSC scale indicates a higher PSC and a low score on the GHQ-30 reflects better psychological wellbeing.

Associations have been noted by a number of researchers (e. g., Rosenthal & Hrynevich, 1986; Rosenthal, Whittle, & Bell, 1989; Smith, 1991) between ethnic group membership, identity formation, and self-concept. Rosenthal, et al., (1989) conducted a study exploring the dynamic nature of ethnicity among Greek-Australian adolescents. They found that being a member of an ethnic group and having a shared background, can influence the development of a positive self-concept. Smith (1991) suggested that the acceptance of one's ethnic identity is positively related to self-esteem. Being firmly entrenched in a particular culture may have positive implications for identity development and wellbeing. On the other hand, this raises questions about the adaptation and wellbeing of groups that are not firmly rooted in a particular culture. How do such groups respond to cross-cultural transition and what are the implications for identity formation and wellbeing? For example, Berry (1984, 1986) and Bochner's (1982) responses of assimilation and marginalisation imply the rejection of a

particular cultural identity. These adaptive responses are associated with increased risks of stress, alienation, and other negative psychological outcomes.

Rosenthal et al.'s (1989) notion of situational ethnicity implies patterns of interaction, salience of ethnicity, and identification are largely determined by the social context. Internal group dynamics and characteristics (e. g., attitudes towards the maintenance of one's culture, reason for migration, a shared worldview and cultural patterns, and values) also influence the development of social support networks and reference groups. These social support networks and, perhaps, also reference groups have important implications for the adaptation and identity formation processes of groups and individuals (Church, 1982; Cox, 1989). Therefore, it is also hypothesised that there will be positive relationships between PSC, and ethnic and national identification.

This does not mean that multicultural networks are not also beneficial to the adaptation and settlement processes. It has been demonstrated that both multicultural and monocultural social networks are positively related to adaptation and life satisfaction. For example, according to Scott and Scott (1985), people who have multicultural social networks show satisfaction with certain areas of a person's life and general

satisfaction. On the other hand, Saran (1980) reported that Indian people who migrated from eastern countries tended to be monocultural and this sometimes contributed to unfavourable opinions about the host. However, he notes those opinions could have developed from the perceived discrimination and racism against Indians in the United States. This may not always be the case.

Leslie (1992) suggested that homogeneous networks may have the opposite effect. That is, rather than facilitating interaction with the larger society such networks may diminish interactions, leading to negatively adaptive responses, including insulating the immigrant group from the larger society. She recognises that many other contextual influences might contribute to such negative responses. In view of this, Berry et al., (1992) argue that multicultural policies should aim to encourage the participation in the larger society and reflect support for the maintenance of positive cultural practices, traditions, and values.

Research shows that many factors that influence immigrant adjustment. In view of this, it has been hypothesised that relationships exists between PSC, demographic factors, length of residence, and adaptation. The hypothesised relations are shown in Figure 2 on page 151.

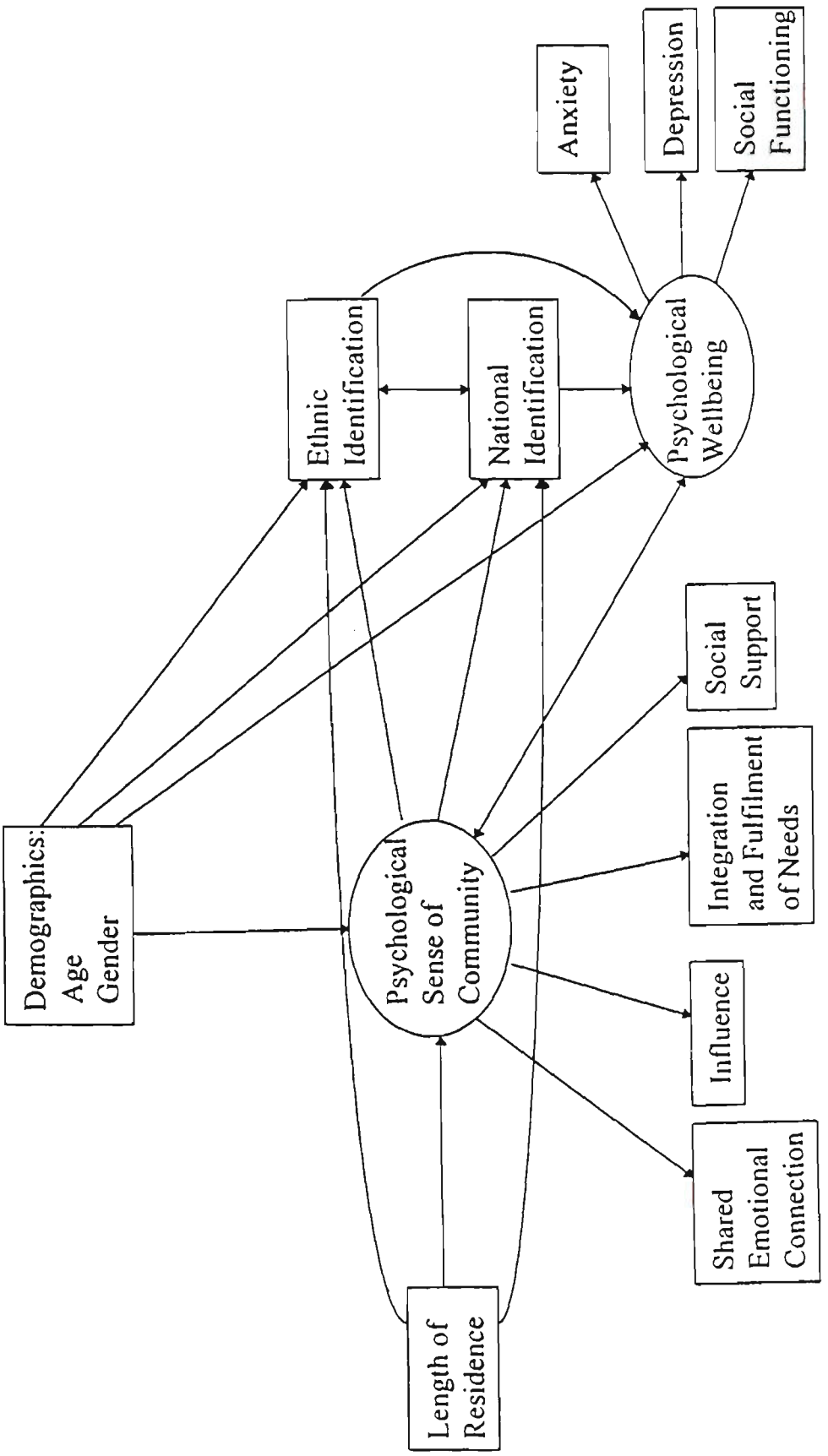

Figure 2. Proposed Model for PSC and Adaptation.

The first study and other research (e. g., Barou, 1981; Batrouney, 1991; Sonn, 1991) have also shown that there are specific factors that have influenced the adaptation of African immigrants to new contexts which need to be considered when researching these communities.

African Immigrants' Adaptation Challenges

Few sources document the adaptation challenges experienced by African immigrants. Available sources reported those African immigrants resettling in Western cultures often experienced many unique adaptation challenges. These stemmed from their inherently different value and cultural systems and their distinctive physical appearance. Barou (1981), for example, argued that the resocialisation problems of African immigrants in Western societies were often associated with a loss of identity and ethnicity, and disparities that existed between the person's internalised value system and the value system of the host country. The cultural distance that existed precipitated some adaptation difficulties experienced by African immigrants and influenced the nature of the coping mechanisms and other adaptive responses. Importantly, Barou argued that any investigation into the challenges faced by Africans need to take into consideration individual, ecological, and other contextual factors.

Batrouney (1991) reported the needs and characteristics of selected African populations in Melbourne. Among other findings, he suggested that the cultural values[14] of African groups significantly influenced their settlement in Melbourne. Africans often found themselves isolated and separated from their nuclear and extended families for reasons including, mode of immigration and the immigration policies of the receiving country. Extended family networks have significant meaning and value to African immigrants. It is this aspect that receiving countries often underestimate in terms of support and value. A parochial conception of family often limit opportunities for immigration and family reunion, and indirectly influenced the settlement and adjustment of individuals and groups (Batrouney, 1991). Consistent with Williams and Berry (1991), Batrouney argued that the isolation (from extended family networks) and alienation (from the new environment) are often exacerbated by family separation and the absence of appropriate social support networks.

Similar to other immigrant groups, Batrouney (1991) also reported that many Africans experienced racial discrimination, underemployment, language difficulties, had a lack of knowledge about services, and certain

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[14] The core values reported by Batrouney (1991) were: (a) the significance accorded to the extended family; (b) respect for elders - especially those in ones own family; and (c) male dominance and female subservience.

other difficulties inherent in cross-cultural transition. Batrouney has highlighted domestic violence, other gender related issues, and alienation from children. He has linked these outcomes to a conflict between the value system of the country of origin and the receiving country (Batrouney, 1991). According to Batrouney, this conflict is embedded in the patriarchal nature of many African societies, and the changing nature of female roles in Australia.

Other reported findings revealed that many members of the African community expressed high levels of social interaction with members from their ingroup (Batrouney, 1991). Batrouney also found that Africans reported high levels of affiliation with organisations related to their communities of origin. Among some reasons for these affiliations were recency of arrival, salience of ethnicity, and sense of alienation from the larger society (Batrouney, 1991).

Many groups to which people belonged had a social agenda and they had been established for some cultural and welfare purposes (Batrouney, 1991). The high levels of social interaction and primary affiliations with members from the same group reflected that the group is in its early stages of arrival (Batrouney, 1991). This also reflects the significant social support roles culturally homogeneous groups perform for those adapting to a new

socio-cultural context.

South African immigrants adaptation patterns. Sonn (1991) investigated variables that have an impact on the adjustment of black South African immigrants (i. e. people who were racially classified as coloured, Indian and Asiatic in South Africa) in Australia. He found that adult South Africans (people who came to Australia as adults) were more certain about their identification with and intentions to reside permanently in Australia, than their children (who came to Australia as children). Sonn argued that the empowerment of black South Africans and the changing nature of intergroup relations in South Africa encouraged the children's identification with black groups. This, combined with the fact that the adults decided to emigrate, may also have influenced the youths' uncertainty about identification with, and permanent residence in Australia. Sonn also argued that the youth idealised their country of origin, overlooking and repressing the negative events taking place in the country. Because of Sonn's finding, it was hypothesised that coloured South Africans who came to Australia as adults would have lower South African PSC compared to those who came to Australia as children.

The fulfilment of needs and aspirations after arrival in Australia, with the relative freedom experienced in Australia (e. g., being treated as

human and gaining economic benefits), also facilitated a strong identification with Australia among adult immigrants (Sonn, 1991). This finding is consistent with expectancy-value theory (Furnham & Bochner, 1986). However, Sonn (1991) also reported that South Africans frequently interacted with other South Africans and highly valued this interaction. Sonn interpreted this as the emergence of a social support infrastructure among South Africans. The support structures fulfil instrumental, tangible, and emotional functions, and play a role in the construction and maintenance of cultural or ethnic identities (Cohen & Wills, 1985; Furnham & Bochner, 1986). The South Africans wanted to interact with people they could relate to, and who shared similar histories and worldviews.

Sonn (1991) also found that the South Africans in his study valued the interaction they had with Australians. This is a reflection of the group's crosscutting memberships and its integration into the larger society. This is consistent with Berry's (1984) concept of integration as an adaptive response to cross-cultural contact. Integration may have been facilitated by the group's cultural compatibility with the dominant Australian culture (Taft, 1985), and the meeting of people's needs within the Australian context -- needs and opportunities that they were deprived of in South Africa. Crosscutting group membership, however, also raises questions about the

situational nature of ethnicity (Rosenthal et al., 1986; Rotheram-Borus, 1990). The next study addresses the question, to what extent are people's identities dependent on the context they are in?

PSC among coloured South Africans

The first part of this thesis revealed some interesting findings about the nature of PSC in the South African community. Blauner (1972) highlighted the importance of having a choice in deciding group membership. The coloured community did not have any choice in group membership and, as the first study showed, one response to the imposition of identity labels was a lack of identification with the imposed identity label. Group members, instead, identified with their national identity -- South African. This national identity label did not have negative connotations and it served as an indicator of shared identity, history and origin. The results also showed that people felt the group had no distinct cultural traits that underpinned their identity, although some findings suggest that the group retained some traits of its ancestral groups. As a result, PSC was not based on particular cultural markers.

The results of the first study further showed that the Apartheid system facilitated the development of ingroup preferences and a coloured

group climate. It was argued that this could have been a learned response that has its foundations in racial oppression (Memmi, 1984; Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1991, Watts, 1994a). On the other hand, it was suggested that high levels of interaction with ingroup members reflected a positively adaptive response to the Apartheid system. Cox (1989) and Furnham and Bochner (1986), have found that people are drawn to same origin ethnic/racial groups, and that groups which form around some shared criteria are important to the adaptation process of immigrants. These homogeneous groups provide various supportive functions such as emotional, informational, and tangible support, and they also facilitate in the adaptation process (Berry, 1984, 1986; Cohen & Wills, 1985). Therefore, it is hypothesised that there will be significant differences between those who have a high PSC and those who have a low PSC in terms of psychological wellbeing.

