Caught between Two Worlds:
The (re)Negotiation of Identity among Cameroonian Migrants in Durban

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Abstract
This paper seeks to understand the experiences of Cameroonian migrants living in Durban. It interrogates how they are adjusting, interpreting, adapting and re- defining their lifestyles and expectations as they engage with the host space. Migrants are followed from the time of their decision to migrate through their settlement in South Africa. The paper is based on research conducted among 50 Cameroonian migrants in Durban and produces insights into the different adjustment strategies, identifies common factors affecting the process of migrant adjustment and explores the coping mechanisms that migrants come up with in a bid to facilitate the adjustment process.

Keywords: Migrants, Adjustment, Adaptation, Cameroonians

Introduction
Migrant communities have developed in migration discourses and anthropologists in particular are keen on mapping out these spaces so as to engage in a more critical analysis of the nature of the migrancy of a particular migrant community. Migration is a catalyst which challenges people to deal with cross-cultural issues. Adjustment and adaptation are the challenges that migrants face, especially at the initial stage of migration

(Massey *et al.* 1993). Adaptation involves long-term change whereas adjustment is short term change (Al-Ali & Koser 2000). Regardless of who they are, all migrants go through a process of acculturation in varying degrees and forms (Harris & Moran 1991). 'Adjustment' 'acculturation', 'adaptation', 'assimilation', 'integration', and even 'coping', are words or terms that are used to describe how individuals respond to their experiences in other cultures.

Adjustment begins with the process of migration, as when people migrate, they have to adjust to a new culture, and they have to survive. Leaving family, friends and a lifestyle behind can be a traumatic experience. Lack of stable employment and proper documentation regarding their stay aggravate feelings of anxiety, alienation and loneliness. Migrants have to adapt to a new country, a different language, a novel way of life, build a new social circle and establish a means of earning an income. Nooy *et al.* (2005) have argued that, such movement and adaptation to new unfamiliar spaces are facilitated by social networks which are used to inform the migratory process in both the sending and the receiving countries. The paper focuses on the adjustment process experienced by Cameroonian migrants in Durban as they strive to adapt to various aspects of their new surroundings. The adaptive strategies used almost certainly mean that the migrants will have to make changes in their thinking, attitude, speech, and social conduct. It looks into how they negotiate their stay, whom they identify and associate with, and what strategies they use to integrate themselves into the South African society. The paper is based on research conducted among a sample of 50 Cameroonian migrants in Durban, South Africa and produces insights into the different adjustment strategies, identifies common factors affecting the process of migrant adjustment and explores the coping mechanisms that migrants come up with in a bid to facilitate the adjustment process.

Conceptualizing Migrant Adjustment and Adaptation

Migrant adjustment as defined by Goldscheider (1983) is the process by which a migrant responds to a change from one place into another in the physical, economic and social environment. Migrants are faced with having to adjust in different ways and different aspects, particularly at the initial stage of migration. Two broadly competing views of the process emerge. One

stresses the difficulties the migrant has to overcome in the host society and the negative consequences of migration both to the receiving society and to the individual migrant. The other view emphasizes the continuity of life in the sending and the receiving areas, the opportunity for the migrants and the positive gains resulting from migration (Goldscheider 1983). Common to both views however is an underlying process of adjustment to new economic and social realities deriving from the migration. According to Richmond (1998) the migrant adjustment process is influenced by pre-migratory conditions, the transitional experience in moving from one country to another, the characteristics of the migrants themselves and the conditions in the receiving country such as economic factors and government policies. Richmond (1998) further reveals that some other determinants of migrant adaptation are age on arrival in the new country, and education and qualification of the migrant concerned.

Cameroonians migrants in Durban faced with a new environment, new way of life, new language and a novel social setting are left with no other option but to adjust and adapt to this new setting. The findings from this research reveal that the process of adjustment begins not only when the migrants get to the receiving society but right from the time the individual migrant makes a decision to migrate. This is so because from the time they make a decision to migrate, they begin adjusting by making contacts with people in the country they hope to migrate to. Those who have friends or relatives in their destination will try to always be in contact with them for the travel arrangement and those who do not have friends or relatives begin to ask questions around their neighborhood in an attempt to get the contact of someone in the country they hope to migrate to. This is exemplified in the following excerpt:

> Before I came to South Africa, I had made arrangements to live with one of our family friends who was resident in South Africa. My relationship with this family friend was not very intimate until when I had secured a visa to come to South Africa since I then began to call her very often and ask her questions such as, is South Africa a nice place and what kind of things can I bring from Cameroon when coming? This is something I had never done before ....

