Alan Richardson

**British
Immigrants
and Australia**
A Psycho-social
Inquiry

Immigrants in Australia series

Since World War II many thousands of Britons have emigrated to Australia, most of them to settle permanently but some to return home or move on elsewhere. Why they decided to emigrate and what changes in beliefs, attitudes and behaviour occurred after their arrival in Australia are the subject of this book.

Basing his work largely on an extensive survey among assisted passage British migrants before they left Britain and after intervals of two and seven years in Australia, Dr Richardson examines the various stages through which immigrants pass in the process of settling down in their new country and he discusses the intriguing questions of why some British immigrants change to the point where they consider themselves more Australian than British while others remain inalienably British.

This is an important work for theorists of immigrant behaviour – drawing as it does on the findings of other researchers in the field – and for administrators responsible for the welfare of British immigrants in Australia. The immigrants themselves will find it helpful to discover that they are not alone in their problems and perplexities.

This book was published by ANU Press between 1965–1991.
This republication is part of the digitisation project being carried
out by Scholarly Information Services/Library and ANU Press.
This project aims to make past scholarly works published
by The Australian National University available to
a global audience under its open-access policy.

British Immigrants and Australia

Immigrants in Australia 4

A Series sponsored by
The Academy of the Social
Sciences in Australia

Alan Richardson **British Immigrants
and Australia A Psycho-
social Inquiry**

Australian
National
University
Press
Canberra
1974

First published in Australia 1974

Printed in Australia for the
Australian National University Press,
Canberra

North, South, and Central America:
International Scholarly Book Services,
Inc., Portland, Oregon

Southeast Asia:
Angus & Robertson (S.E. Asia) Pty Ltd,
Singapore

Japan: United Publishers Services Ltd,
Tokyo

© Alan Richardson, 1974

This book is copyright. Apart from
any fair dealing for the purposes of
private study, research, criticism, or
review, as permitted under the
Copyright Act, no part may be
reproduced by any process without
written permission. Inquiries should be
made to the publisher.

ISBN 0 7081 0636 6

Library of Congress Catalog Card no.
73-92264

To Faith, June and Catherine

Note on the Series

The Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia is the national body representing the social sciences. One of its objectives is the sponsorship of major research projects in areas of national importance. Two previous projects, sponsored under its earlier name of the Social Science Research Council of Australia, were *The Role of Women in Public and Professional Life* and *Aborigines in Australian Society*. It was hardly surprising that in 1966 the Council, as it then was, decided to sponsor another project designed to examine the contribution of overseas immigrants in Australia's economic, social, and cultural life, for new settlers had not only supplied slightly more than half the nation's growth from 7,579,000 in 1947 to 11,550,000 in 1966, but had brought into our society a great diversity of national groups from the United Kingdom and many parts of Europe.

The major difference between the flow after World War II and all previous immigration was the high proportion of non-British, first from northern and western Europe, primed by the influx of some 200,000 refugees in the immediate post war years, and thereafter from southern Europe, particularly from Italy and Greece. The mosaic of post war immigration is seen in the following estimate by Dr C. A. Price of the ethnic origin of persons who came to this country between July 1947 and June 1970 with the intention of settling here.¹

British Isles	1,086,500	Germany	121,300
Italy	337,700	Malta	68,400
Greece	200,000	Other East Europe	220,600
Netherlands	140,600	Others	334,100
Yugoslavia	136,800	Total	2,646,000

¹ Charles A. Price (ed.), *Australian Immigration, a Bibliography and Digest*. No. 2 (1970). Department of Demography, Australian National University, p. A15.

In the immediate post war years, marked by high levels of economic activity associated with rebuilding the nation's capital stock and re-opening the channels of overseas trade, immigrants were absorbed into the economy almost without notice and with few structural changes. These were also years when, because of the very low fertility in Australia in the great pre-war depression of the thirties, there was a marked lag in the natural increase of the non-immigrant workforce: immigrants were welcomed if only because they filled that gap. They manned great national projects like the Snowy Mountains Scheme; they provided a great part of the labour force for new mineral enterprises; they helped to build houses, offices, and industrial buildings; they made the nation's steel; and they became the workhorses of the burgeoning motor industry. But, above all, they settled in the major cities, often forming substantial ethnic groups, restructuring national customs in their adopted environment, keeping alive their native languages, yet rubbing shoulders with Australians, being influenced by Australian culture—often through the participation of their children in Australian schools—and at the same time influencing by their presence and activity a remarkably homogeneous and at times slightly suspicious Australian society.

By the sixties few Australians could be unaware of the impact of the immigrants, whose flow continues to the present. As their numbers have grown, as the ethnic origins of the new settlers have become even more diversified, as the size of some of the ethnic communities in major cities has increased, as some schools have emerged in which the majority of children are immigrants brought up in a non-British tongue, and as job competition has grown keener as the swelling Australian cohorts of the post-war 'baby boom' have reached maturity and seek employment in the nation's workforce, the presence of the immigrant has been increasingly apparent. Some call for a reduction of the inflow; many seek to know what the impact has been on the nation's culture, economy and society; none can ignore the immigrants' presence.

So the Academy sponsored a project to try to find at least some of the answers to the questions being asked, both by encouraging and helping workers already known to be engaged in immigrant research, and by organising new studies to fill some of the major gaps. In September 1967 two Honorary Directors were appointed:

Dr C. A. Price, Professorial Fellow in the Department of Demography at the Australian National University, to lead studies in the cultural, political, and social fields; and Professor R. T. Appleyard, Department of Economics, University of Western Australia, to lead work in economic and industrial studies. An Organising Committee with a wide geographical and disciplinary representation was also appointed and set about costing the enterprise, which proved to be beyond the financial capability of the Academy. It is with gratitude that the Academy acknowledges generous financial support from government, business, and foundation sources. The Academy also records its appreciation of the co-operation of the Department of Demography of the Australian National University, both for its contribution in research and for its assistance in many organisational aspects of the project.

Throughout the project every attempt has been made to keep the research workers in communication with the main objectives of the project and with one another. To this end a major seminar was held in Canberra in May 1970.

The project does not, and indeed could not aim to produce a single definitive volume, but rather to sponsor books and journal articles within areas felt to be significant with regard to the processes of settling, the interaction of Australian and immigrant and the impact of immigrants upon the nation. Major areas in which studies are being sponsored are:

The economic role of immigrants in specific industries
Patterns of immigrant consumption and expenditure.
Mobility and career patterns of immigrants.
Displaced persons and other refugees.
Professional and highly skilled immigrants.
Immigrant communities and problems of integration.
Studies of selected ethnic groups.
Immigrant concentrations in metropolitan areas.

In addition to articles in learned journals, it is expected that at least a dozen books will flow from the study. The sponsorship of new research ceased at approximately January 1971; the task now is to bring to publication work begun by that date. So far three books have been published and one is in preparation, and the flow is expected to continue.

The Academy hopes that the project will assist in an understanding of a great national enterprise and the

Note on the Series

growing complexity of a nation in which almost a quarter of the population is of post war immigrant stock; for, whatever the future of immigration, there can be no doubt that the introduction of the 2,646,000 new settlers from 1947 to 1970, of whom about 85 per cent have remained in Australia, has changed the character as well as the economic structure and the size of this young nation.

W. D. Borrie
Chairman, Organising Committee

Canberra
December 1971

Note on this Book

Though the research for this book was not carried out under the sponsorship of the Academy, Dr Richardson has worked closely with the social scientists engaged in the Academy's immigration project. Because of this, and because the book brings together and integrates the fruits of many years of research into the social-psychological aspects of immigrant adjustment, the Academy deems it appropriate to include the work in the Immigration Series.

Charles Price

Director (Cultural and Social Studies)

Acknowledgments

My interest in studying the psychological changes that take place in people when they move from one community to another, where they stay for relatively long periods, was first stimulated by Ronald Taft while I was still an undergraduate, and sustained and encouraged by him in many ways during the years that followed. From those early days onward my intellectual debts increased so rapidly that it is possible to name only a few of the friends and colleagues to whom my gratitude is due. In this roll of thanks I would like to include for special mention Dan Adler, W. D. Borrie, Laurie Brown, Faith Clayton, Gedeon Doczy, Denys Harding, Gene and Ruth Hartley, Ruth Johnston, James Lumsden, Kenneth Walker, Erik and Beatrice Wright and Jerzy Zubrzycki.

For the opportunity to include some key measures of assimilation at the first and second follow-up stages of his massive longitudinal study of British immigrants I am much indebted to Reginald Appleyard. Without his co-operation it would have been impossible to undertake the analyses that produced the bulk of the findings reported in Chapters 5 to 8 inclusive. To him and to Charles Price additional thanks are most warmly given for their valuable criticisms and suggestions concerning an earlier draft of this book.

At different times financial help has been received from the University of Western Australia, University of London, Social Science Research Council of Australia (now the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia), Australian National University and the Commonwealth Department of Immigration. The work of all the officials with whom I have communicated on these financial matters has been much appreciated.

Research assistance on projects related to the study of British immigrants has been provided by many people over the years but I would like to record my particular thanks to Mrs Lilian Deason and to Mrs Dorothy Dufty.

Acknowledgments

A start was made on this book while I was a Visiting Fellow in the Department of Demography in the Research School of Social Sciences at the Australian National University. I am most grateful for this opportunity to spend six months in reading and writing without the usual duties and distractions of academic life.

Finally my most especial thanks go to all those many people whose personal experience of migration it has been my pleasure and privilege to record. Without their help and co-operation there would have been no beginning.

Alan Richardson
Perth, 1973

Contents

Note on the Series *vii*

Note on This Book *xi*

Acknowledgments *xiii*

- 1 Introduction *1*
- 2 The Decision to Emigrate to Australia *9*
- 3 A Theory of Assimilation *24*
- 4 A Scale of Assimilation and some Correlates *49*
- 5 A Cross-validation of the Theory and an Extension *58*
- 6 A Quantitative Analysis of some Factors Associated with Assimilation *78*
- 7 A Qualitative Analysis of the Assimilation Process and of its Associated Settler Types *95*
- 8 Deciding to Leave Australia and some of its Consequences *117*
- 9 Summary and Implications of the Findings *138*

Appendix I: A Tabulation of the Main Variables Reported in the Longitudinal Study and a Correlational and Factor Analysis *168*

Appendix II: The Slang Test *191*

Appendix III: The Measurement of Satisfaction, Identification and Acculturation *195*

References *199*

Index *205*

Tables

- 2.1 Sources of information and influence about Australia 15
- 4.1 Frequency of response patterns obtained on the Assimilation scale 50
- 4.2 Socio-economic factors which discriminate the Dissatisfaction level from all other levels of assimilation 52
- 4.3 Factors of climate and leisure which discriminate the Dissatisfaction level from all other levels of assimilation 53
- 4.4 Behavioural and attitudinal factors which discriminate the Identification and Acculturation levels from the two lower levels of assimilation 53
- 4.5 Opportunity factors which discriminate the Acculturation level from all lower levels of assimilation 54
- 5.1 Frequency and percentage loss of migrant units from the total sample and from sub-samples between 1959 and 1966 59
- 5.2 Frequency and percentage of all migrants units by location and conjugal condition, 1966 59
- 5.3 Frequency of response patterns on the Identification scale 62
- 5.4 Frequency of response pattern obtained on the short form of the Assimilation scale 63
- 5.5 Socio-economic circumstances which discriminate the Dissatisfaction level from all other levels of assimilation, 1961 64
- 5.6 Socio-economic circumstances which discriminate the Dissatisfaction level from all other levels of assimilation, 1966 65
- 5.7 Australian attachment variables which discriminate the Identification and Acculturation levels from the two lower levels of assimilation, 1961 67

- 5.8 Australian attachment variables which discriminate the Identification and Acculturation levels from the two lower levels of assimilation, 1966 69
- 5.9 An opportunity variable which might have discriminated the Acculturation level from all lower levels of assimilation, 1961 70
- 5.10 An opportunity variable which might have discriminated the Acculturation level from all lower levels of assimilation, 1966 71
- 5.11 Length of residence as an opportunity factor related to Acculturation 71
- 5.12 Percentage of immigrants at each level of assimilation who report having been called a 'Pommy' in a good natured way 74
- 5.13 Satisfaction variables which discriminate the Quasi-acculturated and Satisfied immigrants from those who are Identified and Acculturated, 1961 and 1966 75
- 5.14 Percentage of married men and women at each Assimilation level (1966) shown separately for each Assimilation level (1961) 76
- 6.1 Assimilation levels of all single and married Settlers, 1966 79
- 6.2 Comparison of long and short stay hostel residents with non-hostel Settlers by Assimilation level, 1961 83
- 6.3 Comparison of the long and short stay hostel residents who became Settlers with the non-hostel Settlers by Assimilation level, 1966 87
- 6.4 Assimilation levels at 1961 and 1966 compared (married men) 89
- 6.5 Assimilation levels at 1961 and 1966 compared (married women) 89
- 8.1 Assimilation levels (1961) of the five Departure sub-types compared with those of the Settlers in Australia 121
- 8.2 Percentage of husbands and wives in each of five Departure sub-types compared with Settlers on two measures of satisfaction with Australia, 1961 122
- 8.3 Frequency and percentage of married couples in each of five Departure sub-types and among the Settlers who had lived in hostel accommodation 128

- 8.4** Frequency and percentage of four sub-types of Actual Re-emigrant couples and three sub-types of Settler couples who in 1966 wanted to spend the rest of their lives in Australia *135*
- 8.5** Frequency and percentage of four sub-types of Actual Re-emigrant couples and three sub-types of Settler couples at each level of assimilation in 1966 *136*
- A1** Correlates of five satisfaction measures, 1961 *181*
- A2** Correlates of five satisfaction measures, 1966 *182*
- A3** Correlates of two identification measures, 1961 *183*
- A4** Correlates of two identification measures, 1966 *184*
- A5** Correlates of two acculturation measures, 1961 *185*
- A6** Correlates of two acculturation measures, 1966 *186*
- A7** Correlates of assimilation scale, 1961 *187*
- A8** Correlates of assimilation scale, 1966 *188*
- A9** Rotated factor loadings of 54 variables out of 57 selected for analysis from data obtained in 1959, 1961 and 1966 *189*
- A10** Slang test norms for Australian born men and women *190*

Interest in migratory behaviour, in its causes and consequences, in its effects on the individual and on the group, is as old as any topic in the social sciences. Among the disciplines that have actively engaged in detailed studies of these problems during the past hundred years are anthropology, demography, economics, history, political science, psychiatry, sociology and social psychology.

It is with this last approach that the present work is most closely concerned though, like most studies of migratory behaviour, knowledge from other disciplines has been used where it is available and where it helps to illuminate a particular problem. In fact at the very beginning of this inquiry some idea of the numbers of British people involved in the processes to be discussed will require a few elementary demographic facts.

In 1947, when the post war migration of British people to Australia got under way, the total population of Australia was only 7,579,358; slightly less than the population of London at that time. Ninety per cent of the Australian population had been born in Australia, almost entirely of British stock, and of those born elsewhere 8 per cent came from Britain or from a Commonwealth country. By mid 1971 the total population had increased to 12,728,500 but only 80 per cent had been born in Australia, and only 42 per cent of those born outside Australia had come from Britain, plus another 4 per cent who had been born in South Africa, Canada and New Zealand. Most other immigrants had come to Australia from Italy, Greece, the Netherlands, Yugoslavia, Germany, Poland and Hungary. Approximately 4 per cent of the overseas born came from Asian countries.¹

¹ These demographic facts have been taken from the Commonwealth Department of Immigration, Consolidated Statistics, 1972.

In terms of actual numbers the period between 1 July 1947 and 30 June 1971 resulted in a total of 1,150,000 men, women and children arriving from the British Isles to settle in Australia. Of this number 86 per cent travelled by sea or air under one or another of the Assisted Passage Schemes. Under these schemes, stemming from the British-Australian Migration Agreement of 1946, any British citizen over the age of 19 years and living in Britain or Northern Ireland could apply or be nominated for an assisted passage to Australia. Upper age limits and a few other aspects of the scheme have changed over the years but the £10 sterling required as a contribution from all adults toward their fares remained the same until the middle of 1973. Apart from these requirements the only other qualifications usually necessary for a successful applicant are good health and a good character. Young children travel free and no age limit is set for people going to Australia to join close relatives or accompanying children who are eligible in their own right to obtain an assisted passage.

The major empirical study, reported on pp. 58-137, is based entirely upon a large sample of assisted passage immigrants from Britain and all other studies to be discussed contain a majority of this class of immigrant. The samples also resemble the total population of British immigrants, first in having a preponderance of married couples (and their children) in which the husband is a skilled or semi-skilled manual worker and second, in that single immigrants of both sexes, and the completely unskilled or very highly skilled in professional or upper management occupations, are minority categories about whom relatively little detailed knowledge is available.

With this warning in mind, that not every category of British immigrant has been studied in equal depth and some not at all (e.g., those who paid their own fares), it is time to consider the main reasons for writing this book. Though separated for the purposes of exposition they are all interrelated.

The first reason is based on a long felt wish to bring together in one place the results of many small investigations aimed at understanding the psycho-social conditions that have led these vast numbers of British people to move to Australia over the years that followed World War II (e.g., Richardson, 1959), the factors that bring about different patterns of change in the beliefs,

attitudes and behaviours of those who make this move (e.g., Richardson, 1971) and the individual circumstances that lead some British immigrants to leave Australia and either return to their homeland or move on elsewhere (e.g., Richardson, 1968). The actual stimulus to fulfilling this wish was provided when the results of the large scale longitudinal investigation became available for analysis (Appleyard, 1964; book in preparation).

Empirical knowledge of this kind is of interest and importance in its own right. Though limited to particular people, interviewed in particular places at particular times,² the utilisation of an objective empirical approach can do much to correct the distorted picture that so easily results from less systematic and, not infrequently, biased accounts. As Glass (1950) observed when writing

² All studies reported in this book are based on data obtained from self-administered questionnaires or interviews. Though these data collection procedures are essential they need to be supplemented by the use of other methods. One of the main deficiencies of the interview in studying assimilation is that it restricts the information to what the immigrant can say about himself and what he has observed. A more complete understanding of the assimilation process and of the immigrant types that result from this process requires the use of systematic observation procedures and of interviews with selected Australian informants. Such procedures would enable a description to be made of important habitats such as offices, factories, hotel bars, social and sporting clubs. By observing the behaviour of a sample of British immigrants in each of these settings on a number of occasions over the first few years of their stay in Australia, it would be possible to clarify some of the unresolved and ambiguous issues touched upon in this book. For example, samples of British immigrants could be selected on a variable such as predisposition to change, prior to their arrival in Australia. When immigrants of similar background but differing in the extent to which they are predisposed to change, are observed in interaction with Australians, what patterns of acceptance/rejection emerge? What are the conditions that give rise to these patterns? What are the stereotypes that each holds of the other and under what conditions are they reinforced or destroyed? Observation procedures of a systematic kind can help to unravel the problems associated with the sequence of change and therefore of causal direction.

Little research of this kind has been attempted in the field of migration studies, though Sheila Patterson (1963) has made a beginning by utilising her skills as a social anthropologist to observe the patterns of social interaction among West Indian immigrants within a more or less well defined area of London. Some guidance might be obtained for the conduct of more detailed observational studies by adopting some of the theoretical and methodological tools developed by Roger Barker and his colleagues at Kansas University (Barker, 1960, 1963).

about the cultural absorption of immigrants 'In the past the treatment of assimilation problems has not often been scientific . . . for the impetus to study such problems has usually been far from disinterested'. In summary then, the first reason for the existence of this book is the wish to present an empirical description of the processes of decision and assimilation in which post war British immigrants have been involved when coming to Australia.

The second reason stems from a continuing interest in the problem of how the personality changes that accompany adaptation to an entirely new and different socio-cultural environment can best be conceptualised. If appropriate concepts and measuring devices can be applied to this process of resocialisation or assimilation they should have significance not only to British immigrants in Australia but to all individuals living for long periods of time under conditions of relative equality with the members of any receiving community. The reference to 'relative equality' is intended to exclude situations such as those existing for British civil servants working in India (Forster, 1924) or the Near East (Storrs, 1939) in the early years of this century. The reference to 'long periods of time' is intended to exclude the sojourner who knows that he will be returning to his home country at some time not too distant in the future; see the discussion by Brein and David (1971) for an analysis of adjustment among sojourners.

Much of the new information presented in this book has been used to test a theory of assimilation that has been presented in previous publications. The present form of this theory has evolved from three earlier versions and to understand it a brief historical review may prove helpful.

The first version resulted from an attempt to describe the differences in beliefs, attitudes and behaviours that existed between three samples of British immigrants. One sample had been in Australia for no more than a few weeks, another had been resident for about 7 months and a third had lived in the country for approximately 12 months (Richardson, 1957a). At that time I viewed assimilation almost entirely in terms of the acquisition by individual minority group members of the distinctive values and attitudes held by the majority group. This version of the theory was much influenced by the classic study

of attitude convergence conducted by Newcomb (1943) among the women students at Bennington College.

By the time that a second and larger investigation had been undertaken this process of assimilation had been redefined as a sequence of stages in which each lower stage had to be passed through before the next higher stage was possible of achievement. A sequence of satisfaction-identification-acculturation was assumed and empirical support obtained by the use of cumulative scaling procedures. It was argued that if important economic and social needs are not satisfied, then an immigrant will not only fail to arrive at the point where further assimilation may occur but that, as a result of not satisfying these needs, he may regress to a condition of dissatisfaction with his life in Australia. Given that a minimal level of stable satisfaction does develop, however, it becomes possible, but not inevitable, that the immigrant will begin to think of himself as to some extent more Australian, and will thereby reach a certain level of identification with Australia. This stage of identification will vary in its intensity and range of relevance from one immigrant to another. Among those who experience a relatively strong identification with Australia there will be some who, in the presence of other specifiable conditions, are likely to move on to the final stage of assimilation, which involves actually becoming like Australians of similar background, at least in certain important respects. This final stage, which is assumed to involve a relatively high level of acculturation, is not achieved by everyone who reaches the identification stage, but the chances of reaching it are increased with length of residence, and the opportunities that this provides for increased contact with Australians and for greater participation within the Australian community (Richardson, 1961).

Because some lower levels of acculturation must occur before an individual is likely to manifest any significant degree of satisfaction or identification, a third revision was undertaken to clarify the main levels and areas of acculturation and to specify the one that appeared to have the most significance for the present theory of assimilation. This revision (Richardson, 1967) distinguished 'optional' acculturation from 'advantageous' and 'obligatory' acculturation; that is, it distinguished the spontaneous adoption by the migrant of certain attitudes and behaviours (such as using

Australian slang in his conversation) from his adoption of other attitudes and behaviours because he found it expedient or necessary to do so (e.g., using Australian currency). The revision suggested that it was the first of these that constituted the theoretical terminal stage of the assimilation process.

The fourth version, to be described in this book, takes account of one particular pattern of responses that has appeared in all empirical tests of the theory, but which does not fit exactly into the original sequence of stages. This pattern consists of a small category of immigrants who are acculturated and satisfied but who, for reasons to be discussed later, have not identified themselves with Australia. This most recent version of the theory is not as neat as its immediate predecessor, but it has the advantage of being closer to the facts. Even now, of course, it is not seen as a finished product, but only as the most useful framework within which to study the assimilation process at the present time.

At this point it is necessary to spend a few moments in discussing the fact that no universal agreement has been reached on the meaning of the word 'assimilation'. It has been used by different writers, at different times, to refer to a wide variety of social and psychological events. (See Price, 1969, for a detailed discussion of these different usages.) Common to all writers, however, has been its core dictionary meaning—to 'make alike' or 'absorb into'.

From the psychological viewpoint the assimilation process has involved the study of the way in which an *individual* immigrant gradually becomes indistinguishable from the native born residents of his adopted society. From the sociological viewpoint the study of assimilation has focused upon the process by which *groups* of immigrants, varying in national or ethnic background and varying in numbers and in other characteristics, merge into the host society and lose their distinctive group identity.

In the psychological theory presented here the stage concept takes into account the fact that many individuals make a stable adjustment to their new society at levels below that of complete assimilation. Similarly, an influential sociological theory like that of Gordon (1964) outlines the sequence of stages through which an immigrant group may pass on its way to complete assimilation, but also sets out the conditions under which it may stabilise its adjustment to host society at some lower level in the sequence.

There need be no conflict between psychological and sociological theories of assimilation because the events to be described and explained by each are of a different order. Nevertheless, it is possible to envisage a time when concepts and methods drawn from both levels of analysis become articulated to provide a more complete and unified account. For the moment there is enough unfinished business at each level to warrant their continued independence.

At this point it is appropriate to return to the present book and the final reason for writing it. It is hoped that some of the material brought together for discussion here will be of use, both to the immigrants themselves—past, present and future and to native born Australians who come into contact with them. An example of a finding that might be of use in this way is the following: sometime in the second half of the first year of residence in a strange community an average adult immigrant is likely to experience a reduction in his general level of satisfaction. It may not be possible to prevent this experience because the conditions that give rise to it are not often under the control of the immigrant or of anyone else. This situation is not unlike that of the parents of a two and a half year old child. At this age the child is likely to be extremely wilful and difficult to manage. The parents can do little to prevent this behaviour but they can learn to endure it. To know that such behaviour has a high probability of occurrence at this age and that it will pass as the child gets just a little older is a great reassurance and helps the parents to endure the difficulties with less emotionality than might otherwise be present. Similar benefit can come for the immigrant and those who are associated with him when it is known that some degree of depression or dissatisfaction can be expected in the second half of the first year after arrival in Australia. Such knowledge does not prevent the experience from taking place but it may help the immigrant to bear it and help others to provide some reasonably reality-based reassurance that the slightly depressed phase can be expected to pass.

Apart from this kind of heightened awareness and understanding of problems, some specific attention to a few practical implications of the findings reported in this book have been given in the final chapter. Having begun to mention the actual contents of the

chapters it will be useful to conclude this introduction with a brief resumé of the kinds of question with which each one is concerned.

Chapter 2 is an inquiry into the process by which an individual or family in Britain makes a decision to emigrate and comes to choose Australia. What factors enter into this decision?

The two chapters that follow present a general theory of assimilation and a scale by which the assimilation level of an immigrant can be measured. In presenting this material some provisional answers are provided to such questions as these: Into what substages or aspects can the process of assimilation be most usefully separated and what factors contribute to the movement of an immigrant through these stages?

Chapters 5 to 7 inclusive have been grouped together to form the major focus of this part of the book. Previously unpublished material is analysed to provide a further validation of the assimilation theory and also a typology of Settlers (i.e., a division of Settlers into categories or types) based upon the relatively stable levels of assimilation that have been achieved after seven years of continuous residence. This typology has been illustrated by the presentation of case histories based upon interview material obtained in Britain in 1959 and later in Australia in 1961 and 1966; because of its continuance over time the research responsible for this material is hereafter called the longitudinal study.

Chapter 8 seeks an understanding of the process by which some British immigrants arrive at a final decision to leave Australia, and of the consequences that follow for those who return to Britain, move on to New Zealand or eventually re-emigrate to Australia. A major source of new information is provided by those in the longitudinal study who actually departed from Australia between 1961 and 1966.

Finally, in Chapter 9 the most important findings reported in this book are reviewed and discussed to produce an interpretative summary.

The Decision to Emigrate to Australia

Apart from the choice of a marriage partner or the selection of a career, the decision to emigrate is probably the most important one that most individuals ever make. It is 10,000 miles from London to the nearest city in Australia and a costly journey home if one is disappointed in one's choice. Most emigrants still set out with the determination to settle permanently in Australia and it may well be that this attitude contributes to their success. As in marriage or a career the determination to make a go of it may carry an individual over the rough spots and help him to find new ways of overcoming difficulties.

When an individual or a family fails to settle successfully it is usually because they did not find what they were looking for or because they discovered the loss of something which they had not appreciated until after arrival. Sometimes the discovery of this loss does not occur until after many years of contented residence in the new country. As will become clear in the course of this book, not all of those who stay in Australia can be said to have settled successfully nor are all of those who leave Australia to be counted among those whose adjustment was unsuccessful.

Tolerance for uncertainty is a desirable quality in any hazardous enterprise and emigration is not without its hazards. But by a careful evaluation of all the information available, including the information that a potential emigrant has concerning his own personality and those of the people who may accompany him, much can be done to reduce both the hazards and the uncertainty.

So much for the homily—what of the known factors that influence a decision to emigrate to Australia?

The psychological nature of emigration

Settler migration may be defined as a movement from one community to another in which the individuals involved have the intention to live permanently in the new community, or at least, they have no intention not to live there permanently. By definition a person who moves from Manchester to London or from Melbourne to Brisbane may be as much a settler migrant as one who moves from the United Kingdom to Australia or from Japan to Canada. However, a Chinese student who comes to study at the University of Western Australia or an Australian who goes to Europe on a working holiday is not an emigrant in this sense. These latter are not settlers psychologically, and very often they are not settlers demographically either;¹ this is because the individual or family concerned has the intention of returning to the community of origin. The decision to depart from a community of origin under these conditions has a different causal background and involves a different state of mind. For the traditional voluntary emigrant who sees the prospective host community as his new home, the intention to stay permanently is usually implicit in this decision to move; his attitude implies: 'I am going and I am staying'. For the tripper or the student or the young single person going to Australia, the implicit attitude is often 'I am going for some limited purpose but I expect to return to my homeland'. Even so, it is interesting to note that many young unmarried migrants end up by becoming married Settlers in Australia. For the undecided the attitude is often expressed explicitly: 'I am going, but feel at liberty to stay, move on or return at some time in the future'.

Today the opportunity exists for more people to move internationally than ever before. In practice this is likely to mean that more people will move and that more of those who come to Australia may feel less committed to the idea of permanent settlement.² Most do settle even today, but more people than before

¹ A permanent arrival is defined by the Australian Bureau of Census and Statistics as a person who states his intention of staying in Australia for 12 months or more. This information is obtained at the port of entry into Australia.

² It is becoming more common than in the past for an individual to move to more than one country during the period of his occupational life. Thus a

emigrate with the feeling that their decision is not irrevocable: it can be changed.

To understand how the decision to emigrate is made it will be convenient to analyse it in two parts. The first part will be concerned with the growth of a disposition to emigrate and the second with the factors that change this disposition into action.

The growth of a disposition to emigrate to Australia

At least three groups of factors must be taken into account in understanding the growth of a disposition to emigrate. Firstly, what might be called the 'climate' of emigration that surrounds the potential emigrant in his country or region of origin; secondly, the experiences which energise the individual to make some fairly dramatic change in his life situation; thirdly, the exposure to sources of information and influence that give a specific direction to these energies.

The climate of emigration. In countries that have already provided many immigrants for other countries around the world, emigration may be expected to loom large in the consciousness of a high proportion of their populations. Some evidence of the extent to which a positive climate exists in a particular country at a particular time can be gained from the results of public opinion polls. In Britain between 1948 and 1957 at least six polls were held in which national samples of people aged 21 or over were asked the question: 'If you were free to do so, would you go and settle in another country?' During this period the numbers answering 'Yes' ranged between 28 and 42 per cent.

Though the form of the question makes it easy for a respondent to say 'Yes' without his having any serious intention of emigrating, this affirmative answer nevertheless implies an active interest in the possibility of leaving Britain for some other country by about

man and his family may emigrate from Britain to Canada, then after a time return to Britain and later on re-emigrate to Australia. After a time he may move on to New Zealand or back to Britain again. It is clear from many sources that the opportunity to reverse or modify a migration decision is easier today than in the past. See, for example, Grubel and Scott (1967) and Richmond (1968).

one-third of the British population aged 21 or over. Similar results were reported from the Netherlands during the same period.³

In another United Kingdom wide survey conducted in 1966 (Social Surveys, 1966) a representative sample of 889 men and 968 women, aged 21 years or older, were asked the question: 'Have you ever seriously considered going to settle in another country?' Once again about one-third (30 per cent) answered 'Yes', and of these the majority (42 per cent) had considered Australia. Of those who were married and had children, Australia was preferred by 51 per cent of the parents who had pre-school children, 49 per cent of those who had primary school children and by 43 per cent of those who had secondary school children. Of the remaining countries considered by the potential emigrant group, New Zealand was preferred by 27 per cent, Canada by 24 per cent, U.S.A. by 6 per cent, South Africa by 5 per cent and Rhodesia by 2 per cent.

It was also revealed that two-thirds of the adult population of Britain reported knowing someone who had emigrated. Of these, 58 per cent knew someone who had emigrated to Australia, 31 per cent to Canada and 15 per cent to New Zealand. Of those who knew of someone who had emigrated somewhere, not necessarily to Australia, a total of 84 per cent reported that the emigrant was either very happy (67 per cent) or fairly happy (17 per cent).

From what has been said so far it is clear that in Britain, at least, there is widespread awareness of emigration as an acceptable form of behaviour, and settlement in Australia as the most likely goal of this behaviour.

The energising component of a departure decision. When a person is dissatisfied with his current circumstances, when he feels that he is not 'getting anywhere', when his life goals are being frustrated, he may do any one of a number of things. He may strive harder to achieve his goals within the framework of his current life situation, or he may seek to achieve these goals by changing his method of reaching them (e.g., by turning to crime). He may give up trying to achieve his goals and retreat from the

³ Thirty-two per cent of a sample of 526 non-emigrating Dutchmen appeared to have given more or less serious consideration to the possibility of emigrating from the Netherlands at some time during their lives (Frijda, 1961, p. 110). See Ellemers (1964) for additional data.

situation (e.g., by suicide or, less permanently, by becoming alcoholic or merely apathetic). One of the solutions to the restless dissatisfaction that he feels may be to achieve a complete alteration of his life situation by emigrating to another community within his own country or to a different country altogether. Emigration has often been understood as an adjustment process in which relatively severe frustrations of one kind or another serve as the primary motivating force (e.g., Eisenstadt, 1954). Where there is land hunger, unemployment, religious or political persecution, or social discrimination, one might expect a high proportion of individuals to be frustrated. Undoubtedly, the intense frustration of important life goals is often of great importance in understanding the impetus behind some decisions to emigrate, but it is not always so and in the case of post-war emigrants from Britain it has been of relatively little significance. Satisfactions have seldom fallen below some 'absolute' level of acceptability so that few emigrants have been, in effect, forced out of Britain. It is of interest for example that areas of high unemployment like the north-east of England have provided Australia with relatively few emigrants (Appleyard, 1964).

For the great majority, the decision to leave Britain has come about when socio-economic satisfactions in particular, have fallen below some 'relative' level of acceptability. As this 'relative' level is determined by the satisfactions believed to be attainable in other countries it is necessary to examine the ways in which information about potential receiving countries is obtained.

It is when information has been obtained and evaluated in the light of his own circumstances that the potential emigrant translates his *generalised disposition* to alter his life circumstances to a *specific disposition* to emigrate to a particular country.

The directional component of a departure decision. Apart from the active searching for more information that usually characterises a person when once his decision to leave Britain has been partially formed, the potential emigrant shares with others of his background a great deal of 'information' concerning the main countries to which many of his compatriots have emigrated in the past. From school geography lessons and Sunday newspapers, from television and radio programs, and from occasional documentary

films, magazine articles and casual conversation, some more or less firm, if stereotyped, ideas are formed, in particular about Australia, the United States, New Zealand, Canada, South Africa, and Rhodesia.

In the 1966 survey (Social Surveys, 1966) two questions were asked to explore the range of ideas that were held about Australia. To the question: 'When you hear of Australia what is the first thing you think of?' 50 per cent of the entire sample mentioned the sun or some aspect of climate, 18 per cent mentioned kangaroos or dingoes, 17 per cent sheep or wool, 11 per cent surfing beaches, 9 per cent fruit, 8 per cent opportunities, 7 per cent fertile country, 4 per cent the Commonwealth, 3 per cent mentioned a specific town, 2 per cent Waltzing Matilda, 2 per cent opera or films and 1 per cent each convict ancestors, gold and tennis. The percentages do not add to 100 because some people gave more than one answer.

The second question asked: 'What things, if any, do you think you can get in Australia that you couldn't have here?' Seventy-six per cent mentioned one or more benefits and 24 per cent answered 'nothing in particular'. Of those who referred to benefits, 53 per cent mentioned the weather, 27 per cent better opportunities, 19 per cent a better life and 18 per cent more living space.

Given the climate of emigration that has existed in Britain since World War II, and the general knowledge about the main host countries that has become fairly widespread during the same period, what are some of the factors that lead to a particular choice of country by the emigration-prone person?

In a study reported by Brown (1954, 1960, 1961) British emigrants to New Zealand said that they chose it in part, because of its similarity to England. They had been less attracted to Australia because they believed that Australians were 'rowdy' and 'uncouth' and 'not quite so friendly towards the English'.

Among the British emigrants in the longitudinal study 72 per cent of the entire sample reported making no inquiries about the possibility of emigrating to other countries before deciding on Australia. The other 28 per cent had considered New Zealand, Canada, South Africa or Rhodesia. The main reasons for choosing Australia in preference to any of the other countries were as follows. Compared with New Zealand, Australia was preferred because it

was possible to obtain an assisted passage. Employment prospects were thought to be superior in Australia to those in Canada because there was no problem of 'winter unemployment'. Finally, Australia was seen as having no 'racial troubles' and for this reason was preferred to both South Africa and Rhodesia.

For the sample under discussion Table 2.1 shows in more detail the predominant source of information about Australia as this is acquired by the two major categories of assisted passage emigrants. As might be expected, significantly more of the emigrants sponsored or nominated personally by friends or relatives in Australia claimed that most of their knowledge had come from contacts in Australia (49 per cent). This contrasts with emigrants who, lacking such sponsors, were nominated by the Commonwealth of Australia itself; only 8 per cent of these had obtained most of their information from persons in Australia and far more of them were more dependent upon information available at Australia House in London. It is also noteworthy that the same sources of information are also stated to be the main sources of influence on the decision to go out to Australia. Relatives and friends in Australia are a major influence on the personal nominees, while Australia House publicity is said to be the major influence on Commonwealth nominees.

These findings suggest that those who receive a personal nomination are more often drawn toward Australia while those who

*Table 2.1 Sources of information and influence about Australia**

Source	Source of most information				Source of most influence in reaching a decision to emigrate			
	Personal nominee		C'wealth nominee		Personal nominee		C'wealth nominee	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Relatives or friends in Australia	101	43	21	8	114	49	28	11
Relatives or friends in Britain	38	16	39	16	27	11	41	16
Australians in Britain	10	4	16	7	13	5	15	6
Australia House publicity	70	29	133	53	31	13	83	33
All other sources	16	7	35	14	13	5	35	14
None	1	1	3	1	35	15	45	18
No reply	—	—	3	1	3	1	3	1
Totals	236	100	250	100	236	99	250	99

* Adapted from a table in Appleyard (1964).

become Commonwealth nominees are more often repelled by some aspects of their lives in Britain.⁴ That such a difference does exist is strongly suggested by Appleyard (1964) in his detailed analysis of this same sample of emigrants. The Commonwealth nominated families

tended to show considerable dissatisfaction with their environment, especially with the absence of opportunities for advancement for themselves and for employment for their children which, they claimed, were their main reasons for emigrating. The decisions of personally-nominated families, on the other hand, seemed to be made at lower 'crisis levels' than the decisions of the Commonwealth-nominated families, probably because Personal nominees were aware that their relatives and friends in Australia had arranged for housing, would probably help them to find employment and, most important, would provide them with moral support during the early difficult stages of resettlement. The future thus held fewer unknowns for the personally-nominated than it held for the Commonwealth nominees. Indeed, some of the personally-nominated families would not have emigrated had close relatives in Australia not nominated them (pp. 177-8).

From disposition to action

Many people who reach the stage of having a specific disposition to emigrate to a particular country never make the move. Others may wait on the threshold for months or years, while a few may act almost as soon as they become aware of their disposition.

What are the opportunity, personality, precipitating and bolstering factors that increase the probability of turning a dream into a reality?