The first study also showed that people identified with the experiences they had in mediating structures and activity settings (O'Donnell, et al., 1993) within 'ethnically homogeneous' contexts. These network structures and relations provided opportunities for people to experience acceptance and equality despite skin colour, and they facilitated the development of a coloured group climate. Tajfel (1981) stated that

groups in subordinate positions may respond by creating opportunities and settings in which members can experience a sense of dignity, pride and belonging.

It was argued that people in the coloured community did not derive a PSC from the imposed identity label and status. Instead local sporting, church, and family networks (still within a larger social structure) provided opportunities in which people could experience community. Apartheid augmented this PSC and the shared group experiences that stemmed from living in the system. Thus, the sociopolitical realities of the context, combined with histories and common experiences of Apartheid oppression, contributed to a shared emotional connection, which may be central to identification.

The next study investigates the structures, content, processes, and interpersonal factors that underlie PSC for the South African community in Australia. The study also examines how PSC influences adaptation (i. e., psychological wellbeing and ethnic and national identification). More specifically, the study explores the way in which PSC and its elements have been translated into the Australian context and how this influences identification and psychological wellbeing. More specifically, the following hypotheses have been developed:

(a) There will be negative relationships between PSC and psychological wellbeing (as measured by the GHQ-30) because a greater score on the PSC scale indicates a higher PSC and a low score on the GHQ-30 reflects better psychological wellbeing.

(b) There will be positive relationships between PSC and ethnic and national identification.

(c) The elements of PSC will differentially contribute to the prediction of ethnic and national identification.

(d) The elements of PSC will differentially contribute to the prediction of psychological wellbeing.

(e) PSC will differ significantly between people how had been living in Australia for a long period compared to people who had been living in Australia for a short period.

(f) People who came to Australia as adults will have lower PSC compared to people who came to Australia as children.

(g) There will be significant differences between those who have a high PSC and those who have a low PSC in terms of the GHQ-30 and its subscales.

(h) Age, education, occupation, religion, and gender will be significant predictors of PSC and psychological wellbeing.

CHAPTER 9

METHOD

Participants

A total of 97 people participated in the second study. Two hundred questionnaires were distributed to participants, an overall response rate of 48.5 % was achieved. All participants were first generation immigrants from South Africa who have settled in Australia. Participants, or their parents, were classified as coloured according to the Apartheid laws (the Population Registration Act) when they lived in South Africa.

Overall, 51 participants were female and 46 were male. The mean age of the participants was 36.32 years (range between 18 - 65 years of age). Most participants immigrated to Australia as adults (66) and the remainder came with their parents (31). Participants had been living in Australia for an average of 10.76 years (SD = 4.56).

Participants had an average of 13.10 years (SD= 2.62) of education. Thus, most participants had completed their secondary schooling. Participants were employed in a range of occupations including professional (20), administrative (20) and technical trades (18). A few participants were

tertiary students (7) and some participants listed their employment as home duties (4).

In this study, the low participant response rate may have been exacerbated by the sensitivity of the research topic. In fact, some participants informed the researcher that they found the questions in the survey challenging, and a few returned the survey incomplete. Lazarus (1995, personal communication) also said that research into the coloured community in South Africa is challenging because of the ambiguity and sensitivity associated with the imposed identity label and the dynamic sociopolitical context.

Instruments

The survey used for this thesis included instruments that assessed PSC and psychological wellbeing as well as items that measured ethnic and national identification.

Psychological sense of community. The Sense of Community Index (SCI)(Chavis et al., 1986) was adapted to assess PSC in this community. Consistent with arguments that emphasise the development of culturally anchored methodologies and measures (Berry, et al., 1992; Hughes, et al., 1993), the interview data collected in the first study

facilitated the development of culturally grounded items to assess PSC. That is, it allowed the researcher to consider cultural nuances, group-specific meanings, and worldviews in adapting the items of the SCI. Thus, the interviews allowed for items from the SCI to be adapted to reflect the langauge used by the interviewees. Specifically, it allowed substitutions for the block and neighbourhood referents. For example: "Very few of my neighbours know me" was changed to "Very few South Africans in Australia know me"; "I care what my neighbours think of my actions" was changed to "It does not matter to me what South Africans think of my behaviour when I socialise with them" and; "My neighbours and I want the same things from our block" was changed to "Most South Africans in Australia share the same values about family togetherness".

The interviews also allowed the development of additional items to assess dimensions of PSC. For example, "South Africans are very supportive of each other in times of emotional challenges" and "I feel the South African group I socialise with accepts me as a member" were incorporated in the survey. All the items were assessed on a 5 point Likert-type scale (ranging from strongly agree = 5 to strongly disagree = 1).

According to Pretty (1990), Chavis reported a coefficient alpha of .71 for the SCI. Perkins, Florin, Rich, Wandersman, and Chavis (1990)

reported an alpha coefficient of .80. The adapted version of the SCI, with additional items, yielded a Cronbach's coefficient alpha of .80.

Ten participants completed a pilot survey which assessed the clarity of items and response formats, the validity of the questions, item specificity, and the length of time it would take to complete the survey. Recommended changes were implemented before the final survey was distributed (Appendix C).

Identification. People were asked to indicate on a continuous scale the extent to which they identified with a particular ethnic identity label (that is, coloured South African, black South African, white South African, South African). Some theorists (e. g., Bulhan, 1985; Tajfel, 1981) have argued that identity formation and identification are influenced by intercultural contact and the power relationships that may exist between groups in a particular context. Ethnic identity salience has also been used as an indicator of adaptation to a particular context (Berry, 1984, 1986; Church, 1982; Furnham & Bochner, 1986; Sayegh & Lasry, 1992; Taft, 1985).

To tap meanings associated with being South African, people were asked to place a mark between adjectives representing two extremes. These adjectives were used during interviews to describe coloured South Africans.

For example, participants were asked; "How would you describe South Africans?", and had to respond by placing a mark between adjectives including: open-minded and dogmatic, jolly and gloomy, family-oriented and individualistic; and open and reserved.

Psychological wellbeing. The various forms of the GHQ have been used to assess psychological wellbeing (Goldberg & Williams, 1988; McDowell & Newell, 1987). In this study the GHQ-30 was used as an indicator of psychological wellbeing. McDowell and Newell (1987) said that the factors contained in the different versions of the scale are consistent and they are stable across samples. The GHQ-30 assesses psychological and physical symptomatology and has been validated in many cultural settings with consistent reliability coefficients (mean alpha = .89) (Goldberg & Williams, 1988; McDowell & Newell, 1987). The subscales contained in the GHQ-30 measure depression, anxiety, insomnia and lack of energy, and social functioning (Goldberg &Williams, 1988).

Demographic information. A range of demographic variables has been identified as predictors of adaptation contexts and as predictors of PSC (Berry, 1984, 1986; Chavis, 1983; Furnham & Bochner, 1986). Participants were, therefore, asked to provide information about their gender, religion, age, years of education, marital status, racial classification in South Africa

before emigration, place of residence in South Africa, year settled in Australia, occupation, status when they migrated, language of instruction in South Africa and language spoken at home in Australia.

Procedure

Participants were recruited in a variety of ways including the distribution of surveys through key informants and the snowball technique. Neuman (1991) defined snowball sampling as "a method for identifying and "sampling" or selecting the cases in a network." (p. 204) The technique was used because the researcher was interested in a specific community of people and participants were difficult to reach.

Most participants were recruited through the researcher's social networks and others were recruited through a South African-Australian social organisation. Most surveys were mailed to participants (although some envelopes were hand delivered by the researcher and by network members). The package distributed to participants contained a survey, the GHQ-30, and a self-addressed postage-paid envelope.

The survey included a cover letter that informed all potential participants of the aims, anonymity and confidentiality of the project, and the approximate time it would take to complete the survey. Participants

were also informed that statistical information and interpretations of the findings from the project may be presented at conferences and may be published in refereed journals. The researcher also provided contact numbers for the participants in case they had any queries or further information about the survey or the project was needed.

All surveys included instructions informing participants of the content of, and how to mark responses on, the survey. The GHQ-30 contained its own instructions. People were asked to complete the survey individually and in one sitting. They were also asked to return the survey to the investigator as soon as possible after completion.

After four weeks participants were sent their first reminder notice. This notice informed participants of the nature of the research and they were reassured of that the information they provided will remain confidential and anonymous. A second reminder notice was sent within four weeks after the first reminder notice. This notice contained similar information to the first notice. Where possible, the researcher contacted participants via a telephone to remind them of the survey and to clarify the purpose of the project.

CHAPTER 10

RESULTS

This study explored the ways in which a PSC that developed in South Africa translated to the Australian context. The study also looked at how PSC influenced identification and wellbeing. The Sense of Community Index (SCI) (Chavis et al., 1986) was adapted to assess PSC in the coloured South African community in Australia. Pretty (1990) reported a coefficient alpha of .71 and Perkins, et al., (1990) reported a alpha of .80 for the SCI. All items were assessed on a 5-point Likert-type scale. Thus, high ratings indicated high PSC and low ratings indicated low PSC.

In order to tap the meanings associated with being South African, people were asked to rate how they would describe a coloured South African person on a series of bipolar scales. The scales were developed using interview data. Findings are presented in Table 10. Most people rated coloured South Africans positively describing them to be jolly, family-oriented, humorous, and helpful. People also rated them as closeknit, open-minded, and cooperative. These ratings, however, were more variable.

Table 10

Means and Standard Deviations for Participant Ratings of Adjectives Describing Coloured South Africans

Traits	M	SD
Open-minded -- Dogmatic	3.24	1.28
Reserved -- Open	3.40	1.24
Closeknit -- Divided	3.71	1.21
Reliable -- Unreliable	3.80	1.02
Cooperative -- Uncooperative	3.96	1.02
Religious -- Irreligious	4.00	1.01
Helpful -- Unhelpful	4.20	.91
Friendly -- Unfriendly	4.29	.91
Musical -- Not Musical	4.29	.83
Jolly -- Gloomy	4.31	.78
Humorous-- Dreary	4.32	.92
Family-oriented -- Individualistic	4.59	.83
Sociable --Unsociable	4.47	.78

Note: the direction of the questions has been altered to present consistency in scoring

Overall, these ratings are consistent with people's descriptions of what it meant to be a coloured South African in South Africa. Many of these descriptors were also listed, in open-ended responses, as cultural characteristics of the community. This suggests that much of what the sample construed as cultural traits was reflected in values, patterns of interaction, and Tönnies' (1955) well defined patterns of reunion.

Before other data analysis, the dependent variables ethnic identification, national identification, and wellbeing were examined for missing values, and to assess the fit between the data and the assumptions of

multivariate analysis. Ethnic identification and national identification had 10 and 11 missing cases, respectively. The GHQ-30 had 25 missing cases, that is, 25 participants did not complete the survey. All missing cases were deleted listwise from the data analysis. Ethnic identity was negatively skewed, however, the skewness was not extreme and did not warrant transformation (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1989).

PSC among South African immigrants in Australia

McMillan and Chavis (1986) argued that the different components of the PSC model would be interrelated and would interact to varying degrees in different communities. An exploratory principal factor analysis was conducted to investigate underlying relationships between the 18 PSC items and to gain a better understanding of the relationships between the components of the scale. According to Tabachnik and Fidell (1989), principal factors analysis is recommended: "If you are interested in a theoretical solution uncontaminated by unique and error variability, " (p. 625). Kaiser's measure of sampling adequacy (.72) suggested that the correlation matrix was suitable for factoring (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1989).

Six factors with eigenvalues greater than one were obtained, explaining. These factors explained 54.1% of the variance. This reflected

the multidimensional nature of PSC. A scree plot, in combination with McMillan and Chavis' (1986) argument that the PSC model has four core components, was used to decide the number of meaningful factors to include in later analyses. Principal-axis factoring with oblique rotation (oblimin) was performed, using SPSS for Windows, to explore the underlying patterns of relationships among the 18 PSC items. Oblimin rotation was selected to allow for correlation between factors. The solution was forced to four factors with a cut off of .5 set as the criterion for a variable's inclusion. This cut off was selected because a greater loading suggests that a variable is a purer measure of a particular construct (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1989). The four factors explained 45.9 % of the overall variance. Table 11 presents the factor pattern matrix for the items. Overall, 13 items loaded strongly onto the four factors that were extracted. Five of the 18 items (i. e., know me, from South Africa, fix problems, identify, informed) did not have a loading above .5 on any of the factors. Two of these items were adapted from the SCI and three were developed for the survey.