The data excerpts provided above indicate that the process of migrant adjustment does not only begin whilst the migrant is in the host society but rather the process begins from the time they make a decision to migrate. In so doing, they begin building their networks and creating a new circle of friends for themselves.

Adaptation is understood in terms of the acquisition of the culture-specific skills required not only to survive but to also thrive in a new and foreign environment (Bochner 1972). According to Bochner (1972:14) adaptation 'reflects a person's capability to acquire or adapt behaviours appropriate for a new culture'. Migrants learn to adapt to their changed circumstances in the host country environment, finding new ways of handling their daily life. In the process, they may unconsciously modify their cognitive proficiency in expressing themselves, understanding the host cultural practices and aligning thoughts and actions with those of the local people. All these translate to an internal growth in the migrants (Kim 1988; Kim and Ruben, 1988). As will be discussed below, one significant element, their language proficiency or otherwise, will be central to how quickly they adapt to the host country. According to Kim (1988), immigrants and sojourners will discover that the adaptation process is achieved mainly through communication.

According to Berry (1980), as individuals acculturate, various changes occur, a number of behaviours are modified, together with attitudes, beliefs, and values. Berry (1980) proposes that migrants undergo a process of change in at least six areas of psychological functioning: language, cognitive styles, personality, identity, attitudes, and acculturative stress. Further, Berry (1980) posits that after some initial changes the individual reaches a stage of conflict, at which point an adaptation strategy is used. Berry (1980, cited in Padilla & Perez 2003) identifies several varieties of adaptation which are assimilation, integration, rejection, and deculturation. Berry's (1980) work takes into consideration the importance of multicultural societies, minority individuals and groups, and the significant fact that individuals have choices, such as what they wish to achieve in the adaptation process. Most noteworthy in Berry's study is the author's contention that a migrant and/or minority person could reverse their acculturation process to the dominant group and return to their former cultural heritage. Support for this statement is found in Fishman (2001, cited in Padilla & Perez 2003) who states that

there are many cases of migrants who managed to revive their ancestral language and culture in the host society.

Research on migrants has yielded insights into the problems of adaptation, issues on discrimination from the host society, racism, and issues relating to identity management and cultural change (Eriksen 2002). Eriksen asserts that groups who look different from dominant groups may be less able to be assimilated into the majority than others, even if they wish to, for it can be difficult for them to escape from their ethnic identity. In this case, as well as in the case where migrants have an inadequate command of the dominant language, their original identity becomes an important and distinctive status and an ascribed aspect of their personhood. For migrants, even though the speed of social and cultural change varies from person to person and for some the change occurs quickly, people tend to retain their home country identity despite having moved to a new environment (Eriksen 2002).

Contrary to Eriksen's (2002) argument above, this study found that migrants acculturate (learn) new cultural practices and deculturation (unlearn) at least some of their old cultural norms. The quality and quantity of communication that migrants have with the host environment critically impact on the different levels of their adaptive change, since all the learning and unlearning occurs via communication interfaces between the migrant and the host environment. Migrants' ethnic backgrounds also influence their cross-cultural adaptation process by impacting on the ease or difficulty with which the person is able to develop the communication competence in a given host society and participate in its social communication activities (Kim 1994b). However, language competency is not the only challenge faced by migrants. There are also other differences that set them apart. This difference may impact on the preparedness of host nationals to embrace them into their social networks (Kim 1994b). These differences may impact negatively or impede the progression of the adaptation process. Ward, Bochner, and Furnham (2001, cited in Berry & Ward 2006) argue that there are broader factors that predict socio-cultural adaptation and these include previous intercultural experience, training, length of residence in the new culture, amount of contact with host nationals, and cultural distance. Regardless of their heritage and culture, migrants must adapt to their new cultural environment in one way or another. Migrants are said to have fully adapted

in terms of their well-being and level of satisfaction with the host society.