Opportunity factors. Circumstances which play a part in delaying or preventing emigration might include the presence of strong ties

⁴ Whether a negative push out of Britain or a more positive pull towards Australia has any significance for later settlement has proved difficult to establish and it is the view of the writer that neither category of motivation, taken in isolation, is of any great significance. In a study conducted by Richardson (1957b) a non-significant tendency was found for satisfied immigrants to report some negative characteristic of life in Britain as a reason for coming to Australia, while the dissatisfied immigrants were more likely to mention some positive characteristic of Australia. However, a careful analysis of the reasons given for emigration in a prospective study of socio-economic satisfaction (Richardson, 1971) revealed no association whatsoever between polarity of reasons and level of satisfaction.

to parents, especially a wife's emotional attachment to her mother and other close relatives; or the existence of several children at secondary school, or a husband who contributes to a non-transferable superannuation scheme. Such emotional, social and economic ties to one's own region or country may make emigration too difficult to contemplate, however strong the disposition to move might be. Equally effective in preventing actual emigration may be a person's inability to satisfy the current requirements for entry into the country of his choice. To be free to leave Britain and eligible to arrive in Australia is the ideal situation for anyone who is disposed to emigrate but it does not apply to everyone.

In a study from which most of the evidence in this section has been taken (Richardson, 1956, 1959) a sample of eighty emigrants were compared with a matched sample of eighty non-emigrants. Both samples were British born, married, male, skilled manual workers and all of the emigrants intended to travel to Australia under the Assisted Passage Scheme. What evidence was found that emigrants were freer to leave Britain than were the non-emigrants?

The answer is fairly clear, at least for those in this particular study; those who emigrate are less closely tied to family or locality than those who don't emigrate. Three specific findings will bear out this generalisation. First, some support was found for the assertion that is sometimes made (e.g., Thomas, 1954, p. 219) that someone from a large family can more easily emigrate, if he wishes to, because the economic and social-emotional responsibilities towards parents can be shared among the brothers and sisters who remain behind. In fact it was found that significantly more of the emigrants than of the non-emigrants had two or more brothers and sisters. Second, it was found that emigrants had changed their place of residence significantly more often than non-emigrants and had also changed the type of work engaged in, though not the number of jobs held, significantly more often. To have moved about in this way and to have coped with the added problems of adjusting to new groups of people may well have increased their confidence in making the longer move to Australia. Of more immediate concern, these residential and occupational moves might be expected to decrease their dependence on, and attachment to, their families. The third finding is consistent with the previous

two; the emigrants were significantly less likely to hold favourable attitudes to their parents and close relatives.

Comparable results to some of these have been reported by Brown (1954) in his study of unmarried male emigrants to New Zealand. More of these men than of those in a non-emigrant sample expressed themselves as willing to leave their families. They also held less favourable attitudes to their families and had more often experienced life in lodgings or hostels.

At this point it may be useful to remember the kind of inferences that are being made here and throughout this book. The immediate problem has been to discover and report those factors which have a statistically significant probability,⁵ not an absolute certainty, of either facilitating or inhibiting the final act of emigration. On examination it is often found that some plausible factor occurs no more frequently among the emigrants than among the non-emigrants. This does not mean, of course, that for particular persons a factor of this kind may not be of crucial importance. For example, one husband would not leave Britain while his mother was alive. For him, his wife and son this factor was crucial in determining whether he emigrated or whether he stayed at home. Yet in the Richardson (1956) study no difference was found between emigrants and non-emigrants in the frequency with which the husband or wife in either category reported having a mother or father who was alive in Britain.

Even where statistically significant differences are found between emigrants and non-emigrants, as in the number of brothers and sisters possessed by each, general inference may not be relevant to particular individuals. For example, a man and his wife may have no brothers and sisters between them but they may still decide to emigrate despite the presence of ageing parents. The couple may have been cut off by both sets of parents, or they may believe that their support is not needed, or again they may feel that their responsibility to their own children is paramount and that it is necessary to emigrate to Australia for their sakes.

It is an inevitable consequence of the present approach that the

⁵ Unless stated otherwise all references to statistical significance in this book imply that two sets of data differ from each other at the 5 per cent level of confidence or better.

unique determinants of individual action are sacrificed to the investigation of the most frequently occurring and most distinctive factors.

Personality factors. For those who are so motivated and have the opportunity to leave Britain, no more may be necessary to bring about the actual move to Australia. For others the nature of their personalities may be related to the strength of their motivation to leave Britain and to a tendency to create opportunities to get out to Australia. That significantly larger numbers of emigrants compared with non-emigrants have the energetic, outgoing personalities implied is a finding that will now be discussed.

It was found by Richardson (1956, 1959) that emigrants were significantly more likely to agree with statements like the following 'If people would talk less and work more everybody would be better off' and 'No weakness or difficulty can hold us back if we have enough willpower'. Trends were also noted for the emigrants to report that they engaged in more activities and had more interests than the non-emigrants. Emigrants gave the impression that they felt themselves to be more in charge of their destinies and less the pawns of fate than did the non-emigrants. For example emigrants were significantly less likely to agree that 'With the world in its present state it is hardly fair to bring children into it' and that 'A person who is content with what he has will have a better life than one who is always trying to improve his position'. A strong trend existed for emigrants to disagree that 'However much he tries the average man can never hope to get anywhere in life' and again to disagree that 'Fundamentally the world we live in is a pretty lonely place'.

Two other studies concerned with post war prosperity type migrations have obtained similar results. In Brown's (1954) investigation of single male emigrants to New Zealand, more initiative and greater ambition were found among the emigrants than among the non-emigrants. Emigrants more often belonged to clubs and societies and were more likely to report that they felt at ease with anybody compared with the non-emigrants who more frequently reported being most at ease with friends and relatives. Again, in a study of Dutch emigrants leaving the Netherlands in the late 1950s it was found that active, energetic personalities

were characteristic of the majority of both older and younger emigrants (Beijer *et al.*, 1961).

This relatively energetic search for something better than one has at present can also be noted in the reasons that people give for their decision to emigrate. Some of the reasons are rather stereotyped, like 'the weather' and occasionally may be no more than rationalisations for more complex and less conscious motives as when an emigrant just says 'England's too crowded' or 'too much red tape'. But by far the most common reasons relate to the idea of improving their circumstances. Over 90 per cent of the emigrants studied by Richardson (1956, 1959) reported that they were seeking better opportunities for themselves or their children by moving out to Australia. Similar reasons predominated among the large sample of British emigrants investigated by Appleyard (1964).

Though a fairly consistent pattern of personality characteristics has been reported as typical among samples of post war overseas emigrants from Britain and the Netherlands, it is important to avoid generalising from these findings to other national groups emigrating to other countries at other times. It is easy to forget that a change in the overall economic and social conditions under which large scale migratory movements take place may result in the emigration of individuals whose typical personality is quite different. An example of this difference is provided by a classic study of Norwegian emigrants who became patients in Minnesota mental hospitals between 1889-1929. It was found that the incidence of schizophrenia among these Norwegian emigrants (mainly single males) was significantly higher than for any other comparable category of immigrant mental patient in Minnesota and was significantly higher than among similar Norwegian patients in a mental hospital at Gaustad in Norway (Odegaard, 1932). In another paper published eighteen years later, Odegaard (1950) transformed this particular finding into the more general assertion that 'Certain personality traits which belong in the constitutional background of mental disease predispose toward overseas migration' (p. 462). The restless, socially maladjusted individual was believed to have a higher propensity to emigrate overseas because he lacked the adaptability and social connections to cope with an overcrowded labour market at home. For this type of schizoid personality a break from family, friends and familiar

surroundings should be fairly easy because, Odegaard alleged, these things do not have much meaning for him.

From this example and the previous discussion on post war emigrants from Britain and the Netherlands it should be clear that different migratory movements tend to have a differentially selective influence on the psychological characteristics of those involved.

Precipitating factors. Given the motivation and opportunity to emigrate, and the personality characteristics to make the most of it, a final precipitating event may hardly be necessary. It is not surprising to find that personally nominated Assisted Passage emigrants take a shorter time to come to a final decision than do those who obtain a Commonwealth nomination (Appleyard, 1964). As those in this latter category seldom have any close friends or relatives in Australia it is reasonable that they want to feel as certain as possible about the correctness of their decision. Where there is uncertainty it may lead to a prolonged wait and endless discussions of the shall-we—shan't-we kind. Then one day something happens to trigger the decision to go. Often these precipitating factors are in the form of 'final straws' such as a failure to get an expected promotion. One married couple described the final trigger as occurring when 'a job fell through—along with the ceiling of our house'. Equally significant for others may be an economic or political crisis, or even an exceptionally bitter winter. It is of interest to find that during the past 25 years migration inquiries at Australia House have reached especially large numbers on three occasions: firstly, when there was a rapid increase in the cost of living following the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950/51; next during the Suez crisis of 1956/57; lastly, after the great freezeup of 1962/63.

Bolstering factors. At whatever point in time the decision is made and the process of physically extricating himself from Britain begins, it becomes increasingly difficult for an immigrant to accept any information about Australia that might imply that it is less attractive than anticipated. The first evidence for this assertion comes from the Richardson (1959) study in which the intending emigrants and the non-emigrants who had known returned

migrants were asked: 'What were their reasons for returning?' It was found that the intending emigrants were more likely to stress the unsuitability of the returned migrants. It was said that they 'lacked guts' or were 'unable to adapt themselves to the Aussie way of life' or 'expected too much reward for too little effort'. Non-emigrants on the other hand were more likely to stress the unsuitability of Australia by giving reasons like 'shortage of houses' or 'high cost of living'. Though it is possible that the personality centred reasons of the committed emigrants and the situation centred reasons of the more neutral non-emigrants were due to each of them having met a different type of returned migrant, a more plausible explanation is that intending emigrants are attempting to preserve a favourable picture of Australia. As they are going out to Australia themselves they find it difficult to blame Australia for the return of an immigrant, for to do so would be to admit that it is a place in which migrants may find it difficult to settle.

In his study of the Assisted Passage emigrants who were interviewed in Britain in 1959, Appleyard (1964) writes,

The decision of young families, especially Commonwealth-nominated families, was probably the most important of their married lives. Once taken, they then tended to justify it by building a very favourable image of Australia and contrariwise, an unfavourable image of the United Kingdom. Indeed, several respondents gave the impression that they had deliberately avoided seeking information about Australia once they made their decision in case this information tarnished the image they had already established (pp. 161-2).

Finally, Brown (1961) interprets some responses of British emigrants intending to move to New Zealand as a way of protecting themselves against excessive worrying. He writes, 'By expecting close similarity between origin and destination, the would-be migrants probably reduce anxieties associated with moving' (p. 5).

Because of this common tendency to bolster our decisions when they have been made, and reassure ourselves that a decision is correct, it is important that a potential emigrant be exposed to information concerning the main difficulties that he and his family can expect to meet, at some time before the final decision is made. Such a recommendation is easier said than done.

The psychological nature of emigration has been emphasised by reference to that most difficult to define concept—intention. When

someone makes the move to Australia with no intention of staying there he is not psychologically, and may not even be demographically, a true emigrant. In terms of intention he is only a visitor, or at most a sojourner, even if in the end he stays on permanently.

For the true settler emigrant the growth of a disposition to move can be understood by reference to the social climate in which it takes place and to the personal dissatisfactions currently experienced. This latter circumstance provides the energy to search for a solution, while the former provides an initial source of information and influence contributing to the selection of Australia.

An actual decision depends upon the existence of an opportunity to emigrate and/or of a personality that is likely to create opportunities.⁶ Even at this advanced stage in the decision process it may require some precipitating crisis to bring about the final decision. Once the decision to emigrate to Australia has been made, however, and the intending emigrant feels that he has committed himself, all forms of counter influence are likely to be resisted very strongly.

⁶ A valuable discussion of the general processes by which an individual arrives at a decision is provided by Janis (1968).

When one leaves a community in which all of one's childhood and youth have been spent, one departs with a personality that has been more or less well moulded to fit it. The fit may often be rather less than more adequate but it is usually better than the initial fit into any new community. Then, as time passes in the new community and adjustments are made, some changes in the structure of one's attitudes, beliefs and behaviours inevitably occur. What are these changes and what are the main factors that facilitate or inhibit the process of reshaping these aspects of an immigrant's personality?

For the adult British immigrant in Australia it is obvious that no amount of reshaping, even under the most favourable conditions, will turn him into an Australian.¹ Though he may become like an Australian in many ways, the new attitudes, beliefs and behaviour that he acquires will always be set within the context of a basically English, Scottish, Irish or Welsh national character. On the day that he arrives in Australia the typical immigrant shares few of the common stock of memories, social traditions and sensory experiences that bind together most of his Australian born contemporaries. This fact alone must always set him apart to some extent, if not for others, then at least for himself.

To describe something of what goes on, psychologically, when the immigrant arrives and stays in a new community, attention has been concentrated upon three major aspects of personality change

¹ Who or what is an Australian? In all research reported here an Australian has been defined as someone born in Australia. Conceptually this is not a completely satisfactory answer but empirically it provides a relatively unambiguous criterion.

and their determinants.² The first of these aspects concerns what happens to him during the initial period of resettlement. If successful, this period concludes with the immigrant experiencing a general state of satisfaction with life in Australia. If initial resettlement is unsuccessful the immigrant will experience dissatisfaction though he may not decide to leave Australia because of it. Given that the immigrant feels more satisfied than dissatisfied, the foundation exists for the growth of a new sense of attachment or belonging to Australia. When this new sense of attachment to Australia develops, if it does, the immigrant may be described as having reached, what is here termed the Identification level of assimilation. To be identified with one's host group also implies a favourable set or disposition towards many, though not necessarily all aspects of it. Such a set or disposition may result in the more rapid adoption of a wider variety of the host group's attitudes, beliefs and behaviours than might otherwise occur. When major changes in the direction of host group attitudes, beliefs and behaviours have actually taken place then the new group member may be described as having reached what is here termed the Acculturation level of assimilation.

It is obvious that some justification must be advanced for the emphasis that is placed upon this particular sequence of change. In an empirical study it would be possible, at least in principle, to give operational definitions to each of these three aspects of assimilation so that they are related to one another in any sequence or in no consistent sequence at all. Why should the sequence of stages here termed satisfaction-identification-accultura-

² The significance of these three aspects has been particularly stressed in the West Australian studies undertaken by Richardson and Taft and their students. A review of these studies has been presented by Taft (1965). However, other psychologists interested in migratory behaviour have also stressed the importance of similar changes, e.g., Fong (1965) describes two of the assimilation aspects discussed here. On identification he writes, 'One psychological facet is assimilation orientation. This attitudinal continuum may be described as the extent to which minority group members are favourably disposed toward accepting a style of life that is conducive to all aspects of assimilation . . .' (p. 265) and on acculturation he writes, 'A second factor reasonably independent of the other is acculturation. It encompasses the degree to which ethnic minority members have actually learned and acquired Western values and patterns in their behaviour' (p. 265). Johnston (1963) makes a similar distinction between identification and acculturation. The first she calls subjective assimilation and the second external assimilation.

tion be especially favoured? Some of the theoretical reasons and some of the empirical evidence for the prevalence of this sequence will be provided in what follows. However, as will be seen, it is now recognised that another incomplete sequence can occur under certain conditions, by which it is possible to become acculturated on the basis of prior satisfaction but in the absence of identification. Immigrants who manifest this pattern have been described as Quasi-acculturated.

Satisfaction and dissatisfaction

Judgments about any particular aspects of one's life in terms of satisfaction or dissatisfaction depend for their significance, not only on the aspect selected, but also on the level of satisfaction present in many other contemporary areas.

A general sense of well being, whatever its cause, is more likely to lead to judgments of satisfaction with other, more specific experiences, which on different occasions might have led to judgments of dissatisfaction. A good dinner followed by a comfortable seat at the theatre has been known to increase the probability of a favourable judgment about a mediocre performance of a mediocre play.

Apart from the factors, like those just mentioned, which may affect an immigrant's private judgment of the degree to which he is satisfied with his life in Australia, there will be others that may affect his reporting of how he feels. It has been shown, for example, that in a sample of Dutch immigrants there was a greater likelihood of admitting to dissatisfaction with aspects of life in Australia where the interviewer was Dutch than where the interviewer was Australian.³ One might expect that this sort of influence would have less effect when an immigrant is quite sure one way or the other that he is satisfied or dissatisfied. When he knows his own mind, under conditions of reasonable rapport, he is likely to speak it honestly. However, even when the individual knows his own

³ Two matched samples of Dutch male immigrants were interviewed, one by an Australian born interviewer and one by a Dutch interviewer. 'The Australian interviewed subjects were especially reluctant to express their dissatisfaction with educational standards in Australia and they refrained from describing themselves as *very* dissatisfied about any aspect of Australian life' (Taft, 1965, p. 28).

mind, and has every intention of being honest, the basic question remains: will he still feel as he does now in a week, or in a month, or in a year?

The available evidence suggests that changes in overall satisfaction level are more frequent during the first couple of years, but gradually decline in the years that follow.⁴ As might be expected any changes in satisfaction level during the period of initial adjustment are closely tied to the vicissitudes of the newcomer's life at this time. Experiences within the first two or three years of residence in a new community are crucial to successful settlement. What are some of the most common difficulties that must be overcome?

Previous research supports the view that after making his decision to emigrate but prior to his actual departure, an individual may experience a certain amount of anxiety.⁵ He is about to leave the familiar, relative secure environment of his home community for an unknown, untried community ten or twelve thousand miles away. The typical manner of reducing this anxiety is to deny any potentially negative characteristics of the new community and to build up its more positive features. Because of this need to preserve a favourable picture of Australia at this time, much carefully worded official information concerning accommodation, employment, social services, etc., may not be fully comprehended before emigration.

This tendency towards an initial overvaluation of Australia may be enhanced by the holiday atmosphere of the voyage out, especially when it is by sea. Though the conditions are not 'posh' the experience combines an agreeable degree of novelty in a relatively relaxed setting. For those travelling to Australia by sea twinges of anxiety may be felt once more as the ship comes within a few days sailing time of Fremantle, and a final call at the office of the Commonwealth Information Officer may be needed, as much for

⁴ In a study by Richardson (1961) British immigrant respondents were asked to chart the changes in satisfaction level that they had experienced since arrival in Australia. From these retrospective ratings it was clear that more variation on the 5-point scale of satisfaction existed for the majority of individuals during the first one or two years than existed later.

⁵ Evidence of pre-migration anxiety is reported in studies by Brown (1956) and Richardson (1959).

reassurance as for any concrete information that might be requested. Soon after sighting the West Australian coast with its long line of low sandhills, much the same today as it was when the first emigrants arrived at the Swan River Settlement⁶, the ship passes the North Mole into Fremantle Harbour. Despite the mildly depressing effect that may be produced by the immediate surroundings of almost any international port the majority of immigrants who enter Australia by ship are so relieved to be on land again, and close to their journey's end, that their first brief examination of Perth and its environs is reported in most enthusiastic terms. As might be expected, for those who arrive by air, the rapidity of the move from Britain to Australia can be initially very disorientating.

Whatever his port of final disembarkation or his mode of transport the arrival is followed by three typical patterns of reaction, one after the other. The first of these is an 'elation' pattern often followed by a second, 'depression' pattern and then by a 'recovery' pattern.

The elation pattern. During the first few days there is sometimes a sense of unreality as if participating in a film. People are actors and the buildings and landscape no more than a series of film sets. When this brief period is over, the great majority of new arrivals find the early weeks in their new community to be pleasant, if hectic ones. Among British immigrants in Australia there is evidence to suggest that this period is marked by attitudes towards their new country that are more uncritically favourable than any they are likely to have later.⁷ Of course, if serious illness, unemployment or grossly inadequate accommodation are experienced soon

⁶ The initial view of Western Australia has not changed much since the early days of the colony. In his *Picton Journal* written between 1841 and 1844 one of Western Australia's earliest Church of England parsons wrote 'The appearance of the coast of Western Australia as you approach from the sea is most uninviting. It consists entirely of white sand wherever rocks do not make their appearance. The sandhills which rise gradually in the background, are very little varied in form and height and are for the most part, covered with stunted trees and the scrub peculiar to the climate' (Wollaston, 1967, p. 3).

⁷ It is not without interest that in one study these initial attitudes were more favourable than those of a comparable sample of Australians. Three matched samples of British immigrants completed a 20-item Likert type attitude scale designed to measure attitudes to Australia. These three samples had been resident in Australia for periods of less than 11 weeks (Group 1), about 7

after arrival, then general dissatisfaction may well be felt, though it seldom happens that an immigrant will feel that he made the wrong decision to migrate. Under all less frustrating conditions a relatively high level of initial satisfaction is likely to be experienced.

Three of the most common factors that create and sustain this relatively high level of initial satisfaction are: the novelty of the situation, the social freedom implicit in the newcomer's role and the need for self-justification.

Novelty. For both the newcomer and the members of the receiving community who interact with him the initial situation contains an element of novelty which helps to provide a number of positive experiences. Though more than two million people have arrived in Australia since the end of World War II and about one in five of the inhabitants of Australia were not born in the country, the situation is still a novel one for all immigrants and still contains some elements of novelty for the native born. The new arrival's status will proclaim itself, not only through some characteristic of speech or clothing but also through his inquiring and uncertain manner. As he asks questions in the street, on buses and in shops, he will have a casual acquaintance with some members of his new society. Some of the people whom he meets are likely to express at least a passing interest in where he came from, how long he has been in the new community and what he thinks of it. Sometimes these chance meetings result in opportunities for more extended contacts with Australians at a later time. Many of the experiences of these first few weeks and even months are stimulating, exciting and enjoyable for the majority of immigrants.

Social freedom. At the beginning of his life in Australia a newcomer seldom has the opportunity or the time to become involved socially with those he meets by chance. Consequently he has few

months (Group 2) and 12 months (Group 3). A matched sample of Australians obtained a mean raw score of 67 out of a possible 100, compared with a mean raw score of 70 for the new arrivals in Group 1, a score of 59 for those in Group 2 and a score of 57 for those in Group 3. The British immigrants in Groups 2 and 3 were significantly less favourable in their attitude to Australia than those in Group 1 or than those in the Australian comparison group ($p < .01$ for all comparisons). For further discussion see Richardson (1953, 1957a).

feelings of obligation to behave in any specifically required manner. In fact he often feels a greater sense of social freedom in these first few months because whatever his behaviour, within fairly broad limits, he is able to plead justifiable ignorance of the local culture and thereby emphasise, implicitly, the guest-like quality of his role as a stranger. As no one is likely to know precisely whether a particular pattern of behaviour is typical or atypical of the community from which he came, the newcomer is in a position to experiment with the way in which he plays a variety of old and some new roles in the host community. Even when he does not make active use of this increase in social freedom the immigrant is often pleasantly aware of the possibility.

The tourist abroad and the soldier serving in a foreign country provide two classic examples of this situation. That both the tourist and the soldier role are not infrequently associated with grossly offensive behaviour can be attributed, in part, to the extra social freedom implicit in these roles. For the married immigrant, particularly the wife, who intends to settle, however, the restraints are very much greater, while for the single transient immigrant the restraints are somewhere in between.

That the role of the stranger or the newcomer has greater potential for varied behaviour and is associated with a greater sense of social freedom has been observed on many occasions. Simmel (1950), for example, has written that the stranger 'is bound by no commitments . . . he is free practically and theoretically; he surveys conditions with less prejudice . . . he is not tied down in his actions by habit, piety and precedent'.⁸ However, it should not be forgotten that the stranger may be viewed with suspicion and treated as a threat if the community into which he moves is a highly cohesive one or if he is perceived as a competitor for resources that are in short supply. Over the past twenty years the

⁸ When the British immigrant, within the approving and accepting context of an Australian community, states that he feels more free, this may in part, or in combination, be due to the actual presence of other conditions that are likely to produce a greater sense of freedom. That a greater element of actual freedom does exist is suggested by the reference that many of them make to the easy-going relations of the worker with his boss, or the more informal manner of dress. Useful discussions of the newcomers' role have been provided by Schuetz (1944), Zajonc (1952), Mills (1957), Nash and Wolfe (1957), Ziller and Behringer (1961), Nash (1963), and Heiss and Nash (1967).

attitude of Australians to all immigrant groups has steadily become more accepting,⁹ though in practice this may sometimes imply no more than a shift from more or less mild opposition to indifference.

Self-justification. As before he emigrated, so now after arrival, the newcomer's anxieties may be resolved at first by maintaining a favourable picture of the new community and his experience within it. One cannot have gone through so much in getting away from one's home country and having travelled so far in getting to one's new country, without feeling that it must have been worthwhile. Self-justification follows the formula 'I am where I wanted to be so that I must, consequently, be satisfied'.

The model for this process and some experimental support for it is provided by the theory of cognitive dissonance. It has been argued that man has a general need for cognitive consistency in the sense that he finds it distressing if he becomes aware that he is holding two important but mutually exclusive ideas. Once he becomes aware he will seek the most appropriate means of reducing the dissonance involved. Though the precise conditions under which dissonance may be aroused and reduced have yet to be specified, it is a fruitful framework within which many social phenomena can be studied. An example will help in understanding more clearly how the cognitive dissonance approach might relate to the situation of a new arrival.

Gerard and Mathewson (1966) set out to test the hypothesis that liking or satisfaction with one's group membership will increase with the severity of one's initiation into it. It was argued that to suffer or expend energy in the pursuit of a goal that turns out to be less satisfactory than expected should produce a state of cognitive dissonance. This dissonance between the facts of high expenditure and low return may be resolved most readily by searching for, and finding, as many worthwhile features of the goal situation as possible. Unless this solution is adopted, loss of self-esteem is likely to result. The hypothesis was supported and a

⁹ A review of social survey findings concerned with Australian attitudes towards immigration and towards specific national groups has been provided by Richardson and Taft (1968).

number of alternative explanations that might have accounted for the experimental results were shown to be untenable.

A similar resolution of a similar state of dissonance can occur in the immigrant who has no means of returning to his homeland even though he might wish to go.

The depression pattern. Even when progress towards resettlement goals is being made, some lowering of overall satisfaction level is fairly typical in the second half of the first year. This trough is a general phenomenon that has been reported for newcomers in a wide variety of group settings. For example, Tyhurst (1951) has reported it among refugees; Curle and Trist (1947) among repatriated P.O.W.s who were not passed through Civil Resettlement Units; Beijer *et al.* (1961) among voluntary Dutch immigrants in British Commonwealth countries; Richardson (1957a) among British immigrants in Australia, and Selltitz and Cook (1962) among foreign students resident in the United States of America. These last describe the characteristic *U* curve of elation-depression and recovery, as follows: 'Starting out with highly enthusiastic reactions, they are likely to become more critical after a few months; a period of relatively negative feelings is likely to be followed by a return to more favourable evaluation, though the initial rosy view may not be recaptured'.

It will be useful, now, to highlight some of the most common factors which contribute to the onset and maintenance of this lowered satisfaction level.

Culture shock. The novelty of the new environment wears off for the newcomer and his novelty value wears off for the members of the receiving community. In particular, the immigrant begins to realise more fully the differences between his old community and his new one. He becomes increasingly aware that large sections of his new environment are not just novel and interesting but fundamentally different and difficult to understand and, for this reason, a little threatening.

It is possible to learn a good deal about Australia through books, films, newspapers, pamphlets, letters, personal contacts and other sources of information, but it is a very different kind of knowledge from that which is possessed by the resident who has been living in Australia from birth or early childhood. These two

kinds of knowledge correspond to the distinction that is sometimes made between 'book learning' and 'practical experience' or between 'learning at school' and 'learning on the job'. Assimilation is a process which cannot be accomplished successfully on the basis of 'book learning'; it can only occur by 'learning on the job'. Ultimately there is no other way in which to acquire the automatic responses needed for full and easy participation within a new community. Culture shock may be regarded as the more or less sudden realisation that one has a very long way to go before it will be possible to live this kind of full and spontaneous life. In its more extreme form it may involve a negative reaction to the Australian style of living and a strong resistance to accepting it.

Sensory shock. A comparable variety of sensory shock is also to be found. Of all the subtle aspects of life in a new community with which one must come to terms, those concerning the impact of the sensory environment are among the most difficult to anticipate. No matter how careful his preparation the tangible, sensory feel of Australia comes as something of a shock to many northern Europeans. Among the more obvious sensory qualities to which adaptation must be made are the extraordinary intensity of light in most parts of Australia, the persistence with which flies stick to the skin, the absence of many familiar bird sounds and of the familiar scent of flowers, the dry, grey-green dusty landscapes and the occasional days of overwhelming humid heat.

Nostalgia. Among the British immigrants studied in Newtown (Richardson, 1961), significantly more of the married women than of their husbands reported experiences of homesickness (i.e., to the question: 'Do you ever feel homesick?' the women were more likely to answer 'often' or 'sometimes'). A steady but insignificant diminution in the proportion of men and women reporting themselves as homesick occurred with each increase in the level of assimilation. No measure of intensity was obtained but it was clear that immigrants varied enormously on this dimension from the woman who said that she felt slightly homesick sometimes at Christmas time to the man who said 'I never forget England—I think of it every moment of the day—it is permanent'. The study of homesickness as an experiential and behavioural phenomenon

of some social and personal importance is not very far advanced. Frost (1938) reported a study of homesickness among forty Austrian and German domestic servants working in London. He concluded 'My view of these cases is the common sense one that homesickness is a milieu or situation reaction. Despite the diversity of personality types, there is a striking uniformity of symptomatology, course and prognosis—suicide, mistakes of identity, religious delusions—an immediate improvement once the situation is changed, by hospital care, and a favourable course ending in repatriation'. He went on to say 'No rigid separation of personality from milieu is, of course, permissible. The question, as always, is how much personality, how much situation? In assessing the relative importance of these factors, however, I incline to put most weight upon milieu'. McCann (1941) reviewed the literature on nostalgia and wrote 'It is the unpleasant newness of a situation and the knowledge that one cannot return to the old situation that are likely to set off the nostalgia pattern regardless of the individual's age'. From a small empirical study conducted in 1943 McCann concluded that homesickness is more common in the emotionally unstable than in the emotionally stable (i.e., it is a personality predisposition). More recently there has been a resurgence of interest in nostalgia. Nawas and Platt (1965) proposed a future oriented theory. 'When the future is uncertain or the future is coming to a close, as in old age, the individual is more prone to look back for ego comforts'. Every variable included in the Newtown study of British immigrants was examined in relation to the question on homesickness but few significant findings were obtained. Significantly more of the married women who reported having been homesick in Australia also reported that the climate affected them badly and that the health of their children was worse in Australia than in Britain. These women also had husbands who stated that their standard of living was lower in Australia than it had been in Britain. The only variable which bore a statistically significant relation to reported homesickness among the married men was leisure time enjoyment. Homesick men were less likely than non-homesick men to say that they enjoyed their leisure time more in Australia than they had in Britain.

It is clear that the occurrence of homesickness is difficult to predict because it is dependent upon the interaction of so many

personal and situational factors. However, the absence of a future time perspective, from whatever cause is probably of special importance. It is likely to precipitate a longing for some familiar, and therefore more predictable, aspect of life in one's homeland. When an immigrant becomes acutely aware of the foreign elements in his new environment his conviction that the future will be under his control, and filled with the kind of events that he plans, is temporarily undermined. A host of pleasant memories may flood his consciousness and a general tendency to idealise the old community may occur as part of this nostalgic reaction.

The British immigrant may begin to daydream of pleasant walks down country lanes, of the warm cosiness of his local pub, of the long twilights and the lush green of the countryside—and thoughts of returning to his homeland may increase in frequency. If he begins to compare Australia unfavourably with Britain and to express his feelings in public he may also find himself faced with the problem of what I have called reactive non-acceptance.

Reactive non-acceptance. In some receiving communities prejudice and discrimination towards immigrants is traditional. Prejudice may be expected to vary in extent, if not in intensity, to the degree that host group members perceive immigrants in general, or particular classes of immigrants, to be a threat to their economic, social, political or religious wellbeing. When an immigrant is perceived as a threat he may expect to experience active non-acceptance from the time that he arrives.

Apart from a brief economic recession between 1952-3 and again between 1960-2, little objective basis for regarding immigrants as an immediate threat to native born Australians has existed during the post war period. Australians, like the residents of other English speaking countries, have a hierarchy of national preferences in which the British and other northern European nationals are most favoured, and eastern Europeans, southern Europeans and non-European nationals, in that order, are less favoured. Surveys conducted over a period extending from 1948 to 1966 have shown a fairly steady reduction in the amount of opposition expressed towards the numbers of immigrants entering Australia each year and towards some of the less favoured national groups. Opposition to British immigrants during this period has always been slight and

where it existed was usually due to situational conditions associated with competition for jobs or houses. Emotionally based dislike of British immigrants was rare though it was found occasionally. For example, when asked whether he had come across any persons or organisations unfriendly or prejudiced against British migrants, one perceptive and satisfied British immigrant answered, 'The odd type that is always downing the Pommies. You get the same type in England that always run people down'.

However, it happens on occasion that a British immigrant will report that he has met with hostility from Australians under conditions where the explanations given above are improbable. Sometimes, the immigrant antagonises Australians and even long established immigrants by his references to the way things are done at home and the inferiority of the way they are done in Australia. All immigrants inevitably make comparisons and evaluations in regard to the new communities in which they find themselves and it goes without saying that at least some of these comparisons will result in an unflattering evaluation of some aspect of life in the new society. While these evaluations remain private no harm is done. With sympathetic Australian acquaintances diplomatically phrased criticisms are possible. But when evaluations of this kind are made in public and have destructive or hostile overtones, the chance of an immigrant becoming socially accepted within his new community's primary groups is severely reduced.

The recovery pattern. The existence of culture shock, which is to some degree inevitable, may be expected to bring about a reduction in the enthusiasm with which the great majority of immigrants approach their Australian experience during the middle to later months of their first year. Nostalgia and/or reactive non-acceptance may complicate and intensify this reaction, as will the presence of a working situation or a wage packet or accommodation that is seriously below the level expected before migration. If the individual has a low capacity to adapt, or if the actual stress of his current situation becomes too severe, he is likely to respond either by some form of hostility expressed towards his new community or by some form of passive withdrawal from it.¹⁰ Though either of

¹⁰ These two reaction patterns have been discussed by Jensen (1966) within the context of refugee adjustment.

these reactions may temporarily reduce the anxiety associated with his resettlement difficulties, they do not help such an immigrant to adapt himself successfully to the people and circumstances around him.

In a study by Richardson (1971), which was designed to predict levels of socio-economic satisfaction twelve months after arrival in Australia from data obtained before the migrants landed in the country, the best single predictor was found to be Rotter's (1966) Internal/External control scale as modified by Richardson (1968). It has been established that the individual who scores closer to the Internal end of this scale shows more initiative and effort in controlling his environment and alters his level of aspiration relatively little after particular experiences of success or failure. The individual who scores closer to the External end of the continuum, however, believes that the outcomes of his actions are determined more by chance, luck, fate or other forces outside his personal control. He has a more passive orientation to his environment and is more likely to blame others for his failures than to blame himself.

The mean score on this scale was significantly closer to the Internal end among the highly satisfied married men and women and significantly closer to the External end among the least satisfied. Another finding in this study was that married men or married women who had three or more children were likely to be at a significantly lower level of socio-economic satisfaction than comparable married men or married women who had two or less children. The more children possessed by an immigrant family the greater the potential economic and emotional stress to which the parents are exposed on arrival in a new country. Accommodation for a large family is likely to be more costly and more difficult to obtain. If the I/E scale is co-ordinated to the theoretical construct of adaptive capacity and number of children is co-ordinated to the theoretical construct of situational stress, it is possible to dichotomise each continuum to produce four high/low combinations. When the satisfaction levels of the two most extreme combinations are examined the following results were obtained. The chances of an emigrant ending up at the lowest satisfaction level after twelve months of residence in Australia were found to be relatively slight for those who had high adaptive capacity and low situational stress

(1 in 10 for the men and 0 in 4 for the women). At the other extreme, an emigrant with low adaptive capacity and high situational stress had little chance of being at the highest level of satisfaction after the same period of residence (1 in 11 for the men and 1 in 10 for the women).

Given that the immigrant has an average amount of adaptive capacity and is not subjected to excessive situational stress, he may be expected to work vigorously towards his resettlement goals. The adverb 'vigorously' has been used deliberately. Immigrants during their first couple of years in Australia often display a great deal more energy and constructiveness than they might have done in Britain and more than is typical of their Australian born contemporaries.

Apart from sheer economic necessity, this increase in drive may be influenced by several other factors. For example, the family man may feel the need to justify to his wife and children the upheaval involved in migrating. For others an increase in drive results from the absence of an established kin group from whom it might be possible to obtain emotional, and perhaps financial, support in times of emergency. For one reason or another the great majority of newcomers feel extremely vulnerable and will work hard to make themselves less so. However, a too lengthy period of being unsettled and vulnerable may be the beginning of a process which ultimately leads to a decision to leave Australia permanently.

The achievement of those goals that in part motivated emigration in the first place, and the provision of some socially recognised and acceptable position within the social structure of his new community, may take a considerable time, perhaps two, three or even more years. It is not until this point is reached, however, that the immigrant is likely to give a stable or consistent report that he is satisfied with his new life. And it is not until he has assured himself that occupationally, economically, residentially and socially he is making sufficient progress to feel secure and satisfied within his new community that he has any chance of developing a strong positive attachment to it.

Though this attachment may not develop, a moderate degree of satisfaction with his overall circumstances in Australia is a necessary pre-requisite if it is to develop. Apart from the evidence provided by the cumulative scales to be discussed in Chapters 4

and 5, similar conclusions have been reached by other writers. For example Kent (1953) writes, 'Economic adjustment is pivotal to the entire process of assimilation . . . This is not to say that satisfaction with one's economic status will automatically bring acceptance of American values; but rather that dissatisfaction may produce a negativism that is readily transferred to other phases of the environment' (p. 72). Again Verwey-Jonker and Brackel (1957) write, 'In our material we found evidence of a low degree of assimilation in social and cultural life even among refugees who appear to do extremely well in their professions. Conversely, however, it is quite true that effective integration in the economic order and satisfaction with one's work are essential conditions for proper social assimilation' (p. 20). And again McEwan (1964) writes, 'Since no immigrant identifies himself with a new country until he is satisfied with it satisfaction is a necessary precursor to complete assimilation' (p. 120). See Benyei (1960) for further evidence.

Identification

For many adults who have reached a relatively stable stage of satisfaction there may be no further important psychological changes that have specific relevance to their lives in the new community. Such people are likely to report that they are contented and that they get along all right with the Australians whom they know. However, their friends are likely to be of varied national background, and not predominantly of Australian birth. The roots of these people remain in their homeland and these roots have not been severed. The satisfied immigrant who has not gone beyond this stage may, nevertheless, adopt some of the sex, age and class patterns of interest and activity that are available to similar persons born in Australia. But even when they do, they are likely to remain recognisably 'aliens', both to themselves and to others.

By itself, then, satisfaction with life in the new country has no logical or theoretical implications for any changes in the immigrant's feelings of national identity, it is merely the necessary foundation on which a changed identity can be built. Before outlining the additional factors known to be associated with such changes the nature of identification will be explored a little further.

Believing that one is more Australian than British. When an adult Englishman moves to Australia he brings with him the whole

history of his previous involvement with those groups that helped form his English identity. Often the children of immigrants and their descendants continue to be acutely aware of the country from which their family first came. Some individuals in these later generations may identify themselves as Australians and be strongly attached to Australia in every way, but, at the same time they may retain some positive feelings for their English or other background, which in turn may influence some of their behaviour in a variety of social situations. For example, it might play a part in the choice of a marriage partner or in the motivation to support one side rather than another on a particular public issue. At the other extreme is the individual who totally rejects his origins and wishes to appear as a 100 per cent Australian. This attempt to dissociate himself completely from his original group background is a common phenomenon wherever an individual strives to move up from one social level to a higher level, or is trying to move across into a socially more acceptable group, as with the light skinned Negro who can pass in white society.