The first factor contained the items, conform (views), informed, prefer to socialise, social ties, and traditions. Because of the items that loaded onto this factor, it was interpreted as shared emotional connection. The items reflect the role of quality support networks and shared

Table 11

Results for Principal Factor Extraction with Oblique Rotation (n = 97)

Item	Factors			
	Shared emotional connection	Influence	Integration and fulfilment of needs	Social support
Social Ties (Q10)	.78			
Contact (Q12)	.72			
Prefer to socialise (Q6)	.71			
Traditions (Q26)	.54			
Conform/views (Q16)	.51			
Conform/behaviour (Q13)		.92		
Control (Q14)		.58		
Get along (Q19)			.70	
Values (Q 18)			.56	
Comfortable (Q20)			.55	
Accept me (Q11)			.54	
Material (Q21)				.85
Emotional support (Q22)				.68

Note: All factor loadings below .5 were suppressed

background in the experience of community. Many people suggested that they enjoyed being with other South Africans because it gave them a sense of familiarity. People also felt that keeping informed about South Africa increased their identification with the community.

The items in the second factor reflected an aspect of influence,

namely conformity. Participants felt they had little control (M = 2.57) over how members of this community behaved. They also felt that the community did not have any control over the behaviour of its members (M = 2.8). This shows that people are not controlled in the setting. This does not mean people did not conform to the subjective norms of the group.

The items that loaded onto the third factor included items that reflected shared values and integration into the community. These items reflected some benefits associated with group membership. Factor 3 reflected the notion of person-environment fit. That is, people felt that they were accepted by the group, members of the group get along with each other, they are comfortable with each other, and they shared values about family togetherness.

Two items that assessed perceived tangible and subjective support loaded strongly onto Factor 4. This factor was interpreted as perceived social support (dependability). The factor indicated that there is a perception among South African people that they could depend on each other for different forms of social support. The community was perceived as supportive and helpful.

The inter-factor correlation matrix showed that shared emotional connection and the social support correlated .40, explaining 16% of

overlapping variance (Table 12). A number of correlations among the other factors were also observed. The strong relationship between shared emotional connection and social support provided some validation for the interpretation of the factors, because perceived support was implicit in quality networks. Influence and integration and fulfilment of needs correlated with shared emotional connection, while social support correlated with integration and fulfilment of needs. These correlations highlight the interrelatedness of the various dimensions of PSC.

Table 12

Correlation Matrix for PSC Factors

Subscale	1	2	3	4
1 Shared emotional connection				
2 Influence	.21			
3 Integration and fulfilment of needs	.29	.11		
4 Social support	.40	.03	.24	

Note. All coefficients were rounded to two decimal places.

Overall, the factor correlation matrix supported McMillan and Chavis' (1986) proposition that the core components of PSC would be

present in different communities and that these components would interact to varying degrees. The findings, however, also showed different processes and content underlying PSC for this South African community. Specifically, these findings show that shared emotional connection and social support are key variables that have translated into the Australian context and these components contribute to a PSC.

Reliability Analysis of the PSC Subscales

Cronbach's alpha internal consistency coefficients were calculated for the PSC scale and the four subscales derived in the factor analysis (see Table 13). For the overall scale, with 13 items, an internal consistency coefficient of .80 was obtained. A strong reliability coefficient was found for the scale measuring shared emotional connection (.81). Good internal consistency coefficients were also found for the scales measuring influence (.73), integration and fulfilment of needs (.75), and social support (.78).

Table 13

Reliability Coefficients for PSC Subscales

Scale	Alpha
Shared emotional connection	.81
Influence	.73
Integration and Fulfilment of Needs	.75
Social Support	.78
Total Scale	.80

Correlations between PSC Subscales, Ethnic and National Identification, and GHQ-30

Earlier it was argued that psychological wellbeing and ethnic and national identification were indicators of immigrant adaptation. It was also hypothesised that there would be negative relationships between the PSC subscales and scores on the GHQ-30 and the anxiety, depression, and social functioning subscales, and positive relationships between the PSC subscales and ethnic and national identification. To test these hypotheses, Pearson's product moment correlation coefficients were calculated. These correlation coefficients are presented in Table 14.

There were several significant relationships between the PSC subscales, GHQ-30, GHQ-30 subscales, ethnic and national identification. The shared emotional connection subscale had significant positive relationships with ethnic identification (.44) and national identification (.34). This subscale also had significant relationships with the GHQ-30 (.24) and the anxiety subscale (.27). This suggested that those with ill-health needed stronger emotional connections. In turn, the social support subscale had significant relationships with the GHQ-30 (-.28), and the depression (-.39) and social functioning (-.32) subscales. These relationships suggested that people who perceive South Africans to be supportive may be less prone to ill health.

Table 14

Correlations between PSC Subscales (n = 87), Ethnic Identification (n = 81), National Identification (n=79), GHQ-30 Scores, Anxiety, Depression, Social Functioning (n = 72), and Length of Residence

Scale	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1 Shared emotional connection											
2 Influence	-.17										
3 Integration and fulfilment of needs	-.14	-.11									
4 Social support	-.32**	.08	-.10								
5 Ethnic identification	.44**	.16	.11	-.22							
6 National identification	.34**	.11	-.08	-.18	.26*						
7 GHQ-30	.24*	.02	.15	-.28*	.07	.22					
8 Anxiety	.27*	.12	.04	-.22	.18	.29*	.81**				
9 Depression	.14	.05	.24*	-.39**	.13	.17	.63**	.57**			
10 Social functioning	.17	-.05	.23	-.32**	.06	.14	.78**	.43**	.57**		
11 Length of residence	-.16	.00	.14	.07	-.07	-.28**	-.08	-.06	.13	-.02	

*p < .05. **p < .01.

There was also a positive relationship between national identification and anxiety (.29). This suggested that participants with lowered wellbeing have a stronger identification as South African.

Finally, length of residence had a significant negative relationship with national identification (-.28). This suggested that people who had lived in Australia for a longer period are more likely to identify themselves as Australian. Length of residence did not have significant relationships with the other scales.

In order to investigate the relationship between PSC subscales and identification and GHQ-30, a set correlation analysis was performed between ethnic and national identification and GHQ-30 scores as the X - variables, and the PSC subscales as the Y- variables. This technique calculates eta^2 which is analogous to $\underline{R}^2$ calculated through canonical correlation (Cohen & Cohen, 1983). Before the data were analysed, missing cases on the dependent variables were deleted. Thirty-seven cases were deleted, leaving 60 valid cases for analyses. The missing cases were analysed for systematic relationships. No significant relationships were found between the missing cases on the dependent variables. For this analysis eta^2 (12, 140) = .41, $\underline{p}$ = .004. This coefficient must be interpreted with caution because of the small sample size. The finding suggested that

PSC played an important role in the adaptation process. Researchers have used identification (e. g., Berry, 1984; Taft, 1985) and psychological wellbeing (see Trickett & Mitchell, 1976) as indicators of adaptation. Given the relationship between PSC and identification and GHQ-30 scores, it is reasonable to suggest that PSC can serve as an indicator of adaptation.

Ideally one would test the model that is presented in Figure 2 (p.151). That is, one would analyse the strength of the direct and indirect relationships that exists between PSC and ethnic identification, psychological wellbeing, and length of residence using the LISREL model. However, this was not possible because after listwise deletion of cases for these variables only 53 cases remained. Typically, using this form of causal analyses requires a sample size greater than 100 (Breckler, 1990).

PSC Subscales as Predictors of Ethnic and National Identification

It was hypothesised that certain PSC subscales would be stronger predictors of ethnic and national identification. To investigate which variables predict ethnic and national identification, stepwise multiple regression analyses were conducted using SPSS for Windows. McMillan and Chavis (1986) did not specify the component of PSC that would be most influential. They suggested, however, that the components of the

model will be present in different communities. Therefore, stepwise regression was used to determine which PSC subscales would be stronger predictors of the criterion variables.

For the first regression analysis the PSC subscales were entered as the predictor variables and ethnic identification as the criterion variable. Table 15 shows the regression coefficients, standard errors of the coefficients, and standardised regression coefficients. Overall the equation explained 31% of the variance, $F(3,77) = 11.38$, $p < .05$. Three of the components contributed significantly to prediction of ethnic identification.

Table 15
Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Ethnic Identification (n = 80)

Variable	B	SE B	β	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1					
Shared emotional connection	.65	.12	.53**	.19	
Step 2					
Influence	.38	.13	.29**	.25	.06
Step 3					
Integration and Fulfilment of needs	.38	.15	.26*	.31	.06

*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

At step 1, with shared emotional connection in the equation, $R^2 = .19$, $F(1, 79) = 18.54$, $p < .01$. After step 2, influence was entered into the equation adding to the prediction, $R^2 = .25$, $F(2, 78) = 12.74$, $p < .01$. Thus, influence contributed significantly to the solution (6%) to explain 25% of the overall variance. At step 3, integration and fulfilment of needs were entered into the equation improving $R^2 = .31$, $F(3, 77) = 11.38$, $p < .05$.

As can be seen in Table 15, shared emotional connection predicted ethnic identification and accounted for 19% of the variance. This indicates that shared history and sentiments (Leighton, 1959) are central to ethnic identification. Influence and integration and fulfilment of needs each contributed significantly to the prediction of ethnic identification. This, overall, suggested that a strong relationship exists between PSC and ethnic identification. Therefore, PSC might facilitate the maintenance and development of ethnic identities.

Stepwise multiple regression analysis was also conducted with national identification as the criterion variable and the components of PSC as the predictor variables (Table 16). The overall equation accounted for 11 % of the variance, $R^2 = .11$, $F(1, 76) = 9.16$, $p < .001$. Only shared emotional connection significantly predicted national identification.

Table 16

Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting National Identification (n = 80)

Variable	B	SE B	β	R^2
Step 1				
Shared emotional connection	.45	.15	.32**	.11

** $p < .01$.

The beta coefficients suggested that shared emotional connection was a good predictor of identification as South African. This again suggested that shared emotional connection play an important role in identification and identity maintenance. People identified with the experiences and history associated with a particular group.

PSC Subscales as Predictors of Psychological Wellbeing

Researchers (e. g., Chavis, 1983; Cohen & Wills, 1985; Furnham & Bochner, 1986) showed that relationships exit between social support, PSC, and psychological wellbeing. Therefore, a third stepwise multiple regression procedure was performed with the GHQ-30 score as the criterion variable and the components of PSC as the predictor variables (Table 17). One component contributed significantly to prediction of psychological

wellbeing, $R^2 = .08$, $F(1, 68) = 5.80$, $p < .05$. The coefficient suggests that social support is a moderate predictor of psychological wellbeing. That is, those who perceive their social networks to be supportive will have greater psychological wellbeing.

Overall, the regression analyses suggests that PSC plays an important role in the adaptation process of coloured South African immigrants. Shared emotional connection and social support, in particular, are central components of this PSC.

Table 17

Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Psychological Wellbeing (n = 68)

Variable	B	SE B	β	R^2
Step 1				
Social Support	-2.87	1.19	-.28*	.08

*$p < .05$.

Multivariate ANOVA for Length of Residence and PSC Subscales

Research shows that length of residence is related to PSC (Berry,

1984, 1986; Glynn, 1981; Furnham & Bochner, 1986; Krupinksi, 1984). To explore the effect of length of residence on the PSC subscales, three groups were created using length of residence as the classification variable. One group had lived in Australia for one years to six years. A second group had lived in Australia for a period of seven to 10 years. A third group had lived in Australia for a period greater than 10 years. These groupings were used to ensure that their were sufficient cases in each cell to allow for statistical analysis. This breakdown also relates to U-curve patterns of adaptation (Furnham & Bochner, 1986). The means and standard deviations for the groups on the different scales are presented in Table 18. A multivariate ANOVA was conducted to assess the effect of length of residence on the PSC subscales.

No overall main effect was detected (Wilks' Lambda $\underline{F}$ (10, 138) = .79, $\underline{p} > .05$). The univariate tests showed no significant differences between the three groups on any of the subscales. The means and standard deviations for these groups suggested that there was little difference in terms of shared emotional connection. The convergence in responses across the scales suggests that length of residence has not necessarily led to a decrease in shared emotional connection, perceptions of social support, influence and integration and fulfilment of needs. Moreover, the finding suggests that

Table 18

Means and Standard Deviations for PSC Subscales and overall PSC

Scale	Group		
	6yrs or less n=9	6 to 10 yrs n=33	10 yrs and more n=34
Shared emotional connection			
M	15.67	18.33	15.91
SD	4.60	3.76	4.84
Influence			
M	5.22	6.06	5.27
SD	2.95	2.00	1.93
Integration and fulfilment of needs			
M	16.44	17.58	17.79
SD	5.29	1.62	2.51
Social support			
M	7.11	6.61	7.50
SD	2.67	2.14	2.00
PSC			
M	62.78	66.70	63.85
SD	17.65	8.74	11.35

Note. Means were calculated using subscale aggregates. The higher the score, the greater the shared emotional connection, influence, integration and fulfilment of needs, and social support.