The migrant's ability to meet and connect with other migrants from their home countries and from other African countries has enabled them to succeed in adjusting to life in South Africa. Richmond (1998) argues that the migrant adaptation process is influenced by pre-migratory conditions, the transitional experiences in moving from one country to another, the characteristics of the migrants themselves, and the conditions in the receiving country, including economic factors as well as government policies. Richmond (1998) further notes that, some other important determinants of migrant adaptation include age on arrival in the new country, and education and qualification of the migrant concerned. This is quite true for Cameroonian migrants in Durban. Migrants who had family members or relatives and friends in South Africa prior to their migration had minimal problems associated with adjustment as opposed to those who had no relatives or friends. Also their individual characteristics either impaired or enhanced the adjustment process.

This is exemplified in the case of Larissa; a Cameroonian who came to South Africa for the purpose of furthering her studies expressed her difficulty to adjust to the South African culture. She asserts that even her bubbly personality was not enough for her to easily make friends as her classmates found it difficult to understand her and her accent was different from theirs 'when I came to this country, I encountered a few difficulties in associating with the people especially in school, because they found it difficult understanding whatever I said'. She adds that when they couldn't understand her, she would say the same thing again and again till they'll get it and they would laugh about it. She was not used to the South African system of education so she kept barging her peers with questions trying to get them to explain whatever was not clear to her. Once she had made friends, she started telling them stories about the Cameroonian lifestyle which they found quite interesting and they spent time together.

In another case, Justine related that when she moved to SA it was quite difficult for her and the situation was made worse by the fact that she had no friend no relative, she often felt lonely and it took about a year and three months though she couldn't say precisely when she became comfortable with the new milieu and the people around me. She narrated that

her worst nightmare was when she had to do presentations in class; she would feel so nervous because she is a shy person and was not accustomed to the culture of talking in public. She scarcely spoke to people either because she was not sure how they would react to what she would say or because she was afraid of making errors. What made it even more difficult was that she had no friend no relative, to support or encourage her.

These two Cameroonian migrants Larisa and Justine though they are both students, have differing personalities and different character traits. Larisa is the bold, outgoing and sociable type while Justine is a very shy person. These differing characteristics place them at different levels in the adjustment process as one has fewer problems associated with fitting in than the other. The transitional experiences in moving from one country to another become minimal for one and not the other since they are propelled to depend on their own initiatives. One's personality might determine the level of assistance one gets in order to facilitate adjustment. The outgoing person is able to extend his or her network within a shorter time thereby increasing the number of people who can assist the migrant at this early stage of adjustment but the shy one has to depend on pre-migratory networks for a longer time in order to establish themselves at first.

Adjustment is a two way process. While the migrants adjust as they struggle to fit in, the nationals, that is, people from the host society also adjust in order to incorporate the migrant. The reaction of members of the new community towards migrants will have diverse influences on how the new migrant settles in and adapts. It cannot be ignored that the local community feels the impact of the newcomer, for his or her presence modifies the group structure, can throw doubt on the community's moral, political or scientific groundrules and can destabilise the existing group organisation. Therefore though a difficult task, the community have to incorporate the presence of a stranger in their midst. This was particularly glaring in the study in instances where some of the migrants reported that they belong to a particular group, mostly religious groups in their various churches. Members of these groups include both South Africans and foreigners. Usually the medium of communication among the group is IsiZulu but because of the presence of foreigners the group has to adjust by adopting English as a medium of communication so that these foreigners can understand any discussion that is going on. In a particular instance, Annabel

narrated that she belongs to a choir in her church because she loves singing; all members of the choir are Zulu speakers except for her. They usually speak in isiZulu. Every time she has to draw their attention to the fact that she does not understand Zulu and they would apologise and switch to English, but sooner or later they will again switch back to isiZulu. Annabel said she does not complain anymore because she has however become accustomed to it. The other choir members try to speak in English, though most of the time they unconsciously get carried away. Annabel recounted that during one of their rehearsal sessions, she complained a lot because the subject matter of the discussion that day was very crucial and she felt left out. Though she was angry, she noticed they were also annoyed by her complaints, to the extent that the choir leader told her he does not understand English.

This shows that, as the migrants try to adjust and fit into their new environment, the host society also has to adjust to enable the migrant to fit in. Moreover, as Ginberg and Ginberg (1998) argue, it is not only the migrant who feels their identity is endangered but in a different way, the community on the receiving end may feel that its cultural identity, the purity of its language, its beliefs and its sense of group identity are also threatened, as typified in the case of Annabel above.