For the adult British immigrant who has been resident in Australia for a period of four or five years it can, and often does, happen that he feels more Australian than British. He may describe his feelings by saying that he has 'thrown in his lot' with Australia or that 'Australia's concerns are now his concerns'. He may use the pronouns 'our' or 'we' and more often mean his adopted country than his homeland. He may believe that in many respects he now resembles Australians, whether or not he actually does resemble them. In these and in other ways an immigrant may give evidence that some change has taken place in that part of his self concept (i.e., the way in which a person thinks about himself) which refers to his national identity.

Being set to become more Australian. Frequently associated with this change in national identity is an increased sensitivity toward the social and cultural expectations of Australians. Australia has become a more salient and personally significant reference group. Identification has motivational properties which manifest themselves in a positive set toward the actual adoption of many aspects of the receiving group's way of life; in other words, the immigrant uses Australian groups and individuals as models to imitate. How-

ever, as Sanford (1955) and others have observed, the actual adoption of a model's characteristics does not necessarily require a prior identification but can also come about as the result of conventional learning principles. Thus an immigrant might acquire the habit of drinking with his mates after work on Friday nights because his mates encouraged and approved this behaviour. The operation of rewards and punishments may help to account for those immigrants who appear to be satisfied and acculturated but *not* identified; the Quasi-acculturated to be discussed later.

Having described the concept of identification as used here, it is now necessary to examine the factors that facilitate or inhibit its emergence. As was noted previously, a primary requirement is the achievement of some minimum level of general satisfaction with life in Australia.¹¹ However, not all of those who achieve this minimum level of satisfaction advance to the identification stage so that some additional conditions must also be present. Empirical studies have uncovered several factors associated with identification. All these factors either promote, or are associated with, an increase in pleasurable interaction with Australians. Thus it has been found that a high degree of social mistrust is unlikely to be found among those who reach the identification stage (Taft, 1967), while a positive predisposition to change, implicit in the belief that 'in the long run it would be best for Australia if all immigrants gave up their old ways of thinking and acting and tried to take on the Australian ways just as quickly as they can' has been found in association with this stage (Richardson, 1961). When married male British immigrants, but not their wives, hold this belief they are significantly more likely to believe that very much change is necessary in the way of life and attitudes of a British immigrant 'in order to settle down and feel at home in Australia' (Taft, 1963). Identification is found among those who report relatively little

¹¹ It was argued by Seward in his contribution to the Mowrer symposium (1954) on learning theory and identification that strong punishment at the beginning of the process may establish a negative set which will prevent identification from taking place. He then went on to say 'that liberal use of reward in the early stages will do much to induce the set to imitate that is identification. Punishment introduced before such a set is established will probably prevent it altogether' (p. 203). Achieving a minimum level of satisfaction with one's life in Australia may be considered as analogous to receiving rewards.

experience of unfriendliness or prejudice since their arrival in Australia (Taft, 1965, 1967). Strong family ties, business obligations or other interests in one's country of origin may reduce the likelihood of becoming identified, while economic and social-emotional dependence upon Australia are likely to increase it.¹²

Because the British immigrant perceives himself as more like Australians he is more likely to be attached to them and dependent on the groups to which they belong. And because of his greater dependence, he is more sensitive to the expressions of approval and disapproval emanating from any host dominated groups in which he holds nominal membership.

Acculturation

Coming to feel more like a typical member of one's host group is not the same as coming to resemble him in some significant way. Identification involves a subjective feeling while acculturation, when it occurs, involves some more objective outwardly recognisable change. The general meaning of acculturation refers to the adoption, by the members of one group, of the attitudes, beliefs and behaviours of another group. Though to some extent Australians might converge towards the cultural ways of the immigrants with whom they come in contact, in practice the predominant shift comes from the immigrants who take over Australian ways.¹³

It is conceptually important to analyse acculturation into three sub-varieties—Obligatory, Advantageous and Optional. Though the first two varieties may be facilitated by prior identification, they are not regarded as necessarily related to it in any way. Optional

¹² Research on primary socialisation in childhood also provides some analogous results to these findings on secondary socialisation (resocialisation) in adulthood. In his chapter on 'The cognitive-developmental approach to socialization' Kohlberg (1969) reviewed the evidence for 'a conception of identification in which imitation was one component of a cluster of attitudes of perceived similarity, dependency, attachment, approval seeking and moral conformity toward the parent . . . all the correlational studies supported the existence of such a cluster of attitudes towards parents' (p. 456).

¹³ However, the extent to which immigrants of all nationalities have changed the face of Australia in the past 20 years should not be underemphasised. The socio-cultural climate is now more complex, sophisticated and interesting than before. In all the arts, including those associated with the preparation and presentation of food and drink, Australia has benefited and changed enormously as a result of contributions made by immigrants.

acculturation, however, is believed to be the variety which is associated with prior identification, though the precise conditions under which this dependency holds have not been established empirically.

Obligatory acculturation. The newcomer finds some changes forced upon him if he is to remain in the host community and satisfy the basic physical and social requirements of living there. Such changes are forced upon him by circumstance, even though he may not particularly like them. In Australia, for example, the purchase of a car or refrigerator is often more of a necessity than a luxury, even though a British immigrant might prefer to use the money for a deposit on a house. Whatever his eating or dressing habits may have been in Britain, the immigrant is constrained to resemble Australians to the extent that some old items of diet and clothing are no longer available. Even when they are available they may be named differently so that he is obliged to learn the local names. Some cuts of meat, for example, have different names, and in some instances the cuts themselves are different. Plain chocolate is called dark chocolate in most parts of Australia, while beer is not called for by quantity but by the name of the vessel that contains it. One does not ask for a pint but for a glass, middy, schooner or pot, depending to some extent upon geographical region. To refer to any item of the unique flora or fauna of Australia requires the use of the appropriate local name if successful communication is to be achieved. Coming to resemble Australians in these and many other ways is no more than a common response by native born and by newcomer to the characteristics of a shared environment. In effect the British immigrant is obliged to adopt many Australian behaviour patterns because no satisfactory alternative exists. Obligatory acculturation is largely a matter of learning new means to satisfy old goals and is, in essence, no more than typically happens when an individual enters any new environment and stays there for a day or two. A Lancastrian who has a week's holiday in Cornwall may be obliged to acculturate in this sense of the term.¹⁴

Though it is essential to build up some new ways of looking at the world which will enable an immigrant to act appropriately in

¹⁴ The term *accommodation* has sometimes been used to describe this kind of acculturation. (See for example Park and Burgess, 1924).

his new community, there is no obvious theoretical reason why obligatory acculturation should require some minimum level of satisfaction and identification as a pre-requisite. In fact it should be emphasised that those immigrants who are unable or unwilling to make some of these changes may find it difficult to achieve a minimum level of satisfaction with life in their adopted country. This is most obvious in the case of the foreign born immigrant who is unable to communicate adequately in the language of his host society. It is probably for reasons of this kind that Gordon (1964) has placed his concept of 'acculturation' as the first stage in the assimilation process.

Advantageous acculturation. There are many areas of public behaviour where an immigrant may find himself exposed to pressure from the members of his new community to change in some way. For example, a British immigrant who has been accustomed to calling his boss 'Mr' or 'Sir' may find that his Australian workmates call the boss by his first name. If the immigrant persists in his more formal mode of address he may find himself criticised for crawling; even his boss may get irritated. But, to the extent that he wants acceptance by his fellows, social rewards and punishments will be more or less effective in bringing his behaviour into line with their standards or norms. A great deal of research suggests that conformity to group norms is closely associated with the degree to which an individual values his membership in the group.¹⁵

The approach to assimilation adopted in this book is concerned with the process which terminates when the newcomer becomes indistinguishable from the typical native born Australian members of the social groups within which he lives. As noted earlier, the opposite process, in which members of the receiving community adopt selected immigrant characteristics, has not been considered. However, it should be remembered that some host group members may often value some characteristic of an immigrant group and seek to preserve it and even adopt it for their own. When this

¹⁵ Examples of studies which demonstrate that conformity, or at least compliance, to group norms is significantly increased or decreased by the extent to which an individual values his membership in the group are the following: Thibaut and Strickland (1956); Siegel and Siegel (1957); Jackson and Saltztein (1958).

happens the preservation of some particular national characteristics may constitute a form of advantageous non-acculturation. For example, there is some evidence to suggest that middle-class Australian women, though not their menfolk, may prefer the accent associated with Standard English speech rather than the accent associated with either Broad or Educated Australian speech (Richardson, 1950).¹⁶

As the immigrant interacts more and more within the families, social clubs and other primary groups of his new community, the opportunity to understand the native born members of these groups increases. If the individual is able to take advantage of these opportunities he is likely to incorporate some advantageous aspects of their points of view. A considerable body of theory and much empirical evidence supports the hypothesis that this process increases the likelihood that a corresponding change in self concept will occur.¹⁷ Though much advantageous acculturation

¹⁶ This study used unseen speakers reading a passage of descriptive prose. The natural speech of the three speakers was judged by a speech teacher to be Standard English, Educated Australian and Broad Australian (see Mitchell 1946, 1957). The sample of Australians whose preference ratings were requested were groups of visitors to the Department of Psychology during an Open Day at the University of Western Australia. However, a sample of this kind may well be biased in the direction of age (older) and education (higher) as well as in other ways, e.g., Giles (1971) found that Standard English speech (Received pronunciation) was more likely to be preferred (in comparison with Regional pronunciation) by those who were more ethnocentric.

¹⁷ The original theoretical accounts were provided by Charles H. Cooley (1902), with his concept of the 'looking glass self' and by George H. Mead (1934) with his concept of 'taking the role of the other'. More recently the theoretical views of Leon Festinger (1957) have stimulated a great deal of research. If an individual's behaviour, as required by his occupancy of a particular role, is different from that individual's concept of the behaviours that are part of his self-approved repertoire, then under certain boundary conditions the dissonance created by this contradiction may be resolved by bringing his self concept into line with his behaviour. This process of attitude change is discussed by Kelman (1966) in relation to other conditions that also influence change. Other valuable contributions to this approach can be found in Abelson *et al.* (1968). Some specific examples of experiments designed to show the influence of role playing upon self and other attitudes are provided by Janis and King (1954), Sarbin and Jones (1955), and by Janis and Mann (1965) and Mann and Janis (1968).

may occur in the absence of any prior identification,¹⁸ it might be expected to take place quicker and more extensively where the identification stage has been reached already.

Optional acculturation. The term 'optional' has been chosen to indicate a class of behaviour present in the majority of native born members of the host community but in no way required of a newcomer. In fact, it is a variety of acculturation that may not be available immediately, because a too early adoption of these host characteristics might lead to non-acceptance of the newcomer on the grounds of presumption. That this may actually happen and in part explain the incomplete assimilation sequence associated with the Quasi-acculturated immigrant, is a definite possibility.

The class of acculturation characteristics under discussion more often encompasses the expressive aspects of behaviour than the adaptive (i.e., the way in which an action is carried out rather than the purpose for which the action is undertaken). Perhaps the most important of these expressive or stylistic aspects are those of speech and gesture. Both inside and outside Australia a 'real-ly dinkum Aussie' is recognised by his accent, idiomatic speech and to a lesser extent, by his facial gestures and stance.¹⁹

¹⁸ In an article on the stranger's role, Nash (1963) writes that as a result of interaction in the new community, the stranger inevitably comes to take on some of the attitudinal values of his hosts. 'This does not mean that they necessarily will conceive themselves to be like the hosts, but that they will tend to acquire the hosts' frame of reference and see themselves and the world in terms of it' (p. 152).

¹⁹ The use of Australian slang by immigrants has been found to serve as an extremely sensitive and reliable measure of acculturation in many studies of immigrant assimilation (Taft, 1965, pp. 29-31; Johnston, 1972, pp. 82-7). To use the Australian idiom to the extent that it is used by those in one's social environment may be taken as an explicit mark of ingroup status. Similar arguments to the one presented here, concerning the value of language usage as an index of acculturation can be found in the writings of other social scientists. Samora and Deane (1956) have written 'Language usage is one of the more subtle human gestures. It not only offers the advantage of revealing a visible pattern of behaviour but also goes beyond the visible pattern in its meaning and implications' (p. 308) and again 'The English language as used in America, has developed a series of colloquial and idiomatic words and expressions. It would seem that an ethnic person who understands usages of this order would likewise reflect a broad understanding of the social context in which the language is used' (p. 311). In a study employing a slang vocabulary test as an indicator of delinquent association Gibson (1963) wrote, 'It is well known that delinquents use certain slang terms, and have special verbal usages which are

Any of these expressive qualities might be adopted deliberately but they cannot be consciously imposed without the risk of caricature. Attempts to adopt them may be resented by the native born population *just because* there is no good reason why they should be adopted. If changes in speech or gesture are not obligatory or even advantageous why is this 'new chum' putting them on? What is he trying to hide? What is he seeking to achieve? The deliberate attempt to take on the typical expressive qualities of host group members is likely to arouse suspicion of a British immigrant who in so many other ways has no difficulty in adjusting to life in Australia. It may appear to an Australian as a form of social forgery. Expressive patterns of behaviour can only develop convincingly when they develop naturally as a result of prolonged social contact with Australians, just as an authentic patina on stonework can only be acquired after years of interaction with the elements.

Social rewards and punishments may operate to discourage the immigrant who attempts any deliberate copying of these expressive behaviours too soon after arrival. On the other hand, the natural growth of this form of acculturation is likely to be facilitated once some minimum level of identification has been achieved. This expectation is in part supported by many studies of social learning in which perceived similarity (identification) has been found to be an important influence on the choice of a model to imitate.

Because it is peculiarly characteristic of most receiving community members, and because it is indicative of full group membership, both to the immigrant himself and to others, the variety of acculturation that has been called 'optional' in this analysis has been conceptualised as the terminal stage in the assimilation process.²⁰ Assimilation is assumed to be complete when an immi-

not so current among the law abiding . . . It is not suggested that young boys will consciously set out to learn a "thieves' cant" but merely that those who begin to associate with delinquent companions older than themselves, to be interested in their activities and to identify with them, will pick up a knowledge of delinquent slang and word usage' (pp. 50-1).

²⁰ Most writers implicitly or explicitly have held the view that assimilation has, as its end stage, the disappearance of those cognitive, affective, conative or physical characteristics that initially distinguish the newcomer from his hosts. One example will suffice. Taft (1953) defined assimilation as 'the process by

grant or his descendants have become indistinguishable from the majority of native born residents of comparable age, sex and socio-economic background in the community in which he lives.

Assimilation has been presented as a process which begins when some stable degree of general satisfaction has been achieved. Assimilation ends when the immigrant has come to resemble the typical host group members of his community to such an extent that he is no longer recognisable as a foreigner. This final acculturation stage may be mediated by an intervening stage of identification in which the individual believes himself to be more Australian than British, and is set to become even more Australian than British.

When full assimilation occurs in this way it involves the immigrant in passing through the complete sequence of satisfaction, identification and acculturation. At any particular time an immigrant may be typed according to the stage at which he has arrived in the sequence. Thus he may be typed as Satisfied, if he is this and no more; or as an Identified immigrant, which implies that he is also satisfied; or as an Acculturated immigrant which implies that he has undergone all the changes involved in becoming satisfied and identified.

Apart from this complete sequence, however, the empirical evidence to be presented in Chapters 4 and 5 suggests that there is also an incomplete sequence in which acculturation occurs on the basis of being satisfied but without having undergone the changes associated with identification. This type of immigrant has been described as Quasi-acculturated.

means of which persons originally possessing heterogeneous frames of reference converge towards common frames of reference as a result of social interaction' (p. 49).

A Scale of Assimilation and some Correlates

The theory of assimilation outlined in the preceding chapter emerged gradually from an analysis of studies conducted with immigrants in Australia and elsewhere. Of special importance has been the development of cumulative scales for the measurement of the main sequence of stages in the assimilation process. This type of scale enables the actual responses of a sample of immigrants to be compared with the expected response sequence of satisfaction-identification-acculturation. The construction of the first cumulative scale for measuring assimilation was undertaken with a sample of British immigrants living in a Western Australian community in 1958 (Richardson, 1961). This first scale of assimilation is described below and its statistical adequacy (reliability) and some of its correlates (validity) are discussed.

Long form of the assimilation scale

When the results of the 1958 study were first analysed, the three aspects of the assimilation process were each measured separately. Six indices were used for measuring the satisfaction aspect, three for the identification and three for the acculturation (see Appendix III). When the response patterns for the indices defining each aspect were examined separately it was found that they each conformed to the requirements of a cumulative scale. Taft (1961) obtained confirmation of these results in a replication study designed to study assimilation in a sample of Dutch immigrants.

Of greater interest and importance than the foregoing was the finding, in both studies, that the three cumulative scales of satisfac-

tion, identification and acculturation could be related to one another in that order to provide an overall cumulative scale of assimilation. In Table 4.1 are shown the patterns of response obtained from ninety male, married British immigrants. For the most part these men were skilled manual workers who had lived in Australia for periods ranging from a few months to 12 years.

Reliability. How adequate is this scale of assimilation in terms of its statistical characteristics? In a perfect cumulative scale there would be no errors; no occasions on which a person classed as acculturated was not also classed as identified and satisfied, and no occasions on which a person classed as identified was not also satisfied. However, an examination of Table 4.1 shows that there are nine immigrants who, though acculturated, are not identified, not satisfied or both. In addition there are six identified immigrants who are not at the same time satisfied.

Altogether fifteen immigrants have deviant (or error) patterns of response. A more detailed statement of the number and kind of errors that can be tolerated in a reliable cumulative scale has been included in Appendix III. It is sufficient to report, at this point, that fifteen errors is well within the acceptable limit for a cumulative scale based on the scores obtained by ninety subjects on three different measures. However, the reader's attention is drawn to the non-scale response pattern in the third row of Table 4.1. Immigrants having this pattern of responses have been called

Table 4.1 Frequency of response patterns obtained on the Assimilation scale: married British born males resident in Australia (1958)

Response patterns*			f	Score	Errors	f x errors
A	I	S				
+	+	+	11	3	0	0
+	+	-†	1	3	1	1
+	-	+†	7	3	1	7
-	+	+	24	2	0	0
-	+	-†	6	2	1	6
-	-	+	27	1	0	0
+	-	-†	1	0	1	1
-	-	-	13	0	0	0
Totals			90			15

* A = Acculturation; I = Identification; S = Satisfaction.

† Non-scale patterns of response (i.e. those that contain errors).

Note: The above table appeared as Table 13 (p. 30) in Richardson (1961).

Quasi-acculturated. Special consideration will be given to this type in Chapter 5.

Further support for the reliability of the assimilation scale has been obtained from two other groups of immigrants: from the wives of the ninety British immigrants just discussed (Richardson, 1961) and from the Dutch immigrants studied by Taft (1961). Again, using a somewhat different set of items to measure each of the three aspects of assimilation, reliable overall scales of assimilation have been obtained for male volunteer recruits into the Australian Army (Salas, 1967) and for male volunteer recruits into the Pacific Island Regiment (James, 1968).

Validity. The only meaning that can be given to the concept of validity, in the present context, is that each step on the assimilation scale should be associated with some of the relevant conditions discussed in Chapter 3 when defining the nature of the assimilation process. If statistically significant associations of this kind can be found, a *prima facie* case for the validity of the scale has been established.

We can now move on to discuss in more detail the results obtained for the assimilation scale constructed for use with the ninety male, married immigrants investigated in the 1958 study.

The dissatisfaction and satisfaction levels of assimilation. The first step on the assimilation ladder is the existence of some minimum level of satisfaction with life in Australia. For the married skilled tradesman it might be expected that any failure to achieve economic and occupational adjustment would be reflected in a corresponding decrease in overall satisfaction. The facts presented in Table 4.2 provide support for this expectation.

Whereas three-quarters or more of the immigrants located at the Satisfaction (S) level of assimilation or higher report an adequate adjustment in the economic and occupational spheres, only about one half or less of the immigrants at the Dissatisfaction (D) level report an adequate adjustment of this kind. The difference between the percentage of immigrants at the Dissatisfaction (D) level and each of the other levels, Satisfaction (S), Identification (I),

and Quasi-acculturation (QA) plus Acculturation (A), is statistically significant at the 5 per cent level of confidence or better.¹

Dissatisfaction might also be predicted if expectations are not fulfilled in regard to the Australian climate. Though the concept of *the* Australian climate is inapplicable when one considers the difference in temperature range, rainfall and average daily sunshine, between the major cities, there is, nevertheless, on average, more warm, sunny weather in most parts of Australia than one would find anywhere in Britain. Certainly a better climate is one of the features of Australia anticipated with enthusiasm by a high proportion of migrants before they ever leave Britain.²

To the question, 'On the whole, how does the climate affect you compared with the climate in Britain?' significantly more of those at the Satisfaction level and above than of those at the Dissatisfaction level answered that it affected them better than the British climate. Though the relatively high frequency of warm rainfree days in most of parts of Australia has many behavioural implications, the opportunity it provides for outdoor leisure activities is one of the most obvious and was often mentioned by the immigrants in this study. Whether due to climate or for other reasons, it is

Table 4.2 Socio-economic factors which discriminate the Dissatisfaction (D) level from all other levels of assimilation (married males)

Socio-economic factors	Assimilation level					Totals	
	D %	S %	I %	QA %	A %	f	%
At no time unemployed since arriving in Australia	57	75	83	83		67	75
On the whole satisfied with present job	50	96	80	89		71	79
Working conditions reported to be the <i>same</i> or <i>better</i> than in Britain	36	72	80	89		64	71
Standard of living reported to be the <i>same</i> or <i>higher</i> than in Britain	50	85	87	100		76	84
Totals	f %	14 16	27 30	30 33	19 21		90 100

¹ Where a step on the assimilation scale has been separated from any one above it or below it by a lightly printed vertical line each percentage to the left of this line is significantly different from each one to the right of it at the 5 per cent level of confidence or better. This convention has been adopted throughout the book.

² See Richardson (1959) and Appleyard (1964).

clear from Table 4.3 that leisure time is enjoyed more than in Britain, by those who are at the Satisfaction level or above.

Table 4.3 Factors of climate and leisure which discriminate the Dissatisfaction (D) level from all other levels of assimilation (married males)

Climate and leisure	Assimilation level				Totals	
	D %	S %	I %	QA+A %	f	%
On the whole the climate of Australia has a better effect on me than the climate of Britain	21	63	64	84	60	67
My leisure time is enjoyed more than in Britain	7	52	43	58	39	43
	f	14	27	30	19	90
Totals	%	16	30	33	21	100

The identification level of assimilation. Given that some minimal level of Satisfaction has been achieved it is possible, though by no means inevitable, that an immigrant will become more identified with Australia. If a sense of belonging to Australia has developed and is being measured by this assimilation scale, it might be expected that an immigrant would also show evidence of increased attachment to Australians and to what he believes to be Australian attitudes. The three items shown in Table 4.4 all show a relationship to Identification that is in the expected direction. The two statistically significant associations also imply a positive predisposition to change.

Table 4.4 Behavioural and attitudinal factors which discriminate the Identification (I) and Acculturation (QA+A) levels from the two lower levels of assimilation (married males)

Behaviour or attitude	Assimilation level				Totals	
	D %	S %	I %	QA+A %	f	%
Frequent visiting and receiving of visits to and from Australians	29	30	37	47	32	36
Disagree that: 'It is bad behaviour to address a person by his Christian name after only brief acquaintance'	36	38	63	84	50	56
Believe that in the long run it would be best for Australia if all immigrants gave up their old ways of thinking and acting and tried to take on the Australian ways just as quickly as they can	7	13	37	58	28	31
	f	14	27	30	19	90
Totals	%	16	30	33	21	100

The acculturation level of assimilation. For those immigrants who reach the Acculturation level there will be many for whom the presence of identification as well as satisfaction, should have facilitated the process. What factors must be present, in addition to satisfaction and identification, if the Acculturation level of assimilation is to be reached? It is believed that all of the relevant factors may be classified together under the general heading of 'opportunity'.

Providing that a positive predisposition to change is maintained, the opportunity to internalise new ways of thinking, feeling and acting is likely to be greater for those who have been resident longest. It might also be thought that those immigrants who were younger at the time when they first arrived in Australia would have more opportunity to become acculturated but this appears not to be true within the adult age range investigated. Table 4.5 shows that a longer rather than a shorter period of residence provides more opportunity for individual immigrants to become Acculturated but it does not ensure that advantage will be taken of this opportunity. There will always be some individuals at the Satisfaction or even the Dissatisfaction levels who have been in Australia for as long as some of those who have reached the Acculturation level. Nevertheless, there are significantly more Acculturated immigrants than any other immigrant type who have lived in Australia for six years or more. To be relatively young (39 years of age or less as compared with 40 years of age or more) was not associated with acculturation. However, age at interview, rather than age on arrival was used in this particular study. This is a less satisfactory index in an investigation of this kind because individuals who might have been 38 on arrival a few months prior to the interview are being compared with other individuals who

Table 4.5 *Opportunity factors which discriminate the Acculturation level (QA+A) from all lower levels of assimilation (married males)*

Opportunity factors	Assimilation level					Totals	
	D %	S %	I %	QA+A %	f	%	
Had been resident in Australia for 6 years or more	50	37	36	88	45	50	
Was 39 years of age or younger at the time of interview	43	33	50	58	41	46	
Totals	f %	14 16	27 30	30 33	19 21	90 100	

might have been only 30 when they arrived 10 years earlier. These latter are now classified in the 40 and over category as a result of the time of interview criterion, while the former are, of course, classified in the 39 and under category.

As time passes in Australia it might be expected that the strength of an immigrant's ties to Britain would be weakened. What is the evidence? The only direct evidence relevant to this question concerns the frequency of letter writing to friends and relatives at home. To be classified as someone who wrote frequently to friends or relatives in Britain an immigrant had to write at least one letter or card per month.

Though a tendency was observed for Acculturated immigrants to write home less than other immigrants, the most interesting finding concerned the married women who continued, for the most part, to write home at the rate of one or more letters per month for a period of at least 10 years. Eighty-two per cent of those arriving between 1947-9 were still writing once a month, compared with 86 per cent of those arriving in 1957-8. The rate of letter writing among their husbands, however, showed a significant decline during this period from 88 per cent of those arriving in 1957-8 to only 31 per cent of those arriving in 1947-9. Though the wife may more often be regarded as the correspondent for the whole family, it is likely that this activity, even if she is acting on behalf of the whole family, has the effect of maintaining her ties with Britain to a greater extent than her husband.

Some correlates of the wife's assimilation level

In analysing the information obtained from the wives in this study it became clear that their commitment to Australia was often less strongly based than that of their husbands. The wife was less often the primary instigator of migration to Australia, and less often had plans to build or buy a house after arrival so it is not surprising to find that she more often reported feelings of homesickness than her husband and was at a significantly lower level of assimilation.

Significantly more of the wives than of the husbands reported that their spouse was very pleased with the decision to emigrate. When the wives were asked their reasons for emigrating it was common to find some reference to the husband, e.g., 'My husband wanted to come' or 'Because of my husband's wishes' or 'Better

opportunities for husband'. One wife said 'I had to come because my husband was coming—the only reason really. You have to follow your bread and butter'. Once in Australia a wife has fewer enforced contacts with Australians than does her working husband. Even when Acculturated she tended to maintain contact with other British immigrants to a greater extent than the Acculturated man. Two further factors likely to perpetuate her ties with Britain and/or a British outlook are the presence of close friends or relatives in Australia prior to emigration and having one or both of her parents in Australia at the time of interviewing. These factors are likely to hinder higher levels of assimilation though they do not prevent a married woman from being satisfied with her life in Australia.

Several circumstances were found to be positively associated with the assimilation level of the wives. For example, 85 per cent of the Acculturated wives compared with only 44 per cent of the Dissatisfied wives had husbands who reported that their working conditions were the same or better than in Britain. The same pattern was found among the wives of husbands who reported that they saved the same or more of their income than in Britain and had a standard of living that was the same or higher than in Britain. Where a married woman believed that her children were receiving an education which was as good or better than they had had in Britain she was more likely to be Acculturated. Of the Dissatisfied wives only 21 per cent held this belief compared with 83 per cent of the Acculturated wives.

The same direct association between assimilation level and positive attitude to Australian education was found among the husbands. It is also noteworthy that the likelihood of a husband endorsing statements indicative of self-reliant attitudes increased with each increase in his assimilation level. For example, all nineteen of the Acculturated husbands agreed that it is better for people to work for their own security than to expect the government to provide it, compared with twenty-eight out of the thirty Identified husbands, twenty-four out of the twenty-seven Satisfied, and ten out of the fourteen Dissatisfied husbands. Though other evidence exists (Richardson, 1971) that self-reliant attitudes are present before arrival in those most likely to become satisfied with Australia after twelve months' residence, it also appears to be the

case that self-reliance is engendered in some immigrants by their experiences in Australia.

On the basis of the evidence presented so far, two provisional conclusions may be drawn. First, that assimilation can be conceptually and operationally defined as a developmental sequence in which a certain measurable level of satisfaction is the necessary prerequisite for a certain measurable level of identification; and in turn that this same level of identification is a sufficient (i.e., if it is present it is likely to lead on to acculturation) but not a necessary prerequisite for a certain measurable level of acculturation. Secondly, that these measurably distinct levels on the assimilation scale are not arbitrary but bear a statistically significant relation to other theoretically expected conditions.

The main purpose of this chapter is to present relevant results from the large scale longitudinal study based on interviews with the same samples of migrants in 1959, 1961 and 1966. This provides further support for the general theory of assimilation and also extends it to include the phenomenon of Quasi-acculturation. Detailed accounts of the sample, the interview schedules and other procedural aspects of data collection are provided in the two books by Appleyard (1964; book in preparation). All that will be attempted here is a descriptive account of the main research decisions relevant to the present report.

The original sample contained 989 assisted passage migrant units; a migrant unit being either a family or an adult coming on his own. It represents 20 per cent of all those units that had been allocated berths in ships sailing to Australia during the six months between February and August 1959. Of this original sample, interviews were completed with 861 migrant units about three weeks before they sailed from the United Kingdom.

Table 5.1 shows that between 1959 and 1966 the sample of married couples lost 24 per cent whereas among the single males the loss was 55 per cent and among the single females the loss was 53 per cent. How many of these lost immigrants were living in Australia and how many were living in Britain and elsewhere it is impossible to know. Single people are more mobile and for this reason are more difficult to trace. It is fair to assume that those who were reinterviewed in 1961 and again in 1966 were less mobile and/or more inclined to inform their next of kin as to their whereabouts.

Table 5.1 *Frequency and percentage loss of migrant units from the total sample and from sub-samples between 1959 and 1966*

Year of interview	Married couples in 1959		Single men in 1959		Single women in 1959		Totals	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
1959	579	100	130	100	152	100	861	100
1961	538	93	58	45	73	48	669	77
Loss	41	7	72	55	79	52	192	23
1961	538	100	58	100	73	100	669	100
1966	437	79	58	100	71	97	566	85
Loss	101	21	0	0	2	3	103	15
1959	579	100	130	100	152	100	861	100
1966	437	76	58	45	71	47	566	66
Loss	142	24	72	55	81	53	295	34

Note: Because the Slang test was not administered to all interviewees in 1961 there is sometimes a discrepancy between the number of immigrants interviewed and the number analysed.

In 1961, after 18-22 months of residence, 669 units were located and re-interviewed in Australia. Finally in 1966 and early 1967 a total of 566 of the units were located and interviewed once again.

Table 5.2 *Frequency and percentage of all migrant units by location and conjugal condition in 1966*

Location of migrant unit, 1966	Married couples with or without children		Single men 1959 still single 1966		Single men 1959 married by 1966		Single women 1959 still single 1966		Single women 1959 married by 1966		All others: died, divorced etc.*		Totals	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Had remained in Australia since arrival	271	76	13	52	22	67	15	45	25	66	57	73	403	71
Had returned to Britain and stayed there	52	14	5	20	5	15	12	37	5	13	5	7	84	15
Had returned to Britain and re-emigrated to Australia	22	6	7	28	6	18	6	18	8	21	15	19	64	11
Had migrated on to New Zealand	14	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	15	3
Totals (1966)	359	100	25	100	33	100	33	100	38	100	78	100	566	100
Totals (1961)	n = 538		n = 58		n = 73		—		n = 669					
Totals (1959)	n = 579		n = 130		n = 152		—		n = 861					

* Includes migrant units for which inadequate information was available on assimilation measures. Because the Slang test was not administered to all interviewees in 1961 there is sometimes a discrepancy between the number of immigrants interviewed and the number analysed.

Of these, 403 (71 per cent) had remained in Australia since arrival; 64 (11 per cent) had been back to Britain and had re-emigrated to Australia; 84 (15 per cent) had returned to Britain and remained there, and another fifteen (3 per cent) had migrated on to New Zealand.

Before any analysis could be undertaken it was necessary to sub-classify the migrant units within each of these location categories. For example, among the 403 units that had remained in Australia since their arrival, some were single and others were married. As might be expected a not inconsiderable number of the single emigrants married during the period of this investigation. Such a major change in their conjugal condition might be sufficient to affect their attitudes to staying in Australia or the level of assimilation that they had achieved. It was essential to control the influence of this factor by forming homogeneous sub-categories and eliminating any that were too small to analyse. The main sub-categories to be analysed in detail are shown in Table 5.2 in *italics*.

Short form of the assimilation scale

In the construction of the assimilation scale described in Chapter 4, it was possible to ask sufficient questions to ensure a reliable and, as it turned out, a valid separation of the satisfaction, identification and acculturation levels. In the longitudinal study there was not sufficient time during the interviews to include all the items and tests used to measure these three aspects of assimilation. Only the crucial items were selected to permit the measurement of assimilation level. In practice this meant that satisfaction and identification were each measured by answers to single questions, while acculturation was defined by scores on the active vocabulary measure of Australian words and phrases (Slang test).

This method of using only three items has resulted in a slightly different classification of an immigrant's assimilation level from that obtained by the original procedure based on many more items. The different effect of using the two methods may be illustrated by reference to the identification aspect of assimilation. In the original method of measuring identification three procedures were used (Richardson, 1961). The first was a measure designed to reveal the extent to which each of the British immigrants believed that his opinions were closer to Australian opinions than to the

opinions of other British immigrants. This measure, called the Perceived Similarity Index (PSI), was based on responses to a 20-item opinion questionnaire. Each statement required the immigrant to underline 'Agree' or 'Disagree' and then to respond to two further questions placed beneath each statement:

'Would most Australians share your opinion?' 'Yes' 'No'

'Would most British immigrants share your opinion?' 'Yes' 'No'

A score of two (2) was given each time a respondent gave the combination answer, 'Yes, most Australians would share my opinion' and 'No, most British immigrants would not share my opinion'. A score of one (1) was given each time a respondent gave the combination answer, 'Yes, most Australians would share my opinion' and 'Yes, most British immigrants would share my opinion'. Finally, a score of zero (0) was given each time a respondent gave either of the following two combination answers, 'No, most Australians would not share my opinion' and 'No, most British immigrants would not share my opinion' or 'No, most Australians would not share my opinion' and 'Yes, most British immigrants would share my opinion'. In this way it was possible to give to each respondent a score between 0 and 40 on the PSI. It was found that 95 per cent of the men and 80 per cent of the women in an Australian born comparison group scored 16 or more on this test. Only 52 per cent of the British immigrant men and 53 per cent of their wives obtained scores of this magnitude. A cut-off score of 16 or more was selected to indicate identification with Australia on this first measure.

The second measure of identification was provided by an answer of 'More Australian' to the question, 'Do you feel yourself to be more Australian than British now, or do you feel you haven't changed very much at all?' Thirty-eight per cent of the British men and 30 per cent of their wives were classed as identified by this criterion. A third measure of identification with Australia was provided by an answer of 'Australian' to the question, 'If a British team of athletes or other sportsmen came to play an Australian team, which side do you think you would support?' On this criterion only 23 per cent of the men and 23 per cent of the women were classed as identified.

The frequency of individual response patterns for these three measures is shown in Table 5.3. In the construction of the overall

Table 5.3 *Frequency of response patterns on the Identification scale (married males)*

Response patterns 'Athletes'	'Feelings'	PSI	f	Score	Errors	f x errors
+	+	+	9	3	0	0
+	+	—*	4	3	1	4
+	—	+*	8	3	1	8
—	+	+	11	2	0	0
—	+	—*	10	2	1	10
—	—	+	20	1	0	0
—	—	—	28	0	0	0
Totals			90			22

* Non-scale patterns of response (i.e. those that contain errors).

Note: The above table appeared as Table 4 (p. 19) in Richardson (1961).

scale of assimilation shown in Table 4.1 all those who obtained a score of two or more on this identification scale were classed as Identified.

When Table 4.1 and Table 5.3 are examined together it can be seen that forty-two male British immigrants have been classified as at the Identification stage of assimilation though only thirty-four have actually answered the critical question by stating that they felt themselves to be 'more Australian'.

From this example it is apparent that the use of a *single item* from each of the scales of satisfaction, identification and acculturation may result in a somewhat different distribution of immigrants on the overall assimilation scale than would occur if the distribution were based upon *scores* obtained on each of the three scales.

To indicate the effect of using single items rather than scale scores on the measurement of satisfaction and acculturation the following comparative frequencies may be noted. When the single item is used, 'On the whole are you satisfied or dissatisfied with living in Newtown?' sixty-eight of the male immigrants are classified as Satisfied compared with sixty-nine classified as Satisfied when scale scores are employed. Satisfaction as measured by these two methods produces an identical result for sixty-one of these immigrants. However, there are four immigrants who would be classed as Dissatisfied if measured by the single item method. Another three, who were classed as Dissatisfied as a result of their scale scores, would be classed as Satisfied if measured by the single item method. In the measurement of Acculturation twenty immigrants are defined as Acculturated by the scale score method

whereas thirty-two are classified as Acculturated by the single item method.

In summary, the evidence shows that the use of single items rather than scale scores has made little difference to the classification of an immigrant as Satisfied or Dissatisfied but has decreased the number classified as Identified and increased the number classified as Acculturated.

The key question to be asked at this point is whether the short form of the assimilation scale is a reliable and valid measure when applied to the new sample reported in the present study. The remainder of this chapter provides the evidence on which an affirmative answer has been given.

Reliability. The information presented in Table 5.4 comes from the responses of 271 married males and 266 of their wives interviewed in 1961 and again in 1966. The patterns of their responses provide four checks on the ability of the short form of the assimilation scale to sort immigrants into the four types: Dissatisfied, Satisfied, Identified and Acculturated. Though these checks show that the short scale provides a statistically adequate measure of assimilation, as this term has been defined in this book, it reveals once more the presence of a relatively large number of errors in row number three. It has been tentatively assumed that immigrants who have

Table 5.4 *Frequency of response patterns obtained on the short form of the Assimilation scale by married men and women in 1961 and 1966*

No.	Score	Response patterns*			Errors	1961			1961			1966			1966		
		A	I	S		Husbands f	f x	E	Wives f	f x	E	Husbands f	f x	E	Wives f	f x	E
1	5	+	+	+	0	12	0	11	0	41	0	41	0	41	0	0	0
2	5	+	+	-†	1	1	1	1	1	7	7	7	7	2	2	2	2
3	4	+	-	+†	1	18	18	14	14	37	37	37	37	37	37	37	37
4	3	-	+	+	0	40	0	30	0	46	0	39	0	39	0	0	0
5	3	-	+	-†	1	4	4	5	5	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
6	2	-	-	+	0	149	0	149	0	113	0	117	0	117	0	0	0
7	1	+	-	-†	1	5	5	7	7	5	5	11	11	11	11	11	11
8	1	-	-	-	0	42	0	49	0	15	0	12	0	12	0	0	0
Totals						271	28	266	27	271	56	266	57				
IR†						0.97			0.97			0.93			0.93		
PPR‡						0.83			0.83			0.75			0.74		

* A = Acculturation; I = Identification; S = Satisfaction.

† Non-scale patterns of response (i.e. those that contain errors).

‡ See pp. 196-7 for an account of IR and PPR.

this pattern of responses after seven years' continuous residence in Australia are a genuine type; as noted before they have been given the name of Quasi-acculturated Settlers.