PSC for members of this community has not diminished over time but may have taken on a different form in the new context.

The first study showed that people did not accept the identity label coloured in South Africa and preferred to identify as South African. Also, theorists (e. g., Berry, 1984, 1986; Furnham & Bochner, 1986) have reported positive relationships between length of residence and identification.

Oneway ANOVAs were also conducted length of residence in Australia as the independent variable and ethnic and national identification as the dependent variables. The results are presented in Table 19. According to the findings, there were no significant differences between the groups in terms of ethnic identification. Most people identified themselves as coloured and there was little variability between the groups.

Table 19

Oneway Analysis of Variance for Ethnic Identification and National Identification

	Group			
Scale	6yrs or less n=12	6 to 10 yrs n=42	10 yrs and more n=32	F
National identification (South African)				
M	4.25	3.86	3.19	
SD	.97	1.22	1.62	3.5*
Ethnic identification (Coloured)	n=10	n=44	n=32	
M	4.10	4.30	4.06	
SD	.99	1.21	1.29	.36

* $p < .05$.

On the other hand, there was a significant difference between the groups in terms of national identification. Least-significant difference post hoc analysis showed that people who had lived in Australia between seven to 10 years were less likely to identify as South African, while those who were in Australia for six years or less were more likely to identify as South African. These findings reflect the changes in meanings and functions associated with identity labels for this community. It also shows that as length of residence increases, identification with the new country increases.

Oneway ANOVA for Immigration Status and PSC Subscales

Sonn (1991) reported differences in commitment to Australia between people who came to Australia as adults and those who came as children. It was hypothesised that those who came to Australia as adults will have a lower PSC compared to those who came to Australia as children.

Oneway ANOVAs were also performed to see if there would be any differences on the PSC subscales and overall PSC for people who came to Australia as adults (n = 62) and those who came to Australia as children (n = 32). No significant differences were found between the two groups on the subscales and the overall scale (Table 20). Both groups' scores on the shared emotional connection, social support, and integration and fulfilment

of needs subscales suggested that people perceived the group to be supportive, they had things in common with people from this group, and the group met some of their needs. The scores on the influence subscale suggested that people did not differ about their perceptions of the group as one that did not dictate how others should behave.

Table 20

Oneway Analysis of Variance for PSC Subscales

Scale	Came to Australia as		F
	Child	Adult	
Shared emotional connection			
M	14.25	13.70	.30
SD	4.64	4.26	
Influence			
M	4.25	3.73	1.49
SD	2.05	1.62	
Integration and fulfilment of needs			
M	14.00	13.57	.66
SD	2.29	2.69	
Social support			
M	5.46	5.02	1.42
SD	1.56	1.96	
PSC			
M	38.29	36.52	1.32
SD	6.90	6.75	

Note. Means were calculated using scale aggregates. The higher the score, the greater the shared emotional connection, influence, integration and fulfilment of needs, and social support.

This finding suggests that PSC for this group is little affected by immigration status. It also suggests that the PSC that has translated into the Australian have similar underlying dynamics and processes for those who came as adults and those who came as children.

PSC and Psychological Wellbeing

It has been shown that relationships exists between social support, PSC, and psychological wellbeing (Chavis, 1983; Cohen & Wills, 1985; Furnham & Bochner, 1986). In this study, it was hypothesised that level of PSC will have an effect on psychological wellbeing as measured by the GHQ-30. To explore the effects of PSC the GHQ-30 subscale scores, three groups were created using percentiles as cut off points. One group had a PSC score of 60 or less. A second group had a PSC score of 61 through 70. The third group had a PSC of 71 or greater. The means and standard deviations on the GHQ-30 and the subscales are presented in to Table 21. Multivariate ANOVA showed that level of PSC had no significant main effect on the GHQ-30 score and GHQ-30 subscales (Pillai's criterion F (6, 148) = .09, $p > .05$). This suggests that level of PSC does not a have significant impact on psychological wellbeing, as measured by the GHQ-30, for this group of people.

Table 21

Means and Standard Deviations for Different Levels of PSC on the GHQ-30 and the Anxiety, Depression, and Social Functioning Subscales

Scale	Group		
	Low PSC n=21	Middle PSC n=31	High PSC n=23
GHQ-30			
M	19.14	21.16	22.22
SD	10.46	10.45	9.33
Anxiety			
M	2.53	2.48	3.70
SD	2.36	2.83	3.28
Depression			
M	.43	.68	.44
SD	.81	1.36	.99
Social functioning			
M	3.95	4.30	4.61
SD	3.64	1.93	1.97

Note. Means were calculated using scale aggregates. The higher the score, the greater the shared emotional connection, influence, integration and fulfilment of needs, and social support.

Oneway ANOVAs were also conducted with PSC score as the independent variable and ethnic and national identification as dependent variables. The means and standard deviations are presented in Table 22. There were no significant differences between the groups in terms of national identification. Tukey's HSD post hoc analyses showed, however, a significant difference between the groups in terms of their ethnic identification. Compared to the other groups, those who had a PSC of 71 or

greater had a higher mean score than those who had a low PSC and those who had a medium PSC. This showed that people with a high PSC were more certain to identify as coloured and the scores were also less variable. This suggests that PSC plays an important role in fostering and maintaining ethnic identification.

Table 22

Oneway Analysis of Variance for Ethnic Identification and National Identification

Scale	Group			F
	Low PSC	Middle PSC	High PSC	
National identification (South African)				
M	3.79	3.42	4.00	
SD	1.48	1.43	1.21	1.30
Ethnic identification (Coloured)				
M	3.80	4.03	4.73*	
SD	1.44	1.43	.67	4.28*

* $p < .05$.

Demographic Variables as Predictors of PSC

It was hypothesised that demographic variables will have differential relationships with PSC, ethnic and national identification and psychological wellbeing. To test these hypotheses, Pearson's product moment correlation coefficients were calculated (see Table 23). Marital status and age has a

Table 23

Correlations between Demographic Variables, PSC subscales, and Wellbeing

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1 Age												
2 Come to Australia	-.65**											
3 Education	-.06	.07										
4 Gender	-.08	.10	.11									
5 Marital status	-.28*	.38**	.02	.05								
6 Occupation	-.13	.12	-.11	.08	.18							
7 Religion	-.02	.07	.16	.01	.00	.16						
8 Wellbeing	-.29**	.11	.00	-.06	.23*	.17	-.14					
9 Shared emotional connection	-.06	-.03	.11	.12	-.02	.08	-.18	.24*				
10 Influence	-.00	-.05	.07	-.03	.07	.16	.03	.02	-.17			
11 Integration and fulfilment of needs	-.03	.03	.00	-.01	.05	.03	-.00	.15	-.13	-.10		
12 Social support	.21	-.13	-.15	-.02	-.14	.07	-.02	-.28*	-.32**	.08	-.09	

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

significant negative relationship (-.28), suggests that older people in this sample were more likely to be married.

A significant negative relationship between age and wellbeing (-.29) was also found. This finding suggest that the older the participant, the lower the level of ill health. There was also a significant positive relationship between marital status and wellbeing (.23). This suggests that participants who were not married were more likely to have a lowered wellbeing.

A series of stepwise multiple regression analyses were performed to see if any of the demographic variables predicted PSC. The PSC subscales were entered as criterion variables and age, education, gender, marital status, occupation, and religion were entered as predictor variables. At step one religion was entered into the equation and contributed significantly to the prediction of overall PSC, explaining 8% of the variance, F (1, 69) = 5.65, p < 05. At step 2, with occupation in the equation, R^2 = .14, F (2, 68) = 5.62, p < .01. As can be seen in Table 24, religion and occupation predicted PSC and accounted for 14% of the variance. This result suggested that the demographic variables were not central to PSC for members of this community. This also shows that shared history and origin are central to a PSC, that is the bond that holds the community together.

Table 24
Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis for Demographic Variables Predicting PSC (n = 80)

Variable	B	SE B	β	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1					
Religion	-2.16	.85	.-29*	.08	
Step 2					
Occupation	1.39	.66	.24**	.14	.06

*p < .05. **p < .01.

Summary

This section of the study investigated the extent to which a PSC developed in South Africa has been transferred to Australia. Ninety-seven participants responded to an adapted version of the SCI (Chavis, et al., 1986) and the GHQ-30. Factor analysis confirmed the elements of PSC for this community. The factors correlation matrix showed that there were different underlying relationships among the elements of PSC for this community. Further analysis showed that there were significant relationships between PSC subscales and psychological wellbeing and ethnic and national identification.

The results also showed that shared emotional connection, influence,

and integration and fulfilment of needs were significant predictors of ethnic identification, while only shared emotional connection significantly predicted national identification. It was also found that only social support significantly predicted psychological wellbeing.

Other findings showed no significant differences between length of residence on the PSC scale and its subscales. However, it was found that people with a high PSC reported a stronger ethnic identification. In turn, it was also found that people who had lived in Australia for longer were more like to identify as Australian. No significant differences were found between levels of PSC on the GHQ-30.

CHAPTER 11

DISCUSSION

The second study was designed to investigate the translation of a PSC that developed in South Africa to Australia. This study also assessed the effects of PSC on ethnic and national identification and psychological wellbeing. To do this, items were adapted from the SCI (Chavis, et al., 1986) to investigate how South African immigrants who had settled in Australia translated PSC into this context.

The first part of the results showed participant ratings corresponded with the ways that people describe coloured South Africans in the first study. That is, they perceived them to be family-oriented, helpful, open-minded, and reliable. These markers reflected shared values, customs, and understandings of what it means to be a coloured South African. People also said that the group was religious. This was supported by the number of people that said they were associated with Catholic (33%), Anglican (30%), and Dutch Reformed (5%) religions.

The traits used to describe South Africans were also cited, in response to an open-ended question, as markers of culture and ethnicity.

Caution needs to be taken when interpreting these findings. Some traits might reflect cultural traits and others might reflect the different ways in which the group responded to colonisation and oppression in South Africa. In particular, the findings confirmed that the group had assimilated much of the white group's culture (Adhikari, 1991). The difficulty and uncertainty associated with describing the community's cultural identity reflected the group's political construction and subsequent adaptations to the Apartheid system.

The Nature of PSC for the Coloured South African Community

The study also investigated the nature of the components underlying PSC for this South African community in Australia. Through principal-axis factoring, four components were extracted. These components were interpreted as shared emotional connection, influence, integration and fulfilment of needs, and social support. The results show different underlying relationships among the items reflecting the PSC subscales. This is different from the original model because PSC is constructed differently in this community. That is, different social constructions and experiences represent the components of PSC. The findings are, however, consistent with the argument that the PSC components will be present and

will operate differently in different communities (Chavis et al., 1986; McMillan & Chavis, 1986). According to the results, most of the components were present, but they contributed differentially to PSC.

The results showed that PSC fulfils different supportive functions for the community in Australia. In this context, people adapted PSC which, in turn, buffered the challenges associated with intercultural contact and immigration. Consistent with McMillan and Chavis (1986) argument, the results showed that community with PSC provides people with opportunities to experience a sense of belonging and identification, become integrated into the new context, and adapt of skills and knowledge to operate in the new environment. To this end, PSC serves as a catalysts for empowerment in the new environment, and provides indirect opportunities for the development of skills to cope with stressors and other challenges associated intercultural contact and immigration.

Shared emotional connection was the strongest component for this community. Items that underlie shared emotional connection reflect a shared history and the importance of social networks. Shared emotional connection is characterised by strong links with and an emphasis on forming links with other South Africans. These networks give people some sense of security, safety, and familiarity. This, however, does not mean South

Africans socialise only with people from that ingroup. In fact, many participants said they mixed with members from many different ethnic groups -- something they were restricted from doing in South Africa. In Australia, this reflects integration as a way of adapting to intercultural contact (Berry, 1984, 1986; Bochner, 1982).

Influence was also a strong component. The results suggest that people did not feel the community had control over the behaviour of members and that individuals could not control the behaviour of community members. This is in contrast to the influence notion that suggests people are attracted to communities in which they have some influence and control over the group (McMillan & Chavis, 1986). Instead, the perception that individuals and the group will not dictate the behaviour of group members may be something that is conducive to a PSC. This interpretation of influence, however, is limited to this group -- a group that was socialised in an oppressive context. McMillan and Chavis also said that groups can influence external forces and structures. The current findings do not reflect this. In Australia, the coloured community is not disempowered in a political sense and does not face the same systemic challenges that it faced in South Africa. Alternatively, the perception that people have no control over others' behaviour might be a reflection of how the group responded to

Apartheid. That is, people felt that they could not influence each other and, importantly, they could not change the system. Hence, they wish to be associated with a group that has a laissez faire attitude about themselves and other members.