Length of Residence in South Africa and the Ability to Adjust

Most interviewees felt that the length of time definitely helped in the adjustment process given that, the longer they stayed in Durban, the more opportunities they have to learn and emulate how South Africans operate in different situations. The sample excerpt given below represents typical comments from the majority of those who participated in the interview. In analysing these migrants' comments, it soon became obvious that the length of time the migrant has been residing in the host society is very crucial in the adjustment process, along with other dynamics, such as the individual migrant's personality, their attitude and the choices they make. It is conceded that the length of time provide more opportunities for the migrants to continue learning and growing as they continue their adaptation process.

I initially found this new environment here in Durban, frightening. I was too intimidated. Time really thus matters, because with time you are able to adjust and be yourself again for example, I use to do pretty much what my boss said or wanted me to do not minding whether it is right or wrong. When my boss or other co-workers ill-treat me, I wouldn't question not only because they are the ones in authority but also largely because of the complex I had that I am not in my country so I have to accept whatever they do to me. But now, because I have been in this country for long, I've actually developed and adjusted. I have become confident of myself such that if they treat me badly I'll complain immediately, which is something I dared not do when I first came to Durban.

 In the main, the study found that interviewees noticed gradual changes to themselves in various ways as well as developing themselves culturally as time progressed in their host society, compared with the initial period as new migrants. Migrants' length of residence in the host country as illustrated in the above extracts is very instrumental in their ability to adjust in the host society. The longer they are in Durban, the more opportunities they have for exposure and observations to learn how South Africans operate. For most Cameroonian migrants, the initial exposure to a foreign environment where making sense of the different behaviours and customs of the local people is almost an uphill task, adjustment is only possible with the progress of time in their adopted country. The first experiences seemed daunting and filled with challenges and hurdles as the new migrant grappled with a host of unfamiliar things. However, the length of time on its own is not enough as was evident in the experiences of some of the interviewees, who believe that discarding traditional shackles, personal and cultural norms and some of their character traits are more important if one wishes to assimilate into the South African society.

Negotiating the Host Space: The 'in-betweeness' of Migrant Identity

Migrants struggle to find a place of physical and emotional belonging in a

fluid and globalised world. Migration has personal, social, financial and emotional consequences for migrants. The process of assimilation is dependent on the host country's policies towards migrants. According to Tajfel (1987), identity is a social construct. For migrants this means that multiple forms can exist. As Ojong (2002) claims, migrants display characteristics of home and recipient country identities depending on the situation. For example, she found that when migrants were interacting with fellow countrymen they would behave as if they were at home. At other times when dealing with nationals in the recipient country they would change how they spoke and behaved to mirror that of their host society. Berry (1997) identifies four fundamental representations of identity, namely language, culture, family and society. Social identity theorists have argued that meanings associated with interactions are linked to the formation of self and group identity. Thus how and why a person interacts with others is closely related to that person's sense of self. However, theorists like Abu-Lughod (2005) and others have argued that the same interaction can have different meaning for different people. Thus two people engaged in the same activity with the same social group may form different meanings from that interaction based on their specific needs. Deaux and Ethier (1994:27) state that these 'beliefs and meanings held by an individual in turn shape the nature of interaction between the person and others.' According to Rogers (1987) identity is formed as a result of interaction with significant others. It consists of a set of values and norms that make up a person's sense of self.

The Impact of Migration on the Identity of Migrants

Migrants find themselves caught in a confined space between country of origin and country of migration. Migrant identities tend to be multiple, fluid and complex rather than simple, stable and singular. Moving between spaces and societies, migrants struggle to develop and maintain an identity that is at once an accurate reflection of themselves and at ease with their environments.

Berry's (1990) model of acculturation attitudes directly relates to identity issues with migration. According to this model, migrants must decide if they wish to maintain their minority cultural identity or assimilate the identity of the majority of the population. Dichotomous answers to these

questions generate a framework of migrant incorporation which determines four types of acculturation attitudes: integration, assimilation, separation and marginalisation. Integration is the adoption of elements of both home and recipient culture. Assimilation is an adoption of the host county's culture and a simultaneous rejection of the home country identity and is defined by Massey (1993:3), as 'the means, mechanism and policies by which immigrants adapt to and are incorporated within receiving societies'. Separation is defined as an attachment to home identity and rejection of the new country. Lastly, marginalisation is the rejection of both identities. In reality these questions are not as easy to answer as Berry (1990) postulates. Migrants face a constant inner battle between remaining loyal to their home country, family and customs and adjusting to the lifestyle of the host society in order to work. Identity amongst migrants is located within a continuum between complete assimilation and cultural continuity.