Validity. To provide evidence of the validity of the short form of the assimilation scale an analysis similar to that of the long form was undertaken. Discussion of each assimilation stage will begin with some comments on the critical item that has been selected from the long form. No distinction has been made between the Quasi-acculturated and the Accultured in most of the following analyses but the former type of Settler will be given special attention at the end of the chapter.

The dissatisfaction and satisfaction levels of assimilation. The critical item which serves to differentiate the Satisfied from the Dissatisfied immigrants has been slightly modified from the one used in the Newtown study (Richardson, 1961). Instead of asking, 'On the whole would you say you are satisfied or dissatisfied with

Table 5.5 Socio-economic circumstances which discriminate the Dissatisfaction (D) level from all other levels of assimilation (married men and women, 1961)

Socio-economic circumstances (1961)		Assimilation level (1961)				QA+A Totals f	%
		D %	S %	I %	QA+A %		
H reports that his working conditions are the <i>same or better</i> than U.K.	H	60	73	80	81	197	77
	W	63	73	77	81	193	75
H reports that the relation of income to standard of living is the <i>same or better</i> than U.K.	H	66	79	84	84	212	78
	W	68	79	91	74	207	78
W reports that the relation of income to standard of living is the <i>same or better</i> than U.K.	H	60	75	82	81	201	74
	W	61	75	89	74	197	74
H reports that he is on the whole satisfied with life in Australia	H	49	82	95	91	215	79
	W	54	82	89	100	210	79
W reports that she is on the whole satisfied with life in Australia	H	49	71	86	81	191	70
	W	43	71	94	89	186	70
H reports that he is satisfied with the decision to come to Australia	H	55	81	91	91	215	79
	W	55	81	94	93	210	79
W reports that she is satisfied with the decision to come to Australia	H	58	77	89	84	207	76
	W	54	78	92	89	202	76
H reports that he would like to spend the rest of his life in Australia	H	47	65	89	81	183	68
	W	48	69	80	81	179	67
W reports that she would like to spend the rest of her life in Australia	H	41	57	86	75	165	61
	W	34	60	89	77	160	60

living in Newtown?' the more widely applicable question was asked, 'On the whole would you say you are satisfied or dissatisfied with living in this district?'

The results shown in Tables 5.5 and 5.6 indicate that a variety of other dissatisfactions/satisfactions are related to this primary measure. This finding parallels those shown in the comparable tables in Chapter 4 (i.e., Tables 4.2 and 4.3). A further similarity between these two sets of tables is the way in which the probability of being satisfied with one's socio-economic circumstances tends to increase with each step up the assimilation ladder. For example, in 1966 only 55 per cent of the Dissatisfied married men report that their accommodation is the same or better than their accommodation had been in Britain, but this percentage increases to 76 per cent of the Satisfied, 81 per cent of the Identified and 88 per cent of the Quasi-acculturated and Acculturated. As Heiss (1966) concluded in his study of Italian immigrants in Western Australia, 'satisfaction leads to identification and integration and they, in turn, increase satisfaction' (p. 177).

Table 5.6 Socio-economic circumstances which discriminate the Dissatisfaction (D) level from all other levels of assimilation (married men and women, 1966)

Socio-economic circumstances (1966)		Assimilation level (1966)				Totals f	Totals %
		D %	S %	I %	QA+A %		
H reports that the relation of income to standard of living is the <i>same</i> or <i>better</i> than U.K.	H	65	81	85	88	224	83
	W	70	82	85	89	227	84
W reports that the relation of income to standard of living is the <i>same</i> or <i>better</i> than U.K.	H	65	84	89	83	220	83
	W	56	83	91	90	223	84
H reports that he is on the whole satisfied with life in Australia	H	75	92	96	100	225	83
	W	75	92	93	95	248	93
W reports that she is on the whole satisfied with life in Australia	H	74	87	91	90	233	87
	W	39	78	89	90	217	81
H reports that accommodation is the <i>same</i> or <i>better</i> than U.K.	H	55	76	81	88	213	79
	W	45	76	79	88	212	80
W reports that accommodation is the <i>same</i> or <i>better</i> than U.K.	H	57	76	81	82	206	77
	W	43	78	74	83	203	76
H reports that he would like to spend the rest of his life in Australia	H	40	72	96	92	214	79
	W	40	70	90	80	200	75
W reports that she would like to spend the rest of her life in Australia	H	61	75	87	90	212	80
	W	43	70	87	87	199	74

A comparison of the total percentage of immigrants reporting themselves as satisfied with some aspect of life in Australia in 1961 and in 1966 shows that more of them express satisfaction after the longer period of residence, though the difference is not always statistically significant.

It might be expected that the circumstances that influence dissatisfaction/satisfaction after seven years' residence (Table 5.6) would be different from those that operate after only 18-20 months in Australia. The evidence supports this expectation and it will be appropriate at this point to give a brief description of the supplementary analysis that provided it.

The responses of each husband and wife pair were combined to produce a composite score for each satisfaction item. These scores were then correlated with scores obtained on a variety of other measures abstracted from answers to questions asked in 1959 in Britain, and at the 1961 and 1966 follow up interviews in Australia. Altogether there were 57 measures available for study and each was correlated with each. When the resulting correlation matrix was factor analysed (see Appendix I) the 1961 satisfaction variables were found to load one factor (Factor VI) and the 1966 satisfaction variables loaded another (Factor III).

In 1961 those husband and wife pairs who reported themselves to be better off financially in Australia were more likely to have had a relatively low occupational status (husbands) in Britain. Where the wife's parents had favoured her emigration both she and her husband were more likely to agree that they wanted to spend the rest of their lives in Australia.

By 1966 the link between reporting themselves as better off financially and having come from a low occupational status job in Britain was no longer present. Reports of being better off financially were now associated with having relatively few children, having a young wife and having a wife who emigrated with her parents' approval. The desire to live permanently in Australia was no longer associated with the attitude of a wife's parents to her emigration but the association was now with occupational status of the husband's father and the educational level of the husband.

The most consistent implication of these and related findings (see Tables A1 and A2 in Appendix I) is that among these British immigrants in the longitudinal study those who had least to lose

when they left Britain were most likely to report themselves as satisfied with their circumstances in Australia.¹

The identification level of assimilation. The critical question for measuring identification asks, 'Do you feel yourself to be more Australian than British now, or do you feel you haven't changed very much at all?' As can be seen from Table 5.4 there were forty-four married males who answered affirmatively and who were classified, therefore, as having reached the Identification stage when interviewed in 1961. Forty of these have the perfect scale pattern which required that they also answered 'Yes' to the question on satisfaction with the district in which they lived. The remaining four did not indicate that they were so satisfied.

Table 5.7 Australian attachment variables which discriminate the Identification (I) and Acculturation (QA+A) levels from the two lower levels of assimilation (married men and women, 1961)

Measures of Australian attachment (1961)		Assimilation level				Totals	
		D %	S %	I %	QA+A %	f	%
H reports that he would support an Australian team	H	4	6	43	20	36	13
	W	4	10	26	34	35	13
W reports that she would support an Australian team	H	6	5	27	23	30	11
	W	5	5	34	31	30	11
H reports that his friends are mainly Australian	H	32	26	48	36	85	31
	W	30	23	57	39	82	31
W reports that her friends are mainly Australian	H	21	25	41	36	76	28
	W	20	21	54	46	73	27
H reports that his friends are mainly from U.K.	H	30	29	11	6	64	24
	W	30	26	11	15	64	24
W reports that her friends are mainly from U.K.	H	38	36	11	10	80	30
	W	38	35	14	12	81	30

¹ Whereas it is possible for almost anyone to find a niche into which he can fit and find satisfaction for his particular range of needs and interests, the modal situation that exists throughout Australia favours the individual who is relatively undemanding, who enjoys a relaxed social climate and who prefers the satisfactions to be obtained from an abundantly complex physical and natural environment to the satisfactions that must be won from a less abundant intellectual and cultural environment. Sometimes the match of individual and of environment is extremely idiosyncratic and the nature of the overall satisfaction unusual. For example, one British immigrant broadcaster and writer once said that he needed Australia as a stimulant. Without it he could not remain at his optimum level of irritation and anger necessary for creative work. The concept of 'individual-environment fit' (Pervin, 1968) may prove a useful one within the context of research on immigrant assimilation.

In the validation of the long form of the assimilation scale it was expected that immigrants at this stage would show other signs of attachment to Australia and to Australians. Identical measures were not available for use in the validation of the short form, though one item on Australian friends is comparable in content to one of those used earlier.

The first item shown in Tables 5.7 and 5.8 is one of those which appeared in the original Identification scale (see Table 5.3). The actual question is, 'If a British team of athletes or other sportsmen came out to play an Australian team, which side to you think you would support?' Some respondents had difficulty in giving a definite answer and would say 'I'd support the losing team', or 'I don't know, I'm not really interested in sport'. However, when positive support for an Australian team is taken as a manifestation of attachment to Australia this item separates all those immigrants at the Identification stage or higher from all those at the Satisfaction stage or lower in 1961 (Table 5.7).

The second item refers to the national background of the majority of an immigrant's friends. It is slightly different in form from the first item shown in Table 4.4 which refers to the frequency of visiting and receiving of visits to and from Australians. The actual question from which the relevant data in Tables 5.7 and 5.8 were derived was phrased as follows, 'Would you say that your friends are (a) mainly Australians (b) mainly settlers from the United Kingdom (c) about equal from both groups?'

Though the same tendencies are observable after seven years of residence in Australia (Table 5.8) only one of the comparisons between the Identified and the Acculturated shows a significantly different percentage from the Satisfied and the Dissatisfied. However, Tables A3 and A4 (Appendix I) show significant positive correlations between the tendency to feel more Australian than British and the following: desire to spend the rest of one's life in Australia, support for an Australian team and having mainly Australian friends. Table A9 (Appendix I) shows that questions related to feeling more Australian than British and to supporting an Australian team, which were asked in 1961 and again in 1966, are closely associated.

By 1966 the report of feeling more Australian than British was associated with youth rather than age among the husbands. For

Table 5.8 Australian attachment variables which discriminate the Identification (I) and Acculturation (QA+A) levels from the two lower levels of assimilation (married men and women, 1966)

Measures of Australian attachment (1966)		Assimilation level				Totals f %	
		D %	S %	I %	QA+A %		
H reports that he would support an Australian team	H	5	7	25	16	36	13
	W	22	8	13	19	35	13
W reports that she would support an Australian team	H	5	7	23	15	34	13
	W	13	4	24	19	34	13
H reports that his friends are mainly Australian	H	30	27	45	44	97	36
	W	39	27	46	39	93	35
W reports that her friends are mainly Australian	H	40	27	40	34	88	32
	W	26	26	46	36	87	33
H reports that his friends are mainly from U.K.	H	20	20	13	8	41	15
	W	13	22	7	11	41	15
W reports that her friends are mainly from U.K.	H	15	25	15	13	50	18
	W	17	26	9	14	50	19

the wife this shift in national identity was more likely if she or her husband had a higher level of education or if her parents had favoured the decision to emigrate. (These and other data on the correlates of identification variables are contained in Tables A3 and A4 in Appendix I.)

The last two items shown in Table 5.5 should also be noted. They suggest that after only 18-20 months in Australia, the probability of a husband or wife wanting to spend the rest of their lives in Australia is not only greater among the Satisfied than the Dissatisfied but is significantly greater than either among those who had reached the Identified stage.

The acculturation level of assimilation. When the original scale was being constructed to measure acculturation, three short tests were used. The first two of these were: the amount of actual agreement with common Australian attitudes and behaviour (norms), and active vocabulary of Australian words and phrases. It is the third that constitutes the critical test for the measurement of acculturation in the short form of the assimilation scale.

In discussing the concept of acculturation in Chapters 3 and 4 it was suggested that the adoption of any expressive qualities of the Australians in one's immediate environment might be of special significance to the assimilation process. An immigrant who in appearance and gesture, in accent and speech, has become in-

distinguishable from the Australian born members of his major primary and secondary groups is perhaps more likely to be treated as a fully-fledged in-group member and to be, in fact, more integrated with them.

Though ratings of appearance, gesture and accent based upon ciné photographs and tape recordings would be a most interesting technique to explore, it is only in the area of reported speech usage that any information is available. The first slang test to be devised consisted of twenty-five idiomatic words and phrases that were in common use by West Australians in 1952, but were practically unknown to British immigrants before arrival (Richardson, 1953).

This test was subsequently reduced to twenty items for use in the Newtown study (Richardson, 1961). A slightly modified form of this 20-item test was later used throughout the longitudinal study. Where an immigrant obtains a slang usage (active vocabulary) score similar to or greater than that obtained by 80 per cent of Australians of the same sex and occupational status he, or she, qualified for being classified as acculturated. Whether or not anyone is classified as Acculturated will depend, of course, on the scores obtained on the satisfaction and identification scales. The slang test and some psychometric data related to it have been presented in Appendix II.

Age on departure from Britain and length of residence in Australia have been examined in relation to the Acculturation level because it was assumed that the presence of one or both might increase the opportunities for reaching this level of assimilation. A relatively long residence in the host community and a potentially greater capacity for change among the young increases the likelihood that an immigrant will be exposed to and will absorb relevant aspects of the host group culture.

Table 5.9 An opportunity variable which might have discriminated the Acculturation (QA+A) level from all lower levels of assimilation (married men and women, 1961)

Objective opportunity to acculturate		Assimilation level					Totals
		D	S	I	QA+A	f	
		%	%	%	%		%
H was 39 years or younger at time of interview (1959)	H	70	74	80	71	200	74
	W	70	75	86	65	198	74
W was 39 years or younger at time of interview (1959)	H	77	83	84	81	221	82
	W	79	83	86	85	222	83

Table 5.10 An opportunity variable which might have discriminated the Acculturation (QA+A) level from all lower levels of assimilation (married men and women, 1966)

Objective opportunity to acculturate		Assimilation level				Totals	
		D %	S %	I %	QA+A %	f	%
H was 39 years or younger at time of interview (1959)	H	65	72	79	76	201	74
	W	74	72	76	76	198	74
W was 39 years or younger at time of interview (1959)	H	75	79	87	84	221	82
	W	78	78	83	86	222	83

However, an examination of Tables 5.9 and 5.10 provides no evidence to suggest that in this sample age on departure from Britain is specifically related to Acculturation, though there is a very slight tendency for the percentage of young immigrants to increase with each increase in assimilation level. Among the wives it is of interest to find that acculturation as defined by size of active vocabulary in 1966 is significantly correlated with the frequency with which her husband changes his job in Britain (see Table A6 in Appendix I). Whatever the reasons for high job mobility, it provides opportunities to gain valuable experience in coping with different social environments.

Table 5.11 Length of residence as an opportunity factor related to Acculturation (QA+A)

	Year	Assimilation level			QA+A	Totals	
		D f	S f	I f	f	f	%
Husbands	1961	47	149	44	31	271	100
	1966	20	113	53	85	271	100
Wives	1961	56	149	35	26	266	100
	1966	23	117	46	80	266	100

From Table 5.11 it can be seen that the number of immigrants at each assimilation level after 18 to 22 months of residence (1961) are distributed differently from those who have had seven years of residence (1966). Significantly more of the men and of the women are more assimilated in 1966 than in 1961. The increase in number of immigrants at the Acculturation level is far greater than the increase in number of immigrants at the Identification level.

Pre-emigration factors which correlate significantly with overall assimilation scale scores are few. In 1961 a husband was more likely

to be highly assimilated if both his parents or a surviving parent had been in favour of his decision to emigrate. He was also more likely to be assimilated if he had had relatively few changes of residence since marriage. By 1966 neither of these factors was of significance but for both husband and wife assimilation level was significantly correlated with the number of organisations, clubs, societies and associations with which they had been actively involved in Britain. It is worth enumerating the full range of pre-emigration characteristics which were *not* related to assimilation level at any time. They are as follows: size of family at time of emigration, age of husband, age of wife, occupational status of husband's father and of wife's father, number of job changes during husband's working life in Britain, occupational status of husband at time of emigration, type of last full time education of both husband and wife, length of time deciding to emigrate, overall knowledge of Australia based upon the combined efforts of the husband and wife (this test of Australian knowledge had near zero correlations with the fifty-seven variables included in this correlational analysis), husband's birth order, wife's birth order, attitude of wife's parents to the emigration decision.

One final result of this analysis will be mentioned here. As might be expected from the earlier finding, after seven years in Australia wives are less assimilated than their husbands; the correlation between the assimilation scores of husbands and wives is only 0.34 in 1966 whereas in 1961 after 18 months' residence it had been 0.42.

The quasi-acculturation level of assimilation. It is now time to discuss the phenomenon of Quasi-acculturation.² Why should some immigrants reach the acculturation stage without passing through the prior stage of identification? There are several answers that might be offered, ranging from the assertion that the theory is all wrong to the view that the phenomenon is a statistical artefact

² The absence of any change in national identity even under conditions of prolonged residence and 'complete' acculturation is dramatically illustrated by an anecdote of Klineberg's (1960). In conversation with his Chinese language teacher, Klineberg referred to him as Chinese. 'Most surprisingly, the teacher said, "But I am not Chinese, I am Mongolian". When he was asked if this meant that he was born in Mongolia, he replied: "Oh no, my family has lived in China over 400 years—but I am a Mongolian"' (p. 192).

which would disappear with an improvement in the measurement of identification.

Theoretical refinement and better measurement procedures may well help to clarify this problem. For example, it was pointed out in Chapter 3 that the concept of identification includes both a motivational and a cognitive component. The main characteristic of the motivational component was described as a set to become like a model person or to take on some attribute common to the majority of people in a new membership group. The main characteristic of the cognitive component was described as a view of oneself which included the notion that some of these attributes were already part of oneself. For the British immigrant in Australia this would mean that he now experiences himself as more Australian than British.

It had been assumed that these two components were necessarily tied to one another and that the measurement of either one separately entailed the automatic measurement of the other. There is no logical or theoretical justification for making this assumption. It is possible for someone to be set to become like another without experiencing any change in identity.

At the present time the statement by an immigrant that he feels more Australian than British cannot be taken as a satisfactory measure of both components. Some of those who report that no change has occurred in their national identity may still be set to become more like Australians and may in fact have taken over some Australian characteristics in a deliberate attempt to become more like them. If this attempt to manifest the typical behaviours of another group is forced, awkward or in any way unnatural, or if it is perceived as presumptuous by the host group, it may lead to the experience of being rejected. This latter experience is precisely what many of the Quasi-acculturated immigrants report. From a reading of their case histories a clear impression is gained that often they do not feel accepted by Australians and yet they would like to be. For example, when interviewed in 1966 the husband (Case 634) said, 'I get on with the New Australians but am disappointed at the antagonism of Australians' and both he and his wife believed that the term 'Pommy' was sometimes 'used nastily'.

An adequate test of this hypothesis, that the Quasi-acculturated

immigrant would like to become more Australian (motivation component) but cannot view himself as an Australian (cognitive component) because he does not feel accepted by Australians, is something to be undertaken in the future. On the basis of existing data two indirect checks were undertaken, only one of which provides evidence in the predicted direction. The first indirect check was based on the argument that fewer Quasi-acculturated immigrants than Identified or Acculturated would report that they had been called 'Pommies' by Australians in a friendly way. Almost all British immigrants have been called 'Pommies' at some time but only a minority report its use in a resentful or ill natured way, though a few others were unsure. As can be seen from Table 5.12 the percentage of immigrants who report that they have been called 'Pommies' in a good natured way steadily increases from the Dissatisfied at the lowest stage to the Acculturated at the highest. The finding is an interesting one in its own right, as a linear correlate of assimilation level, but it does not support the hypothesis under test.

Table 5.12 Percentage of immigrants at each level of assimilation who report having been called a 'Pommy' in a good natured way

Australian attitude as seen by immigrants		Assimilation level (1966)					Totals f %	
		D %	S %	I %	QA %	A %		
Have been called a Pommy in a good natured way	H	45	63	72	76	86	188	70
	W	55	58	58	68	69	165	62

The results of the second indirect check are shown in Table 5.13. It was argued that if Quasi-acculturated immigrants want acceptance by Australians and feel that it is being denied to them then their reported level of satisfaction with life in Australia or with their standard of living should be lower than that of the Identified and Acculturated immigrants. The trends in the 1961 data are consistent with the hypothesis though no supporting evidence is available to show that the assumed causal mechanism is the one responsible.

By 1966 the satisfaction measures show no tendency whatsoever to distinguish between the Quasi-acculturated on the one side and the Identified and Acculturated on the other. Though once again it would not be difficult to construct a number of hypotheses to

Table 5.13 Satisfaction variables which discriminate the Quasi-acculturated (QA) and Satisfied (S) immigrants from those who are Identified (I) and Acculturated (A) at 1961 and 1966

Satisfaction variables	1961				1966			
	QA	S	I	A	QA	S	I	A
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
H reports that the relation of income to standard of living is the <i>same</i> or <i>better</i> than in U.K.	72	79	84	100	87	81	85	88
W reports that the relation of income to standard of living is the <i>same</i> or <i>better</i> than in U.K.	72	75	82	92	87	83	91	91
H reports that he is on the whole satisfied with life in Australia	83	82	95	100	100	92	96	100
W reports that she is on the whole satisfied with life in Australia	72	71	86	92	89	78	89	95

account for the difference between the 1961 and 1966 data, the one proposed for initial examination emphasises the difference between present unsuccessful attempts at gaining acceptance which produce lowered satisfaction levels in 1961 and the long established reconciliation to the fact of non-acceptance by 1966, which no longer interferes with feelings of satisfaction. Put another way it is being suggested that when immigrants who appear as acculturated when interviewed in 1961 do not feel accepted then the likelihood of being satisfied is reduced. They are oversensitive to their social environment and their whole adjustment is relatively unstable. By 1966 these and others who become Quasi-acculturated have had plenty of time to make a more stable adjustment. They have found a *modus vivendi* which does not include the full acceptance that they would have liked to have but the presence of other compensating factors restores or enhances their general feelings of satisfaction.

Before ending this brief discussion of the Quasi-acculturated immigrants one last question will be considered. Given that an immigrant was already at some specified lower level of assimilation in 1961, what is the probability of his becoming Acculturated or Quasi-acculturated in 1966?

From Table 5.14 it can be seen that of those married male immigrants who were Dissatisfied in 1961 a total of 11 per cent became Acculturated and another 11 per cent became Quasi-acculturated by 1966. Among the married women 10 per cent

Table 5.14 Percentage of married men and women at each Assimilation level (1966) shown separately for each Assimilation level (1961)

Assimilation level (1961)		Assimilation level (1966)					Totals f %	
		D %	S %	I %	QA %	A %		
Dissatisfied	H	11	55	12	11	11	47	100
	W	15	57	11	7	10	57	100
Satisfied	H	8	51	19	12	10	149	100
	W	8	51	16	14	11	149	100
Identified	H	5	19	35	16	25	44	100
	W	3	20	40	6	31	35	100
Quasi-acculturated	H	5	11	17	28	39	18	100
	W	7	7	—	43	43	14	100
Acculturated	H	—	—	—	15	85	13	100
	W	17	—	25	25	33	12	100

became Acculturated and 7 per cent became Quasi-acculturated during the same period. For the married men who were Satisfied in 1961 there are 10 per cent Acculturated and 12 per cent Quasi-acculturated by 1966. The comparable figures for the married women are 11 per cent and 14 per cent. As might be expected those who were already Identified in 1961 are far more likely to become Acculturated than Quasi-acculturated by 1966. This is especially noticeable among the married women. Among the married men, on the other hand, there is a greater probability of losing the Identification achieved in 1961, while still advancing in assimilation to the Quasi-acculturated level by 1966. This phenomenon of regression in social acceptance will be discussed in the next chapter.

The clearest generalisation emerging from these results is that a married immigrant of either sex who was Satisfied or Dissatisfied after 18 months' residence in Australia had 1 chance in 10 of becoming Quasi-acculturated or Acculturated after a further five years' residence.

Despite the administration of a shortened form of the assimilation scale to a different sample of British immigrants at somewhat different times in Australia's post war history and at different locations in every state of Australia, the provisional conclusions drawn at the end of the last chapter still stand.

In particular the evidence reinforces the view that there are two major assimilation sequences—the complete and the incomplete. In the complete sequence of satisfaction-identification-acculturation

each lower stage precedes the one above it and each higher stage incorporates all of those below it. In the incomplete sequence of satisfaction-acculturation it is possible for an immigrant to resemble a typical host group member without at the same time being identified with the host group itself. Thus identification is a sufficient but not a necessary precondition of Acculturation. The outcome of this incomplete sequence has been called the Quasi-acculturated type while the outcome of the complete sequence has been called the Acculturated type.

The major factors that influence an immigrant's progress along the assimilation continuum have been described and supported with evidence. If it is true that initial satisfaction levels are influenced by the material circumstances of an immigrant's life in Australia, that identification with his new country is much affected by his social involvement with Australians and that his ultimate acculturation, if it is to occur, is determined by the opportunities that are available to him for prolonged interaction with groups in which the Australian pattern of life predominates—then two questions follow. First, do some categories of immigrants have certain advantages or disadvantages over others that increase or decrease their chances of progressing to high levels of assimilation? If so, which are they and in what ways are they advantaged or disadvantaged? Second, if the presence of certain conditions can lead to progress in assimilation, can the removal of these conditions lead to a regress in assimilation?

Progress in assimilation

It is often assumed that when a single immigrant marries a member of the host group this will have the effect of advancing his or her assimilation. Another assumption that is sometimes made is that the immigrant who has no friends or relatives in Australia on arrival and who lives together with compatriots will be retarded in his or her assimilation. The evidence for each of these assumptions will now be reviewed.

Marrying into the host group. Studies of many different immigrant groups suggest that marriage to a native born partner leads to more rapid assimilation. It is usually assumed that this occurs because the family of the partner as well as the partner exposes the immigrant to influences and opportunities for identification and acculturation that are not present to the same extent among those who marry into their own national group or into another immigrant group.

From Table 6.1 it can be seen that this opinion receives support for those British women who marry Australian men but not for the men who marry Australian women. More surprising, however, is the finding that the single women in this longitudinal study assimilated more rapidly than the single men. Whether she remained single, married a British or some other immigrant, or married an Australian, a single woman was likely to be more assimilated by 1966 than any category of single men or of the men and women who were married before they arrived in Australia. These results are found despite the fact that no age or socio-economic background differences distinguish the men and women in any of the sub-categories of single persons.

Table 6.1 Assimilation levels of all single and married Settlers (1966)

Conjugal condition and nationality of spouse		Assimilation level (1966)					Totals
		D	S	I	QA	A	
Single men 1959 to 1966	f	—	6	2	1	1	10
	%	—	60	20	10	10	100
Single women 1959 to 1966	f	1	5	1	2	4	13
	%	8	38	8	15	31	100
Single men 1959 married to Australians 1966	f	2	2	6	—	1	11
	%	18	18	55	—	9	100
Single men 1959 married to British immigrants 1966	f	2	2	2	1	2	9
	%	22	22	22	12	22	100
Single women 1959 married to Australians 1966	f	—	1	5	2	7	15
	%	—	7	33	13	47	100
Single women 1959 married to non-Australians 1966	f	—	1	2	3	2	8
	%	—	12	25	38	25	100
Married men 1959 to 1966	f	20	113	53	37	48	271
	%	7	42	20	13	18	100
Married women 1959 to 1966	f	23	117	46	37	43	266
	%	9	44	17	14	16	100

Note: Information on assimilation level was unavailable for:

Three single men 1959 to 1966

Two single women 1959 to 1966

One single man 1959 married by 1966

Three single women 1959 married by 1966.

Let us look at the results a little more closely. Of the single men eleven married Australian girls and nine married former British immigrants. None married a non-British immigrant. Among the single girls fifteen married Australians, four married British immigrants and four married non-British immigrants. The difference between the proportion of British men and British women who married Australians is not significant but the difference in the assimilation levels reached by the men and by the women is significant.

The single women who married Australian men achieved higher levels of assimilation than the single men who married Australian women. Why? Since all the single women, whether they married or remained unmarried, assimilated more than their counterparts among the men who were single when they arrived in Australia, the answer cannot be in terms of marital influences alone. Apart from the possibility of other social influences it would also be of interest to know whether single female emigrants are more predisposed to change before they come? If evidence for this were obtained in future studies it would also be necessary to know whether the predisposition to change reflected a more general personality characteristic of 'persuasibility' or a more specific desire to become Australian or some combination of the two.

Two brief case histories will illustrate the changes that occurred in a girl who married a German immigrant and in another girl who married an Australian.

Case 144: When interviewed in 1959 she worked as a shorthand typist. She had not been out of England before and at the age of 21 felt the urge to travel and experience more independence. Her parents approved of her wish to visit Australia and her own comment was, 'I would like to have a look round Australia before I settle down'. In commenting on this statement the interviewer wrote, 'No complex reasons for going—just a healthy, youthful longing for travel—a new life and lots of sunshine'.

After 18 months in Australia she expressed her enjoyment of the new life she was living. She looked forward to a holiday in Britain in a year's time but wanted to return to Australia. She lived with two English girls who had come out on the same ship with her.

When interviewed in 1966 she was married to a German immigrant and had two children. The interviewer commented: 'A rather

mature lass who is happily settling into Australia. Her husband is industrious too—and they are both longing for the time when they can purchase a house, but are quite prepared to live in their present house in order to save more money'. They are very happy in Australia. The wife says that ' . . . she feels more Australian, particularly since she has married and had a family. She spoke to her mother on the 'phone last Christmas and her mother said, "You speak Australian" '.

Case 016: A 29 year old nurse who had worked in many different places including South Africa where her father lived. Her mother lived in the west of England but the daughter did not get on well with either of them. She was tired of family quarrels, felt unsettled in Britain and thought that she would try Australia for at least three years.

In 1961 she worked in a country hospital and was due to be married to an Australian in three weeks' time. The interviewer remarked 'her life and attitudes have been clearly influenced in favour of Australia'.

She and her husband were living in their own house in 1966. They had two children and the interviewer wrote: 'She has clearly become an Australian country town housewife—she is no longer a British migrant to any outward extent—she has almost no noticeable English accent'. She is fully Acculturated.

Insulation from the receiving society. Those married couples, usually with children, who emigrate to Australia as nominees of the Commonwealth or State governments usually spend some time after their arrival in hostel accommodation. Such immigrants either have no friends or relatives prepared to nominate them or they prefer to be independent of any such connections. Some of them do not know the State to which they are going when they leave Britain. All of them may be expected to have a general idea of the conditions of life in a hostel though not all of them are able to predict their own reactions to the kind of community living that is usually involved.

The locations and amenities of hostels differ from each other to a considerable extent. Many of the early ones were converted army camps. Accommodation in these provided an immigrant family with half a Nissen hut separated from the family living in the

other half by no more than a thin partition wall. Other more recent hostels have been specially designed for immigrants and accommodation is provided in pleasant self-contained sets of rooms or in blocks of flats which permit ordinary family life to be maintained. Hostels are located in all the States of Australia. A few are situated in large country towns but most are near industrial areas on the outskirts of the State capital cities.

The life of an immigrant family during their stay in any one of the great majority of hostels is a communal one, in which they eat together in a central dining hall and share the same wash-rooms, showers, lavatories and laundries. Hostels are not holiday centres nor were they designed to be permanent residences. Whether administered by State or Commonwealth agencies a hostel has always been intended to provide transit accommodation for a few months only. Immigrants are expected to find their own accommodation outside the hostel, just as soon as they can arrange it. Housing officers have been employed for many years to give what help they can in finding suitable places in the outside community, but for a variety of reasons some immigrant families have been found to stay for relatively long periods. Sometimes it is difficult for a family to move out of a hostel because housing at rents they can afford is not available in the vicinity of the breadwinner's work. Sometimes families stay in a hostel because they feel more secure among their compatriots. The world outside may seem too threatening and the longer they remain the less inclined they are to risk any deeper financial or emotional involvement in Australian life. Sometimes for these or other personal reasons a family will decide to remain in a hostel and save what money they can, either for a return to Britain or for a move elsewhere, usually to New Zealand.

Whatever the reasons that seem to apply in individual cases the immigrant family that stays in a hostel for 18 months, 2 years or occasionally even longer, has been of concern to all those persons and organisations interested in helping immigrants to settle in Australia. Not least among those concerned have been many of the immigrants themselves. In their report on departures from Australia the Committee on Social Patterns of the Immigration Advisory Council 'agreed that it was more difficult for migrants who remained for a long time in hostels to integrate successfully

and thought that if hostels were used beyond the point of providing initial temporary accommodation their social environment would militate against satisfaction with Australia and contribute to departure decisions' (Dovey, 1967, p. 51).

Of all the families entering a hostel in the present study, 26 per cent had left within the first three months and another 38 per cent had moved out before the first follow-up interviews began in 1961. As there were no obvious differences between those who stayed three months and those who stayed between 4 and about 20 months, these two sub-categories were combined to form a Short stay category of hostel residents. The remaining 36 per cent of families were still hostel residents when interviewed in 1961 and have been designated as a Long stay category.

The absence of close relatives or friends outside the hostel and the Little Britain atmosphere created by their compatriots within it might be expected to retard the assimilation of those immigrants relative to those who were able to make their initial adjustment to Australia within the wider community. Let us begin the inquiry by examining Table 6.2. It is clear that in 1961 there were no differences between non-hostel Settlers and those Settlers who remained in hostels for a short time only. It will be remembered that a Settler has been defined as an immigrant who remained in Australia continuously throughout the seven year period of this study. Thus a short stay of less than 20 months in a hostel does not appear to have any necessarily retarding effect on the assimilation levels of those who experience it. However, among the wives

Table 6.2 Comparison of Long and Short stay hostel residents with non-hostel Settlers by Assimilation level (1961)

Type and location of immigrant in 1966		Assimilation level (1961)				Totals f	%
		D %	S %	I %	QA+A %		
Hostel (Long stay)	H	67	25	4	4	24	100
Departers from Australia	W	67	29	4	—	24	100
Hostel (Short stay)	H	25	75	—	—	12	100
Departers from Australia	W	33	67	—	—	12	100
Hostel (Long stay)	H	27	53	10	10	40	100
Settlers in Australia	W	36	54	10	—	40	100
Hostel (Short stay)	H	19	54	19	8	97	100
Settlers in Australia	W	19	57	13	11	97	100
Non-hostel	H	17	55	16	12	153	100
Settlers in Australia	W	22	52	15	11	153	100

of those Settlers who remained in a hostel for more than 20 months there was a significantly lower level of assimilation at this time. That their husbands were not unaffected by the insulating and often frustrating effects of hostel life is shown by their answers to the question on whether they would like to live permanently in Australia. In 1961 44 per cent of the Long stay Settler husbands said that they had no wish to live permanently in Australia compared with 35 per cent of the Short stay Settlers and only 29 per cent of the non-hostel Settlers. Thus it appears that a long stay in a hostel, even for those immigrants who later become Settlers, was associated with lower assimilation in the wives, who usually spent less time on average outside of the hostel environment, and could even reduce the probability of wanting to stay permanently in Australia among the husbands.

Before examining the relationship between hostel residence and the assimilation levels of Settlers in 1966, when all of them had been out in the wider community for at least four years, it is of interest to ask why some immigrants remained in hostels for 18 months or more after their arrival in Australia?

As was indicated earlier there are many reasons given by immigrant families for their long residence. Though such reasons may be real to those who give them, do they represent objective differences which distinguish them from other immigrants who leave the hostels more speedily? This is a difficult question to answer because of the many subtle interaction effects that may operate but which are not detectable when one characteristic is analysed at a time. However, if economic reasons are given for an inability to leave a hostel within the first 18 months of residence, some objective economic or economic related variables should discriminate between the Long and the Short stay immigrants. A detailed analysis of the economic circumstances of these two categories of hostel resident was undertaken by Appleyard (book in preparation), but no clear cut differences were found in support of the economic hypothesis. For the sample shown in the tables of this section two separate analyses were undertaken. These analyses were concerned with the number of children in a family, and amount of capital on arrival, both of which could be expected to provide differential opportunities for leaving a hostel within the first 18 months of residence in Australia. The results showed that,

when all Long stay immigrants were compared with all Short stay immigrants, 49 per cent of the former had three or more children compared with 47 per cent of the latter. Comparable figures for those who had \$600 or less on arrival in Australia are 65 per cent of the Long stay and 61 per cent of the Short stay. Neither of these differences is significant. The comparable figure for non-hostel Settlers is 43 per cent. It appears from this finding that non-hostel Settlers are better off financially when they first arrive in Australia than those who go into hostels. It was also found that Long stay immigrants with large families brought no less capital with them than Short stay immigrants with large families.

On the basis of this evidence it is not possible to argue that the Long stay immigrants were unable to leave their hostels because they lacked opportunities possessed by the Short stay immigrants. It seems more reasonable to assume that what distinguished the two was a different set of attitudes to their economic circumstances, their hostel environment and probably to Australia as a whole. It is quite obvious that two families may be objectively alike in regard to size and economic resources, yet one will go out and live in a tent if need be while the other will remain in a hostel. Depending upon one's viewpoint as an outsider it is usual to applaud the pioneering spirit of the one and to deplore the lack of it in the other, or alternatively to deplore the foolhardiness of the one and applaud the good sense and caution of the other.

Whatever attitudes one discovers within oneself in relation to particular people in situations of this kind the important question to be asked concerns the nature of the psychological differences that might distinguish Short stay from Long stay immigrants. From reading the accounts of their hostel experiences given by Short stay immigrants it is easy to get the impression that many of them disliked hostel life so intensely that they moved out early because they were more highly motivated to move. For example, one married woman who remained in a hostel with her husband and children for a very short time said (Case 978) 'Life in a hostel is demoralising—poor transport—atrocious food—too far from the shops. The old residents tended to destroy the belief of newcomers in the possibility of making a new life in Australia'. And again, a young man who with his wife and child left the hostel within a week of arriving in Australia said (Case 63) 'There were some

English people who had been there for over two years. They told us not to leave but to save for the fare home. The place was full of deadbeats'. Impressionistic accounts of this kind must be treated lightly, however, especially when one discovers that similar remarks can be found among those who were still in hostels when interviewed in 1961.

As the longitudinal study was not designed to obtain measures of well established personality characteristics, the only hope of finding even the hint of a difference between Long and Short stay hostel dwellers was to look at the available biographical details of age, education, occupational status, time taken to make the original emigration decision, number of job changes in Britain, size of family (the one into which the immigrant was born) and whether the immigrant was a first or later born child. Only two of these revealed any significant or near significant differences between the married men. No differences were found among the married women. Thirty-nine per cent of the Long stay husbands (42 per cent of the Departers and 37 per cent of the Settlers) compared with only 26 per cent of the Short stay husbands (17 per cent of the Departers and 28 per cent of the Settlers) were first born or only children. The difference just fails to be significant. Thirty-five per cent of the non-hostel Settlers were first born or only children. Though research on the characteristics and consequences of birth order have produced many conflicting results, the most consistent finding has been that under conditions likely to create anxiety, first and only born children are likely to be more dependent, and susceptible to influence from those on whom they are dependent.¹ By comparison the later born individual is more independent of others even under stressful circumstances. Thus the first trend in the data supports the view that staying in a hostel for a long period may, in part, be brought about by the continuing need for compatriots on whom one has become socially and emotionally dependent during the early months of life in Australia.

The second biographical finding is consistent with this inter-

¹ The characteristics and consequences of being a first or later born child have been the subject of renewed research interest since Schachter (1959) reported his experiments on the relation between birth order and affiliation behaviour. Reviews of this research have been provided by Sampson (1965), Warren (1966), Radloff and Helmreich (1968).

pretation. Those who became Long stay residents had changed their jobs less often in Britain than those who became Short stay residents. This difference is statistically significant. Though job changes occur for many reasons, those who have had the fewest may be expected to have had less experience in adapting to new circumstances. Eighty per cent of the Long stay hostel dwellers (75 per cent Departers and 82 per cent Settlers) had changed their jobs in Britain six times or less compared with only 62 per cent of the Short stay hostel dwellers (50 per cent Departers and 64 per cent Settlers). Of the non-hostel Settlers 84 per cent had changed their jobs in Britain within this range of frequencies.