The third factor represented integration and fulfilment of needs. The items that loaded onto this factor reflect person-environment fit. People felt they could get along with other South Africans, they felt comfortable with each other, and they shared similar values about family togetherness. These items reflect integration and the mutual fulfilment of needs showing that people are attracted to a community that shares similar values and in which they have opportunities to reinforce group membership. In those communities, people have opportunities for belonging and identification, to feel secure, to feel accepted, and to validate experiences. This is consistent with McMillan and Chavis' (1986) conception of integration and fulfilment of needs, and reflects the importance of fitting in, and getting along with other group members.

The final factor represented perceived social support. This factor is distinct and reflects people's perceptions of their community as supportive and dependable. In the first study, it was also shown that the coloured community was perceived as interdependent and neighbourly. People could

rely on each other for emotional and tangible support. This supports the view that social support should go beyond individual level conceptualisations to include extraindividual level phenomena (Felton & Shinn, 1992), such as the networks and structures that engender social support. Felton and Shinn suggested that conceptualisations of social support should include social integration, and focus on groups and networks as sources of support.

The analysis provides support for PSC theory as developed by McMillan and Chavis (1986). In particular, the results support arguments that PSC contains a subjective component, and that social support is central part of PSC (Pretty, 1990; Pretty & McCarthy, 1991). Riger and Lavakras (1981) called this subjective component bondedness. Consistent with McMillan and Chavis' (1986) suggestion, shared emotional connection seems central to PSC. The results show this component is related to social support and integration and fulfilment of needs. It is something that stems from a shared history and shared notions of community. It also reflects perceptions of interdependence and mutuality (Sarason, 1974).

Shared emotional connection can be linked to Tönnies' (1955, 1974) *Gemeinschaft* and Leighton's shared sentiments (1959). It reflects a *Gemeinschaft* premised on "well-defined habits of reunion and shared

custom." (Tönnies, 1974, p. 10). It is not necessarily based on objective culture or locality; it is based on people's experiences and understandings of the social constructions of community in the Apartheid context. Therefore, similar to Leighton's (1959) shared sentiments, it is based on internalised understandings of community, worldviews, and ways of being. This, to some degree, is also captured in Hunter and Riger's (1986) 'social-psychological' community. According to them, "the social-psychological and cultural dimensions are linked together as the symbolic identification of and with local communities by their residents" (Hunter & Riger, 1986, p.63). In this instance, it reflects a symbolic identification engendered by shared understandings of community.

In the first study, it was shown that people identified with the experiences they had in mediating structures and activity settings (O'Donnell, et al., 1993) (such as church groups, family networks, sporting organisations) that were within the coloured community. Community was not based on the imposed identity label. In these mediating structures, activity settings, and other networks, people could experience security, stability, belongingness, and identification. The settings facilitated the development of a 'coloured group culture', a *Gemeinschaft*. Thus, people socially constructed notions of community within the coloured contexts.

These shared constructions underpin the shared emotional connection that has translated into the Australian context. That is to say that people symbolically reconstruct their understandings of community in the new context as part of the settlement process in the new country.

Relationships between PSC and Ethnic and National Identification and Psychological Wellbeing

It was hypothesised that there would be positive relationships between PSC subscales, ethnic and national identification, and negative relationships between PSC subscales and psychological wellbeing. In this study, ethnic and national identification, and psychological wellbeing served as indicators of adaptation. The results supported these hypotheses. Significant relationships between the PSC subscales, ethnic and national and identification and psychological wellbeing were found. Shared emotional connection, in particular had significant relationships with all of the other subscales and ethnic and national identification. This suggests that shared emotional connection plays an important role in ethnic and national identification.

The negative relationships between PSC subscales and the GHQ-30 can be attributed to the ways the scales were scored. On the other hand,

significant positive relationships were also found between shared emotional connection and GHQ-30 and the anxiety subscale. This is an unexpected finding and suggests that a higher shared emotional connection can also be associated with lowered levels of wellbeing. This finding may indicate that those with greater anxiety and ill health may also have a stronger need for symbolic identification with their country of origin.

Social support had a significant inverse relationship with the GHQ-30 and the anxiety, depression, and social functioning subscales. Thus, low scores on the GHQ-30, and the subscales, are associated with higher scores on the social support subscale. Consistent with other research findings (Cohen & Wills, 1985; Heller & Swindle, 1983), this suggests that perceptions of social support are related to wellbeing. Consequently, if people perceive that they have support they will be less likely to experience ill health.

In addition, the set correlation analysis (Cohen & Cohen, 1983) showed that PSC is related to adaptation. The analysis showed PSC subscales operated together to influence adaptation. This implies that people who have access to networks, and opportunities to develop a PSC, will have a smoother adaptation process. For immigrants, and other groups, these networks provide opportunities to experience feelings of

belongingness and familiarity that are central to the adaptation process (Berry, 1984, 1986; Church, 1982). Church reported that protective enclaves provide group members with psychological security and a sense of belonging. Rosenthal et al. (1989) found positive relationships between ethnic group membership and self esteem. Cox (1989) also argued that similar origin social networks can positively influence the adaptation process. These arguments support Felton and Shinn's (1992) call for conceptualisations of social support to incorporate social integration.

PSC as a Predictor of Ethnic and National Identification and Psychological Wellbeing

It was further hypothesised that the PSC subscales will differentially predict ethnic and national identification and psychological wellbeing. Regression analysis showed that shared emotional connection is the strongest predictor of ethnic identification. This suggests that shared history and experiences are important components of ethnic identification. Shared history and origin are often contained in definitions of ethnicity and ethnic groups and are regarded as important facilitators of familiarity, belonging, and relatedness (Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1991). In the Australian context, people use the label coloured in an associational manner; it does not

have the same negative connotations it had in South Africa. The label is used as an indicator of shared history and origin, it serves a positive function of bringing people together around common experiences, histories, and realities. To an extent, it triggers shared understandings of community.

This identity and the associated understandings of community are indicators of a shared experience (Apartheid). It was shown in the first study, the community did not rally around particularly strong cultural bonds, but it rallied around common experiences of oppression and constructions of community during Apartheid in South Africa. In Australia, people come together around shared understandings of what it means to be a coloured South African. This is consistent with research that has suggested groups come together around shared experiences and these experiences, whether positive or negative, are used to unify and mobilise groups (Cross, 1991; Sherif & Sherif, 1964; Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1991).

Shared emotional connection was a predictor of national identification. It can be argued that shared emotional connection links people to a particular identity and place of origin. South African serves the function of identifying people who belong to particular in- and outgroups. In a sense, national identity operates like a boundary in Australia, it determines who belongs and who does not (McMillan & Chavis, 1986).

Thus, South African is used as a label to place people in context. This reflects the different meanings contained in, and functions performed by, national and ethnic identity labels.

Perceived social support suggests people feel they will receive support from a community when they need it (Heller & Swindle, 1983). Perceived social support significantly predicted psychological wellbeing, as measured by the GHQ-30. This is consistent with research that has shown positive relationships between wellbeing and social support (Cohen & Wills, 1985). These findings show that people translated perceptions of their community as supportive into Australia. In Australia, these perceptions play an important role in aspects of the adaptation process. The perception that support will be available, when it is needed, contributes to the adaptation process.

Overall, PSC in this community contributes to feelings of interdependence and togetherness. PSC is largely stimulated by shared emotional connection. Shared emotional connection serves as a catalyst to bring people together to reminisce about places of origin, develop and maintain identities, and develop a sense of history and feelings of relatedness. These functions, broadly, reflect those that ethnic groups fulfil for group members (Church, 1982; Cox, 1989; Smith, 1991). Through a

PSC people come together and have opportunities to experience relatedness that is psychologically important for people (Smith, 1991). Thus, through a range of processes and functions ethnic groups can facilitate adaptation to new contexts.

Levels of PSC and Psychological Wellbeing

It was hypothesised that people with a low PSC will have lower psychological wellbeing, while those with a high PSC will report better psychological wellbeing. No significant differences were found between the groups. McMillan and Chavis (1986) acknowledged that people can be members of multiple communities in which they fulfil different psychosocial needs. This finding suggests coloured South Africans' psychological wellbeing is influenced by other networks and relationships. Sonn (1991) reported that South Africans have valuable cross-cutting relationships with members from other groups. Berry (1984, 1986) and Scott and Scott (1982) said positive relationships existed between multicultural networks and wellbeing. Thus, psychological wellbeing may be influenced by the extent to which people have successfully developed and established networks and relationships with members of the host society.

Alternatively, Sonn (1991) reported that South Africans had an equivalent or better standard of living and many other psychosocial needs were met in Australia. Australia has provided opportunities that people were denied in South Africa. Perhaps the empowerment, fulfilment of needs, and experiences of freedom that accompanied the immigration process are more important determinants of psychological wellbeing for this community. Thus, the networks people develop with other South Africans fulfil a different functions for members of this community. It is not necessarily something that is central to their psychological wellbeing, as measured by the GHQ-30. Psychological wellbeing is influenced by the positive experiences associated with immigration to, and settlement in, a less oppressive society. In this society, people's life chances are not restricted by policies based on ethnic or racial background and skin colour.

PSC, Length of Residence, and Immigration Status

It was hypothesised that those who had in been in Australia for longer will have a lower PSC. Oneway ANOVAs were conducted to explore the relationships between length of residence, PSC, and its components. No significant differences were found between those who had been living in Australia for six years or less, between seven and 10 years,

and those who had been living here for a period greater than 10 years on the PSC scale and the different subscales. This finding reinforces the important roles identification with a shared history and contact with others of a similar origin have in the experience of community. The results show that this particular PSC has not necessarily decreased over time. Instead, through contact with other South Africans, people have developed and maintained a PSC.

The results also showed that immigration status (i. e., if the person migrated as an adult or as a child) did not influence PSC. In fact, Sonn (1991) found that people who came to Australia as adults were more likely to identify with Australia and were more committed to the country. He interpreted this in terms of Apartheid oppression and the fulfilment of needs in Australia. Historical changes have taken place in South Africa between the time Sonn conducted his study and this study. In particular, in April 1994 South had its historical non-racial national government elections. This may also have influenced the current finding. No significant differences were found between these two groups on the PSC scale and its subscales. This supports the argument that PSC is premised on shared history, experiences, and shared understandings of life in coloured communities. That is, younger people have similar understandings of the content and

processes underlying PSC for this community. Through socialisation and interactions in activity settings, with parents and other South Africans, younger people have internalised shared understandings of what it means to be South African.

This community, however, is new in Australia and all who participated in the study are first generation immigrants. This implies people may be committed to maintaining some sociocultural aspects of the lifestyle they had in South Africa. This may explain why no significant differences were found for PSC between those who had been in Australia for a period greater than 10 years, those who had been here between seven and 10 years, and those who had been here for six years or less. Also, no differences were found between immigration status and PSC. These findings were consistent with research that have shown first generation immigrants to have a stronger identification with the homeland than their second generation children (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993). Therefore, future research may look at changes in PSC over a longer period and across generations.

The results also showed that people who had been in Australia for longer are less certain about their identification as South Africans. The more certain identification with South Africa among those who had lived in

Australia for less six years or less can be linked to the changing political dynamics in that country since the early 1980's. Alternatively, previous research has shown a relationship between length of residence and adaptation (Berry, 1984, 1986; Taft, 1985). Over time, people become integrated into the host society. This integration is often accompanied by changes in identity and identification. Therefore, people who had been in Australia for a shorter period may be more inclined to maintain their South African identity. This is in contrast to the U-curve patterns of adjustment which show that people who had been in a country for a long time report greater levels of satisfaction and wellbeing, and stronger identification with the new country (Furnham & Bochner, 1986). Experiences in Australia may also influence the extent to which people identify as South African. Researchers (e. g., Batrouney, 1991; Saran, 1990) have argued that negative experiences with members of the host group can influence the salience of ethnic identities. Thus, if people have negative experiences with the host group they may withdraw and find safety and security in similar origin social networks (Tajfel, 1981).

Interestingly, no significant differences were found between these groups for their ethnic identification. This is contrary to the findings of the first study that showed that participants rejected the label coloured. The

changing meanings associated with coloured can also be linked to sociopolitical events and the meaning and functions of the label in Australia. In South Africa, the label is still officially recognised and has, to some extent, been redefined by political groups (e. g., UDF) during and after the Apartheid era. Also, in Australia use of the label does not have the same meaning and it is used in an associational manner. The label operates and is largely used at an ingroup level.

This shows that identity labels are influenced by contextual factors. Bochner (1982) suggested that identification may be influenced by the nature of one's social networks. Rosenthal et al. (1989) suggested that ethnicity may be situational and it can influence patterns of everyday social interaction. The findings support these interpretations of identification and identity salience. In South Africa, people responded by rejecting the labels imposed by the Apartheid system and preferred to identify as South African. Here the meanings associated with these labels have changed. Coloured is only meaningful when used in the company of other South Africans. In Australia, there are different social categories and labels used to decide in- and outgroup membership. South African is more meaningful when used in the company of people who are not from South Africa.