Rouse (1995) argues that identity only becomes an issue for migrants once they face a threat to their identity in the new space. This suggests that if migrants feel discriminated against they are more likely to re-examine and become stauncher in their beliefs. In this way, close groups based on ethnicity and nationality is more likely to form at the expense of integration. Portes *et al.* (1999) argue that success for migrants depends not on their ability to embrace another society but on preserving their original cultural endowment while adapting instrumentally to a second. These authors are implying that migrants need to be in two spaces at one time. This translates into a constant struggle to redevelop a sense of who they are (Margolis, 1995). The most common form of adaptation among Cameroonian migrants in Durban is integration or blending of aspects of both the home and new culture. Most migrants find it impractical to ignore the practices of their host country and also find it comforting to retain some of the traditions of their homelands.

Migrants' ties with home have become more constant and pronounced in the last twenty years. Ong (1994), states that boundaries are no longer impediments to a sense of belonging and identification with homeland. The use of the internet, easier travel and mobile technology has allowed migrants to remain connected with home. As Appadurai (1991) describes, migration and the media makes the previously 'imagined community' of home a reality. He writes that 'as Turkish workers in

Germany watch Turkish movies in their flats, as Koreans in Philadelphia watch the 1988 Olympics in Seoul through live television feeds and as Pakistani cab drivers in Chicago listen to sermons in mosques over the internet, we see moving images meet deterritorialised viewers.' (Appadurai 1991: 190). Appadurai (1991) argues that increased mobility leads to a dispersion of identities. Identities are constantly being reproduced in order to fit and find a sense of peace and comfort in new spaces, whilst still trying to hold on to the principles and way of life found at home. Cameroonian migrants in Durban, for example, would at times engage with local South Africans and try to speak their language and at other times they would exhibit classical home country identities through dress customs and behaviour.

However, it would be dangerous to reduce migrants' identity to a form of biculturalism, playing the role of whichever culture they may at that moment find themselves in. Such a view would be reductionist at best, as it ignores the complexities involved in finding a sense of belonging amongst different groups. This study argues that, rather, a hybridised identity based on the original or home identity is formed within the new migratory context that incorporates the experiences of the new country. Such incorporation or symbolisation of experiences is essential for the migrant to feel a sense of congruency and understanding. As new behaviour and experiences come into the life of the migrants, they begin to acclimatise it into their sense of self, thereby developing an identity that is fluid enough to incorporate new experiences but also stable enough to offer them a sense of self that is congruent with the original or home self.

Remaining Cameroonians and Becoming South Africans

Migration poses new challenges to people as they struggle to fit into their new environment. Ultimately, new interactions and a new lifestyle causes a migrant to reflect on their own sense of self. Settling into their host country, making conscious attempts to assimilate and making personal changes in an attempt to fit into the host society, migrants may also experience hurdles of an entirely different kind. This is poignantly told by the Cameroonian migrants who participated in the study:

> It feels like you have to be two people in two places, when I am at my flat with my friends with whom I share a flat, I am Cameroonian and I behave like it. But when I am at work I feel like I have to become a bit South African, I even start speaking differently, it feels funny to be like this but also it is not bad if you know what I mean I am still the same person I was but I am just a bit more now a different person because of the new environment I am in. So I don't see it as a bad thing changing my behaviour and the way I talk in different scenarios depending on whom I'm dealing with at a given time.

Migrants face adjustment problems which stem from reinforcing their own cultural identity and at the same time adopting elements of the culture of the host society. These migrants are caught between the host and home country cultures. The inherent paradox in such dualism is that they have the option of choosing one over the other but not without implications. If they choose to maintain only the home country culture, that may possibly cause social isolation and separation from the mainstream society. On the other hand, if they follow the culture of the host group for the purpose of upward social mobility, which necessitates assimilation and joining the majority group, they risk not being accepted by their fellow counterparts from their country of origin and also from their home country when they return home. Most Cameroonian migrants choose to adopt aspects of both cultures making their identity fluid. This is indeed the case as depicted in the reflections of Wilson. In essence, this participant finds himself caught between two worlds. This is congruent with the observations from Bochner (1972) who claims that migrants live within and between two cultures, striving to integrate with the country of resettlement, even while maintaining an affiliation with, or loyalty to the home country. This gives insight into the complexities, challenges and even ironies that migrants face while undergoing the adjustment and adaptation process in Durban.