Even the Long stay hostel dwellers did not stay there for ever. What happened to them? The evidence showed that the majority (62 per cent) became Settlers, but that the remaining 38 per cent became Departers. Comparable figures among the Short stay hostel dwellers are 89 per cent and 11 per cent. Those who left Australia were those who arrived in Australia with the most capital. Among the Long stay hostel dwellers who became Departers 46 per cent had \$600 or more on arrival compared with only 28 per cent of those who became Settlers. Among the Short stay hostel dwellers the comparable figures are 67 per cent and 35 per cent. Both differences are statistically significant.

One final question concerning the hostel dwellers who became Settlers; is there any evidence that the initial handicap of living in a hostel has any lasting consequences on assimilation level? The

Table 6.3 Comparison of the Long and Short stay hostel residents who became Settlers with the non-hostel Settlers by Assimilation level (1966)

Category of Settler (1966)		Assimilation level (1966)					Totals f	%
		D %	S %	I %	QA %	A %		
Long stay (hostel) Settlers	H	14	46	11	12	17	35	100
	W	10	47	13	24	6	32	
Short stay (hostel) Settlers	H	7	37	25	14	17	89	100
	W	13	38	16	17	16	85	
Non-hostel Settlers	H	7	42	20	13	18	153	100
	W	9	44	17	14	16	153	

Note: Information on Assimilation level (1966) was unavailable for:

Five Long stay (hostel) married male Settlers

Seven Long stay (hostel) married female Settlers

Eight Short stay (hostel) married male Settlers

Twelve Short stay (hostel) married female Settlers.

answer to this question is provided by the results shown in Table 6.3. No significant difference in the distribution of Settler types exists between the Long stay hostel residents, the Short stay hostel residents or those who were at no time residents of a hostel.

Regress in assimilation

It sometimes happens that an immigrant will progress over the years to an apparently stable level of assimilation but that at some later time he will be at a noticeably lower level. This phenomenon of regression in assimilation is one that has been observed and described by many writers on migratory behaviour.² In theory regression can take place in regard to any aspect of assimilation that anyone wishes to study. In practice, and certainly within the context of the present inquiry, the main forms of regression can be classified into those that refer to material circumstances, those that refer to social acceptance and integration with the receiving society and finally those that refer to the manifestation of cultural acquisitions like those discussed earlier under the heading of optional acculturation. These three forms of regression have their counterparts in the three major aspects of the assimilation process. An immigrant may be Satisfied with his life in Australia when interviewed in 1961, but because he has not made the material progress that he expected, he may have regressed to being Dissatisfied by the time he is interviewed in 1966. Again, an immigrant may be keen to become an Australian when he arrives and in 1961 report that he feels more Australian than British, but by 1966 he may recognise that it is not enough to define oneself as Australian. If others do not accord one this status it may be impossible to remain Identified and so regression to a lower level of assimilation occurs. Finally, it is possible for an immigrant to appear fully Acculturated in 1961 yet this may represent no more than a most precarious and unintegrated pattern of new behaviour that he possesses. If a shift occurs in his social milieu so that the contextual supports for his acculturation are lost then some regression from this level might be expected.

From Table 6.4 it can be seen that there are thirty-one married male Settlers who had a lower level of assimilation in 1966 than in

² See, for example, Taft and Doczy (1962), Martin (1965), Johnston (1965).

Table 6.4 Assimilation levels at 1961 and 1966 compared (married men)

1961/1966	D	S	I	QA	A	Total 1961
Dissatisfied	5	26	6	5	5	47
Satisfied	<i>12</i>	76	28	18	15	149
Identified	<i>2</i>	9	16	7	10	44
Quasi-acculturated	<i>1</i>	2	3	5	7	18
Acculturated	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	2	11	13
Total 1966	20	113	53	37	48	271

Note: All entries in italics represent regressions in assimilation level.

1961. Altogether fifteen regressed to the Dissatisfaction level. Twelve of these had been Satisfied, two Identified and one Quasi-acculturated when interviewed in 1961. Another three had regressed from the Quasi-acculturated level in 1961 to the Identified level in 1966, but whether this change in Settler type should count as a genuine regression phenomenon is doubtful. It may represent a regression in the level of cultural acquisition but a progression in social acceptance. Finally, there were two immigrants who regressed from being Acculturated in 1961 to being Quasi-acculturated in 1966.

Case history examples of the two main forms of regression outlined above will be presented in the following pages. It will be observed that not all of them involve regression of one kind only though it is usually clear what the focal problem has been. Among those who regressed to the Dissatisfaction level the extent of this dissatisfaction is sometimes no more than a dissatisfaction with the area in which the family is living. The frequency and form of regression among the married women Settlers can be seen in Table 6.5 but no attempt has been made to examine these cases in any more detail.

Table 6.5 Assimilation levels at 1961 and 1966 compared (married women)

1961/1966	D	S	I	QA	A	Total 1961
Dissatisfied	8	33	6	4	5	56
Satisfied	<i>11</i>	76	23	22	17	149
Identified	<i>1</i>	7	14	2	11	35
Quasi-acculturated	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>0</i>	6	6	14
Acculturated	<i>2</i>	<i>0</i>	3	3	4	12
Total 1966	23	117	46	37	43	266

Note: All entries in italics represent regressions in assimilation level.

Regression in material circumstances. The first family to be discussed is Case 276 in which the husband regressed to a limited form of dissatisfaction associated with the area in which they lived and the consequences that followed. By way of contrast, Case 422 serves as an example of an immigrant who regressed to a more widespread level of dissatisfaction. Both cases were Satisfied in 1961.

Case 276: A young married couple emigrated to Australia with their 12 month old son. The husband was self-employed as a house painter but he had no plans to start his own business in Australia. He felt that Australia would need people in the building trades for the next 50 years so that his own opportunities ought to be good.

They entered a hostel on arrival and were still there when interviewed in 1961. Because suitable accommodation at rents they could afford was unavailable they planned to stay in the hostel until they had saved enough to build a house. They had already bought land in the neighbourhood because they liked the district but expected to wait another four years before they would be in a position to start building. After getting experience with a number of different firms he had started up as a painter on his own account. Because the hostel flat was so small the wife had little housework. She said, 'I would be completely bored if I had to stay in the hostel all day. But I go out to work mainly to save for a home'. Their friends were mainly Australians and they were quite sure that they had made the right decision in coming to Australia.

By 1966 they were living in the house that they had built and reported that it was better than the house they had lived in when in Britain. However, they disliked the district for a number of reasons. The husband said, 'It's too far from my work and in an industrial area with nothing green about it. It's too far from the beach and from the main centres of entertainment and too hot in the summer'. Both of them now felt more British in their outlook. The wife remarked, 'We lost nothing by coming and we've achieved a great deal'. They were returning to Britain in a few months and were not sure that they would come back to Australia.

Case 422: The wife had been the keener of the two in the beginning but when interviewed in 1959 the husband said that he was equally enthusiastic about their decision to emigrate. As an agricultural worker he was fed up with their low standard of

living and hoped for a better life in Australia for themselves and for his 7 year old son and 9 year old daughter.

When interviewed in 1961 the family lived in a condemned house in a small Queensland town. Even so they regarded it as providing better accommodation than they had in Britain. He worked as a factory hand and his wife as a packer. They both felt better off in Australia and wanted to spend the rest of their lives there.

By 1966 they had moved to a country town in New South Wales and were living in a caravan with their two children now aged 15 and 16 years. They regarded their present accommodation as unsuitable for teenage children and they disliked the district. For two weeks prior to the interview he had been unemployed and was now in financial difficulties. The husband said, 'Jobs are too uncertain here. We would like to return to the United Kingdom'. Though most of their acquaintances were Australian they said that they had no real friends. Both were dissatisfied with life in Australia. 'The things that are good can't be enjoyed because the economic conditions are so bad'. The wife then said 'I feel too English to settle here. Australia is not suitable for me. My health has been bad ever since I arrived'. And the husband said, 'I'd been in Australia during the war. I didn't want to come here—my wife wanted it'.

Regression in social acceptance. Three cases will be cited in which each of three causal patterns can be seen at work in bringing about a regression from the Identified to the Satisfied level. Case 469 serves, perhaps, as an example of self-induced rejection by Australians with concomitant loss of the ability to think of oneself as an Australian. The situation exemplified by Case 708 is one in which a polarisation of feelings about Australia resulted from marital tensions within the family. The husband appears to have been 'forced' into the role of an Australian by the position adopted by his wife. When good relations were restored between them the motivational basis for reported feelings of being more Australian disappeared. The last example (Case 978) is closer to the kind of regression most frequently discussed in assimilation studies: the husband and the wife had gone through a great deal of hardship in the first 20 months of their residence but felt that they had what they wanted by the end of it and reported that they felt more

Australian. With the passage of another five years they had become increasingly aware of the difference between Australian characteristics and their own Britishness and it became impossible for them to pretend that they felt more Australian under these conditions.

Case 469: A middle-aged childless couple, both of whom stated that they liked Australia when interviewed in 1961. The husband belonged to the Returned Servicemen's League and said that he felt more Australian. He would also support an Australian team 'because it would be wrong to support the British team'. Though his wife said that she felt no change in her national identity, the husband believed that she had changed and cited her use of Australian slang as an example.

In 1966 they still liked the district in which they lived and liked Australia, but they had come to dislike European immigrants and Australians.

'I detest every European here talking any other language than English. This is an English country and they should be made to speak English before they come', said the husband. Such friends as he had were mainly Australians at work 'but I never mix with them' he added. He believed that the use of 'Pommy' by Australians was almost always derogatory. 'They always call me a Pommy B. because they resent us reminding them that they still have chains on'. He missed English pub life. 'It's so much more friendly—we all mixed together. But here, it's all cliques—you never feel you're part of the group'. He thought that Australian manners were terrible. 'You never hear a "please" or "thank you"' and the wife added, 'Australians have promised to visit and take us out so many times and have never kept their promises . . . I can't say I could trust any of them'.

Case 708: The husband was a 39 year old lorry driver emigrating with his wife and two pre-school children; he was ambitious and wanted to start up a haulage business in Australia.

The first 10 months in Australia were spent in a hostel but after a brief time outside they moved into another hostel where they were interviewed in 1961. They both objected strongly to every aspect of hostel life, 'the poor quality food, restricted accommodation and regimented life—the communal eating and the dirty dining room. It lacks privacy here because of the thin partition

walls and we dislike sharing toilet and laundry facilities'. The husband worked as a factory hand. The strain of hostel life had upset their relationship and the wife had reacted more negatively to Australia than had her husband. He liked it and she did not. He felt more Australian and would have supported an Australian team. She felt more British and would have supported a British team. During the discussion on national identity, she turned to her husband and said 'Go on Bill, you know there's nothing you'd like better than to be mistaken for an Aussie'. The interviewer commented that 'he conceded as if this were a point much discussed'.

In 1966 they were living in a rented asbestos bungalow but were planning to buy a delicatessen shop and live in the house that went with it. She now had a job and was feeling more settled. He was a supervisor in a factory. When the wife started work she had intended 'to save money for the fare home'. However, when they got a house to live in she continued to work to buy the furniture for it. Now she worked part time because she enjoyed it. Their friends were about fifty-fifty Australian and British immigrants. They now reported 'no change' in their national identity and both would support a British team. They both believed that they had made the right decision when they emigrated.

Case 978: The husband was a 35 year old lorry driver. His wife was ten years younger. They had three small children. He had trained as a horticulturist and wanted to set up as a smallholder in Australia with a few chickens and pigs.

For the first 5 months they lived in a hostel and then moved into a rented Housing Commission house. When interviewed in 1961 the husband was working as a gardener on a country property where they lived in a rent free cottage. All their acquaintances were Australian and they both felt more Australian though they would support a British team. The husband commented 'We'll stay here for life—it's marvellous' and the interviewer added 'After experiencing an enormous amount of hardship and misfortune since arriving they have struggled on and finally found a place they love'.

They were still living in the same cottage in 1966 and the husband still worked as a gardener for the same employer. They still liked the country district in which they lived but now found

the cottage a little inconvenient. They said that they had no friends and though they now had a car they felt worse off financially because they were still paying for it. Both of them said that they now felt more British and would support a British team.

They had become aware of their difference from the Australians they knew. 'We have a different mental outlook. Their ideas of amusement are different . . . Australians seem unable to be gentle—to understand their animals. They might drive a car over a possum at the side of the road for sheer delight'. However, both of them believed that their decision to emigrate was the correct one, especially for their children.

Regression in cultural acquisitions. No case of regression from the Acculturated level to the Identified level or below was found among any of the husbands in this sample, though five of their wives manifested this form of regression.

In this chapter the utility of the assimilation scale has been indicated in two ways. First by showing that, in the longitudinal study, assimilation rates varied according to the personality and situational conditions of the immigrants concerned. Thus, being a single woman on arrival in Australia and staying continuously for seven years was associated with a significantly higher level of assimilation than among a comparable category of single male immigrants. This finding is true whether the woman remained single, married another immigrant or a native born Australian. Again, immigrants who were still living in a hostel when interviewed in 1961 were less assimilated at that time than those who had moved out.

The second indication of the scale's utility has been to point up the different ways in which regression in assimilation can occur and to provide a rational basis for the selection of case histories for the exemplification of regressive types.

A Qualitative Analysis of the Assimilation Process and of its associated Settler Types

The last three chapters have provided evidence relating to the general process of assimilation and to the Settler types that result from this process. The purpose of the present chapter is to provide a set of case histories which will illustrate some of the essential factors known to have contributed to the formation of each Settler type. These essential factors can then be seen as standing out against a background of less relevant accidental factors such as age, occupation, locality of residence and even financial circumstances.¹

To put this more recognisable flesh on the bare bones of the preceding statistical analyses, fifteen case histories have been presented (three from each of the five Settler types). These histories refer both to husband and wife and sometimes to their children,² but the Settler type is always based on the husband's 1966

¹ In the statistical analyses no relationship was found between the husband's weekly earnings (or the total weekly income of a family) and assimilation level or any aspect of assimilation.

² An interesting problem for future research is the effect on a child's assimilation and propensity to stay in Australia permanently of having had one or both parents at a particular level of assimilation. For example, do children whose parents are both Acculturated Settlers show less interest in Britain and greater identification with Australia than children whose parents are at a lower level of assimilation? Sex of child, age on arrival, level of assimilation of each parent and a great many other variables would need to be examined. Research on the children of immigrants in Australia is only just beginning but it may be expected to become of increasing interest, especially when the number of new immigrants begins to decline.

assimilation score. The wife's assimilation score has always been shown following that of her husband. Thus Case 265 (H8:W5) indicates that the husband is a Dissatisfied immigrant though the wife is identified. (The exact scale patterns associated with all assimilation scores can be found in Table 5.4, Column 1, p. 63).

As it is always possible to search for and find illustrative cases in support of almost any theory of assimilation it is important to describe the way in which cases were selected for use in this chapter. To begin with, the case numbers of all immigrants who had been married before arrival in Australia were sorted into five categories according to the 1966 assimilation levels of the husband. A random sample of twenty cases was then drawn from each of these five categories of Settler types. From this sample of 100 cases two sub-samples were drawn, each of which contained six cases from each category of Settler types.

Material from the three interview schedules (1959, 1961 and 1966) available on each of the sixty migrant units was abstracted and combined to provide a chronological description of the main events in the life of each family during the seven years covered by this study. Wherever an interviewer made relevant observations or recorded the views of the immigrants themselves, these observations and views were incorporated into the case histories. When the completed case histories were read and reread the distinctive characteristics of each Settler type began to emerge.

This procedure does not, of course, eliminate the problem of selecting quotable quotes in support of a particular theoretical position. All that is claimed is that it served to reduce the opportunities for engaging in such an enterprise and that a subsequent search showed that the essential characteristics appropriate to one Settler type could not be found in the schedules of the other Settler types.

Though only three case histories from each Settler type are discussed in the following pages, almost any other case histories taken from the relevant categories would have served equally well.

The married settlers

Preceding the case histories of each Settler type is a brief introduction designed to remind the reader of the main features to be expected. After each category of Settler has been presented,

comments have been made on some of the specific features of each case history.

The Dissatisfied. Dissatisfaction can stem from many sources and though the one measure of district satisfaction has been used to categorise immigrants as either Dissatisfied or Satisfied it will be recalled that other measures of satisfaction/dissatisfaction are associated with it.

To be dissatisfied with the district in which one lives can be due to specific features of the district such as poor shopping facilities or poor public transport. Complaints of this kind are reported by the wife in Case 265. More frequently, however, district dissatisfaction appears to reflect or be associated with other dissatisfaction such as one's accommodation, one's job or one's whole way of life in Australia. It often seems to imply a general feeling of being unsettled and a sense of confusion regarding future plans or actions.

Case 248 (H8 : W6): The husband was a welder aged 36. He was emigrating to Australia with his 30 year old wife and their three primary school age children. The interviewer who saw them just before departure in 1959 commented, 'These people appear determined to get on. They obviously took a long time planning their emigration and are quite settled in their outlook about it'.

They moved into a hostel on arrival in South Australia and were still there when interviewed in 1961. Both parents were working and the children were said to have adapted well. Both wanted to return permanently to Britain and had thought about it on and off since arrival. Thoughts about returning 'crop up every time some small matter goes wrong'. A possible alternative to returning was a move on to New Zealand. The husband had already applied for employment there.

In 1966 the family was living in a rented house in Adelaide. They were both dissatisfied with the house and the husband was dissatisfied with the district. The interviewer noted that the wife in particular was dissatisfied with their accommodation. 'She especially finds the lounge room cramped and is already brooding about the problem of organising their son's 21st birthday party—in three years' time'. The wife was still working—for a trip back to U.K. in 1967'.

They felt insecure in Australia and missed their families very much. The husband said, 'The working class are better off in U.K.—you can't go as low as you could in Australia'. On friends and relations the husband said, 'Feel lonely here. We have built up relationships with family in U.K. over a lifetime and now miss them very much'. Though the economic aspects of Australian life were felt to be less satisfactory for working-class people the broader social aspects were felt to be far more satisfactory. The husband said, 'It really is a one class society, and you get the good feeling that you needn't be ashamed of being working class—we really did feel looked down upon by bosses in U.K.—but here you can talk to anyone freely'. The wife added, 'You can talk to anyone here and everyone seems to be accepted on their merits—"I'm as good as the next person"—and we really feel that we are, now. I wouldn't put up with anyone looking down their nose at me now. In U.K., we used to try to talk differently and not drop h's, etc., when we were with the snobs, but I couldn't be bothered now. I think we've grown up a lot really'.

The husband said, 'We've never really felt settled and have been considering going back from the moment we arrived . . . We can find many unfavourable comparisons with U.K. and also some favourable ones and would like to return to U.K. to test these—but not dissatisfied positively—pretty busy—not really time to feel dissatisfied or actively discontented much of the time'. Finally the wife said, 'You know, I wouldn't say this to anyone else but I really think we'd probably come back, and be happier here—but we won't really know until we've been back'.

In reflecting on the reasons that had prompted her to come out to Australia seven years before the wife said, 'I couldn't hold out against the four of them'.

Case 265 (H8:W5): A 30 year old sales representative who emigrated with his 24 year old wife and their three children. They believed that opportunities for a better job and better accommodation were greater in Australia than in Britain. The wife's parents had already emigrated—to New Zealand.

When interviewed in 1961 they were living in a garage on their own block of land and understandably reported that their accommodation was less adequate than it had been in Britain. Nevertheless, they believed themselves to be better off in Australia and both

said they felt more Australian than British. However, the interviewer's comments read as follows: 'Knowing what he does now, this man would not come to Australia if he had his choice over again. But now that he is here he would not consider returning to U.K. He would wait a few years until better placed financially. His wife agrees with this opinion'.

Both parents reported that their children were happy and loved the outdoor life. For themselves, life had become quieter and social outings less frequent. The atmosphere of the English 'local' was missed and little joy was found in the Australian hotel which was regarded as 'quite impersonal' like an 'institution'. They particularly missed 'the feeling of having relatives and friends around'.

By 1966 they had two more sons, born in Australia, and had moved from their garage to a house on the same block. Though they both considered that their accommodation was now better than it had been in Britain they were both dissatisfied with being in that district. The interviewer noted that the wife 'thinks the area is dingy and not well cared for'. This applied to the houses and streets generally. Neither the transport nor the shopping facilities are regarded as satisfactory. There is also great concern regarding an 'undesirable element' in the neighbourhood. Most mothers are said to deliver and retrieve their young children from school because of a prowler. Though the wife still reported that she felt more Australian, the husband now said that no change had occurred in his national identity. She believed that Australians 'place too much emphasis on money and what people possess—not merely having things for their own comfort but to impress the neighbours'. Her parents had stayed with them for 18 months on their way back to Britain from New Zealand. Both of them have parents alive in Britain and the interviewer noted that 'they miss family life, in the broad sense of the term, a great deal. They spoke of the feelings of solidarity that a family and its relations provided and the feelings of deep roots in England that are absent in Australia'. Both thought that they had made the right decision in emigrating and they wanted to stay in Australia permanently.

Case 696 (H8:W8): The husband was a 39 year old self-employed builder whose original trade was that of joiner. He maintained a financial interest in the business and took only half

his capital to Australia. If Australia didn't suit he felt that he could always return. He emigrated with his wife and 13 year old son.

Because he was working for a wage in Australia he felt economically worse off and insecure. 'I have seen men put off with very little notice. In England men would get more notice. In England tradesmen are more thorough and take more pride in their work'. Though they believed that their accommodation was worse than in Britain both the husband and wife 'stated definitely that they are quite sure that they did the right thing in coming to Australia. They had never contemplated staying permanently and feel that they will not really know whether they wish to do so until they have had a trip back to England—then they will be in a better position to make comparisons. They say they are in the happy position of having money in both countries. They regard their visit to Australia as a working holiday which may lead them to make Australia their permanent home'.

When interviewed early in 1967 they had moved out of the flat where they had lived in 1961 and were living in a \$12,000 house which was completely paid off. The wife still felt that it was worse accommodation than she had had in Britain and she and her husband did not like the district because the neighbours were not friendly. The wife felt more British since coming to Australia. 'There is discrimination against the British. An Australian would always be given first consideration'. Despite these comments both of them believed that they were correct in emigrating to Australia. They had booked berths on a ship and intended to have a 12 month holiday in Britain. Both thought that they would return to Australia because their son is a 'real Aussie'.

Comments: None of the families appears to be in financial difficulties, yet in two of them the husband, wife or both indicated that they felt insecure. In 1966 the wife (Case 248) was working for a trip back to England which she recognised was to reassure herself that Australia was the better place to be. The family was saving money for this project yet the husband felt that 'The working class are better off in U.K.' and a sense of economic insecurity was implied when he went on with his comparison of Australia and Britain, 'you can't go as low as you could in Australia'. With a financial interest in the family business in

Britain and sufficient cash to pay \$12,000 for a house in Australia, money was not a root cause of dissatisfaction (Case 696) yet the fear of economic insecurity was a real one. As the husband observed, 'I have seen men put off with very little notice. In England men would get more notice'. Insecurity is not always economic, however, though when an economic component is also present the doubts and uncertainties about staying in Australia may be especially strong. Insecurity in at least two of the families (Cases 248 and 265) is closely associated with feelings of social isolation. Both families experienced feelings of loneliness and reported that they missed the closeknit quality of family life in Britain—even after almost seven years' continuous residence in Australia. Indeed, in Case 265, there is evidence that the husband had regressed in his social assimilation from feeling more Australian in 1961 to reporting no change in national identity when interviewed in 1966.

The confusion and ambivalence observable in all three families becomes apparent in the enthusiasm with which some aspects of Australia are described. The husband in Case 249 says, 'You get the good feeling that you needn't be ashamed of being working class' and his wife added, 'You can talk to anyone here and everyone seems to be accepted on their merits'. For the parents in Case 265 the satisfactions achieved by their children in Australia, and the presence of two further children born since arrival, created new ties which are not easily severed. A similar tie to Australia was shown by the parents in Case 696 who were sure that they would return to Australia after a 12 month holiday in Britain because their son was a 'real Aussie'.

The Satisfied. One question that has to be asked about the Satisfied Settlers concerns their failure to develop a stronger attachment to Australia and to Australians after having been residents for seven years. Unlike the Quasi-acclulturated immigrants they do not have the same strong desire for acceptance as fellow Australians and unlike the Identified they do not have a strong set to take over Australian patterns of behaviour. Indeed, they are, on the whole, content to retain their original characteristics and have no particular need or wish to change. When settlement is not too

difficult and personal security is not in doubt there is little incentive to identify with or become more like Australians.

Their friendship patterns are more like those of the Dissatisfied than of any other Settler type. If they have friends they are likely to be compatriots rather than Australians. Some degree of social isolation is not uncommon among the Satisfied Settlers. This may be because the husband works long hours or is geographically distant from the homes of his workmates; occasionally it may be due to a temperamentally based preference. For some, a social life of any kind may be economically difficult; to accept invitations imposes the obligation to reciprocate. Where there is little outside social life among the Satisfied Settlers, the family is often found to be closeknit and self-sufficient.

Case 022 (H6 : W1): The husband was a bookkeeper-accountant. His wife was a waitress and they emigrated with a 15 year old daughter and an 8 year old son. The husband was 40 years old and made the move because his wife wanted to be near her mother in Australia.

On arrival in Australia they were favourably impressed by the friendliness of people. They had the 'happy experience of being taken round Perth by a complete stranger they met on the bus'. When interviewed in 1961 they were living in a house in Adelaide which they were purchasing through a building society. They considered it better accommodation than they had had in Britain and they were very satisfied with the district. They both regarded themselves as financially better off. The wife reported that she felt more Australian and though the husband said no change had occurred she believed that he 'is more Australian than he was'. They both wanted to spend the rest of their lives in Australia though the husband would have liked to go back to England for a holiday at some time.

In 1966 they were interviewed at the same address as in 1961. They were still very satisfied with their accommodation and with the district in which they lived. They belonged to a social club but did not think that this sort of association contributed to their settlement. The husband said, 'We were settled anyway' and his wife added, 'I was settled from the day I got here'. When asked if the children had settled easily into life in Australia the husband's immediate response was 'Have they ever!' Though the

wife continued to say that she felt more Australian, and her husband to say that no change had occurred in national identity, he did say, 'I've changed a lot in attitude to people. I get surprised when people ask where I come from. Home is where you hang your hat. When the test match is on and my son asks how the play is going, I say "We're doing so and so"—and he asks "Who is we?"—I mean English—he means Australian'. They both wanted to stay in Australia but would like a holiday abroad. The wife wanted to go to Singapore or any country other than Britain, but the husband would have liked to visit Britain, not for a holiday, but just to see his mother and sisters.

Case 033 (H6 : W6): The husband was a 27 year old trainee biscuit cutter from Scotland who emigrated with his wife. The wife's brother and his wife accompanied them. Family ties had prevented them from emigrating sooner. They looked forward to the opportunities provided by a new life in Australia. The wife said, 'It's a new country with opportunity. We want to live as the Australians live—not take Scotland with us'.

All four of them, plus the migrant unit's teenage step-daughter, were living together in Australia when interviewed in 1961. After arrival they had considerable difficulty in finding suitable accommodation and still regarded their housing as worse than they had had in Britain. However, they were satisfied with the district in which they lived and with most other aspects of their life in Australia. Most of their friends had come from Britain and neither of them reported any change in national identity. They were not sure whether they wanted to live permanently in Australia but had considered the possibility of a holiday in Britain.

In 1966 the husband and wife were sole tenants of the same house in which the 1961 interview was held. They were buying a block of land on terms and hoped to build a house on it in twelve months' time. They still disliked their accommodation but liked the district. He worked as a foreman painter and his wife was also in employment. Though they reported an equal number of friends from among Australians and British immigrants this applied to their work situation only. 'We don't make friends easily—nobody visits us and we visit nobody'. However, they were both satisfied that they had made the correct decision in coming to Australia. The wife wanted to spend the rest of her life in Australia

but the husband thought he would like to return to Britain when he retires. 'In U.K. retirement offers more—there is no means test for the old age pension in U.K.' The husband said that he had no hobbies or other interests, 'just work to earn a living'. The wife belonged to a bush walking club and attended adult education classes.

Case 059 (H6 : W6): A bricklayer and his wife from Scotland who emigrated to Australia with their three school age children. He was 43 and his wife 38 years old. He would have liked to emigrate when he was demobbed in 1947 but his wife was not prepared to leave her family at that time. Though her mother was still alive she decided, for her husband's sake and for the future of their children, that she would go.

On arrival in Australia they stayed at a hostel for five weeks but at interview in 1961 they were in the process of buying their own house. When completed 'it will be heaven', said the wife. Both were satisfied with the district and reported that they were socially more active in Australia than in Britain. They both spent over 50 hours a month involved with a Girls' Scottish Pipe Band and most of their friends were Scottish members of this organisation. Neither felt any change in national identification.

In 1966 they were living in the house referred to above and regarded it as superior to their accommodation in Scotland. The husband said, 'We rented a council house for 11 years and had no prospect of ever being in a position to buy. This is much better'. His wife agreed. They liked the district, 'Close to beach, bus and train. We love it. I can fit in a swim most days between morning and afternoon rounds'. He worked as a postman at this time. His wife said, 'We've always lived near the sea so it seems homely—wouldn't live anywhere but here—I think we'll be here till we die'. They were still involved with the Pipe Band. 'Most of our social life centres round this . . . we spent all our spare time with relatives in Scotland. Here our friends are important and we go out visiting or have friends in at least twice a week'. Their closest friends were still among Scottish immigrants but they had contact with all nationalities—mainly at work. They explained their response of 'no change' to the question on national identity by saying 'We were too old and settled in our ways to change much. We sent a tape recording of our silver wedding party to friends in the U.K.

and they wrote back to say our voices were "the same as ever"'. They both commented adversely on Australian parties. 'They annoy us—men round the keg and wives left together—this is never the case in Scotland—people just talk to each other and the sexes mingle'.

Apart from a possible holiday in Scotland when the children are all married they would like to spend the rest of their lives in Australia.

Comments: These Satisfied Settlers appear to have made a good economic adjustment. Two of the families (Cases 022 and 059) were purchasing the houses in which they lived and the third (Case 033) was planning to build their own place in the near future. None of the families gives the impression of feeling either economically or emotionally insecure. In fact, Cases 022 and 059 both seem to have relatively buoyant attitudes and an adaptive, coping approach to the task of resettling themselves in a new country.

All three husbands appear to enjoy Australia but were still conscious of Britain as their home country. 'Home is where you hang your hat' said the husband in Case 022, but in contrast to his son he supported England in the test match, and unlike his wife he would prefer to visit England rather than some other place, such as Singapore. The possibility of spending his retirement in Britain was strongly indicated by the husband in Case 033, and the Scottish family (Case 059) were closely associated with their countrymen both in Britain and Australia.

The three families all seem to be fairly closeknit and self-reliant, though two of them were more socially active. Some social isolation was expressed in Case 033 when the couple said, 'We don't make friends easily—nobody visits us and we visit nobody'. In at least two of the families (Cases 022 and 033) the wives appear to be even more satisfied with Australia than their husbands and the evidence shows that in one of them (Case 022) the mother and the children have strongly identified themselves with Australia.

The Identified. There is an important difference between the adjustment to Australian conditions which results in some measure of socio-economic satisfaction and the adjustment which also involves a strong feeling of belonging to Australia. What seems to be added to satisfaction to achieve identification is the feeling of

being liked and accepted by Australians. Feeling accepted in Australia is assessed by many immigrants through contrast with their feelings of acceptance in Britain. For some the awareness of social class barriers in Britain and the relative absence of these barriers in Australia is the basis on which a sense of acceptance is built. For others, it is the belief that they have more friends in Australia, or that all social relations are more relaxed and informal, that leads to the feeling of acceptance. Those who come to identify with Australia are those for whom Australia has come to have more social and cultural significance or relevance than their homeland. This may show itself in the absence of ties to Britain or in the reduction of interest in British affairs or the cessation of reveries associated with the homeland. The more complete an immigrant's cognitive, affective and conative involvement in Australian life the greater the chance that he will develop the feeling of being more Australian. However, the desire to experience oneself as Australian is not enough; one must also experience oneself as accepted by Australians.

Case 049 (H4 : W3): A young couple with a 4 year old daughter. He was 26 and worked as an operator in a paper mill. His wife was aged 23. Though they both worked they said that they were getting nowhere financially. 'If people can save enough money in Australia to afford to come home in two or three years we could save enough money to stay there and enjoy life'.

In 1961 they were living in a Housing Trust house in a South Australian town and liked it better than their last accommodation in Britain. Though the economic expectations of his job had been fulfilled the husband thought that his working conditions were inferior. Both of them missed their friends and relations but had found Australians friendly and helpful after some initial coolness. They experienced many aspects of their living conditions as primitive, e.g., absence of sewerage, inadequate public transport, water restrictions, but were satisfied for the most part and believed that their decision to emigrate was correct. Their daughter was healthier; their financial position was improving and they believed that coming to Australia had increased their self-reliance.

When interviewed in 1966 they were living in the same house with two more children, both born in Australia. The eldest daughter, who was 11 years old, 'had lost her U.K. accent and

doesn't refer to U.K. at all'. The wife was now glad that she was away from relatives and expressed great pleasure at being able to make decisions. The husband said that he felt more Australian but when he barracked for an Australian team his workmates teased him. The wife had not changed her identification. Both of them reported that the relation between a worker and his boss was a more satisfactory one in Australia and both wanted to settle permanently.

Case 821 (H4 : W4): The husband aged 40 emigrated with his wife and three children. They had been nominated by the wife's uncle. Both were very keen to emigrate. The husband, who worked as a long distance lorry driver said, 'I am hoping that over there I may get more opportunity—want of schooling has always let me down—I am hoping that in Australia a man is judged for what he can do—and not what his school was'.

When interviewed in 1961 they were buying a house and felt that 'migrants in general should be able to make a go of it and be adaptable. Those that return are silly and no better off'. They both felt more British and though the husband was satisfied with life in Australia the wife was unsure. She felt that she was 'not completely accepted by Australians because she is still a new migrant—and feels some reserve towards them because she doesn't know them yet'.

In 1966 they were living in their own house. The wife, who was working when last interviewed, wanted to give it up but 'two weddings, some illness and the cost of living' had kept her at it. The husband felt more self-confident since coming to Australia. 'No-one in U.K. had any confidence in me but now I realise that I'm as good as anyone'. Most of their friends were Australian and both of them reported that they felt more Australian.

Case 863 (H4 : W4): An underground miner, aged 30, who emigrated with his wife and daughter. On arrival in Australia they stayed for two weeks in a hostel. Though their housing in 1961 was worse than in Britain, where they had left a new council house, they loved the district. 'The locality here is 100 per cent better. We were in an industrial area but here it is like Bourne-mouth or Southport'. The wife was very pleased with their daughter's progress. 'She is very happy here—looks better physically—loves the beach. She speaks Australian—uses slang'. The main changes in their way of life since arrival were attributed to the

climate which enabled them to get outdoors more. The husband remarked, 'I am becoming much more casual—like the Australians. If we walked up the street in shorts back home people would think we were crazy. We would never step out without a coat or tie'. The wife added, 'If we went for a drive on Sunday I would spend the morning getting ready—both of us would get "dolled up" even though you might end up eating fish and chips. Here I just go as I happen to be'. Later in the same interview the wife said, 'I love the heat and hate the cold. This is the most satisfying thing for me'. In speaking of Australians she said, 'I think they are wonderful people to be among once they accept you—but you have to get to know them'. When asked if they would like to spend the rest of their lives in Australia the husband answered for both of them when he said, 'Oh no! We're keen on travelling and don't like the idea of staying permanently anywhere'.

When interviewed in 1966 they both expressed the wish to stay permanently in Australia. If they returned for a holiday 'it would be just that—not a testing period or a search for confirmation'. They both reported that they had changed profoundly and said that they felt more Australian. Their daughter was thoroughly Australian and this reinforced their own changed outlook.

Comments: Feeling oneself to be more Australian than British does not come automatically with the passage of time. When, and if, it comes it is facilitated by a predisposition to change and by the very important feeling that one is accepted by Australians. This feeling of acceptance grows gradually and cannot be taken for granted. After 18 months' residence the wife in Case 821 said that she did not feel 'completely accepted by Australians' and as a result had 'some reserve towards them'. After the same time interval the wife in Case 863 said that Australians were wonderful people to be among 'once they accept you—but you have to get to know them'; again, the wife in Case 049 described Australians as 'friendly and helpful after some initial coolness'. Her husband reported that he felt more Australian than British in 1966 but it is noticeable that even at this date, after 7 years' residence, his workmates still teased him when he barracked for an Australian team.

Nevertheless, these three families had all achieved some sense of belonging and of acceptance by 1966. In part the motivation to

reach this mode of adjustment may have come about through the personal and social satisfactions that Australia offered them in comparison with Britain. Evidence of this motivation which pre-disposed them to change is clearly present in one or both adult members of each family. In Case 049 the wife said that she was glad to be away from relatives in Britain and enjoyed the opportunity to make independent decisions. Both she and her husband reported favourably on the more satisfactory relationship that existed in Australia between a worker and his boss. For the husband in Case 821 life in Australia had increased his self-confidence in contrast to the sense of inadequacy that he had felt in Britain. For the couple in Case 863, coming to Australia had reduced the constraints on their behaviour which were associated with life in a working-class industrial community. They had found that Australia provided them with a more relaxed, casual, outdoor existence which they both enjoyed enormously. They believed that Australia had changed them profoundly and they both wanted to stay permanently.

The Quasi-acculturated. The Quasi-acculturated immigrant is one who has settled in Australia and who likes it. He is satisfied and acculturated but from one cause or another no change in his national identity is reported. Though he seldom says that he feels more British, he is often conscious that he is of a different national background. Sometimes he will account for this by reference to his strong regional accent. As one Scottish immigrant said, 'I could never be an Australian—could I?' (Case 712). The complexity of the state of mind associated with non-identification is illustrated by the wife's comment to her husband when he made the above remark. 'If you went back home you'd probably like to believe that you belonged to Australia'. And speaking of herself she said, 'Even now I don't like anyone criticising Elizabeth [the town where they live] or South Australia'.

Often an immigrant at this stage recognises that he would like to be taken for an Australian but believes that Australians will not let him forget that he comes from Britain. Without the feeling that he is completely accepted as one of the group this type of newcomer may find it extremely difficult to assume a new and stable group identity. However, it can often be observed that the

desire to become more Australian is still present. Thus the motivational component of a true identification exists, which may in part account for the high level of acculturation to be found in this type of Settler.

Case 334 (H3 : W3): The husband, aged 35, worked as a goods guard for British Railways. He emigrated to Australia with his wife and four children in search of a better climate. On arrival they were astonished to discover that Perth was 'not a cowboy town as we had expected—found it all very civilised'. However, they felt that the most unsatisfactory thing about Australia was the 'deplorable' attitude of Australians to English people. 'Australians don't understand English people—Australian people resent English people and this applies at schools as well as at work . . . Australians are eager and friendly when one is running the old country down—but they can't take criticism themselves'.

In 1966 they reported that they were satisfied with the district even though it had a bad name. Due to the problem of collecting debts from some of the residents it was called 'Dodge City'. They had settled happily and wanted to stay permanently in Australia but still believed that 'Australians have a chip on their shoulders about Pommies—any other migrants but English are more readily accepted'.

Case 444 (H3 : W3): A 32 year old boot and shoe operator emigrated with his wife and four children. When first seen in Britain he said, 'Look around the room—what have we got to lose by going—it must be better in Australia—there must be a chance out there for the children'. On arrival in Australia this family went to live in a large country town in Victoria and were still there in the same house when interviewed in 1966. They had no desire to return to Britain and had settled fairly happily. As the wife said, 'I wouldn't like to move now—I have my friends round here', but she then continued, 'in some ways I miss the more serious minded aspects of life in England. People are more prepared to take short cuts (moral) in Australia—part of the couldn't care less attitude'. The husband said, 'I don't feel accepted—constantly reminded that I'm English—makes it difficult to feel Australian, because they won't let you. I'd like to be called an Australian'.