The results also showed that PSC is related to identification as

coloured. People who have a high PSC are more certain about their identification as coloured. This reflects the important relationship that exists between ethnic identification and PSC in the Australian context. PSC facilitates a sense of shared history; ethnic identification serves as a marker of that shared history. This shows that people have, to some extent, internalised aspects of the label coloured and experiences associated with it. It also shows that PSC can be stimulated by shared understandings of community.

Interestingly, no significant relationships were found between PSC, its subscales, and demographic variables. Religion and occupation, however, were found to be a significant predictor of PSC. These findings suggests that PSC is premised largely on shared history and origin and not specific social categories. It reflects the importance of the shared subjective bonds and sentiments embedded in shared understandings of what life was like in coloured communities in South Africa. This also reflects Leighton's (1959) idea of shared sentiments and Tönnies' (1955, 1974) *Gemeinschaft*. That is, it reflects how central subjective attachments, common bonds, and shared histories are to PSC.

Overall, these findings show that PSC is contained differently in the Australian context. Here shared emotional connection is the key component

and it is based on shared history and origin. PSC also fulfils different functions in this context. The results show PSC is important for psychological relatedness and a sense of history. The results also show that PSC with other South Africans is not necessarily related to psychological wellbeing. It is argued that psychological wellbeing might be fostered by other sources.

Importantly, this study confirms the utility of PSC as an heuristic to unpack the meanings associated with community. It also confirms the validity of PSC and the positive roles it can fulfil for immigrant groups. Here the PSC model operated differently and through culturally anchoring the instrument the researcher tapped some catalysts of PSC for this community.

Limitations

Some limitations make it difficult to generalise the findings of this study. Because the community is relatively small and difficult to reach, participants were recruited through networks using the snowball technique. This is a non-probability sampling technique that limits the external validity of the study (Kerlinger, 1973). However, the findings of the first study provided some validation of the interpretations of these results. Also, the

number of core components and the items that underpinned them is consistent with McMillan and Chavis' (1986) model.

The sample may have been biased because people who responded to this survey may differ from those that decided not to respond. Some coloured South African people that settled in Australia responded to Apartheid by rejecting the life experiences they had in South Africa. This was also reflected by comments written on some incomplete questionnaires that were returned. Therefore, participants who completed and returned the questionnaires may differ from those that did not return the questionnaires. Also, cooperation may also represent a form of bias, and those who responded may have been more acculturated.

Overall, the response rate was low. This, however, was worse for the GHQ-30. Only 70 of the 97 surveys returned was useable. The lowered return rate makes it difficult to detect effects. Analysis showed that the missing data appeared in a non-systematic manner. With a greater sample size one would also be able to test the relationships between the variables presented in this study using structural equation modelling or path analysis. Unfortunately, time constraints and limited resources, prohibited further data collection. In future, with additional time and resources, more data can be collected to enhance the power of the study and to explore some of the

issues raised in the study.

The first non-racial elections held in April 1994 in South Africa coincided with this project. These events may have influenced people's feelings about, and identification with, that country. That is, people may have felt a stronger identification with South Africa because of the positive changes in that country. This, in turn, may have influenced participants' responses to the items. Determining the extent to which this may have influenced PSC is difficult.

Adaptation was assessed using measures of identification and psychological wellbeing. These measures reflect internal adaptation. In future, to get a more thorough picture of adaptation, these measures of adaptation should be combined with sociocultural indicators (Taft, 1985).

Conclusion

This study shows that PSC is translated from one context to another. It shows that PSC is mostly influenced by shared emotional connection for this community. This shared emotional connection stems from shared history and understandings of community. It is a subjective bond likened to *Gemeinschaft* (Tönnies, 1955, 1974) and shared sentiments (Leighton, 1959). The study also shows that PSC plays an important role in the adaptation process.

CHAPTER 12

CONCLUSION

PSC and Oppression

A growing literature emphasises the importance of investigating oppression, the various levels at which it operates, and the ways groups adapt to oppressive contexts (e. g., Prilleltensky & Gonick, in press; Watts, 1994a; Wolf, 1986). In South Africa, the relationships between groups were characterised by oppression, domination, institutionalised racism, and other related processes that influenced the formation of group boundaries, identities, and the wellbeing of individuals and communities.

Fanon (1967) and Memmi (1967, 1984), and recently other authors (e. g., Prilleltensky & Gonick, in press; Watts, 1994a; Wolf, 1986), discussed the deleterious psychological effects colonialism and oppression have had on cultures and individuals. This thesis used the oppression literature to understand how PSC operated for the coloured community living in that oppressive environment. It was shown that PSC operated differently from the original model (McMillan & Chavis, 1986) for the coloured community because of Apartheid. It was argued that the legal

definition of the group, and other legal components of the Apartheid legislation provided an aspect of group membership. The externally imposed definition of group membership showed that the group's boundaries were based on skin colour, racial origin, and other racial stereotypes. These boundaries were externally constructed and, through legal structures, notions of separateness were entrenched. The externally constructed boundaries determined who belonged and who did not belong to the group.

The second dimension was represented by the ways in which the community adapted to the sociopolitical reality in South Africa. This adaptation to the system reflected the social construction of community within enforced racial categories. The results showed that the coloured group did not identify with the imposed label, but people still internalised some negative aspects associated with the imposed identity, status, and oppression. More importantly, people internalised positive experiences, attachments, and other forms of group behaviour which evolved out of enforced categorisations and time spent together in activity settings and mediating structures (O'Donnell, et al., 1993) that were located within 'ethnically homogeneous' contexts. Therefore, sections of the community responded by resisting the imposition of race labels, and displaced notions

of community to other contexts.

Mediating structures, activity settings, and other networks, provided opportunities for people to experience security, stability, belongingness, acceptance, and equality, that is a PSC. Certain mediating structures and activity settings represented the contexts in which a 'coloured group' climate was cultivated, and they moderated the effects of the Apartheid system. Research has shown this is one way of adapting to oppressive systems (Tajfel, 1981; Watts, 1994a; Wolf, 1986). This response can be construed in several ways. On one level, these settings provided opportunities for their members to experience belonging and security, and they facilitated the survival of the group. This security and togetherness also provided some stimulus for sections of the community to resist the imposed label. On a different level, various processes (e. g., relative advantage, habituation, group conservatism) (Wolf, 1986), facilitated group conformity to, and perpetuation, of the status quo. Although, these processes facilitated the survival of the group, they also legitimated the oppressive system.

In this study it was argued that people did not derive a PSC from the imposed label and status, and people did not necessarily accept this label. Instead local sporting, church, and family networks provided opportunities

in which people could experience PSC. It was shown that a range of opportunities and processes conducive to a PSC existed in these communities. This PSC facilitated a sense of togetherness among community members which in turn facilitated the survival of the group.

PSC and Cross-cultural Adjustment

The second study was based on the rationale that people immigrated to a less oppressive context in which different sociopolitical and other factors would influence the group's adaptation. The literature in this area shows that people adapt to intercultural contact in different ways (Berry, 1984; Bochner, 1982; Tajfel, 1981), and that these patterns of adjustment are influenced by many different factors, including expectations of the new country, socioeconomic status, language proficiency, level of education, and policies of the host country (Furnham & Bochner, 1986, Krupinski, 1984). It was also shown that PSC can be translated from South Africa to Australia through social networks. In Australia, shared emotional connection is the central underlying component. In this country, the community is faced with challenges to adapt to the new environment. These challenges and the support provided by fellow South Africans interact, and together contribute to the construction of PSC. Shared emotional connection is based on a

shared history and common understandings of what it meant to be coloured in South Africa. The results further show that PSC fulfils different supportive functions for the community, including providing opportunities to experience and develop identities, to feel secure, and to reminisce about their country of origin.

It was also shown in the second study that the participants could reconstruct and reformulate negative and devalued notions of group identity and conceptions of community in the less oppressive environment. In this context, the group adjusted to intercultural contact and the challenges associated with immigration by becoming integrated into the society. In Australia, people use the label coloured in an associational manner and as an indicator of relatedness. The PSC developed in, and adapted to, the Australian context serves a function of linking people to a common origin and history. In South Africa, PSC was derived differently and fulfilled survival functions for group members. This suggests that the processes of adjustment and construction of community may also be useful to facilitate immigrant settlement in general. For example, being embedded in a group may provide opportunities to experience a sense of belonging and identification, and it may facilitate the development of skills and knowledge to function in the new environment.

The changing meanings associated with the label coloured reflects the changes in the ownership of the label. In South Africa, the label was externally constructed and imposed; in Australia the community owns the label, and reconstructed and redefined associated negative connotations and meanings. This is consistent with authors (e. g., Biko, 1988; Cross, Parnham, & Helms, 1990; Mays, 1986) who have highlighted the benefits associated with reconstructing, revitalising, and redefining histories, definitions, and group identities that have been devalued. These orientations highlight empowerment and changing power relationships as important ways of overcoming psychological oppression. Moreover, they highlight the empowerment implicit in reclaiming and redefining devalued identity labels. This may have implications for other groups that are oppressed or discriminated against on the basis of social and cultural markers.

The findings showed that people adapted social support systems that were developed in their country of origin to meet people's needs in the new country. Berry (1984) and Cox (1989), among others, have argued for developing similar origin support networks because they can contribute to the adaptation process. Thus, even if groups are not rooted in a strong culture or if they reject their cultures of origin, support networks would facilitate the reconstruction of community around a shared history and

shared understandings. These networks can provide opportunities for consensual validation, identity development and maintenance. It is, therefore, important to consider the potential role of PSC for immigrant adaptation. By developing social support networks and structures people will have opportunities to belong, to overcome alienation, and feel secure.

Krupinski (1984) said that "growing migrant communities provided a protective umbrella for their members,...". (p. 935). According to him, having access to similar origin networks and communities are associated with lower rates of psychiatric illness. Therefore, PSC can contribute to the wellbeing and quality of life of immigrants.

The findings in the second study showed no significant difference between levels of PSC in terms of psychological wellbeing, as measured by the GHQ-30. This finding reflects the multidimensional nature of community. It implies that different needs can be met in different contexts, and people can be members of multiple communities in which they develop some PSC. This is consistent with Hunter and Riger's (1986) argument that ecological, social interactional and institutional, and social-psychological and cultural components of community are interrelated, and contribute to health and quality of life in different ways. This lends further support to the argument that immigrant social support networks should be developed

because it can fulfil important supportive functions, meet specific needs, and provide rewards. These support networks can provide contexts in which a PSC that facilitated survival in an old context can be adapted to facilitate adaptation to the new context.

Implications for Research

The findings of the two studies confirm the validity of the PSC model and demonstrate the interrelatedness of the different elements of the model. More importantly, the findings show that PSC is influenced by contextual factors. This, in turn, shows how important context is in understanding and evaluation of individual and group adaptations to places.

Consistent with some values of community psychology (cultural relativity, diversity, social ecology of person-environment fit) (Rappaport, 1977), using the PSC model in this manner allows the investigator to explore and evaluate the meanings, experiences, ideologies and understandings that influence PSC within specific populations in different contexts (Chavis, et al., 1986). In this thesis, the model specifically facilitated the unravelling of the factors which have played a part in the oppression of the coloured community, the ways in which the group responded to the Apartheid system, how their PSC was adapted in Australia,

and how PSC related to their adjustment to the new setting.

This thesis grounded PSC theory to understand and validate a particular phenomenon of interest in terms of the reality of a specific community. Many developments in different areas of psychology have advocated the need to produce relevant psychologies (e. g., indigenous, ethnic, cultural psychologies) and grounded methodologies (Watts, 1992). It is argued that these psychologies and methodologies would facilitate understanding of the forces which shape individuals and communities, and which allow people to express reality from their own perspectives (Gergen, 1985; Sampson, 1993; Trickett, et al., 1994).

Through interviews, people communicated their experiences and understanding of life in a coloured community in South Africa. This information was then used to adapt the SCI (Chavis et al., 1986) to assess PSC among South Africans who had immigrated and settled in Australia. Consistent with research guided by an empowerment social agenda (Rappaport, 1987, 1992), the thesis demonstrated that, through developing culturally anchored instruments, it is possible to gain insight into individual and group adaptations to contexts, and validate people's experiences and realities in their own terms.