The process of adjusting to a new culture or society involves potential changes in identity, values, behaviours, attitudes, interactions and relationships (Berry 1990). A migrant may need to change some strategies while adapting to a new social context, and at the same time continues other strategies or patterns of interaction that help to maintain stability in the host

society (Falicov 2003). A number of Cameroonian migrants in Durban cited that migrating has placed them in a situation whereby they have to adjust their ways in order to fit into the South African society. The South African space is an entirely new space for them and this has led to change in attitudes. For example Blessing one of my participants, attested to this by expressing that she is a very impatient person who does not like slow people and if someone made her angry, she would voice her annoyance immediately. However, when she came to South Africa it dawned on her that this is not her home and that she has to do everything possible to relate well with everyone, so she had to learn to be more patient with people, to take time before reacting to situations. Being in a different context had changed her dramatically in terms of interpersonal relationships. Interacting with different people had made her a better person. Blessing's case is one of many which reveal that migrants adjust in the host society through change in behaviour and attitudes. Cameroonians in Durban devise ways of enabling them to cope with being away from home and enhancing their interactions with other people. They do so by changing their attitudes and behaviours, for example they become more tolerant, patient, understanding, accepting and less judgmental.

However, not all Cameroonian migrants integrate themselves into South African society by adopting aspects of both home and recipient society. When asked to describe themselves as individual Cameroonians living in Durban and their experiences, some of the migrants responded that it is hard because everything is so different, they think they are not being themselves in that they try to ensure that they do the right thing and say the right things as a result of the fact that to they claim South Africans take offence so quickly even when no harm in intended. At home (in Cameroon) they feel most comfortable because to them they are part of the world but here they see themselves and are seen as foreigners. These migrants claim that in south Africa people are very closed minded, because 'no one really mixes with us'.

For these Cameroonian migrants lack of integration appears to be the most significant factors as new migrants. They feel like outsiders and are unwilling to mix with South Africans. This in turn makes migrants more marginalised as a group. The experiences of these migrants understood more naurcedly from the marginalised acculturation approach reveal that apart

from feeling isolated, these migrants actually avoid integrating themselves into the South African society. This becomes a bit problematic for them given the transnational context in which they find themselves. In other instances the migrants responded that:

> I am Cameroonian and always will be. Home is about family for me, I miss my mother, and my sisters and brothers and my friends. I miss the way we joke, and tease each other. Home is where people can be together like back at home, eating and living together. Even though they are not here I have made friends here who are like my family. I wear my traditional attire like on Sundays when am going to church, I prepare Cameroonian dishes and eat though they are expensive, they are sold here. I speak my language with other migrants. I am ok living and working in Durban. Business is good and I am happy.

This response seems to reflect Appadurai's (1991) notion of imagined community which was discussed earlier. Migrants feel as if they are in two places at one time. The imagined community is created to feel a closer connection to home and original self. A homogeneous and close social circle helps to foster such a community. Furthermore, a common theme emerging from these narratives is loss. This is manifested four fold, loss of family and honour, standing and identity. Home for the migrant is family and the absence of the large extended family in close proximity to each other creates a sense of loneliness and in some cases, feelings of inferiority. For this group of migrants, leaving home has meant losing strong social networks consisting of extended family and friends. Migrants have coped with this loss by turning to fellow Cameroonian migrants in South Africa. Thorough carefully formed social networks with fellow nationals, migrants have attempted to reproduce elements of home and identity. In so doing, migrants are able to continue exhibiting the community based spirit of assistance and brotherhood that characterizes their society at home.

Conclusion

The findings in this study demonstrate the many complexities involved in the adjustment and adaptation process and the challenges that migrants go

through as they strive to fit into their new environment. It reveals that some people adapt better and faster than others and the reasons may lie in a person's predisposition or adaptive potential underpinned by the person's preparedness and personality. Personality includes self-image, self-identity and self-esteem. A person's disposition, attitude, and personality have significance, for example, some migrants have a propensity to handle their new environment in the host society better than others, acquiring and attaining skills along the way. However, the length of residence in the host society also plays a pivotal role in the adjustment process of the migrants. When people migrate, they migrate with some aspects of their cultures. The way they eat, dress behave or speak reflects their country of origin. They try to maintain their values from the culture of origin in their host society.

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