Case 707 (H3 : W3): The husband was 33 years old and had had a variety of jobs—coalminer, policeman, soldier. At the time of

interview in Britain he was a bus driver. The stated reason for emigrating was to find better employment opportunities for his daughter, aged 11, and his son, aged 9. He also looked forward to living in a better climate.

The first 9 months were spent in a hostel. Both parents worked full time but when interviewed in 1961 they were generally dissatisfied and the husband wanted to take the family back to Britain. They had found it difficult to get to know Australians and felt that they were 'standoffish'. Though the husband missed his relatives, the wife did not. She believed that a return to Britain would find them with no friends after a 'nine-day wonder period' was over. They both believed that Australians were jealous of migrant successes and that they had an underlying resentment.

In 1966 the family was living in a rented house which was felt to be less satisfactory than their previous house in Scotland. The daughter had married an Australian. The husband was satisfied with his job as a supervisor/foreman in an aluminium sheet processing factory. The wife was working full time as a clerk because they 'need the money'. They appeared to have settled successfully but the wife said she 'found it difficult to get to know Australians . . . we were treated as foreigners when we first came'. Their friends were still mainly other British settlers. Commenting on the use of the term 'Pommy' the husband said 'It's always a dig—Australians who have not travelled are the worst offenders'. He believed it was due to an inferiority complex.

Comments: The problem of achieving satisfactory social relationships with Australians is clearly present in all three families. From the viewpoint of these particular settlers it is to a lesser or greater extent the attitude of Australians that makes it impossible for them to feel any change in national identity. The wife (Case 707) still remembers that they were 'treated as foreigners' when they first came to Australia and even after seven years' residence the husband believes that to be called a 'Pommy' by an Australian is 'always a dig'. After 18 months' residence the husband and wife (Case 334) stated that the most unsatisfactory aspect of Australia was the 'deplorable' attitude of Australians to the English, and even after the passage of another five-and-a-half years they still believe that 'Australians have a chip on their shoulders about Pommies', and imply that they do not feel accepted. The most

explicit statement of the relationship between a feeling of non acceptance by Australians and an inability to think of oneself as more Australian than British is provided by the husband in Case 444 when he remarked, 'I don't feel accepted—constantly reminded that I'm English—makes it difficult to feel Australian, because they won't let you. I'd like to be called an Australian'.

The Acculturated. Most of those who became Acculturated Settlers within the period of this investigation were immigrants who welcomed Australia with enthusiasm and maintained an early predisposition to change their attitudes and behaviour whenever it was necessary to fit in with the conditions of their adopted country.

Even before arrival many of these immigrants anticipated with pleasure a way of life that they had heard about but rarely, if ever, experienced. For example, they are frequently convinced that what will suit them best of all is the kind of social freedom that Australia offers. They believe that the relaxed, easygoing approach to living is what they want, with its accompanying leisure activities of bathing, boating and barbecues. These expectations are sufficiently fulfilled so that they are not disappointed. Indeed, their actual experience of Australia increasingly confirms the satisfaction to be derived from this way of life.

Like other immigrants they appear to have their share of hardships but perhaps they worry less and work harder to overcome them. Perhaps they are lucky, too. In any event, at the end of seven years' residence the Acculturated Settlers investigated in this study were relatively secure economically and socially; the majority of their friends were Australians and they were almost unanimous in wanting to spend the remainder of their lives in Australia.

Case 092 (H1 : W1): He was a 42 year old house painter who went to Australia with his wife and three children. He had been in Australia for a time before World War II. They were dissatisfied with the district in which they lived in Britain because it lacked opportunities especially for their children. They both wanted to get away from their relatives. 'We like to be free and easy—but people here certainly aren't that'. The interviewer commented, 'In my opinion they will definitely settle'.

On arrival in Australia they stayed for a short time in a hostel. When interviewed in 1961 they were living in a house which they

regarded as worse than the one last occupied in Britain but they liked the district in which they lived. The husband's expectations for his wages had not yet been fulfilled but he still believed that the family was 'slightly better off' in Australia. He had found his working conditions better and he enjoyed the 40 hour week because it allowed more time for the family to be together. He was 'amazed at the ease with which men are put off work' and said that this 'gives a great sense of insecurity'. Both of them enjoyed the relaxed social relationships that they had entered into in Australia. The husband said, 'Relationships with boss are easy and friendly', and the wife added, 'All is much more relaxed—healthier'.

In 1966 they answered the question, 'Since arriving in Australia what has changed most in your life?' by saying 'Everything has changed for the better'. They had a house of their own: 'We bought the shell of one room—\$400 down—then gradually built around it paying off the materials as we went. For some months we had no mains water or electricity, but we were prepared to rough it'. They now felt secure because they had been able to save. 'Money can be earned here if you are prepared to work hard'.

Case 193 (H1:W1): The husband was a rubber and plastics technical representative aged 48. He and his wife emigrated with their two children. The interviewer noted, 'They will probably settle—they say they don't mind a lot of hardship and are used to uprooting themselves and going to different places'.

On arrival in South Australia they were accommodated in a hostel and remained there until they bought a house. The husband believed that he was worse off, financially, in Australia. 'I had worked up to a responsible position in U.K. but had to begin at the bottom again here'. The wife stated that the most satisfying aspect of life in Australia was 'The free and easy life—people were more friendly and not so formal'. The interviewer comments, 'This family appears to have settled very happily in Australia'.

In 1966 they reported that their financial situation was about the same as it had been in Britain. They missed nothing of their old life and thoroughly enjoyed the new. As an example of the 'free and easy' quality of life in Australia, the husband reported the following experience. 'We discovered that our new neighbours were a doctor and his family, so the wife said to me, "You'll have to straighten yourself up at weekends—you can't get around like a

tramp". So on the first weekend I dressed up in a collar and tie as I'd always been obliged to in the U.K. But when I went out in the garden I looked over the fence and I saw a barefoot man—just in shorts—no shirt at all—hosing down his car! So I went in and changed. Now he's one of my friends'.

When asked, 'On the whole would you say that you are more satisfied or dissatisfied with life in this country?' the husband replied, 'That's a silly question—I'm satisfied—but we could be satisfied anywhere—we were satisfied in the U.K. too'.

They wanted to stay permanently in Australia and would see Australia first or visit Japan rather than return to Britain for a holiday. The interviewer commented, 'This family have wide community and social interests—a busy family who have identified themselves very closely with Australia'.

Case 246 (H1 : W6): The husband was aged 36 and employed as a turner. He emigrated to Australia with his wife and one child. In explaining their decision to emigrate to Australia the husband said, 'I don't even know what made me send for the booklet on Australia—I just suddenly decided and sent for booklets on Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, U.S.A. as well as Australia. We read them and decided that Australia had the best opportunities and that the fare was cheaper than any of the others, and it all seemed so much more open and not so built up as in England. I feel there is a chance to "make good" out there, if you're prepared to work. I know I'll not get as much money when I first get out there—not at first—but I don't mind that—I'll be able to go along with a young country and not remain static as you do in England'.

On arrival in Australia this family entered a remote and somewhat isolated hostel in New South Wales and were still there when interviewed in 1961. If the husband could persuade his wife to stay in Australia he intended to buy a house eventually. Though his expectations for wages had been fulfilled they both agreed that they were worse off in Australia. He believed that the decision to come to Australia was correct and he wanted to stay. His wife wanted to return to Britain, permanently.

When interviewed by the same Australian interviewer in 1966 they were living in their own house and were very satisfied with the district. The husband was now a chargehand and they had a car.

The interviewer gave this report. 'I well remember the couple,

as the wife was so dissatisfied and unhappy at the hostel. This time, as I pulled up, the wife came out to the car and greeted me with the remarks, "I don't think you will have forgotten me—I was such a grumbler!" She assured me that she had settled down and I could see that she had. They are both very happy in Australia and have both worked hard to obtain economic security'. In retrospect the wife felt that her main adjustment difficulties had been due to the 'hostel conditions and the necessity of leaving a young child in the care of anybody who would assist me—so that I could go out to work'. The husband had disliked the hostel too, but he commented, 'I feel that the conditions motivated me to work harder to obtain our own house'.

The wife reported no change in national identity but was very satisfied with life in Australia. She said that she enjoyed the 'more free and easy life' and 'seldom wears anything more than shorts and shirt at home'. She just added on 'a pair of thongs to go shopping'. The husband described himself as more Australian and much better off and more satisfied than in Britain.

Comments: Before leaving Britain in 1959 the husband and wife (Case 092) looked forward to severing their social ties with Britain and ultimately enjoying a 'free and easy' way of life in Australia. After seven years of actual residence in Australia both of them believed that everything had changed for the better since arrival, though they had experienced their share of worries and difficulties in getting themselves re-established.

A very similar pattern can be discerned in the lives of those reported in Case 193. This family was prepared to adapt itself to new and altered circumstances before leaving Britain. After arrival in Australia there was a period during which it was necessary to put up with some lowering of their living standards. However, some compensation was obtained from the 'free and easy life' that they were able to lead and the informality of their social relationships with Australians. Nothing was missed from their old way of life in Britain.

In talking with the interviewer before departure in 1959 the husband (Case 246) indicated that he did not mind earning somewhat less for a while because the ultimate opportunities available in a 'young country would provide him with the chance to "make good"'. Despite his wife's initial unhappiness and their long stay

in an isolated hostel this faith stood the family in good stead. By 1966 they had all settled happily and, like other Acculturated Settlers, were enjoying the more 'free and easy' way of life available to them in Australia.

In this chapter the utility of the Assimilation scale has been shown by basing the selection of case histories upon it. These qualitative descriptions of the five Settler types provide a more detailed overall account of individual immigrants differing in accidental attributes and circumstances but similar in essentials. A very wide range of objective conditions (e.g., age, occupation or locality of residence) may be associated with an immigrant and his family without directly affecting his or his wife's assimilation level. The Dissatisfied Settlers appear to be in a conflict between staying in Australia and departing from it. They like many aspects of life in Australia but dislike the absence of a welfare type of state. Satisfied Settlers seem to feel more secure, both emotionally and economically, though their contact with Australians may be no greater than that of the Dissatisfied. The Identified Settlers, on the other hand, are more likely to have Australian friends and to feel accepted by them. The Quasi-acculturated Settlers enjoy Australia and have adopted some Australian ways, but they do not feel accepted by Australians. Finally, the Acculturated Settlers appear to have made themselves one with Australia; they have not only become more Australian outwardly, but feel more Australian inwardly.

Deciding to leave Australia and some of its Consequences

The following reflections were made by a middle-aged, married schoolteacher while en route to England by ship in 1967.

After living 17 years in Australia I can say that the country, on the whole, has been kind to me. I have no grumbles. I have lived well here. I found compatible work and managed to work my way through University. I suspect that this would not have been possible in England. I leave Australia with more money than when I came. I leave with a certain reluctant regret, but I feel I must go. I shall look back upon the years spent in Australia with some sentiment and certainly consider it my second country. What I look forward to most in Britain is a sense of belonging to one's own country and a greater sense of participation in local and national affairs. What I liked least about Australia was the psychological disadvantage of being a semi-foreigner. On the whole I am grateful to Australia and only hope that England will be as good to me. Sorry the marriage didn't last.

The purpose in starting this chapter on British departures from Australia with this particular quotation is twofold. First, it is necessary to stress once again that the notion of permanent settlement is a relative one and second that a departure decision is not necessarily accompanied by ill feeling toward Australia.

The notion of permanent settlement is relative to time, place and circumstances. For British immigrants leaving their homeland since 1947 with the intention of living in a Commonwealth country it has become increasingly easy financially and increasingly acceptable socially to reverse or modify any initial decision to settle permanently. Before World War II, job uncertainty and shortage

of money made it far less likely that a married man and his family would move away from their host country once they had arrived there. Most immigrants were obliged to stay even though some of them might have wished to move. In more recent years the demand for highly skilled labour has been strong in most of the advanced industrialised societies. During this same period faster and cheaper modes of transport have made it possible for larger and larger sections of these societies to travel from one place to another in search of better job opportunities and other ways of life. More information of a more reliable kind has also become available, more quickly, concerning the details of these jobs and the nature of the local communities in which they are to be found. For increasingly large proportions of migrants moving from Britain to Australia the question of permanent settlement does not arise until after they have had an opportunity to find out at first hand whether they like Australia or not. Even when they decide to stay new circumstances or opportunities may bring about a change in this decision.

It is sometimes assumed that anyone who does decide to leave Australia must be profoundly discontented with the country. This assumption is as untrue as the comparable one that emigrants to Australia must all have been profoundly discontented with Britain. Though some kind of subjective cost-benefit analysis leads some immigrants to return or move on, it is probable that only a few depart with a deep sense of bitterness and the conviction that they were conned into coming and exploited during their stay.

These comments on the quotation will be supported in more detail by reference to studies reported by Appleyard (1962), Dovey (1967), Richardson (1968) and by some comparable research on British immigrants returning from Canada (Richmond, 1967, 1968). However, unless these studies are given specific mention the results to be presented in the remainder of this chapter come from the longitudinal investigation of British immigrants already discussed. The main questions to be asked will focus upon the growth of a disposition to leave Australia, the conditions that provide an opportunity to convert this disposition into action and the consequences that follow from having returned to Britain or moved on to New Zealand.

The growth of a disposition to leave Australia

What if any are the attitudes of other immigrants and of Australians to the British immigrant who begins to think that Australia is not for him? Do these attitudes have any influence on the growth of a disposition to depart? What factors in an immigrant's experience of Australia or in his awareness of conditions elsewhere produce the motivation to think seriously of leaving? What are the differential determinants of a wish to return to Britain or a wish to move on to some other country?

The climate of departure. The results of Australian Gallup Polls conducted between 1952 and 1967 have indicated a gradual reduction in the overall percentage of the national sample who believed that too many immigrants were coming to Australia (52 per cent in 1952 and 18 per cent in 1967). Since 1968 there is evidence of a slight reversal of this trend. Nevertheless, British immigrants have always been and still are, the most acceptable national group to the majority of Australian residents. Much of this evidence has been documented by Richardson and Taft (1968) but in all the surveys of which the writer is aware none has included a question on the attitudes of Australians, British or other immigrants to the departure of immigrants from Australia. For example, what answers might be expected to the question, 'What is your first reaction when you hear that a British immigrant has decided to leave Australia?' It would not be inconsistent if the same person who believed that Australia needed more British immigrants answered this question by saying 'Good riddance'. Implicit in the desire for more British immigrants might be the assumption that they would be of the 'right type'. In saying 'Good riddance' to those who depart the implicit assumption might be that it is only British immigrants, who are in some way of the 'wrong type' who want to leave Australia. Though many other responses might be anticipated (e.g., 'He doesn't know when he's well off', 'What a waste of his or the Government's money', 'With the present cost of rented accommodation I'm not surprised', 'What a shame!'), no objective survey information is available at the present time to answer this and related questions.

Nevertheless, it is safe to assume that most people in Australia including British immigrants are aware of the following facts and

opinions. First that the government wants immigrants to come to Australia and wants them to stay. Second, that it would like all those already in the country to be helpful and considerate of the needs of immigrants. Third, that a number of British immigrants return to Britain and that some of these are said to be 'typical whingeing Poms' while others are thought to go back because their trade qualifications have not been recognised or because housing or jobs are said to be hard to obtain or for some other reason. These facts and opinions are derived from news items, feature stories and correspondence appearing in the daily press and from equivalent material provided by radio and television.

Public opinion concerning departure from Australia does not appear to be polarised along a single dimension of approval-disapproval. It is not a major public issue but seems to be largely a matter of public indifference. Opinions are sufficiently varied and lacking in intensity for an immigrant to find support, if he wants it, to bolster any decision. The implication of 'failure' is only present if his thinking makes it so or if he anticipates such an accusation from his friends and relations in Britain. The implication that he may be revoking a moral commitment to remain in Australia is, sensibly enough, seldom present as a felt pressure to stay. All in all the climate of opinion in Australia is unlikely to be a significant factor in either facilitating or inhibiting a departure decision.

Motivation to depart. The patterns of influence that converge upon an immigrant to bring about the desire to leave Australia differ in subtle ways from person to person and from family group to family group. Nevertheless, certain common patterns become apparent when the background circumstances of the different sub-types of Departers are contrasted with each other. Nothing will be said, at this stage, concerning the young single people or the older widows and widowers who comprise the bulk of the unmarried immigrants who leave Australia. It is the larger category of married immigrants that will be the focus of attention in this section and more especially the five sub-types of Departers into which they can be divided.

The Settlers and each sub-type of Departers shown in Table 8.1 were formed on the basis of questions asked during the 1966 inter-

view. Those who were interviewed in Britain and New Zealand were asked 'Do you think you may return and resettle in Australia?' As only two of the fifteen couples in New Zealand said that they might return to Australia no separate analysis of this sub-type has been attempted. Among those in Britain the numbers were larger and some important differences have been found between the influences affecting the twenty-six immigrant couples who returned to stay permanently in Britain and the eighteen couples who became unsettled in Britain and have been labelled as Potential Re-emigrants. All the immigrants interviewed in Australia in 1966 were asked whether they had been out of Australia since the previous interview in 1961. Where the husband and wife had been away, invariably in Britain, they were classified as Actual Re-emigrants. In eight other cases the wife only had visited Britain, usually for no more than a holiday.

Table 8.1 Assimilation levels (1961) of the five Departure sub-types compared with those of the Settlers in Australia

Type and sub-type of immigrant (1966)		Assimilation level (1961)								Totals	
		D		S		I		QA+A			
		f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Departers to New Zealand	H	5	38	6	46	1	8	1	8	13	100
	W	7	50	6	43	—	—	1	7	14	100
Departers who became Potential Re-emigrants	H	8	47	8	47	1	6	—	—	17	100
	W	9	50	8	44	1	6	—	—	18	100
Departers who became Permanent Returners	H	10	38	14	54	1	4	1	4	26	100
	W	9	35	14	54	2	7	1	4	26	100
Departers who became Actual Re-emigrants	H	5	36	8	57	—	—	1	7	14	100
	W	3	22	8	57	1	7	2	14	14	100
Actual Re-emigrants Wives only	H	1	12	7	88	—	—	—	—	8	100
	W	1	12	7	88	—	—	—	—	8	100
Settlers in Australia	H	47	17	149	55	44	16	31	12	271	100
	W	56	21	149	56	35	13	26	10	266	100

Note: Eight of the 52 husbands and wives who returned to Britain and stayed there have been eliminated from this and subsequent analyses because they disagreed with each other on whether to stay in Britain or re-emigrate to Australia or elsewhere.

From Table 8.1 it can be seen that apart from the holidaying wives, all sub-types of Departure were less assimilated in 1961 than those who became Settlers. (The difference is statistically significant for both husbands and wives when separate chi square tests (2 x 2)

Table 8.2 Percentage of husbands and wives in each of five Departers sub-types compared with Settlers on two measures of satisfaction with Australia (1961)

Type and sub-type of immigrant (1966)		Satisfied with life in Australia (1961)	Desire to spend rest of life in Australia (1961)
Departers to New Zealand	H	27	13
	W	27	13
Departers who became Potential Re-emigrants	H	17	—
	W	17	11
Departers who became Permanent Returners	H	35	19
	W	27	19
Departers who became Actual Re-emigrants	H	50	14
	W	29	7
Actual Re-emigrants	H	100	88
Wives only	W	88	50
Settlers in Australia	H	79	68
	W	70	60

are applied.) At that time, of course, none of these immigrants had been out of Australia since their arrival in 1959.

The results shown in Table 8.2 are similar in meaning to those shown in Table 8.1. Once again, the Departers (excluding the holidaying wives) are significantly less satisfied in 1961 than the Settlers and are less likely to express a desire to settle permanently in Australia.

Apart from those who moved on to New Zealand relatively early and the holidaying wives who left relatively late, the average period that an immigrant family stayed in Australia before returning to Britain was two years and nine months. Yet after only 18 months' residence and one year, on average, before any departures had occurred the disposition to leave appears to have been well established in a significant number of those who eventually returned to Britain.

However, it is at this point that evidence begins to accumulate for the existence of two fairly distinct patterns of motivation. The first of these patterns is typical of those who became Permanent Returners and the second is typical of those who became the Potential Re-emigrants. When compared with the Permanent Returners the Potential Re-emigrants had lived in Australia for a significantly shorter time (two and one half years or less) before

their departure. Why might this be? Let us begin by examining the kind of reasons that each gave for leaving Australia and returning to Britain. These reasons were given several years after the move was made and are inevitably distorted to some extent by the events that followed. Nevertheless, they still reflect differences which are consistent with other less biased evidence. In what follows it appears that the Permanent Returners were more often motivated by a failure to fulfil the material expectation that they had hoped to achieve in Australia.

Case 045 H: 'I was working six or seven days a week. If I had any illness in the family, I should never get on my feet again.'

W: 'No future for us as my husband would have to work such long hours to make a living.'

Case 065 H: 'I couldn't see how I could ever accumulate enough to put down a deposit on land. All our money was going in hostel expenses. I felt friendless—no one I could get advice from or confide in.'

W: 'I could see myself working full time until I was 65 and still not achieving half of what I could get in the U.K.'

Case 926 H: 'Uncertainty of jobs. I never felt secure. Couldn't settle down. No ties or roots.'

W: 'I was homesick especially at Christmas. Schooling was poor. No decent job for them when they leave school.'

The sense of being unsettled and insecure in Australia is strong among the Permanent Returners but much less apparent among the Potential Re-emigrants. Far more important in motivating the Potential re-emigrants to return were the social and emotional problems created by their being in Australia which were usually not anticipated before arrival.

Case 253 H: 'My mother kept writing to say how lonely she was. We felt guilty.'

W: 'His mother made life unbearable for us with her moaning letters.'

Case 285 H: 'I got so fed up with the hostel. My wife was rather miserable and I thought she would be better at home.'

W: 'The hostel life got me down. My sister's baby was born just when she had made up her mind to come to Australia. I thought she was going to stay in England.'

Case 768 H: 'My father died while we were in Australia. My

mother was left on her own. Then the doctor advised my mother-in-law to return because of her health. If it hadn't been for these two things we'd have been there.'

W: 'My mother's bad health. Then my two single sisters decided to come home with her and that upset me. They all left before we said that we were coming.'

In comparing the main stated reasons for leaving Australia that were given by all of the Permanent Returners and by all of the Potential Re-emigrants, significantly more of the Permanent Returner couples gave reasons associated with some specific dissatisfaction of a material kind (e.g., job, economic conditions, housing or social services) or else they made reference to one or other of them having been homesick. Potential Re-emigrants appear to have been less often economically insecure or desperately homesick but returned to Britain either because family or other ties obliged them to return or because the husband or wife wished to return for some other reason, such as the physical or emotional health of one of them.

Consistent with these general differences in motivation for return to Britain is the kind of advice that each sub-type would give to a prospective emigrant. Significantly more of the Permanent Returners stressed the importance of taking as much capital as possible and all consumer durables like furniture and electrical goods. Among the Potential Returners the stress was upon going to Australia with an open mind or with other skills or attitudes believed to be important in adapting to life in Australia such as the intention to work hard and not to criticise Australians.

Even in 1961 when both sub-types had been resident in Australia for about 18 months, more of those who were to become the Permanent Returners made an unfavourable comparison between their standard of living as it then was in Australia and their standard of living as it had been in Britain. Only 42 per cent of the Permanent Returner husbands and only 50 per cent of their wives reported that the relation of income to standard of living was the same or better than it had been in Britain. The comparable figures for the Potential Re-emigrants were 56 per cent of the husbands and 67 per cent of the wives. Again, the Permanent Returner husbands were less likely to report that their working conditions in Australia were the same or better than in Britain

(62 per cent) compared with those who were to become the Potential Re-emigrants (72 per cent). None of the differences described in this paragraph is markedly significant, but the trends are consistent with all the other evidence presented.

From disposition to action

In the early years after arrival in Australia the process of comparing what they had with what they have got is common to the great majority of immigrants. Sometimes an early decision to leave Australia may be made on the basis of these comparisons but because the opportunity is not available nothing comes of it. Though on occasion real hardship may be involved, the necessity to remain in Australia during these early years does not always produce dissatisfaction later on. Often the immigrant's overall circumstances improve to the point where the desire to leave Australia evaporates.

The question to be considered in this section concerns the social and economic circumstances associated with the actual departure of the migrants in this study. Many may be disposed at some time but few translate this disposition into action. Of all the circumstances associated with departure, opportunity is probably of the greatest relevance. This factor will be discussed briefly in relation to the single immigrants and then followed by a more detailed discussion of the married couples.

Single immigrants. It goes without saying that single immigrants are usually in a better position to leave Australia, if they want to, than are the married immigrants. Most of them are younger and have fewer emotional ties, social obligations or economic responsibilities. Of the 129 men and women who were single when interviewed in 1959 and who were interviewed again in 1966 a total of 55 per cent had married. While 65 per cent of all these single immigrants were aged between 18 and 29 years in 1959, the comparable figure for those who married was 86 per cent.

However, when the numbers returning to Britain are examined (none moved on to New Zealand) significantly more of those who remained single between 1959 and 1966 had returned to Britain and stayed there (30 per cent of the single compared with 14 per cent of those who married). This figure of 14 per cent is exactly

the same percentage as was found among those immigrants who married before coming to Australia but who departed again later.

Those who remained single after several years' residence in Australia and who did not marry or improve their standard of living or career prospects had little to hold them, and met with few obstacles if they seriously wished to leave. Those who married in Australia faced similar restrictions on their departure to those faced by immigrants who were married before leaving Britain.

Married immigrants. For most married couples and their families money is the main factor affecting their opportunity to leave Australia. If they can find the money for their fares, and preferably a little more to start life again elsewhere, they can make the move. If in addition they have developed few emotional ties or social obligations in Australia the ease of turning a disposition into an actual decision is that much greater. Occasionally an opportunity to return to their place of origin is made difficult by the circumstances under which their original emigration took place.

Financial opportunity. No matter how desperate the desire to return or move on may be, the money for fares must be borrowed, earned or available from past savings. If the decision to return is made before completing two years of continuous residence in Australia, additional finance must be obtained to repay at least some portion of the outward passage to the Australian Government.

The only direct measure of financial resources that has been used here is the total amount of capital available to an immigrant on arrival in Australia and reported by him in 1961. If the sum of \$600 or more is taken as an index of financial opportunity it appears that significantly more of the combined category of Departers (65 per cent) than of the Settlers (46 per cent) had this amount available to them on arrival. A similar finding was obtained in a shipboard study of British born immigrants returning to the United Kingdom from Australia in 1966 (Richardson, 1968). It appears that those who leave Australia come from the better off section of the British immigrant population.

Social-emotional opportunity. This aspect of opportunity has two distinct forms. One is the absence of close ties to people

living in Australia and the second is the absence of social or other circumstances at the wished for destination which might make it difficult or impossible to go there.

If an immigrant and his family do not have relatives or close friends in Australia when they arrive they are to that extent freer to depart again. This is especially true of those who emigrated without a personal nomination (e.g., the Commonwealth nominees). To have been nominated by a relative or friend in Australia is likely to increase the probability that an immigrant will think twice about actually leaving Australia, however much he becomes disposed to leave. Some sense of obligation to fulfil the expectations of sponsors who are themselves settled in Australia is likely to be felt and will tend to inhibit the making of an actual departure decision.

This line of reasoning suggests that Commonwealth nominees who have been resident in hostels during at least part of their residence in Australia should feel more free to depart than Personal nominees who were at no time in a hostel and who had at least one fairly close friend or relative in Australia when they first arrived. Evidence consistent with this hypothesis is shown in Table 8.3. Excluding the wives only category, significantly more of the Departers (71 per cent) than of the Settlers (43 per cent) had lived in hostel accommodation at some time during their first eighteen months in Australia.

It is important to note that among hostel residents who became Departers significantly more of the Short stay hostel residents (67 per cent) compared with the Long stay hostel residents (46 per cent) arrived in Australia with capital valued at \$600 or more. Among those who became Settlers the comparable figures are 35 per cent and 28 per cent. Among the non-hostel Settlers the figure is 57 per cent.

Not only do hostel residents lack close contact with relatively well settled sponsors but they are positively hindered in the development of any sense of belonging to their new country by the Little Britain atmosphere which inevitably exists in the environment of a hostel. Given the other characteristics of hostel life already discussed in Chapter 6 and the fact that significantly more of the Departers (66 per cent) than of the Settlers (29 per cent) were long stay hostel residents, it should be clear that life

Table 8.3 Frequency and percentage of married couples in each of five Departure sub-types and among the Settlers, who had lived in hostel accommodation at some time during their stay in Australia

Type and sub-type of immigrant (1966)	At some time in a hostel		Total Departers	
	f	%	f	%
Departers to New Zealand	14	93	15	100
Departers who became Potential Re-emigrants (U.K.)	10	55	18	100
Departers who became Permanent Returners (U.K.)	19	73	26	100
Departers who became Actual Re-emigrants (U.K.)	9	64	14	100
Actual Re-emigrants Wives only (U.K.)	6	75	8	100
Settlers in Australia	118	43	271	100

in a hostel may not only be related to greater opportunities to depart but may also contribute to departure motivation.¹

One final comment on Table 8.3 is worth making. Though the difference is not statistically significant, only 55 per cent of the Potential Re-emigrants had lived in a hostel at some time during their stay in Australia compared with 73 per cent of the Permanent Returners to Britain. It is consistent with what is already known about the Permanent Returners (e.g., tendency for greater homesickness) that the absence of any close personal ties in Australia is one factor in the decision to remain permanently in Britain.

At the beginning of this section a second form of social-emotional opportunity was suggested. Typically this form has reference to the migrant who might wish to return to the place from which he came. Severe unemployment or the possibility of a lawsuit

¹ Estimates of the departure rate of British immigrants from Australia range from the 29 per cent found among the present sample (the net loss is only 18 per cent when those who re-emigrated to Australia are eliminated) to the departure rate of 24 per cent calculated by Price (1971) on the basis of all British immigrants who arrived in Australia between 1 January 1960 and 30 June 1965, and who departed during the period 30 June 1960 to 30 June 1970. A departure rate of 11 per cent among the short stay hostel residents appears relatively small in comparison with these estimates, while a departure rate of 38 per cent among the long stay hostel residents is clearly very large by any standards.

against him in his region of origin might well be sufficient to deter an immigrant from making an actual decision to return. The remittance man who is guaranteed a small life income providing that he stays out of Britain, and thereby ceases to be an embarrassment to his family at home, is not entirely an historical figure though he is exceedingly rare today. In its most extreme form, of course, this problem of restricted opportunity to return is always present for many categories of political refugees.

These economic and legal barriers to return are interesting but not the focus of concern here. It is the social and emotional barriers that are to be considered though little evidence of their operation among immigrants in this study could be found. In fact only one sub-category was examined for whom this more subtle, but no less real, restriction on opportunity might have existed.

When two people of different religious backgrounds marry, their adjustment problems are often thought to be greater than for two people of similar faith. These problems seem less often associated with the direct adjustment of the couple to each other than they are with the stresses induced by their friends and relations.

If this argument were justified at all it might be expected that fewer mixed Roman Catholic/non-Roman Catholic couples would feel free to return than couples who were of the same faith. A completely adequate test of this would require careful examination of associated factors such as age, length of marriage, and strength of religious convictions. Nevertheless, the example to be described will serve as a pointer to one type of situation that warrants more study in the future.

From the 1959 interviews it was found that the sample contained fifty-nine Roman Catholic husbands and their Roman Catholic wives, nineteen Roman Catholic husbands and their non-Roman Catholic wives, and twenty-five Roman Catholic wives and their non-Roman Catholic husbands. Despite this number of mixed marriages in the sample no evidence was available from the interview material that emigration might in part have been motivated by the desire to leave a relatively stressful environment. However, it is important to emphasise that no direct questions connected with this issue were asked at any time during any of the three interviews in 1959, 1961 and 1966.

Available for analysis in 1966 were thirty-eight Roman Catholic husbands and their Roman Catholic wives, thirteen Roman Catholic husbands and their non-Roman Catholic wives and eighteen Roman Catholic wives and their non-Roman Catholic husbands. Though there is a trend for more of the mixed religion couples (59 per cent) to become Settlers in comparison with the same religion couples (45 per cent) the difference is not statistically significant.

As this trend in the predicted direction could have come about by chance no further comment is warranted other than to reiterate the need for studies which include a more detailed inquiry into characteristics of the place of origin that facilitate or inhibit a decision to return.

Consequences of departure

Of the fifteen migrant units traced to New Zealand in 1966 all were married and all but one had been residents of a hostel in Australia at some time during their stay there. Only two of the couples said that they might return to live in Australia. One husband said that he might but his wife said that she would not return. Sixty per cent of the husbands and wives agreed with each other that they were on the whole satisfied with life in New Zealand and in general the feeling toward their new country was a positive one. Most of the women made positive comments about New Zealand. Only three implied any kind of negative reaction when they stated that the cost of living seemed higher than in Australia. Only two showed any interest in the possibility of returning to Britain.

The remainder of this section will be devoted to an examination of two general questions. First, what reactions do immigrants have to the experience of living in Britain again? Second, what effect does this experience have upon the subsequent assimilation levels and tendencies toward permanent settlement of those who re-emigrate to Australia?

Reactions to living in Britain again. In his pioneering article on British immigrants returning from Australia to their homeland Appleyard (1962) makes the point that 'writers as various as Marcel Proust, and Thomas Wolfe . . . had discovered that "you

can't go home again". Contact with an environment and culture so different from Britain's had unobtrusively affected their outlook and value patterns. They saw home through new eyes and the first excitement of meeting family and friends was often followed by a period of sobering adjustment'. In anticipation of the problems to be faced by returning servicemen after World War II, Schuetz (1945) expressed a similar warning note. For the home-comer 'the home to which he returns is by no means the home he left or the home he recalled and longed for during his absence. And, for the same reason, the homecomer is not the same man who left. He is neither the same for himself nor for those who await his return'.

If the returning immigrant is hoping to take up the best of his old life once more it is almost inevitable that he will suffer disappointment. Many of those in Appleyard's (1962) study were surprised to find how much they had changed and how little their families had changed. Old friends had grown cool and were far less enthusiastic at seeing them come home than they had been at seeing them go off. Reactions to the industrial cities from which many of them had first emigrated were often ones of disillusionment. Contrary to expectation they now looked 'dirty, cold and miserable' or 'rather dull and very cramped' to many of the homecomers.

By the time that the 1966 interviews were conducted with the immigrants in the present study several years had elapsed since their arrival back in Britain. Those who intended to stay permanently in Britain had by this time made an apparently satisfactory adjustment. By definition this sub-type preferred to stay where they were rather than move anywhere else. It is of special interest to find that 70 per cent of them reported having achieved their long term housing plans compared with 71 per cent of their compatriots who had become Settlers in Australia.

Those who had left Australia more for social and family reasons in Britain than to escape from feelings of economic insecurity, were now more likely to be interested in the possibility of re-emigrating to Australia. Their adjustment to Britain appeared to be conspicuously less successful. Only 56 per cent reported that they had achieved their long term housing plans. Thirty-three per cent of the husbands and 39 per cent of their wives said that they

felt homesick for Australia compared with none of the Permanent returnee husbands and only 4 per cent of their wives.

The average weekly income of the Potential Re-emigrants was lower than that of any other sub-type and considerably lower than that of the Settlers in Australia at this time. Given the differences in background and in current circumstances it was to be expected that the Permanent Returners and the Potential Re-emigrants would differ considerably in their memories of what it had been like when they first arrived back in Britain. While recognising that distortions of memory are bound to occur under these conditions, the following quotations can still reveal something of the differences in their reactions to life in Britain on their return.

The Permanent Returners expressed delight at being back and such remarks as the following are typical of their memories.

Case 408 H: 'Wonderful. Back among familiar people and circumstances.'

W: 'I just felt good. Everything felt so homely here—just houses out there, not homes. Everything clean and fresh here, after the dust, dirt and sand out there.'

Case 472 H: 'Settled down here—job more secure.'

W: 'It's lovely here. The best country in the world. When you've been to another country you appreciate your own.'

Case 816 H: 'We're glad to be back. This country is improving every year. I now appreciate the gentleness of England. Australia is hard.'

W: 'I feel safe and really contented.'

The contrasting memories of the Potential Re-emigrants are expressed through a variety of slightly sardonic statements.

Case 608 H: 'Nothing had changed in the U.K. Climate, working conditions and pay were inferior to Australia.'

W: 'We are in a rut. I would like to have returned to Australia immediately.'

Case 768 H: 'Everything dirty. We weren't excited for a single minute on arrival.'

W: 'Distaste for everything. Everything looked so crowded and dull and drab. Now I've a home of my own I'm content.'

Case 818 H: 'Purposeless existence here. Our children are in

Australia and we find it difficult to make friends because of our age. I miss the sun.'

W: 'I miss my daughter and her children. Too many coloured immigrants in England. Don't like the winters now.'

In considering their present circumstances in 1966 there was a high level of agreement (88 per cent) between the husbands and wives in the Permanent Returner sub-type that they had made the correct decision in coming back to Britain. Only 16 per cent of the Potential Re-emigrant couples were in agreement on this matter, in fact, 61 per cent were in agreement that their decision to return had been incorrect.

As might be expected from what has been said already, significantly more of the Potential Re-emigrants (67 per cent) believed that they were worse off in Britain than they had been in Australia compared with the Permanent Returners (12 per cent). When asked a comparable question in 1961 while still living in Australia the differences had been similar in direction but had not been statistically significant. Only 44 per cent of the Potential Re-emigrants had thought that they were worse off in Australia compared with Britain, while 52 per cent of those who were to become the Permanent Returners had held this opinion. Even as early as 1961 when these data were being collected, only 22 per cent of those who remained in Australia to become the Settlers of 1966 had reported that they felt worse off in Australia than they had been in Britain.

When interviewed in 1966 it is not surprising to find that twelve out of the eighteen Potential Re-emigrant couples (67 per cent) had made inquiries about the possibility of re-emigrating. The remainder comprised couples who were uncertain about the wisdom of having returned or of re-emigrating.

Consequences of returning to Australia. A few of the married couples and their children who went back to Britain and returned to Australia were little more than holidaymakers. This is illustrated by the remembered reaction of one husband and wife who recalled their return to Britain by saying:

Case 344 H: 'Very good. Very enjoyable stay.'

W: 'Very good. A great welcome. We might not have returned to Australia if we hadn't had our return tickets.'

But for the great majority of the Actual Re-emigrants the main impressions left upon them were very similar to those of the Potential Re-emigrants. Neither the places nor the people attracted them any longer. Here are some examples.

Case 315 H: 'Horrible living accommodation in U.K. Wages poor. Number of coloured people worse than ever. Attitude was live for today and no eye to the future.'

W: 'Unpleasant attitude of take it or leave it and everyone content with any old lot they had.'

Case 378 H: 'We weren't wanted. People not interested in us. People didn't even want to see our photos.'

W: 'A great disappointment. Relatives were disinterested and in a rut.'

Case 671 H: 'Cold! People seemed to have changed. After six months we realised that our own outlook had changed.'

W: 'Dreadful climate. Sense of being "closed in" was oppressive.'

When immigrants make comments like the above and are known to have returned again to the country of their first emigration it is sometimes asserted that they will be more likely to settle permanently and will achieve a higher level of assimilation than those who remained continuously in the host country. For example, Lawless (1965) makes the large claim that Canadian immigration officials 'are unanimous in agreeing that the most adaptable migrant and the one who settles down best in Canada is the one who has had the opportunity to return to his homeland and then re-emigrate'. Even on commonsense grounds it is obvious that this assertion could not be true in the form stated. First of all are the many adaptable immigrants who settle permanently and without regrets but who have never moved out of their host country after first arriving there. Secondly, there are some re-emigrants who are rolling stones. They move backwards, forwards and across-ways to many countries within a common linguistic culture. Such migrants have been called 'transilient' by Richmond (1968) in discussing some of the British immigrants who return from Canada to the United Kingdom and then re-emigrate once more.