By employing both qualitative and quantitative techniques, one can appreciate the ways in which people adapt to contexts. The studies further

show that imported theories, in combination with local knowledge, can provide a more detailed picture of the ways in which groups adapt to contexts and the factors that influence those processes. These findings are consistent with the statement:

> Multiple types of design are seen as preferable ways of capturing the multiple realities of individuals in differing social contexts, and philosophers of science are more likely to reflect a concern with understanding how to capture the multiple realities of people in varied contexts. (Trickett et al., 1994, p. 10)

It is important to ground understanding of culture, community, and related concepts, because not doing so may render them less than optimal. These studies show how meanings can change across contexts, and that understandings and constructions of community are context-specific. Moreover, importing understandings of ethnicity, oppression, community, and culture without taking into consideration local sociopolitical, historical, and cultural realities implies some degree of cultural chauvinism, and goes against the values of cultural relativity and sensitivity. For example, in the Australian context Davidson (1992), has demonstrated that there are different perceptions, between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people, about the usefulness of psychology and the prioritised social issues that need to be addressed to promote psychological wellbeing. Therefore, Davidson

suggested that psychology must change to allow for indigenous constructions of reality and to allow for "Aborigines' perceptions of psychology as a profession vis-a-vis other professions to determine how psychology can reflect Aboriginal cultural values and how psychology can work for, and in, Aboriginal communities." (p. 18)

The thesis illustrates that differential constructions of reality have implications for how psychologists and other social scientists approach the groups with whom we work. Psychologists and other social scientists need to be sensitive to the different levels at, and different ways which people adapt to contexts. Local and imported knowledge can be combined in ways that would facilitate the development of theories about people in context. This, in turn, would facilitate the development of appropriate and relevant services and would allow people to tap indigenous systems of support. Without the knowledge and an understanding of the local culture, history, and social constructions, and without contextualising theories and interventions, we run the risk of reducing the efficacy of our interventions.

Trickett (1994) recently reaffirmed the potential of a psychology that focuses on people in context, with empowerment as a guiding value. He stated that:

> ...ecology and empowerment meet when we devote attention to understanding the histories, hopes, and variations in the many diverse groups with whom we work. They meet when

> we develop a working knowledge of how to integrate the multiple groups, social structures, traditions, politics, and resources of a community in empowering activities. (p. 591)

The research in this thesis has contributed to a further understanding of PSC, and how various social, political and historical factors can influence the experience. The thesis has also illustrated that PSC is based on different processes in the coloured South African community and that people adapt support systems to meet their needs. It was found that by adopting qualitative and qualitative techniques, researchers can validate the experiences of people and extend the usefulness of theories. By using a culturally anchored methodology, researchers contextualise theory and understand how people respond to different contexts. Anchoring theories and methodologies are useful because they can inform psychologists and other social scientists how culturally diverse and other non-mainstream groups respond in contexts. This knowledge, in turn, would allow those people to develop culturally relevant and sensitive services and programs.

Future Research

The findings of this thesis validate PSC and it also reflect the benefits, for group members, associated with PSC. The study further demonstrated the utility of PSC as a tool to unpack culture and shared understandings of community. However, several questions need to be

addressed as part of an ongoing investigation into PSC.

This thesis looked at people who settled in Melbourne, Australia. Firstly, with more resources the study could be extended to investigate the differences between groups that have settled in different areas of, and during different time frames in, Australia, and also those who were not studied by this sample. The study will also be extended to include other immigrant groups (e. g., people from a Latin American country) who have settled in Australia. This would provide more insight into the ways context influences PSC and, would provide information about the role of similar origin support networks in the adaptation process.

Secondly, it is also important to investigate PSC among the coloured community in South Africa. The recent political events in South Africa have contributed to a revitalised commitment to the imposed identity label, coloured. During the Apartheid era, the group occupied a status between the white and the black groups. Part of the group's legitimacy stemmed from its status in the racial order. Seeing how the PSC model relates to this community in South Africa would be fruitful. Exploring the differential responses to oppression, the impact of socialisation under an oppressive regime, and the group's changing status in South Africa would also be valuable. Such a study would also allow one to compare how immigration has influenced PSC.

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APPENDIX A

SENSE OF COMMUNITY INTERVIEW GUIDE

Sense of Community Interview Guide

A.

Demographic information:

Age in years: _____

Age when person left South Africa:_____

Gender M_____ **F**_____

Religion:_____

Occupation:_____

Years of education:_____

Length of residence in Australia _____**years**

Area of residence in Melbourne:_____

Area of residence in South Africa: _____

A.

1. You have experienced life in South Africa, how would you describe life in a Coloured "community"?

2. Ethnic groups have dress, language and other symbols that contribute to their group and cultural identity, what are some of the identifiable cultural characteristics of the Coloured group?

3. What stories/myths are there that illustrate Coloured culture/ history?

4. What aspects about life in the Coloured community do you feel proud to tell others about?

5. What aspects about life in the Coloured community do you prefer not to tell others about?

6. What events/customs in the community that you lived in made you feel part of the Coloured group?

7. What aspects about the Coloured community made you feel a sense of belonging?

8. How did Coloureds perceive themselves as different to other racial groups?

9. How do you think White South Africans viewed Coloureds?

10. How do you think Black South Africans viewed Coloureds?

11. How do you think Black and White South African attitudes toward Coloured South Africans influenced the development of a Coloured identity?

12. What political events shaped the Coloured identity/ culture?

13. Are you familiar with any sociopolitical events that have taken place in South Africa that have shaped the way the Coloureds feel about their heritage?

14. Which individuals influenced the way Coloured people felt about their identity?

15. If Coloureds could have changed their definition or identity, how do you think they would have defined themselves?

16. How did it feel to be identified as Coloured?

B.

1. What sort of things would illustrate the Coloured community's level of political participation?

2. What was the main difference between groups in favour of a Tricameral government and those groups aligned with Black South

African politics (UDF, CPC, AZAPO)?

3. How did these different allegiances influence the Coloured community?

4. How did identifying with a particular political group influence people's sense of being Coloured?

5. What would be an example of where the Coloured community achieved some of its political objectives because of its political clout?

6. How did the Coloured community's political status influence how individuals awareness of the Coloured group's identity?

7. What would illustrate the involvement individuals had in deciding the social aspirations of the Coloured community?

8. What would illustrate the lack of involvement the Coloured community had in deciding its sociopolitical status?

9. On what occasions did people feel that they had an impact on identifying and determining the group's needs?

C.

1. What sort of groups (social, political, sporting, religious) were there in the community where you lived?

2. Some people experience a sense of belonging and identity at work, church etc. Were there groups or organisations that provided you with a sense of belonging and identity that overshadowed identification with the Coloured group?

3. How would you describe the group that you belonged too?

4. What sort of things attracted you to the group?

5. How did belonging to the group fulfil your needs? (Identified in attractions?)

6. What aspects of the group provided you with a sense of belonging?

7. What sort of things kept the group together?

8. How did this influence your feelings about belonging to the group?

10. What sort of opportunities did the group offer it's members to fulfil their needs (e.g., need to socialise, need for esteem, belonging)?

11. What sort of influence did this group have on the local community?

12. To what extent could individuals influence the group's aims and objectives?

D. In relation to Black/White South Africans:

1. How did the Coloured community's social life contrast with these groups?

2. What sort of political benefits were associated with being Coloured?

3. What sort of economic benefits were associated with being Coloured?

4. How did these benefits influence people's feelings about being Coloured?

5. Why was it important for people to identify themselves as Coloured?

APPENDIX B

EXAMPLE OF A QUESTION ORDERED MATRIX

	Question 1	2	3	4	5	6
Participant 1	Live in same area closeknit community Group areas increased closeness Groups Areas Brought people together	Dancing, musical, food No distinctive symbols	Can't think of any off the top of my head	Closeknit community/ family support People very resourceful Depend on Neighbours -- people got together	Nothing, tell people of all aspects -- including negative things	Doing things together and sharing things
2	Struggle for the less fortunate Easy to find a friend Shared bond Could be yourself in Coloured community	No real visible and distinct identity Traditional music Minstrels a visible reflection of the groups culture	Talked about history of immigration and settlement in Cape Very diverse, indigenous people intermixed with Dutch Dutch East Indies Company brought slaves form Canary islands, St. Helena. Malays	Brotherhood Oppression of community increased sense of belonging No Indian or Muslim-- distinctly different Humorous	Tell things as they are	I was in the struggle to
3	Colour caste Not white Coloured people lived in different areas -- areas with better facilities than blacks language was different	Language Malay Forebears Melting pot group Traits taken form other groups Religion determines culture	Music -- Dutch background Creole music Life style similar to Western society East & West and Indigenous groups mixed Islam, majority Christian	Take things easy Jolly people Proud and hardworking Opportunistic Enjoy life Law abiding	Nothing I wish to hide, I want to talk about my suffering, I want to talk about the good times. I want to joke about how the white people treated us , calling us Hotpots	minstrels work ethic always a group -- to identify this is coloured music, it is a mixture between black and white
4	Easy going	Melting pot,	Not that I know of	Humour		sporting events

5	own locations where you could live	Don't know	Since you coloured anyway, whites don't	Some sense of togetherness	Friendly yet nosy--they influence the	School sport in community
6	Middle class Westernised Grew up in mixed setting	Western influence Language Influence by Malays	Coloureds Westernised Indigenous groups assimilated Divided on the basis of skin colour	Dignified irrespective of Apartheid Eduction priority	No, Don't think so--be honest. It is the best way to deal with situations	Labelled coloured Mini nation--apartheid oppression contributed to feelings of being a group Laws made you feel a sense of be belonging
7	Difficult life Religious community lot of Hardship	Dialect Drinking		Caring community Neighbourhood networks	Illegal shebeens	
8	Easy going Content with what they had	Dialects and language			Laws prohibited the purchase of alcohol	Church and sporting bodies were part of the church
					Deviance -- skollie element stems form Apartheid	Can' t relate to minstrels
9	Fence sitters Accepted what they had without question Trusting networks	Language "Broken Afrikaans Nothing else	Free and easy easy come easy go "so dronk soos 'n kleurling onderwyser"	Neighbourly attitude, people were always ready to help, nothing was too much	System gave rise to gangs	
10	Secure with people of own kind and colour			Accepting The system has not		
11	Restricted ind and col	Westernised, have no	Miscegenation "create	Accepting	crime and violence	Things that have

12	More movement in coloured areas	Variety of foods Indian influence		People Knew each other Happy atmosphere		Felt at home because of relatedness
13	Different experience Racism in our communities-- fair skin vs dark skin	Mixed different foods Drew culture form other groups Melting pot	Myth -- coloureds have been told that they are in between, on the fence neither here nor three but in between	Fantastic group of people with many different talents Exists a bond not experienced elsewhere supportive community family oriented		Hold family in high regard
14	Come from a mixed community, life was good Race boundaries were non existent Close community	Underlying racism in system like in other groups	police was everyone enemy If you had half a brain you would join the force	People skills Have vs have nots Can do a favour for a bloke and he will not forget it not very materialistic	no	felt you were needed and wanted all the time people that knew each other did not exploit each other
15	Never knew any different good life knew neighbours and other members many friends close community	culturally different broken Afrikaans None spoke pure Africans	coons	not much to tell, the openness of the community members was helpful		Youth groups were a big part of life
16	Experience during youth was fulfilling	Shared a westernised style of life in terms of	Tell people anything, violence, change etc			Spontaneity Unity
17	Characterised by		Negative stereotypes	Education		Religious festivals

18	Sociable people enjoyed themselves Closed community	Minstrels = a symbol of the coloured culture Food prepaprtion	racial mixing history taught iabou schools aabt hottentots	Talented people	Gangs, disruption	Did not have many cultural things
19	Colourful, always Laughing All still oppressed Closeknit community Happy memories	Mintsrels	Black and white history-- coloureds did not exist as far as history goes	Education people made most of a bad situatuion	Gangs	Very closeknit in tersm of sport and local community
20	Could only mix with coloured people	Don't know that there are nay traits	no can't think of anything	Not anything that made a person feel proud As family groups people stuck together Music Friendship	wanted to better than the next person	No nothing
21	Difficult and degrading Fell like you are not worth anything Could not look forward to life after school jobs were limited	Minstrels degrading community Portrays skollie element	Mixed ancestry Parent form St Helena, France, Britain coloured divided			Musical events mixing with friend and neighbours
22	Peaceful until 76 Fear-- could not get	Language and accent	It was harder for people who were born	Like to promote the friendliness of the so-	No unity among coloured people	Exploitation linked with rebel tours

23	1976-1981 Boycotts and fighting increased awareness	Speaking Afrikaans--grew up with it as my firs language	Bilingual education	Friendly		Nothing really

	Question 7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1		Inferior to whites superior to Africans Negative labels "kaffir Boer" Whites referred to as baas	Coloureds seen as inferior to whites	Subservient to coloured	Did not belong to other groups As a coloured I did not feel that Belonged to Africans or whites ... you tend to stick to your own kind Seldom that we socially mixed	School boycotts in 80-81 Split the community -- for or against	no	we were only familiar with Mandela at that time	Wanted to be white-- would have many more benefits Emphasis on white heritage by some members, down payed African heritage
2	Struggle against oppression	Were prejudiced as well Apartheid created groups Passing to become white and obtain benefits Hierarchy of accepted status created by Apartheid	not much different to self They were in control and protected their own (Baaskap) Coloureds were not threat	non entity no identity access to certain privileges blacks bereft of	Would not want to be black Feared Blacks Perceived differences	Desire for democracy Had to work within the Apartheid structure Had people for and against Tricameral system -- majority voted against	People were coerced Educated abstained	1950's Dr Abdurahman	They would define themselves as A south African and not coloured Be a normal everyday South African

3	Identified as South African provided a sense of belonging	Pigmentation	Minstrels -- domestic servants Fence sitters sell outs -- traitors Did not have a high regard for us Coloureds did not support white man's cause			Coloured People's Representative council Franchise removed after 1948	Group Areas and other related Acts Told they were not white	Boesak identified with the cause of the black man Dr Abdurahman and teachers Freedom charter 1956	Some wante to e white Modern generation identified wi Africans Some were raised to feel superior
4	Could identify with the group	Felt Superior to Africans because of beliefs instilled through Apartheid Felt white Fence sitters -- not black not white	Whites denied coloureds human being perceived as inferior		Perceptions whites had of coloureds disadvantaged them Contact changes stereotypical perceptions	Group Area Act Fear of what was going to happen Loss and relocation of family and property School Boycotts increased awareness	Black Consciousness Movement Look on us as being inferior Shared negative experience of oppression	Biko Dr Abdurahman Teachers Associations Clergy-- Boesak and Tutu	South African irrespective of colour or creed

5	Own language Social activities	conservative	inferior	inferior two faced	Reinforcement of stereotypes	Group Areas Act Tricameral parliament Divide and conquer	Before Tricameral there was some sort of identity and culture, but now it was basically each man for himself	Mandela	
6	Laws made people feel a sense of belonging	Above whites as far as character is concerned	wanted coloureds on their side had a similar culture Limited freedom cultural characteristics o whites	Felt coloureds were more aligned with whites because of SES Middle of the road existence at times felt coloureds did not identify with their cause	Identify with groups Fear of reprisals	1967 Soweto uprising Coloureds increased identification with Blacks	Apartheid system cerated the group	Can't remember all of them Biko Mandela	
7		perceived differences	coloureds thought they were better than Africans	Group Areas Act Forced removal		Difficulties associated with the label	Stigmatised		

8			Were racist towards African. Social sanctions within own community	Rejection by Africans			negative experiences Discrimination and segregation	Depended on the individual People that were educated did not fell that they were coloured -- human	South Africa despite labels
9	Felt part of community Feel welcome Sense of belonging	Depends on the individual Told we were coloured they made you feel inferior	Inferior Second class	Regarded as a group that accepted little bits Two faced sits on the fence Have less respect for whites than coloureds	Coloureds formed a group Stuck to themselves seldom mixed with blacks because of the animosity Thinking have changed over time	increasing awareness, 1974 riots stared questioning things gradual increase in awareness about life and Apartheid			Human being
10	Can relate to people that you have shared with	We were socialised with the label, we were told we were coloured and had to accept the idea		Afraid of blacks, alienated from them	Coloureds did not want to mix with blacks	Changes now taking place		Everybody had a different person that sapped how they felt Boesak, Not much respect for Hendrickse	South African

11		Socialised into subservience				Don't think there have been events that have shaped the coloured group	Labour Party leaders	Boesak Preached self esteem Local community leaders were also empowering figures	Grew up with the label
12	Felt at home because of relatedness	Depends on how you were brought up think whites were superior and blacks inferior education determined acceptance				Progressive Party changed awareness			South African

I 3	Being part of a whole structure You did not just exist there, you were actually working in the community -- your family, neighbours, friends Just like one big family	one side in some ways superior to so-called black man because they were given prevails belittled themselves as far as the white man was concerned indoctrinated to respond in this way	with fear felt threatened about coloured progress and promise	puzzled we know what the white man thinks, we know what the so-called Indian man thinks, but the coloured I don't know-- he is a crazy man	Not knowing where you stand can make you accept a status or change your status	Boycotts--this was when the coloured identity came into being	Before 2nd WW people had sense of belonging, they had some franchise	Nelson Mandela Desmond Tutu Donald Woods made you think about who you are	Mixed race that was previously used
I 4	Never felt a sense of belonging in South Africa Could never share in the fruits of the country	Don't know very cliquish different from other groups, many look at their white heritage and forget about their African background Compared sith burgers of Sri Lanka	whites conditioned thinking Talks about Apartheid	arsehole blacks suppressed for so long and coloureds would not stand with them		Jan van Riebeeck	Mixed group -- Apartheid legislation created group the group still has a history Introduction of Acts enforced decisions and split families		South African --not black not white

15	1976 Riots -- people had to get together and stand up for themselves made you realise that was where you belonged	Felt Superior to Blacks and inferior to whites Changes instilled fear for whites Brought up with baaskap	saw them as lower class people dependent on the white group	Black South Africans felt coloured were not with tem if change comes coloured were out	Fear of Black Leadership instilled uncertainty	Demolition of District Six destroyed sense of community Perhaps a destruction of culture			
16	Differences within group -- not really different form black and white group Oppressed like the black group spoke white language -- shared with both groups	Perceived to be different in term of economics and political benefits	76 Riots created political awareness School boycotts indicated to parent that student are aware an willing to so something	Not many leaders within the coloured community that would unify the group Dr Abdurahman in early days Mandela	Black-- we were never seen as white in South Africa and never treated as white in South Africa Always treated as a nonwhite person				

17	Diverse Some look African and some white		Groups Areas Act -- people to live among their own group	People who worked behind the scenes in the 70's and 80's Small scale community awareness	South African-- it doesn't matter what they call you, you were born and bred in South Africa	There wasn't anything to be ashamed of -- Lots of negative stereotypes which made people feel insulted			
18	saw themselves as inferior to whites		Accepted segregation after the war	martin Luther King Jesse Jackson Donald Woods	Normal people South African rather than coloured South African -- grew up with labels	Depends on how the label is used, if malice is intended			
19	Influenced by political affiliations	Tolerated by whites, Could have been despised in a way by blacks Supposedly above them coloured created a buffer between blacks and whites	Group Areas	Black people represented the coloured group Half pro white half pro black Only group that could choose between politics and loyalties	Use black and white Those who wish they were white will say white and those who are black can't change this	Never thought of myself as coloured Label ascribed When older you can make up your own mind			

20	Saw themselves as different A lot of them thought they were superior to the blacks A lot of them thought they were superior to one another	Blacks hated them	early history French, Dutch, British	Fear of Black rulers Stick more with one another-- they would fined security in the notion we are coloured	A lot would define themselves as white	Degrading, all I wanted to be was a human being or citizen of a particular county			
21	Some coloured black, others with money swayed towards the whites because they could afford same material things		Group politically divided	Mandela Group in middle identified with Africans	white	They don't speak of coloured but black and whites			

22		Different form other racial groups Some felt they were better than others Some thought they were second best as reflected in their id books		Establishment of UDF united people Group Areas act forced people together With the UDF it was people own choice -- a common goal	A lot of people would rather be called South African as opposed to coloured or black	Did not bother me. It has never been negative, probably because of my upbringing labels do not matter			
23		Lower than white and higher than blacks		Not interested- - did not really bother	Sin colour would influence how some people would define themselves	Sort of automatic-- when asked you would say Cap Coloured It is a label that appears in your ID book			

APPENDIX C

SENSE OF COMMUNITY SURVEY

Sense of Community Survey

Dear fellow South Africans

I am a post graduate student at Victoria University of Technology. I migrated from South Africa and now live in Melbourne. I am interested in finding out more about South African immigrants and how they have settled in Australia. Therefore, I am conducting a research project investigating the settlement patterns of South Africans in Australia. The research specifically deals with people who, like myself, were classified coloured in South Africa.

The label coloured is used to denote a specific group of immigrants from South Africa. There is no racism or perpetuation of racist labels intended.

Participation in the project is voluntary, no names are required, and all information will be kept confidential. Some results and interpretations of this project will be presented at conferences and published in journals. The findings will also be made available to you upon your request.

I would appreciate it if you could read the instructions and complete the attached survey which should take approximately 25 minutes. Once you have completed the survey place it in the envelope provided and return it to me as soon as possible.

I will be happy to answer any questions you might have. I can be contacted on the following numbers: (H) 7953044 or (W) 2168102.

Your cooperation is greatly appreciated.

Yours sincerely

Christopher C. Sonn

INSTRUCTIONS

There are three parts to this questionnaire. The first two parts contain questions about yourself and your perceptions and feelings about your community of origin. The third part contain questions about your health in general.

Please place a tick (√) at the point which best reflects how you feel. Also, try to complete the survey in one sitting.

Again, your participation is valued.

SECTION A

INFORMATION ABOUT YOURSELF

a. What is your gender? [ ] Female [ ] Male

b. What is your marital status?

[ ] married
[ ] de facto
[ ] single
[ ] divorced
[ ] widowed
[ ] other

b. What is your religion?

[ ] Anglican
[ ] Baptist
[ ] Catholic
[ ] Dutch Reformed
[ ] Other, please specify _____

c. What is your year of birth? _____

d. How many years of education have you had? _____ years

e. When you lived in South Africa, how were you racially classified under the apartheid system in that country?

_____

f. Where in South Africa did you live? _____

g. Where in Australia do you live? State_____ City _____

h. If you have not lived in South Africa, how were your parent(s) classified in South Africa?

_____

i. What year did you first settle in Australia? _____

j. What is your occupation? _____

k. Did you come to Australia:

[ ] as an adult?
[ ] a child with parents?
[ ] to join adult children?

l. What was your main language of instruction at school in South Africa?

_____

m. What language is usually spoken in your home in Australia?

_____

SECTION B

SENSE OF COMMUNITY SURVEY

(These questions refer to those who were classified coloured under the Population Registration Act).

Q1. Most South Africans in Australia have a life style similar to most other Australians.

strongly agree _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ strongly disagree

Q2. I share a life style similar to other South Africans in Australia.

strongly agree _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ strongly disagree

Q3. How would you describe South Africans?

jolly _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ gloomy

unsociable _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ sociable

dreary _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ humorous

friendly _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ unfriendly

divided _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ closeknit

musical _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ not musical

helpful _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ unhelpful

reliable _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ unreliable

reserved _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ open

uncooperative _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ cooperative

religious _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ irreligious

dogmatic _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ open-minded

family-oriented _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ individualistic

Q4. What unique social/cultural characteristics distinguish South Africans from other ethnic groups in Australia?

_____

_____

_____

_____

Q5. Very few South Africans in Australia know me.

strongly agree _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ strongly disagree

Q6. I prefer to socialise with other South Africans.

strongly agree _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ strongly disagree

Q7. What are your main reasons for this response?

_____

_____

_____

_____

Q8. What is the nature of the group where you most frequently mix with other South Africans (choose only ONE).

[ ] Sports club

[ ] Church based group (e.g., choir or youth group)

[ ] Social club

[ ] Other, please specify _____

Q9. I DO NOT identify with the South African community in Australia.

strongly agree _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ strongly disagree

Q10. It is important for me to develop social ties with other South Africans in Australia.

strongly agree _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ strongly disagree

Q11. I feel the South African group I socialise with accepts me as a member.

Rejects _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ Accepts

Q12. Socialising with other South Africans increase my sense of feeling part of that community in Australia.

strongly agree _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ strongly disagree

Q13. It does NOT matter to me what South Africans think of my behaviour when I socialise with them.

strongly agree _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ strongly disagree

Q14. I have NO control over how the South Africans I interact with behave when we are together.

strongly agree _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ strongly disagree

Q15. If there is a problem within the South African community I mix with they can usually solve it.

strongly agree _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ strongly disagree

Q16. I care what South Africans think about my views on South African politics.

strongly agree _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ strongly disagree

Q17. Keeping informed about South Africa contributes to my identification with other South Africans in Australia.

strongly agree _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ strongly disagree

Q18. Most South Africans in Australia share the same values about family togetherness.

strongly agree _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ strongly disagree

Q19. Most South Africans in Australia generally get along with each other.

Strongly agree _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ strongly disagree

Q20. How comfortable do you feel when you are with other South Africans?

Very comfortable _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ Not very comfortable

Q21. South Africans here often support each other in times of economic hardship.

strongly agree _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ strongly disagree

Q22. South Africans here are very supportive of each other when faced with emotional challenges.

strongly agree _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ strongly disagree

Q23. How important is it for you to tell others that you are from South Africa?

Very
important _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ Not very important

Q24. To what extent do you identify yourself as the following (please respond to all the items):

Mostly Black
South African _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ Not Black South African

Mostly Coloured
South African _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ Not Coloured South African

Mostly
Australian _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ Mostly South African

Mostly White
South African _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ Not White South African

Q25. What are your main reasons for the responses in Q24?

_____

_____

_____

_____

Q26. How important is it for you to maintain your culture and traditions?

very important _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ not important

Q27. How accepting do you perceive Australians to be of black South Africans?

very accepting _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ not accepting

Q28. Comparing South Africa and Australia, where are you most likely to live for the rest of your life?

South Africa _____: _____: _____: _____: _____ Australia

Q29. What are the main reasons for your decision?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Q30. When you first settled in Australia, how did other South Africans assist you with your settlement?

_____

_____

_____

_____

Q31. What are some of the settlement needs of South Africans in Austrslia?

_____

Q32. Please feel free to write further comments in the space provided.