The argument in favour of the beneficial effects of a return to the homeland is made more plausible if it is limited to those who had doubts about the correctness of their decision to emigrate and,

in the case of the British in Australia, return to the United Kingdom to make an on-the-spot reassessment. Compared with similar immigrants who were unable to make this reassessment it would not be unreasonable to expect that more of the Actual Re-emigrants would subsequently show evidence of greater assimilation and a desire to settle permanently in Australia.

The figures presented in Table 8.4 enable a comparison to be made between four sub-types of Actual Re-emigrant and three sub-types of Settler. The key comparison between the Actual Re-emigrants and Settlers who had been dissatisfied with their decision to emigrate when interviewed in 1961 provides no support for the hypothesis that more Actual Re-emigrants would want to spend the rest of their lives in Australia when interviewed in 1966. It is not possible to provide a statistical test because the number of Actual Re-emigrants in the relevant sub-type is too small.

Table 8.4 Frequency and percentage of four sub-types of Actual Re-emigrant couples and three sub-types of Settler couples (classified on the basis of satisfaction/dissatisfaction with their decision to come to Australia, 1961) who in 1966 wanted to spend the rest of their lives in Australia

Immigrant type and sub-type	Desire to spend rest of life in Australia (1966)							
	H & W f	Yes %	H & W Disagree f	Disagree %	H & W f	No %	Total f	%
<i>Actual re-emigrants</i>								
Holidaying wives	7	88	1	12	—	—	8	100
H & W satisfied with decision to emigrate (1961)	3	60	1	20	1	20	5	100
H & W disagree about decision to emigrate (1961)	2	40	2	40	1	20	5	100
H & W dissatisfied with decision to emigrate (1961)	2	50	1	25	1	25	4	100
Totals	14	65	5	23	3	13	22	100
<i>Settlers</i>								
H & W satisfied with decision to emigrate (1961)	155	80	31	15	9	5	195	100
H & W disagree about decision to emigrate (1961)	29	50	24	41	5	9	58	100
H & W dissatisfied with decision to emigrate (1961)	9	50	7	39	2	11	18	100
Totals	193	71	62	23	16	6	271	100

Table 8.5 Frequency and percentage of four sub-types of Actual Re-emigrant couples and three sub-types of Settler couples (classified on the basis of satisfaction/dissatisfaction with their decision to come to Australia, 1961) at each level of assimilation in 1966

Immigrant type and sub-type	Assimilation level (1966)												Totals	
	D f	%	S f	%	I f	%	QA f	%	A f	%				
<i>Actual Re-emigrants</i>														
Holidaying wives	H	—	—	3	38	2	25	1	12	2	25	8	100	
	W	—	—	4	50	—	—	1	12	3	38	8	100	
H & W satisfied with decision to emigrate (1961)	H	1	20	1	20	2	40	1	20	—	—	5	100	
	W	1	20	2	40	—	—	—	—	2	40	5	100	
H & W disagree about decision to emigrate (1961)	H	—	—	3	60	2	40	—	—	—	—	5	100	
	W	—	—	2	40	—	—	2	40	1	20	5	100	
H & W dissatisfied with decision to emigrate (1961)	H	1	25	2	50	1	25	—	—	—	—	4	100	
	W	1	25	2	50	1	25	—	—	—	—	4	100	
Totals	H	2	9	9	41	7	32	2	9	2	9	22	100	
	W	2	9	10	45	1	5	3	14	6	27	22	100	
<i>Settlers</i>														
H & W satisfied with decision to emigrate (1961)	H	10	5	73	37	44	23	31	16	37	19	195	100	
	W	15	8	73	38	40	21	27	14	35	19	190	100	
H & W disagree about decision to emigrate (1961)	H	7	12	27	46	8	14	5	9	11	19	58	100	
	W	4	7	33	57	6	10	7	12	8	14	58	100	
H & W dissatisfied with decision to emigrate (1961)	H	3	16	13	72	1	6	1	6	—	—	18	100	
	W	4	22	11	61	—	—	3	17	—	—	18	100	
Totals	H	20	7	113	42	53	19	37	14	48	18	271	100	
	W	23	9	117	44	46	17	37	14	43	16	266	100	

However, there is not the slightest support for the hypothesis even when other comparisons are made between appropriate sub-types or for that matter between all the Actual Re-emigrants and all the Settlers. Whether one is an Actual Re-emigrant or a Settler the probability of wanting to spend the rest of one's life in Australia is about the same for each of the sub-type comparisons.

The same conclusions must be drawn from the results shown in Table 8.5. Whether one makes a comparison of each sub-type of Actual Re-emigrant with each corresponding sub-type of Settler or an overall comparison there is little to suggest that the Actual Re-emigrant has assimilated to any greater extent than the Settler.

It should, of course, be recognised that the Actual Re-emigrant has had less opportunity to assimilate because he has spent less time in Australia than the Settler.

The only trend in the data shown in Table 8.5 that is worthy of comment concerns the holiday wives and the Actual Re-emigrant wives who had agreed with their husbands in 1961 concerning the correctness of their decision to emigrate. Both these sub-types of Actual Re-emigrant wives tend to be more assimilated than any other sub-type of Actual Re-emigrant or Settler.

Not all of those who leave are discontented with their lives in Australia nor are all of those who remain contented. A departure decision is influenced by circumstances that exist in Britain and Australia. Sometimes a decision is influenced by circumstances that exist elsewhere as in the case of migrants who move on to New Zealand. Most Departers come from the economically better off section of the immigrant population. However, among those who return to Britain two fairly distinct categories have been found. There are those who return with the intention of remaining permanently in Britain and who were more likely to have felt economically and socially insecure in Australia. There are also those who return for health reasons or to fulfil some family obligation. Typically the members of this latter category show higher levels of assimilation while in Australia and wish to return there again after re-experiencing life in Britain.

The main purpose of this book has been to gain a more exact understanding of the psycho-social processes associated with the decision to emigrate, the pattern of change that accompanies assimilation, and the conditions that bring about a decision to leave Australia.

The behaviour and experience of British migrants in relation to Australia are enormously varied and their determinants correspondingly complex. The problem of representing this variation and complexity within an adequate conceptual framework is considerable. Some middle way has to be found between a crude oversimplified representation at one end of the scale and a complete description of all the behaviours and experiences of all immigrants at the other end. It is a problem familiar throughout the social sciences.

The framework presented in the preceding chapters is one attempt at finding an appropriate middle way and the task remains in this final chapter to bring together and discuss what has emerged from its use. First to be discussed will be the process leading up to emigration; second is the assimilation process itself and the Settler types that may result when an immigrant achieves a relatively stable adjustment at one or other of the assimilation levels; third, the process by which immigrants make a decision to leave Australia, if they do, and the variety of Departure types that have been found among them. Finally, the chapter concludes with a discussion of some practical implications that have emerged during the conduct of this psycho-social inquiry.

The decision to emigrate

The decision to emigrate from Britain to Australia in the period following World War II can be understood as one particular culturally approved solution to a wide variety of individual problems. Whether this solution is chosen will depend upon the presence of four main conditions. Depending upon the age, sex, marital status and occupation of a person the relative weight of each condition in influencing the decision may be expected to vary, but all four will nevertheless play some part.

The first of these conditions is the extent to which satisfaction with current life circumstances has fallen below some personally acceptable level. This is the energising factor which makes it more likely that the individual will pay attention to all kinds of information that might offer a solution to his predicament. The second comprises all those forces that combine to give direction to these energies and lead ultimately to the choice of Australia rather than any other country. Whether or not a developing disposition of this kind will carry over into action will depend upon opportunity. This third condition includes such factors as a lack of strong attachment to parents and relatives and the separation from locality of birth and upbringing that results from occupational and residential movements. If the motivation and an acceptable goal exist plus the opportunity, the last remaining condition is the nature of the individual's personality. The likelihood of actual emigration is increased for the person who has an extroverted tendency to solve his problems through vigorous action.

Given that these four conditions are present to a sufficient degree, an individual has implicitly and often explicitly made a firm decision to emigrate. Whether the decision results in an actual move to Australia now depends upon such technical matters as finding a sponsor, applying for an assisted passage, and so on.

The assimilation process and a settler typology

The assimilation process will be discussed first, in relation to its three aspects of satisfaction, identification and acculturation, second, in terms of its two major sequences and third in terms of the variables associated with scores on the overall assimilation scale.

The changes associated with assimilation take place at different rates for different immigrants, but after the passage of somewhere between 7 and 10 years in Australia each migrant tends to have stabilised his adjustment.¹ This phenomenon of stabilisation makes it possible to describe a range of Settler types corresponding to the different levels of assimilation. It is with a description of these Settler types that this section will conclude.

Aspects of assimilation. The general process of assimilation has been described, in detail, in Chapter 3. By way of summary it can be said that for all immigrants the key to their future relations with Australia is the level of overall satisfaction that they are able to achieve during their first two or three years of residence. Given that an immigrant feels minimally satisfied with his life in Australia other changes like those associated with identification and optional acculturation become possible.

The satisfaction aspect. The first question concerns the conditions that give rise to varying degrees of dissatisfaction/satisfaction, especially during the early years of residence. Is one more likely to be satisfied if one is a man; if one is single; if one is in a relatively low status occupation; or if one is bringing a substantial amount of money into Australia?

Information on such questions can be obtained before the migrant leaves Britain and later related to measures of satisfaction obtained after varying periods of residence in Australia. But whether significant relationships are found will depend upon the relevance of these antecedent conditions to the actual process by which a relatively large number of immigrants set about fulfilling their expectations for life in Australia. For example, a factor such as age does not always correlate with satisfaction. In some studies the sample of adult immigrants may vary in age but because all of them find social and occupational roles to play in Australia appro-

¹ Apart from the studies reported in this book some further evidence for the importance of a period of seven or more years for the achievement of a relatively stable adaptation among married British immigrants in Australia is provided by Adler (1966). Husband and wife roles were found to be unlike those in comparable Australian families during the first two years of residence but after the passage of seven or more years the majority of British immigrant families were found to be indistinguishable from Australian families.

priate to their age, their age is unlikely to correlate with their satisfaction. In other studies economic conditions in the receiving community might make it difficult for older workers to obtain employment appropriate to their skills and experience. Under these circumstances age and satisfaction might be expected to show a small negative correlation. In a study by Richardson (1971) satisfaction level showed a significant but unexpected association with age. Among the married men those in the high and low satisfaction categories were aged between 30 and 39 years while those in the medium satisfaction category were more likely to be either older or younger.

The problem exemplified in this discussion of age and its association with satisfaction applies to a greater or lesser extent to all the pre-emigration characteristics listed above. The degree of satisfaction that an immigrant will report regarding his life in Australia is dependent upon the extent to which he feels that he is making progress toward his current goals. His present aspirations may be different from those he had before emigrating, but what matters is the experience of moving toward their realisation.

Of great importance in producing this sense of progress, and the satisfaction associated with it, is the more general belief that positive or negative experiences in one's own life are usually the result of one's own actions. Confidence in one's own capacity to cope has many consequences but the finding that it is associated with the setting of realistic goals and with level of satisfaction (Richardson, 1971) is the one that is of interest here. Because adaptive capacity has such wide implications it is conceptually and empirically a more significant pre-emigration characteristic. To this quality of personality should be added some measure of social optimism. It has been found that immigrants who are more relaxed and trusting in their social relations are more likely to become satisfied than those who are not.

What of the post migration setting within which an immigrant finds himself? Not all of the circumstances of life in a new country can be anticipated. An economic recession or a variety of other social and personal calamities might lead any individual to express dissatisfaction with his life in Australia and the wish that he had not emigrated. Having the capacity to cope may be irrelevant if one is not motivated to cope.

A number of findings can be interpreted in terms of their power to reduce an immigrant's drive to make a go of things in Australia. Where an immigrant reports that his parents were not in favour of the move to Australia he, and often she, is less likely to feel satisfied particularly during the first two or three years of life in Australia. If in addition a close bond exists between the migrant son or daughter and parents left behind in Britain each small event that works out badly for the immigrant has a high probability of evoking the thought of a disapproving parent saying 'I told you so'. It may not require many experiences of this kind to undermine the morale of some immigrants so that they begin to doubt whether the decision to come to Australia was correct in the first place. For the married woman in particular, experiences of this kind may seriously undermine the desire to settle. She is less likely than her husband to have been the driving force behind the decision to emigrate. Sometimes she comes to Australia because that is where her husband wishes to go and not because that is where she wishes to go. Though she may be content to go where he goes her degree of emotional investment in Australia is likely to be less than his. That the wife is exposed to more conflict of loyalties than the husband is implied by several findings. For example, the finding that rate of decline in writing letters to friends and relatives in Britain is more rapid for husbands than for their wives suggests that the tie to Britain is likely to be stronger for the wife. It has also been found that significantly more wives than husbands report experiences of homesickness. When a man is aware that his wife is dissatisfied with her life in Australia he is more likely to say that he wants to return to Britain. A strong desire to settle can be easily weakened when active or even passive forms of resistance to settlement are manifested by an immigrant's wife or children. This may be increased where there are many school age children in the family because of the greater economic and emotional stress that this can produce for parents during their early years of residence in Australia. For example, accommodation for a large family is likely to be more costly and more difficult to obtain. There is evidence to show that as the number of children in a family increases the satisfaction level of parents goes down, at least during the early period of resettlement.

Because the work life of a man occupies a large amount of his time and energy as well as providing a major source of his self-esteem, failure to find suitable employment can become a serious obstacle to overall satisfaction. Where methods of work are perceived as different from their counterparts in Britain or where working conditions are felt to be worse than in Britain dissatisfaction with the job and with life in Australia as a whole is highly probable. It is not always within a man's power to alter these conditions and just to accept them by way of adapting to the situation may have very little appeal. On the more positive side it may be said that satisfaction with life in Australia comes about for the majority of immigrants when they feel that their standard of living has been at least maintained and preferably improved since coming to Australia. Because the chances of improving their standard of living are better for those immigrants who enter Australia at the lower occupational and educational levels it is not surprising to find that after seven years of residence these variables show a small but positive correlation with satisfaction.

The identification aspect. Though a measurable minimum level of overall satisfaction is the necessary foundation on which all other changes can be built, identification may be regarded as the key to permanent settlement. It does not guarantee permanent settlement, as in circumstances like those of the Potential Re-emigrant Returners discussed in the last chapter, but the probability that a husband and wife will wish to spend the rest of their lives in Australia is closely associated with measures of identification.

What are the conditions known to be associated with the growth of a strong attachment to Australia? For the husband a shift in national identity is more likely to occur if he is younger rather than older. For the wife the existence of parents who approved of her move to Australia is once again of importance. Apart from these background conditions which may predispose towards the acceptance of a new national reference group, it is probably the close mixing with Australian born residents that is the direct agent of feeling more Australian than British. Where most of an immigrant's friends are Australian and/or he mixes more with Australians than with any other national group, there is a much greater likelihood of becoming attached to Australia and Austra-

lians. It is when an individual feels that he is not accepted by Australians or for some other reason, such as prolonged residence in a hostel, or lack of motivation, as may occur with low levels of satisfaction, that identification with Australia is least likely to take place. Without close contact with Australian born residents under conditions of mutual attraction (friendship) it is difficult for the background differences of immigrant and Australian to be forgotten or at least ignored. Contact under non-conflict conditions, where the participants are equally dependent on each other, neither one having more power than the other, increases the likelihood of viewing one another as similar. Because the country in which this relationship develops is Australia and not Britain the Australian will be more likely to view the immigrant as like other Australians and the immigrant will come to feel accepted as an Australian. If the immigrant wishes to emphasise his British origins and does not want to identify with Australia, acceptance by Australians, if and when it occurs, may be pleasant but will not have much effect on his national identity.

The acculturation aspect. Some time was spent in Chapter 3 considering the varieties of acculturation—obligatory, advantageous and optional. The optional variety has been of chief concern in the measurement of overall assimilation levels and little attention has been paid to the relationship between all three varieties. The theoretical reasons for emphasising optional acculturation were discussed in the earlier analysis but the empirical relationships between different measures of all three varieties needs further exploration. In the Richardson (1961) study active vocabulary scores from the slang test (optional acculturation) were not associated with scores on an Australian norms test. Largely on the basis of his studies with non-British immigrant groups, Taft (1965) writes,

The aspects of acculturation considered have been concerned with the acquisition of cultural knowledge, linguistic skills and the adoption of new behavioural norms and habits. The intercorrelation of these measures is not quite as high as those for the satisfaction and identification variables and they seem to divide into one cluster of education-linguistic variables and one or more clusters of the non-verbal aspects of the culture such as food and dress habits (p. 68).

Though identification measures are more highly correlated with optional acculturation than are the satisfaction measures, optional acculturation can occur without identification.

Of particular importance for the emergence of relatively high levels of acculturation, of whatever variety, is the opportunity to immerse oneself within a great number of social settings in the host society.

Evidence for the propensity to take advantage of these opportunities, among British immigrants, has accumulated from many sources. Acculturation scores (active vocabulary) are positively associated with length of residence, high scores on a sociability test, with having had three or more changes of residence since arriving in Australia and having changed employers on at least two occasions since arrival (Richardson, 1961). The evidence has shown that after seven years of residence in Australia acculturation scores (active vocabulary) are positively correlated with the number of organisations, clubs, societies and associations to which the husband belonged in Britain. For the wife a positive correlation was found between acculturation and the number of times that her husband had changed his job in Britain.

It is not surprising that immigrants who have become highly acculturated and who manifest these other characteristics of social activity should also be self-reliant and predisposed to change. As Taft (1965) observes 'The more acculturated immigrants rate themselves as finding it easy to make the changes necessary to settle down in Australia . . . They tend to be persons who actively order their lives' (p. 69). Further support for the association between acculturation and these personality qualities is provided by Hartley (1958), who showed that the acceptance of new reference groups and the adoption of their norms occurred more readily in the cosmopolitan personality who possessed the capacities and skills necessary for coping with varied social situations. Ziller (1965) describes the cosmopolitan as a xenophile, one who 'is not grossly nostalgic or sentimental; is liberal; in perception and concept formation characteristically employs wide category width, and a large number of categories rather than dichotomous divisions; views the world positively; tends to be a risk taker; is not cynical; and is not prejudiced' (p. 179).

Major sequences of assimilation. The terminal stage in most theories of assimilation (Price, 1969) occurs when relevant socio-cultural characteristics, which initially distinguish immigrants from their hosts, have disappeared and relevant socio-cultural characteristics of importance to the hosts have been adopted. This terminal stage has been called acculturation in the theory presented here, or more precisely, optional acculturation, and the relevant socio-cultural characteristic most often employed in the empirical studies of British immigrants has been the spontaneous usage of Australian slang words and phrases within their appropriate social contexts. This linguistic measure has been regarded as an especially important mark of high level integration—of having become like the Australians with whom one interacts.

To give a very approximate idea of the numbers of immigrants who become either Quasi-acculturated or completely Acculturated after two different periods of residence the following percentages have been taken from the longitudinal study already discussed. After approximately 18 months of continuous residence in Australia about 11 per cent of married men and women have become like Australians in this culturally relevant way. After seven years of continuous residence this figure has increased to about 30 per cent. Further residence may be expected to increase this percentage very slightly but it is likely that the majority of adult British immigrants remain recognisably non-Australian throughout their lives. Full assimilation by the criteria used in this book, and by the criteria used by other students of the assimilation process, is relatively infrequent for adult members of the generation that first arrives in the host country or in the case of non-British immigrants, even for their children (Johnston, 1969).

But the question to be discussed here concerns the process by which assimilation takes place when it does occur. By process is meant the sequence of stages through which an immigrant may pass in his progress towards it. Full assimilation exists when the immigrant arrives at the acculturation stage by way of satisfaction and identification. But of those who were Acculturated after seven years' continuous residence in Australia only 55 per cent followed this complete sequence while the remaining 45 per cent followed an incomplete sequence in which identification was absent (i.e., Quasi-acculturated). Those who become acculturated without prior

identification are still satisfied but not as satisfied as those who are fully assimilated and who show the complete sequence of satisfaction-identification-acculturation.

It has been suggested in several places in the preceding chapters that a set to become like Australians may account for the acculturation which has been arrived at without benefit of full identification. Though a set to become like the Australians in one's groups is part of the concept of identification it has not been part of the operational measures employed. Measurement of identification has usually been attempted by classifying answers to a question on national identity, but a person may have a set to become like Australians without reporting any change in his actual feelings of identity. If in addition he is constantly reminded in one way or another of his original national identity it may become almost impossible to start forming a new national identity.

Because the incomplete sequence of satisfaction-acculturation implies a lower level of assimilation than the complete sequence of satisfaction-identification-acculturation it has been scored lower on the assimilation scale employed in the correlational data to be discussed in the next section. Dissatisfaction has been scored one (1), Satisfaction scored two (2), Identification scored three (3), Quasi-acculturation resulting from the incomplete sequence scored four (4), and Acculturation or full assimilation has been scored five (5).

Correlates of assimilation. Apart from the factors that have been found to facilitate or inhibit movement from one particular stage of assimilation to another the question arises as to whether there are any independent variables that have a linear correlation with overall scores on the assimilation scale. By an independent variable is meant one that is not directly concerned with the measurement of assimilation or one of its aspects. Background variables measured prior to emigration are most likely to fit this criterion but only three have been found that have significant though small correlations with assimilation level. The results summarised in this section have been taken from the longitudinal study.

For the married men whose level of assimilation was measured after approximately 18 months' residence in Australia, a small but significant negative correlation was obtained between number of

accommodation changes experienced in Britain since being married and scores on the assimilation scale. This correlation does not implicate length of marriage in any obvious way. For example, age does not correlate with assimilation level. However, many sets of circumstances can bring about a large number of accommodation changes, including the desire to be near a close relative, the search for more congenial or better paid work, avoidance of accumulated debts or a strong personal need for change. Whatever the circumstances that cause people to move frequently, a common outcome is a reduction in the strength of attachment to any particular place. However, among immigrants who remained in Australia this characteristic ceases to be relevant beyond the early years of settlement. Why it should be relevant at all is not clear and the possibility always exists that the correlation obtained is a chance event. However, it is also possible that those who have moved house most frequently in the past feel that their Australian accommodation and perhaps Australia itself represents no more than another temporary stopping place. If this interpretation were close to the truth then those immigrants who had moved most in the past might feel less concerned to change their outlook in any way. Those who have moved least, on the other hand, may feel the need to make greater efforts in the direction of adaptation and settlement, but as the years pass these initial differences in approach cease to have any bearing upon the assimilation process. If they remain in Australia some form of more or less stable adjustment is achieved by the majority of immigrants and the attitudinal implications of different levels of pre-emigration residential mobility disappears.

Another factor of early significance to the assimilation level achieved by a married man is the extent to which he received the blessing of his parents at the time that he decided to emigrate. The greater the probability of parental approval obtained prior to emigration the higher the level of assimilation after about two years of living in Australia.² In discussing the aspects of assimilation earlier in this chapter it was noted that parental attitudes to

² A similar finding has been reported by Heiss (1969) who found that where a man's wife and parents had favoured the move, assimilation of Italian migrants in Western Australia was facilitated.

the migration decision were relevant to initial satisfaction with life in Australia and to the probability of becoming identified with Australia. It may well be that an absence of parental approval both for the husband and the wife has the effect of decreasing the strength of motivation to develop overstrong ties to Australia during the first few years of residence. Beyond this period parental attitudes appear to lose their power to influence assimilation level in any marked manner.

The one circumstance showing a progressively strong relationship with assimilation level after the passage of seven years' continuous residence in Australia is the amount of formal social life engaged in by a husband and wife before leaving Britain. The greater their level of participation in organisations, clubs, societies and associations in Britain the higher their level of assimilation in Australia. This predisposition towards high levels of social participation, and perhaps the higher degree of social skill and social interest associated with it, may have gradual consequences for assimilation level that increase in significance as the years go by.

A settler typology. For present purposes a Settler may be defined as an immigrant who has remained continuously in Australia for a period of seven or more years. For the sample analysed and discussed in Chapters 5 to 8, 75 per cent of those who arrived as married couples fulfilled this criterion; followed by 67 per cent of the single men who married after arrival, 66 per cent of the single women who married after arrival, 52 per cent of the single men and 45 per cent of the single women.

By a typology is meant a classification of Settlers in terms of the more or less stable assimilation levels that each immigrant has achieved after seven years of continuous residence. This typology is equally applicable to all immigrants. However, the brief interpretative summaries that have been given below only refer to the characteristics of the married men and women.

Though the five Settler types correspond with the five levels of assimilation defined by the assimilation scale the purpose of the typology is to emphasise the cluster of personality and situation characteristics that best describes each type rather than to emphasise the process by which they got that way.

Dissatisfied Settlers. This type of Settler occurred with less frequency than any other—7 per cent of the men and 9 per cent of the women. However, there were 60 per cent of the former and 57 per cent of the latter who were not prepared to commit themselves to Australia for the rest of their lives. In fact, no other Settler type had such a large percentage of married couples who either wished to leave Australia permanently or were unsure what they wanted to do.

Settlers of this type were unlikely to be worse off financially than any other type but concern with economic security was likely to be a major source of anxiety. The emotional security offered by the British system of social welfare had not been forgotten and was often contrasted with the bleak outlook for them in Australia if anything seriously affected their present earning capacity. Sometimes these anxieties had a realistic basis in experiences of hardship associated with ill health or unemployment but sometimes they seemed to result from a more general predisposition to anticipate calamities that might never happen. It is of particular relevance to note that 75 per cent of the men and 65 per cent of the women had regressed from some higher level of assimilation existing in 1961 to become Dissatisfied Settlers in 1966.

Perhaps the most characteristic state of mind among these immigrants was one of confusion. This is reflected in a wide variety of attitudes. The wife may have been critical of the quality of her accommodation or have complained about the difficulty of finding work for women. The husband was more likely to find fault with some aspect of his working conditions. Both were likely to believe that Australians do not accept immigrants easily and this added to their general feelings of being unsettled. Sometimes these feelings were increased by a more general sense of social isolation and exacerbated by the memory of a closeknit circle of relatives left behind in Britain.

Confusion regarding future plans was common and the fact that these immigrants found many things which still attracted them to Australia merely added to their difficulties. For example, they may have reported that the weather is enjoyed more than in Britain and have expressed approval of the more egalitarian social attitudes that prevail in most parts of Australia. As the majority of them had felt more satisfied at an earlier stage, a potential

reminder was always present that Australia might still have something to offer them.

Satisfied Settlers. This type of Settler was by far the most frequent to be found among the married immigrants who had been continuously resident in Australia for a period of seven years. Forty-two per cent of the married men and 44 per cent of their wives were of this type. In contrast with the Dissatisfied Settlers they were likely to have a greater capacity to cope with their problems and a higher level of success in working constructively toward their resettlement goals. They were not only better off in a material sense since coming to Australia but they were likely to enjoy many of the less tangible qualities of their local community such as the informal pattern of social life.

They appeared to be secure enough in their old identities to make a change in national identity unnecessary. A practical commonsense approach to life in Australia characterised this type of immigrant. They did not have especially strong needs to be accepted by Australians or to change themselves in the direction of becoming more Australian in their ways. Nevertheless they did not resist making changes when change is seen as relevant to successful adjustment. The fact that their younger children were becoming Australians and their older children were marrying in Australia helped to provide them with a sufficient sense of belonging to compensate for the absence of a strong attachment based upon personal identification with their new country. Local loyalties to football teams and other groups are often strong and provide further ties to the place where they live within Australia.

Identified Settlers. Only 20 per cent of the married men and 17 per cent of their wives had stabilised their adjustment to Australia in this way but the probability of wanting to remain for life was as great as among those who had stabilised their adjustment at higher levels of assimilation. The Identified Settler was more likely to be predisposed to change before arriving in Australia and seven years after arrival he felt that he had changed. This type of Settler believed that he was accepted by Australians and that he had become one of them. Being less likely to have family ties in Britain there was less basis for any division of loyalties. Britain was a long way away and home no longer. Australia was being enjoyed in the

here and now and provided the ever present context for many and varied satisfactions. In fact the Identified Settler might be regarded as a super-satisfied immigrant who also felt more Australian because he was accepted and because he now recognised Australia as home. Increased dependency on Australia had enhanced the sense of being Australian. Perhaps because these conditions provided a sufficient basis for a stable settlement to have occurred there was less necessity to adopt the more expressive qualities of the Australian character associated with the concept of optional acculturation.

Quasi-acculturated Settlers. After 7 years of continuous residence 13 per cent of the married men and 14 per cent of the married women were of this type. Their main material aspirations had been achieved or were on the way to achievement and altogether 84 per cent of the husbands and 76 per cent of the wives hoped to spend the rest of their lives in Australia. Perhaps the only major source of difficulty for the Quasi-acculturated Settler was in the area of social adjustment.

It is not that they had no friends or no social life. Their difficulty was a more subtle one. Many were likely to have been strongly motivated to pass as Australians and not be treated as immigrants. Some realised that because of a strong regional accent or for some other reason it was impossible to pass in this way but they would still have liked to be less conspicuously different. To be accepted as an immigrant is not enough when someone wants to feel accepted as a fellow Australian.

When this type of Settler had children, as most of them had, the fact that their children were becoming typical young Australians in speech, manner, interests and outlook served as an ever present reminder that they had been unable to cross this particular socio-cultural bridge themselves. Perhaps it was because of these social adjustment difficulties that their overall satisfaction level was below that of the Identified and Acculturated Settlers.

Acculturated Settlers. The remaining 18 per cent of the married men and 16 per cent of the married women were of this type. They had made an extremely stable and happy adjustment. Australia appeared to have provided them with the kind of environment

conducive to the fulfilment of many potentialities that were latent in Britain. For this reason many of the inner and outer changes that had taken place might have required somewhat less active adaptation than the changes wrought in other Settler types. They had fitted into the social and cultural patterns of Australian life with a minimum of difficulty because the changes required had often involved a natural extension of their pre-emigration personality characteristics.

They felt Australian and in many ways they were Australian. The relaxed easy going social life had suited them well. Their qualities of energy and self-reliance had helped them to achieve a satisfying degree of material progress. Apart from possible holidays abroad, often in countries other than Britain, 96 per cent of the married men and 93 per cent of the married women looked forward to spending the rest of their lives in Australia.

The decision to depart

During the seven year period of the study discussed in Chapters 5 to 8, 71 per cent of the entire sample were Settlers and 29 per cent were Departers. This 29 per cent comprised 15 per cent who returned to Britain and who were still there in 1966; 11 per cent who had returned and re-emigrated to Australia; and 3 per cent who had moved on to New Zealand.

When those who first arrived in Australia as married couples are examined separately 76 per cent were found to be Settlers and 24 per cent Departers. This 24 per cent comprised 14 per cent who returned to Britain and stayed there; 6 per cent who returned and re-emigrated to Australia; and 4 per cent who had moved on to New Zealand. The 14 per cent who returned and stayed in Britain comprised 7 per cent who wanted to remain permanently in Britain; 5 per cent who wanted to re-emigrate to Australia and 2 per cent who were uncertain or in disagreement between themselves. Departers are less likely than Settlers to have had close friends or relatives in Australia before their arrival.

For the seven year period under discussion the net loss to Australia for the entire sample (i.e., all migrant units interviewed in 1966) amounts to 18 per cent. A more detailed analysis shows that loss rates vary according to the sex and conjugal condition of an immigrant on first arrival in Australia. The order from lowest

to highest loss is as follows: single women who marry after arrival in Australia (13 per cent), single men who marry after arrival in Australia (15 per cent), couples who are married before arrival in Australia (18 per cent), men who remain single (20 per cent), and women who remain single (37 per cent).

A departer typology. In constructing a Departer typology the most fundamental distinction to be made is between the Returners and the Advancers. These immigrants who go back to Britain at some time during the seven years that the Settlers stayed in Australia (Returners) differ from those immigrants who move on to some other country and settle there during the same period (Advancers).

An immigrant who moves on is still searching for an environment that will provide a greater degree of congruence with his particular combination of needs, interests and values. However, the available evidence from those who moved on to New Zealand suggests that many do not give themselves much opportunity to evaluate Australia before making their departure decision. By contrast, an immigrant who returns to his homeland is less likely to continue searching for an environment closer to his ideal but has more often limited his choice to either Britain or Australia.

Adult immigrants of any age and of both sexes may belong to either Departer type, but as before in presenting the Settler typology, interpretative summaries will be given only for those who first arrived in Australia as married couples with or without children.

No more will be said about the Advancers because relatively little information is available for this type of Departer. For the Returners, however, far more information has accumulated. This has led to the identification of the three sub-types described below.

Permanent Returners. Members of this sub-type emigrated to Australia with the approval of their parents and with the hope of improving their standard of living. After about 18 months in Australia they were likely to describe themselves as relatively well satisfied. But though they persisted in their attempts to achieve economic and social security for a couple of years or more beyond this time, they finally decided to cut their losses and return to Britain. They were not likely to be effective social mixers and in

fact they had little contact with Australians during their stay. Nostalgia for Britain became strong and attachment to Australia was weak.

What appeared to draw them back to Britain in the end was the economic security provided by the Welfare State and the social and emotional security provided by their closeknit extended family. When interviewed in Britain after several years of renewed residence they expressed their satisfaction at being back and had no wish to emigrate anywhere else ever again. In comparison with the Settlers who remained in Australia continuously throughout the seven year period no differences were found in the level of economic achievement reached.

Potential Re-emigrants. Though less likely than the Permanent Returners to have emigrated with the approval of their parents the members of this sub-type were likely to have been relatively well satisfied with the amount of progress that they had made after 18 months' residence in Australia. Like other Returner sub-types, however, these satisfaction levels were likely to be below those of the Settlers. Nevertheless they had made Australian friends and had formed some degree of attachment to their new country.

The decision to return to Britain was probably taken with reluctance but ill health or more often family pressure or obligations in Britain had forced them into an early return. When members of this sub-type of Returner were interviewed on board ship en route to Britain they manifested significantly more symptoms of anxiety than the members of any other sub-type.

After arrival it did not take long for the majority of them to develop feelings of homesickness for Australia; Britain disappointed them. In comparison with Australia it often appeared colder, dirtier, smaller and generally more depressing than they had expected. They did not resettle easily but could not afford to fulfil their wish to re-emigrate to Australia. On the whole they were likely to be worse off in material terms than the Permanent Returners in Britain or the Settlers in Australia.

Actual Re-emigrants. When the members of this sub-type first arrived in Australia they were better off financially than any other Returner sub-type and considerably better off than those who

eventually became Settlers. The decision to return to Britain was prompted by a desire to see their families once again and was often recognised as a holiday visit. Many of them had bought their return tickets before they left Australia and the majority of them expected to return there eventually.

The reception received from their friends and relations did not stimulate a desire to stay permanently. For the most part they found that few people were interested in their migration experiences. When this disappointment was coupled with the more material discomforts of cold and wet weather the majority of them were pleased to return to Australia. Nevertheless the fact that they had had an opportunity to reassess the correctness of their original migration decision had no tendency to increase their level of assimilation or their intention to live permanently in Australia.

Some practical implications

It is naturally hoped that the contents of this book will be of use to those who share the author's theoretical interests. Perhaps it is not too much to hope that it may also be of some use to those who in various ways have administrative responsibility for the welfare of migrants or face to face contact with them as relatives, friends, acquaintances or as members of the various 'helpful' professions.

In this section some consideration has been given to the problem of what can be done before departure and after arrival to reduce unnecessary hardship and to assist the immigrant and his family to achieve a relatively comfortable resettlement in Australia and a prolonged and satisfying life there.

Countries like Australia, Canada and New Zealand still want immigrants, particularly from Britain, for reasons of economic development and to a lesser extent for political reasons such as national defence. Less obviously, but in many ways more importantly, immigration helps to create a social and cultural context in these countries which is sufficiently rich and complex to satisfy the varied interests, actual and potential, of all the inhabitants, immigrants and native born alike.³

³ See the papers in Wilkes's (1971) book for the arguments for and against the continuation of large scale immigration to Australia.

Individuals who are considering the possibility of emigrating, and who need to decide which country they will choose, require information relevant to such matters as jobs, housing, social services, schooling and the rest. Over the years increasingly detailed and up-to-date information on these matters has been provided by the official agencies of these countries. If a potential emigrant finds that he is eligible to go to these or other countries he makes his choice either to stay at home or to emigrate. Every individual must take responsibility for his own choice and the consequences that follow from it. Equally, every person who has either official or unofficial dealings with anyone considering migration or with anyone who has already migrated must take responsibility for the provision of information which is accurate and relevant.

The problem of ensuring that the information retains its accuracy when communicated is, as always, a very great one. Hearing only what one wants to hear, and misunderstanding even that, can occur with surprising ease at any time. When it occurs in the context of a migration decision it can serve as the basis of later disappointments. It is easier to state the problem than to guard against it. One migrant and his family were surprised and not very happy when they found themselves in a country town more than one hundred miles from Melbourne. When interviewed earlier in Britain the immigrant had been told by an employer that the job was in a country town 'just outside Melbourne'.

To some extent the emigrant is buying a pig in a poke. He cannot know for certain what will happen in the future whether he stays in Britain or whether he emigrates. Whatever his decision some things will happen which cannot, rationally, be attributed to it. He and his family will get older and the consequences that follow from this fact may be exacerbated if he decides to emigrate, but the main psychological, social and economic changes would have occurred anyway. Sometimes they would have been exacerbated had he stayed at home. The potential emigrant justifiably demands from official sources accurate information of the kind mentioned above. If he is wise he seeks other evidence from other people on the spot. For example, he may obtain Australian newspapers or write for specific information or opinions to town clerks, chairmen of chambers of commerce, secretaries of trade unions or

whomsoever else his initiative and ingenuity may suggest. Ultimately the potential emigrants must make their own decision and their motto should be *caveat emptor*. But the knowledge on which a decision is based should include self-knowledge in addition to all other kinds.

Psychological preparation is as necessary as any other kind of preparation for the experiences that lie ahead.⁴ Accurate knowledge can facilitate the 'work of worrying' so that each emigrant arrives in Australia with a set of well considered reality based assurances concerning his capacity to cope under most of the circumstances that he will encounter.

The work of worrying is a procedure much discussed by Janis (1958) as a desirable mode of preparation for a variety of stressful situations. Intending emigrants might be considered as somewhere on a continuum of anticipatory fear. At one extreme are those who are insufficiently anxious concerning their problems of resettlement (low anticipatory fear). They believe that they will be relatively unaffected by the changes in their life situation. They are likely to ignore information that might unsettle their over-optimistic expectations. Unless they can be helped to develop a slightly higher level of anticipatory fear, emigrants of this kind might be expected to express resentment against Immigration officials and agencies in Britain and Australia as soon as they meet with any difficulties or setbacks. The arousal of reality based anxiety and mental rehearsal (the work of worrying) of a variety of difficulties and their possible solution reduces the likelihood that actual adverse events will be experienced as severely stressful if and when they occur. At the same time realistic reassurance can be provided for intending emigrants by helping them to realise the kind of assistance that they can expect on arrival in Australia and the kind of things that they can do for themselves.

Among the majority of emigrants who experience moderate anticipatory fear the mental rehearsal of potentially stressful events is

⁴ Interest in ways by which an intending sojourner can be helped to make a satisfactory adjustment in his prospective host country is increasing (Fiedler, Mitchell and Triandis, 1971; David, 1972). Some of these ways may provide useful models for use in the preparation of intending emigrants. For example, the various organisations to which future emigrants to Australia can belong in Britain might be able to run preparatory courses which would incorporate some of the cultural training procedures suggested by these writers.

likely to occur spontaneously. But even for this majority group some help may be required in providing reality based reassurance to counteract the effects of reality based anxieties. These emigrants are 'part time worriers' who occasionally have disquieting thoughts about crises that might arise but on the whole feel competent to cope with them.

At the other extremity of the continuum are those who anticipate a great number of dire events which they may be unable to cope with successfully (high anticipatory fear). They usually have a history of anxiety reactions and the main task is less to stimulate the work of worrying than to reduce the level of anxiety to the point where the worrying can be carried out effectively.

Though no attempt to apply this type of analysis to the migrant situation has been tried in any formal way, its potential for counselling different categories of intending emigrants might well be explored. The work of worrying has already proved especially effective in preparing patients for the stress of surgery (Egbert, Battit, Welch and Bartlett, 1964). It would be of great value if it could be successfully developed to help immigrants cope with the stress of being separated from their homeland and involved in an entirely new set of social and economic circumstances in Australia.

Before departure from Britain. In a study of 722 foreign born immigrants in Brazil (Ginsberg, 1964) one sub-category was labelled 'maladjusted' and described as comprising persons 'who dislike their new environment and who stay in the country only through inertia . . . or economic necessities. They consider everything in the new country inferior to their homeland. They leave the country as soon as they have an opportunity'. Based on inferences drawn from the results of projective techniques these immigrants were reported to have the following characteristics: 'inferior flexibility . . . difficulties in the accomplishment of their plans, affective immaturity and strong dependence on their environment . . .'. The study concluded with the recommendation that 'candidates for emigration should be submitted to intelligence and personality tests [and that] individuals who due to their mental level or to personality problems, will probably fail to show sufficient flexibility to get adjusted, should not be allowed to emigrate'.

What is being advocated in this Brazilian study is the use of a psychological selection procedure to ensure that those who arrive in the host country have a reasonable chance of settling satisfactorily. It is an appealing idea but not a very easy one to implement. Apart from the more obvious political and administrative difficulties in extending the existing selection procedure to incorporate the psychological testing of all applicants for assisted passages to Australia, the technical problems are formidable.

Any psychologically based selection program requires a detailed analysis of the task to be performed. When this has been completed the aptitudes, abilities and interests necessary to successful performances can be specified and tests developed to measure them. Selection is a screening process usually followed by a period of training designed to develop the person to the point at which he can perform the task at above the minimum level of satisfaction to himself and above the minimum level of efficiency required by the organisation.

Even in the areas where psychological procedures work best as in selecting trade apprentices or aeroplane pilots, there are always some individuals who are selected and who fail to reach the minimum levels of satisfaction and efficiency. Conversely there are always some individuals who fail selection tests but who, when let into a training program, achieve high levels of satisfaction and efficiency. The number of false positives or false negatives can be increased or reduced to some extent by raising or lowering the cut off points on the selection criteria. If there are 100,000 applicants for selection and one has places for only 1,000 the criteria can be made so stringent that the chances of finding 1,000 satisfactory people are good. If one has 100,000 and one wants 99,000 one cannot afford to be so stringent and the proportion of false positives (those who pass the selection tests but who fail on the criterion task) increases sharply.

In considering the use of psychological tests to select those who are most likely to succeed or get adjusted to their host society one has to establish some criterion of success or adjustment that will apply to all immigrants or at least to known categories of immigrants (e.g., skilled tradesmen). One seldom knows beforehand the precise set of social, economic, geographical and other conditions that will prevail in the suburb, town or state in which the immi-

grant ultimately finds himself. If these conditions happen to be congenial then the degree of emotional maturity, flexibility or intelligence that he will need, to function adequately, will be far less than under uncongenial conditions which might place a far greater strain upon him. If one is going to select only those who can withstand a high level of stress then many of those who would have settled happily in Australia, because they entered less stressful environments, are unnecessarily eliminated. Even if one attempts to weed out those who seem capable of withstanding very little stress there is no assurance that they might not have found suitable environments had they been permitted to emigrate. While the demand for immigrants is high and the objective social and economic conditions in Australia continue to be favourable the attempt to validate a large scale program for the psychological selection of immigrants would not be warranted.

Though the selection of emigrants based upon psychological tests is an inefficient means of reducing the number of unsettled and unhappy immigrants in Australia, a more satisfactory procedure involves emigrant guidance.

It is one of the major functions of the Migration Officers employed by the Australian government to interview prospective emigrants and make available whatever information on jobs, social services, etc., may be needed by them. In particular a potential emigrant is helped to discover the relevant circumstances that exist in different parts of Australia in relation to his unique pattern of qualifications, abilities and needs. Can this guidance service be improved to provide a better service to the man, woman, married couple or family group who want to assess their potential for happiness in a new country? The answer to general questions of this kind is always an affirmative one. Of course, guidance services can be improved and in particular they can be improved by the provision of more psychological guidance. Some trained emigration guidance counsellors are available already to discuss the psychological aspects of being an immigrant. A prospective emigrant can talk over his hopes and fears and those of his wife and children so that these most relevant personal and interpersonal facts can be taken into account along with facts concerning employment opportunities, the cost of living and availability of rented accommodation, social services, schools and the

rest. Relatively few people avail themselves of this psychological guidance. Some do not know that it exists, others find it difficult to reach, others again may feel that it is a sign of moral weakness to take advantage of it. It is unlikely that the majority of intending emigrants will ever use such a service. Most have already made up their minds and want to obtain an Assisted Passage. Under these conditions it is obvious that they will want to create the best impression possible.

Nevertheless anyone considering the possibility of emigrating to Australia is well advised if he gives some serious thought to the personal characteristics of himself and those who may accompany him. The facts that emerge from such a self-examination are as relevant to the making of a migration decision as the more obvious facts about the conditions of life in Australia. Both types of information should be sought and utilised but not dwelt upon indefinitely. It is probable that if most of us thought very long about anything we should be able to make up our minds about nothing.

Self-examination is a difficult art to practise with benefit. In this, more than in most things, our thinking is likely to be woolly and distorted. We are not always clear concerning the questions that we should be asking ourselves. Sometimes we may ask ourselves the wrong questions. As already implied the prospective emigrant who asks himself 'Am I too old?' is probably asking himself a misleading question. What does it mean to be too old? The available evidence suggests that chronological age alone is not a factor that has very much bearing upon the difficulties and satisfactions of settlement in Australia. However, some evidence has been accumulated concerning the conditions under which a satisfactory settlement occurs. The absence of these conditions should not be used as a knock-down argument against emigration but as a stimulus to thought.

Interpersonal Factors. The presence of a husband or wife who does not look forward to the migration experience with the same enthusiasm as his or her spouse should give pause for reflection. Though feelings can change after arrival, in either direction, the likelihood of actual or implied 'I told you so' responses when anything goes wrong or proves difficult is increased. A typical piece of advice that migrants give to prospective emigrants is of

this kind, e.g., 'The vital thing from the viewpoint of the family is that both husband and wife must be equally enthusiastic'. Again, difficulties are more likely to arise when significant others—parents or other close relatives—do not support, or at least accept the intention to emigrate. Leaving behind close relatives to whom one is attached may create difficulties at the best of times, particularly for the wife, but where she or he is made to feel guilty as well, resettlement in Australia may be seriously endangered. Another piece of common advice concerns this factor, e.g., 'Make sure you have not too many home ties in the form of parents or close relatives'.

Personality Factors. Where an individual believes that luck, chance, fate, or the actions of other people are the prime determinants of the 'rewards' and 'punishments' that are experienced he lacks that sense of personal responsibility (self-reliance) for his outcomes that is desirable for sustained endeavour in the face of the many difficulties that are to be expected in a new environment. Again, a predisposition towards cynicism in which the individual has the constant expectation that everyone is out to do him down will inevitably meet with confirmation in Australia, just as it has in Britain. Some degree of social optimism is more conducive to relaxed and enjoyable social relations in Australia as elsewhere.

Emigration Factors. The absence of any strong intention to settle in Australia may make it more difficult to tolerate the many irritations and frustrations of life in a new country. Ill considered, impulsive decisions to leave Britain reduce the probability of successful settlement. It is relevant to recall the advice of another immigrant who said: 'Don't rush into it; talk it over with someone. First make sure that you are determined from the start to at least have a go at living in Australia and being Australian'. A further implication of this quotation is that a readiness to modify one's pattern of life is important. Without such a predisposition to change, a stable resettlement is likely to be more difficult. When one becomes conscious of a deliberate attempt to resist change, to maintain all of one's Englishness, Welshness, Scottishness or Irishness, one is unlikely to feel at home. A person may consciously or unconsciously so value certain characteristics in his present way of

life that change in these respects may be more than difficult—it may be almost impossible. Because informality is a characteristic of so many aspects of Australian life, someone who values a more formal or structured style of living may find Australia uncongenial.

Background Factors. Without some knowledge from his own experience and contemporary circumstances that he actually enjoys meeting people from at least one group other than family, neighbours or workmates, the immigrant lacks a piece of relevant 'hard' evidence concerning the social problems of settling down in a strange environment. A further factor is relevant at this point. Where an important aspect of one's life is not even moderately satisfying one needs to ask oneself whether this is largely due to circumstance (e.g., an unfortunate choice of an occupation or of the district in which one lives) which can be changed, or whether it is representative of a more enduring state of mind which is less likely to change readily in response to a change in circumstances.

In concluding this section it is of interest to compare what has been written above with what was written by Captain Frederick Chidley Irwin more than 135 years ago. After acting as the Governor of Western Australia for one year from 1832-3, he returned to Britain and wrote what is believed to be the earliest account of this colony. The two relevant passages from his book read as follows:

Conscious of the responsibility he incurs in putting forth statements which may lead individuals to take a step of so much importance to themselves and their families as the selection of a distant colony for their future abode, he would strongly urge upon them to examine well the prospects which they are leaving at home, and not to act precipitately. They have to reflect whether—be a colony ever so inviting—it is worth *their* while to abandon old connexions and well established institutions. They have also to consider whether, favourable as the opening may really be, they are the kind of persons for whom it is likely to answer. A mistake on either of these points may be ruinous to their ultimate peace and happiness (p. 113, 1835).

Those who may be about to emigrate cannot be too often reminded that *judgement*, *perseverance* and *fortitude* are as essential to their success as good climate and soil and moderate means. It is true that the colony having attained to its present position, much of the difficulty of this enterprise is removed, and many may now prosper who would not

have done so originally; but without some portion of those valuable qualities above specified, the emigrant, under the most favourable circumstances, ought not to expect success (p. 115, 1835).

In buying a tie, or a dress, or in choosing a wife or a husband, or in accepting a job, the same general advice holds, 'If in serious doubt, don't'.

After arrival in Australia. The idea that any major decision can ever be based on purely rational assessment is, of course, nonsense. To ask that any migrant shall consider and weigh all the personal, interpersonal, socio-economic and cultural facts relevant to a cost-benefit analysis of migration is a counsel of absurdity. All that can be recommended is that more people should give a little more attention to more of the relevant facts than some people have done in the past. However careful one's planning, emigration will always be an adventure and by definition an adventure involves the occurrence of the unexpected. Much that was not anticipated turns out to be stimulating and enjoyable but it is not always so. Some unforeseen events occur after arrival that place an intolerable strain on the newcomer. Other events may be less stressful but because they relate to an important aspect of settlement are strongly resented.

Many events are the common lot of most immigrants at some stage after arrival but the circumstances that precipitate them may not be foreseen. Three cases will be cited to illustrate each degree of stress implied by the above remarks:

Case A: A family with two children at primary school had been in Melbourne for three months when the husband was killed in an accident. Having made no will, the entire assets of the family were frozen. The wife had no friends or relatives to whom she could turn. No bank or other organisation would lend her money for the fare back to Britain. For another three months she lived under extremely difficult conditions until the money for her return passage was got together by her relatives.

Case B: A chef and his family travelling to Australia as Commonwealth nominees disembarked at Adelaide early one December. A job was waiting for the husband at a hotel in the city but he found little demand for his talents after the Christmas hotel trade had subsided. After several weeks of unemployment he was obliged to take

a job as a process worker in a tyre factory. Though his income suffered only slightly he was not doing the work for which his training and interests fitted him and in consequence, his general satisfaction with life in Australia suffered.

Case C: A skilled tradesman, his wife and their young children established themselves in a rented house no more than fifteen minutes' bus ride from the husband's place of work. They were saving for a car, the children were settled at school and the husband enjoyed his work. Unfortunately, there were no part-time jobs suitable for the wife. Her household activities were not sufficient to engage her for the whole time that her children were at school and she became bored. One day after about seven months of residence in Australia the husband returned to find his wife in tears and a demand that they return to Britain immediately because she could not stand it any longer.

It is easy to say that the husband in Case A should have made his will or that the chef in Case B should have made certain that he was disembarked at a larger capital city than Adelaide or that he should have had the means to move to a holiday resort area like the Gold Coast in Queensland. Neither had anticipated the problems that arose. In Case A the wife and her children would have been in difficulties even if they were native born Australians. Their problems were exacerbated because they were immigrants and were without knowledge of the Australian situation or friends and relatives who could give them emotional and perhaps, financial support.

In the less traumatic circumstances of Case B no comparable problem is likely to present itself to an Australian born family man of similar age. It is one of those problems peculiar to the immigrant and one for which specialised help and advice may be necessary.

The situation described in Case C can occur when a family moves a few miles to a new housing estate, but when it occurs ten or twelve thousand miles from home it is likely to be more severe in its effects. Sometimes there will be sympathetic neighbours who will be sensitive to the symptoms of loneliness, boredom, frustration and nostalgia before they become too acute. This kind of spontaneous concern and unobtrusive assistance may be all that is

necessary to help an immigrant rekindle her faith for the future of her life in Australia and provide the stimulus to make some constructive response to her situation. For others, professional or voluntary aid from social workers or Good Neighbour counsellors may be needed according to the severity of the distress.

All three cases, and the many others that resemble them, need special help, most often during the first year of their settlement. In the last few years some important new services have been introduced and their co-ordination with existing welfare agencies improved. The government has recently established an Integration Branch within the Immigration Department. Its primary responsibility is the social welfare of migrants. Citizens Advice Bureaux have been introduced in a few suburbs of the capital cities to help the immigrant, and all other citizens, to find the agency and if possible, the person who will be able to meet their needs most adequately.

Apart from an obvious extension of these facilities, immigrants in particular must be helped to discover what they need when they need it. The immigrant is inevitably ignorant of a great many apparently simple things when he arrives. He is not allowed to make his usual swift change of clothes on most public beaches in Australia. He cannot buy a dog licence at the post office and hardly anyone has heard of anthracite. He does not want to know all these hundred and one small details of life before he arrives because he has other larger matters to worry him. But, after arrival, he wants to be able to obtain this information with as little difficulty as possible.

Australia has been an immigrant country for almost 200 years but most of the essential psychological problems that face new arrivals have not changed. The task of settlement will never be an easy one. Though each generation of immigrants is prone to think that the following one has an easier time than its own, it seldom appears this way to those who are currently involved in coping with the problems of this moment. Circumstances have changed but expectations change as well and today an immigrant quite rightly expects more than his predecessors. It is for reasons of this kind that emotional problems associated with learning to live a new kind of life in a new country will always exist and will always require the sympathetic concern of those more fortunately placed.

Appendixes

Appendix I

A Tabulation of the Main Variables Reported in the Longitudinal Study (Chapters 5 to 8) and a Correlational and Factor Analysis

The tables shown in this Appendix provide details of the material discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.

From the interviews undertaken in 1959, 1961 and 1966 a total of 57 variables were selected for correlational and factorial analyses. These variables are described in the next section and the results of the analyses presented in Tables A1 to A9.

Before presenting these tables a description of each variable has been given accompanied by the frequency and percentage of responses in each answer category.

Description of all Variables from the 1959, 1961 and 1966 Interviews that were Coded and Scored for the Correlational and Factor Analyses

KEY

1. On the whole, would you say you are satisfied or dissatisfied with living in this district? (1961)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
H and W satisfied	5	201	75.0
H or W satisfied; spouse does not know or no reply	4	2	0.7
H and/or W do not know or no reply	3	—	—
H or W dissatisfied; spouse does not know or no reply	2	26	9.7
H and W dissatisfied	1	39	14.6
Totals		268	100.0

2. Would you say that your working conditions are on the whole better, about the same or worse than in the United Kingdom? (H only, 1961)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Better	3	115	44.8
About the same	2	82	31.9
Worse	1	60	23.3
Totals		257	100.0

3. Approximately how much savings did you have on arrival in Australia? (1961)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
\$A 4000 +	8	25	9.4
2000 < 4000	7	28	10.4
1000 < 2000	6	32	11.9
600 < 1000	5	39	14.6
400 < 600	4	28	10.4
200 < 400	3	42	15.7
100 < 200	2	35	13.1
20 < 100	1	29	10.8
< 20	0	10	3.7
Totals		268	100.0

4. Compared with your normal income and living expenses in the United Kingdom, would you reckon that, excluding income earned by other members of your family, you are better off, worse off, about the same? (1961)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
H and W better off	5	134	49.6
H or W better off; spouse about the same or no reply	4	16	5.9
H and/or W about the same or no reply	3	54	20.0
H or W worse off; spouse about the same or no reply	2	13	4.8
H and W worse off	1	53	19.7
Totals		270	100.0

5. On the whole would you say that you are most satisfied or dissatisfied with life in this country? (1961)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
H and W satisfied	5	182	67.2
H or W satisfied; spouse does not know or no reply	4	22	8.1
H and/or W do not know or no reply	3	18	6.6
H or W dissatisfied; spouse does not know or no reply	2	25	9.2
H and W dissatisfied	1	24	8.9
Totals		271	100.0

6. Would you say that your friends are mainly Australian, mainly settlers from the United Kingdom or about equal from both groups? (1961)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
H and W Australians	5	67	25.2
H or W Australians; spouse both or no reply	4	21	7.9
H and/or W both groups; spouse no reply	3	93	34.9
H or W United Kingdom; spouse both or no reply	2	26	9.8
H and W United Kingdom	1	59	22.2
Totals		266	100.0

7. Looking back to the time when you were deciding to come to Australia, what would you say were your main reasons for coming out here? (After recording reply ask): In view of this, are you satisfied that you made a correct decision? (1961)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
H and W, Yes	5	195	72.0
H or W, Yes; spouse does not know or no reply	4	21	7.7
H and/or W do not know or no reply	3	21	7.7
H or W, No; spouse does not know or no reply	2	16	5.9
H and W, No	1	18	6.7
Totals		271	100.0

8. Except for possible holidays abroad would you like to spend the rest of your life in Australia? (1961)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
H and W, Yes	5	152	56.1
H or W, Yes; spouse does not know or no reply	4	27	10.0
H and/or W do not know or no reply	3	38	14.0
H or W, No; spouse does not know or no reply	2	25	9.2
H and W, No	1	29	10.7
Totals		271	100.0

9. Do you feel yourself to be more Australian than British now or do you feel you have not changed very much at all? (H, 1961)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
More Australian	3	57	21.7
No change	2	164	62.3
More British	1	42	16.0
Totals		263	100.0

10. If a team of British athletes or other sportsmen came out to play an Australian team, which side do you think you would support? (H, 1961)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Australian	3	36	13.7
Neither	2	67	25.5
British	1	160	60.8
Totals		263	100.0

11. Passive vocabulary score on the slang test (H, 1961)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Calculation of the correlations with all other variables was based upon	16-20	74	27.3
the full distribution of scores and	11-15	172	63.5
not upon class intervals	6-10	25	9.2
	0- 5	—	—
Totals		271	100.0

12. Active vocabulary score on the slang test (H, 1961)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Calculation of the correlations	36-40	—	—
with all other variables was based	31-35	—	—
upon the full distribution of scores	26-30	3	1.1
and not upon class intervals	21-25	9	3.3
	16-20	22	8.1
	11-15	49	18.1
	0-10	188	69.4
Totals		271	100.0

13. Number of children in the family (1959)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Married couple with: eight or more children	8	—	—
seven children	7	2	0.7
six children	6	2	0.7
five children	5	8	3.0
four children	4	22	8.1
three children	3	58	21.4
two children	2	66	24.4
one child	1	56	20.7
no children	0	57	21.0
Totals		271	100.0

14. Age of husband (1959)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Calculation of the correlations with	> 61	2	0.7
all other variables was based upon	51-60	8	3.0
the full distribution of scores and	41-50	50	18.5
not upon class intervals	31-40	142	52.6
	21-30	68	25.2
	< 20	—	—
Totals		270	100.0

15. Age of wife (1959)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Calculation of the correlations	> 61	2	0.7
with all other variables was based	51-60	4	1.5
upon the full distribution of scores	41-50	37	13.8
and not upon class intervals	31-40	119	44.2
	21-30	103	38.3
	< 20	4	1.5
Totals		269	100.0

16. Occupational status of husband's father (1959) based upon the Classification of Occupations used in the 1951 Census (England and Wales)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Unskilled	5	28	10.7
Semi-skilled	4	48	18.3
Skilled	3	154	58.8
Intermediate	2	25	9.5
Professional	1	7	2.7
Totals		262	100.0

17. Occupational status of wife's father (1959) based upon the Classification of Occupations used in the 1951 Census (England and Wales)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Unskilled	5	27	10.6
Semi-skilled	4	41	16.1
Skilled	3	146	57.5
Intermediate	2	36	14.2
Professional	1	4	1.6
Totals		254	100.0

18. Number of job changes, e.g., from lorry driver to process worker, of the husband during working life (1959)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Number of changes excludes those caused by military service	7 or more	56	20.8
	6	21	7.8
	5	32	11.9
	4	50	18.6
	3	40	14.9
	2	37	13.7
	1	26	9.7
	0	7	2.6
Totals		269	100.0

19. Occupational status of husband (1959) based upon the Classification of Occupations used in the 1951 Census (England and Wales)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Unskilled	5	12	4.4
Semi-skilled	4	33	12.2
Skilled	3	193	71.2
Intermediate	2	26	9.6
Professional	1	7	2.6
Totals		271	100.0

20. Number of residential changes—including changes in residence within the same town (1959)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Number of changes is as shown by score	7 or more	12	4.5
	6	4	1.5
	5	9	3.3
	4	25	9.3
	3	31	11.5
	2	66	24.5
	1	78	29.0
	0	44	16.4
Totals		269	100.0

21. Type of last full time education of husband (1959)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
University	3	5	1.9
Grammar, County High	2	47	18.3
Technical College			
Secondary modern or	1	193	75.1
pre-1948-Elementary, Senior or Mixed			
Primary	0	12	4.7
Totals		257	100.0

22. Type of last full-time education of wife (1959)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
University	3	3	1.2
Grammar, County High	2	42	17.1
Technical College			
Secondary modern or	1	188	76.4
pre-1948-Elementary, Senior or Mixed			
Primary	0	13	5.3
Totals		246	100.0

23. Length of time deciding to emigrate (1959)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Twelve months or more	1	219	82.0
Eleven months or less	0	48	18.0
Totals		267	100.0

24. Overall measure of Australian knowledge based upon the combined efforts of the husband and wife (1959)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Number of correct items coded as a percentage of the number possible	81-100	9	3.3
	61- 80	73	27.0
	41- 60	133	49.3
	21- 40	45	16.7
	0- 20	10	3.7
Totals		270	100.0

25. Order of husband's birth (1959)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Eighth or later born	8	12	4.5
Seventh	7	13	4.9
Sixth	6	10	3.8
Fifth	5	19	7.1
Fourth	4	23	8.7
Third	3	45	16.9
Second	2	62	23.3
First born	1	82	30.8
Totals		266	100.0

26. Attitude of husband's parents to the emigration (1959)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Both parents or survivor in favour	5	74	37.8
One parent in favour, one does not mind	4	2	1.0
Both parents or survivor do not mind	3	79	40.3
One parent against, one in favour or does not mind	2	7	3.6
Both parents or survivor against	1	34	17.3
Totals		196	100.0

27. Number of organisations, clubs, societies, associations, etc., to which the husband belongs and whose activities he attends (1959)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Four or more associations	4	8	3.0
Three	3	22	8.2
Two	2	61	22.8
One	1	94	35.3
None	0	82	30.7
Totals		267	100.0

28. Order of wife's birth (1959)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Eighth or later born	8	12	4.5
Seventh	7	9	3.4
Sixth	6	11	4.1
Fifth	5	21	7.8
Fourth	4	33	12.3
Third	3	40	14.9
Second	2	55	20.5
First born	1	87	32.5
Totals		268	100.0

29. Attitude of wife's parents to the emigration (1959)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Both parents or survivor in favour	5	94	46.5
One parent in favour, one does not mind	4	4	2.0
Both parents or survivor do not mind	3	72	35.6
One parent against, one in favour or does not mind	2	6	3.0
Both parents or survivor against	1	26	12.9
Totals		202	100.0

30. Number of organisations, clubs, societies, associations, etc., to which the wife belongs and whose activities she attends (1959)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Four or more associations	4	2	0.7
Three	3	8	3.0
Two	2	15	5.5
One	1	71	26.2
None	0	175	64.6
Totals		271	100.0

31. Do you feel yourself to be more Australian than British now or do you feel you have not changed very much at all? (W, 1961)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
More Australian	3	47	17.7
No change	2	161	61.0
More British	1	56	21.3
Totals		264	100.0

32. If a team of British athletes or other sportsmen came out to play an Australian team, which side do you think you would support? (W, 1961)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Australian	3	30	11.5
Neither	2	70	26.7
British	1	162	61.8
Totals		262	100.0

33. Passive vocabulary score on the slang test (W, 1961)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Calculation of correlations with	16-20	38	14.1
all other variables based upon	11-15	164	61.0
the full distribution of scores	6-10	62	23.0
and not upon class intervals	0-5	5	1.9
Totals		269	100.0

34. Active vocabulary score on the slang test (W, 1961)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Calculation of correlations with	36-40	—	—
all other variables was based upon	31-35	—	—
the full distribution of scores	26-30	—	—
and not upon class intervals	21-25	—	—
	16-20	5	1.9
	11-15	18	6.8
	0-10	243	91.3
Totals		266	100.0

35. Assimilation scores (H, 1961)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Acculturated	5	13	4.8
Quasi-acculturated	4	18	6.6
Identified	3	44	16.2
Satisfied	2	149	55.0
Dissatisfied	1	47	17.4
Totals		271	100.0

36. Assimilation scores (W, 1961)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Acculturated	5	12	4.5
Quasi-acculturated	4	14	5.2
Identified	3	35	13.2
Satisfied	2	149	56.0
Dissatisfied	1	56	21.1
Totals		266	100.0

37. Do you consider that your present housing is better, worse or about the same as you had in the United Kingdom? (1966)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
H and W better	5	127	47.2
H or W better; spouse does not know or no reply	4	24	8.9
H and/or W do not know or no reply	3	52	19.4
H or W worse; spouse does not know or no reply	2	16	5.9
H and W worse	1	50	18.6
Totals		269	100.0

38. On the whole, would you say you are satisfied or dissatisfied with living in this district? (1966)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
H and W satisfied	5	221	81.5
H or W satisfied; spouse does not know or no reply	4	7	2.6
H and/or W do not know or no reply	3	—	—
H or W dissatisfied; spouse does not know or no reply	2	22	8.1
H and W dissatisfied	1	21	7.8
Totals		271	100.0

39. When we saw you in 1961 you were working in X (town) as a Y (occupation). Please give details of jobs since then, except for present job (H only, 1966)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
H has had eight or more job changes	4	9	3.4
H has had between two and seven job changes	3	107	40.2
H has had one job change	2	47	17.7
H has had no job changes	1	103	38.7
Totals		266	100.0

40. Periods of unemployment were obtained from answers to the previous question (H only, 1966)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
H has had three periods or more totalling two months or longer	8	2	0.8
less than two months	7	—	—
H has had three periods or more totalling H has had two periods totalling			
two months or longer	6	1	0.4
H has had two periods totalling between one and two months	5	—	—
H has had two periods totalling less than one month	4	—	—

H has had one period of two months or longer	3	4	1.5
H has had one period of between one and two months	2	3	1.1
H has had one period of less than one month	1	10	3.8
H has had no periods of unemployment	0	243	92.4
Totals		<u>263</u>	<u>100.0</u>

41. Details of present job—net weekly earnings, i.e., after tax deductions but including overtime (H only, 1966)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Dollars</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Net weekly earnings in Australia entered	≥ 90	8	3.4
	80-89	7	3.0
as a two digit code and now recorded	70-79	18	7.8
	60-69	45	19.5
in Australian dollars	50-59	78	33.8
	40-49	56	24.3
	≤ 39	12	5.2
No earnings from job, e.g., unemployed	0	7	3.0
Totals		<u>231</u>	<u>100.0</u>

42. Net total income derived from questions to husband and wife concerning their own incomes and those of other members of the migrant unit living in the household at time of interview (1966)

Net total income per week based upon husband's net earnings and other income; wife's net earnings; net earnings of other members of the migrant unit who were living in the household at time of interview (less any board money paid to husband). Entered as a two digit code and now recorded in Australian dollars

<i>Code</i>	<i>Dollars</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
	≥ 130	22	10.0
	120-129	7	3.2
	110-119	16	7.2
	100-109	16	7.2
	90- 99	20	9.0
	80- 89	28	12.7
	70- 79	33	14.9
	60- 69	32	14.5
	50- 59	24	10.9
	40- 49	15	6.8
	≤ 39	8	3.6
Totals		<u>221</u>	<u>100.0</u>

43. Compared with your normal income and living expenses in the United Kingdom, would you reckon that, excluding income earned by other members of your family, you are better off, worse off or about the same? (1966)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
H and W better off	5	131	48.3
H or W better off; spouse about the same or no reply	4	29	10.7
H and/or W about the same or no reply	3	55	20.3
H or W worse off; spouse about the same or no reply	2	21	7.8
H and W worse off	1	35	12.9
Totals		271	100.0

44. On the whole would you say that you are more satisfied or dissatisfied with life in this country? (1966)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
H and W satisfied	5	210	77.5
H or W satisfied; spouse does not know or no reply	4	28	10.3
H and/or W do not know or no reply	3	9	3.3
H or W dissatisfied; spouse does not know or no reply	2	13	4.8
H and W dissatisfied	1	11	4.1
Totals		271	100.0

45. Would you say that your friends are mainly Australians, mainly settlers from the United Kingdom or about equal from both groups? (1966)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
H and W Australians	5	77	28.9
H or W Australians; spouse both or no reply	4	25	9.4
H and/or W both groups; spouse no reply	3	109	41.0
H or W United Kingdom; spouse both	1	36	13.5
H and W United Kingdom or no reply	2	19	7.2
Totals		266	100.0

46. Do you feel yourself to be more Australian than British now or do you feel you have not changed very much at all? (H, 1966)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
More Australian	3	101	37.3
No change and do not know	2	117	43.2
More British	1	53	19.5
Totals		271	100.0

47. As for 46 above but addressed to wives (1966)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
More Australian	3	92	33.9
No change and do not know	2	130	48.0
More British	1	49	18.1
Totals		271	100.0

48. If a team of British athletes or other sportsmen came out to play an Australian team, which side do you think you would support? (H, 1966)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Australian	3	36	13.3
Neither and do not know	2	68	25.1
British	1	167	61.6
Totals		271	100.0

49. As for 48 above but addressed to wives (1966)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Australian	3	34	12.5
Neither and do not know	2	98	36.2
British	1	139	51.3
Totals		271	100.0

50. Looking back to the time when you were deciding to come to Australia, what would you say were your main reasons for coming out here? (After recording reply ask): In view of this, are you satisfied that you made a correct decision? (1966)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
H and W Yes	5	213	78.6
H or W Yes; spouse does not know or no reply	4	30	11.1
H and/or W do not know or no reply	3	9	3.3
H or W No; spouse does not know or no reply	2	12	4.4
H and W No	1	7	2.6
Totals		271	100.0

51. Except for possible holidays abroad would you like to spend the rest of your life in Australia? (1966)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
H and W Yes	5	193	72.0
H or W Yes; spouse does not know or no reply	4	20	7.5
H and/or W do not know or no reply	3	20	7.5
H or W No; spouse does not know or no reply	2	19	7.1
H and W No	1	16	5.9
Totals		268	100.0

52. Passive vocabulary score on the slang test (H, 1966)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Calculation of the correlations with all other variables was based upon	16-20	191	70.5
the full distribution of scores and	11-15	73	26.9
not upon class intervals	6-10	7	2.6
	0-5	—	—
Totals		271	100.0

53. Active vocabulary score on the slang test (H, 1966)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Calculation of the correlations with	36-40	—	—
all other variables was based upon	31-35	3	1.1
the full distribution of scores and	26-30	11	4.1
not upon class intervals	21-25	29	10.7
	16-20	45	16.6
	11-15	61	22.5
	0-10	122	45.0
Totals		271	100.0

54. Passive vocabulary score on the slang test (W, 1966)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Calculation of the correlations with	16-20	112	41.9
all other variables was based upon	11-15	133	49.8
the full distribution of scores and	6-10	21	7.9
not upon class intervals	0-5	1	0.4
Totals		267	100.0

55. Active vocabulary score on the slang test (W, 1966)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Calculation of the correlations with	36-40	—	—
all other variables was based upon	31-35	1	0.4
the full distribution of scores and	26-30	1	0.4
not upon class intervals	21-25	4	1.5
	16-20	18	6.7
	11-15	39	14.7
	0-10	203	76.8
Totals		266	100.0

56. Assimilation scores (H, 1966)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Acculturated	5	48	17.7
Quasi-acculturated	4	37	13.7
Identified	3	53	19.5
Satisfied	2	113	41.7
Dissatisfied	1	20	7.4
Totals		271	100.0

57. Assimilation scores (W, 1966)

<i>Code</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Acculturated	5	43	16.2
Quasi-acculturated	4	37	13.9
Identified	3	46	17.3
Satisfied	2	117	44.0
Dissatisfied	1	23	8.6
Totals		266	100.0

Correlation and Factor Analyses of the 57 Variables just described

In the tables that follow, two are concerned with the significant correlates of five satisfaction variables (Tables A1 and A2); two with the significant correlates of two identification variables (Tables A3 and A4) and two with the significant correlates of two acculturation variables (Tables A5 and A6).

Tables A8 and A9 present all the variables that have a significant correlation with scores on the assimilation scale and Table A10 shows the results of a varimax rotation of a factor analysis of a 57 x 57 correlation matrix. Each factor has been given a provisional interpretative label.

Though the factor analysis provides little information that is new it provides some evidence on the consistency with which respondents answered the questions put to them. For example, all five of the social status indicators have loadings in excess of .34 on Factor II.

Table A1 Correlates of five satisfaction measures (1961)

Year that information was collected	Key no.	Variables	7 Correct decision to emigrate	8 Spend rest of life in Australia	5 General Satisfaction	4 Better off in Australia	1 District Satisfaction
1959	19	Occupational status (H)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	.12	n.s.
	25	Parental attitude to emigration (W)	n.s.	.13	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
1961	1	District satisfaction (H and W)	.32	.32	.37	.19	—
	2	Working conditions (H)	.32	.22	.33	.27	.16
	3	Savings on arrival in Australia (H and W)	-.12	n.s.	n.s.	-.15	n.s.
	4	Better off in Australia (H and W)	.41	.39	.45	—	.19
	5	General satisfaction (H and W)	.63	.60	—	.45	.37
	7	Correct decision to emigrate (H and W)	—	.56	.63	.41	.32
	8	Spend rest of life in Australia (H and W)	.56	—	.60	.39	.32
	9	Feels more Australian (H)	.15	.26	.14	.16	n.s.
	10	Support Australian team (H)	n.s.	.16	n.s.	n.s.	.13
	11	Passive vocabulary (H)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
	12	Active vocabulary (H)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
	31	Feels more Australian (W)	n.s.	.14	n.s.	.14	n.s.
	32	Support Australian team (W)	.17	.16	.19	.14	.13
	33	Passive vocabulary (W)	.12	n.s.	.16	n.s.	n.s.
	34	Active vocabulary (W)	.21	.17	.17	n.s.	n.s.
	35	Assimilation level (H)	.26	.27	.30	.24	.44
	36	Assimilation level (W)	.28	.28	.26	.17	.43
1966	37	Housing satisfaction (H and W)	.24	.16	.18	.20	n.s.
	38	District satisfaction (H and W)	n.s.	n.s.	.13	n.s.	n.s.
	40	Periods of unemployment (H)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	-.13	n.s.
	42	Total income (H and W)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	.12	n.s.
	43	Better off in Australia (H and W)	.16	.13	n.s.	.33	n.s.
	44	General satisfaction (H and W)	.24	.21	.25	n.s.	n.s.
	46	Feels more Australian (H)	.17	n.s.	.20	n.s.	n.s.
	47	Feels more Australian (W)	.20	n.s.	.16	n.s.	n.s.
	48	Support Australian team (H)	.19	.21	.17	n.s.	n.s.
	49	Support Australian team (W)	.21	.20	.15	n.s.	n.s.
	50	Correct decision to emigrate (H and W)	.33	.25	.25	.16	n.s.
	51	Spend rest of life in Australia (H and W)	.25	.31	.22	n.s.	n.s.
	52	Passive vocabulary (H)	.15	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
	53	Active vocabulary (H)	n.s.	n.s.	.12	n.s.	n.s.
	54	Passive vocabulary (W)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	.15
	55	Active vocabulary (W)	.14	n.s.	.16	.15	n.s.
	56	Assimilation level (H)	.23	.18	.27	n.s.	n.s.
	57	Assimilation level (W)	.19	n.s.	.15	.15	n.s.

Table A2 · Correlates of five satisfaction measures (1966)

Year that information was collected	Key no.	Variables	50 Correct decision to emigrate	51 Spend rest of life in Australia	44 General Satisfaction	43 Better off in Australia	38 District Satisfaction
1959	13	Number of children (H and W)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	-.16	n.s.
	15	Age (W)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	-.12	n.s.
	16	Occupational status of father (H)	.14	.16	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
	21	Education (H)	n.s.	-.13	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
	23	Time deciding to emigrate (H and W)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	-.15
	29	Parental attitude to emigration (W)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	.14	n.s.
	30	Association activity (W)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	.12
1961	2	Working conditions (H)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	.13	n.s.
	3	Savings on arrival in Australia (H and W)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	.15
	4	Better off in Australia (H and W)	.16	n.s.	n.s.	.33	n.s.
	5	General satisfaction (H and W)	.25	.22	.25	n.s.	.13
	7	Correct decision to emigrate (H and W)	.33	.25	.24	.16	n.s.
	8	Spend rest of life in Australia (H and W)	.25	.31	.21	.13	n.s.
	9	Feels more Australian (H)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	.14	n.s.
	12	Active vocabulary (H)	n.s.	.13	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
	34	Active vocabulary (W)	n.s.	.14	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
	35	Assimilation level (H)	n.s.	.12	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
1966	37	Housing satisfaction (H and W)	.29	.21	.29	.33	.13
	38	District satisfaction (H and W)	.24	.17	.24	.16	—
	40	Periods of unemployment (H)	-.29	-.19	n.s.	-.20	n.s.
	41	Weekly earnings (H)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	.15	n.s.
	42	Total income (H and W)	n.s.	n.s.	.14	.13	n.s.
	43	Better off in Australia (H and W)	.36	.25	.32	—	.16
	44	General satisfaction (H and W)	.64	.53	—	.32	.24
	45	Friends are mainly Australian (H and W)	n.s.	.17	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
	46	Feels more Australian (H)	.14	.30	.19	.17	n.s.
	47	Feels more Australian (W)	.21	.30	.27	.17	n.s.
	48	Support Australian team (H)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	.13	n.s.
	50	Correct decision to emigrate (H and W)	—	.53	.64	.36	.24
	51	Spend rest of life in Australia (H and W)	.53	—	.53	.25	.17
	52	Passive vocabulary (H)	n.s.	n.s.	.13	n.s.	n.s.
	53	Active vocabulary (H)	n.s.	n.s.	.17	n.s.	n.s.
	55	Active vocabulary (W)	n.s.	n.s.	.14	n.s.	n.s.
	56	Assimilation level (H)	.26	.26	.20	.16	.15
	57	Assimilation level (W)	.20	.23	.25	.15	.25

Table A3 Correlates of two identification measures (1961)

Year	Key no.	Variable	Feels more Australian		Support an Australian team	
			9	31	10	32
			H	W	H	W
1959	25	Birth order (H)	-.13	-.13	n.s.	-.17
1961	1	District satisfaction (H and W)	n.s.	n.s.	.13	.13
	2	Working conditions (H)	n.s.	n.s.	.13	.14
	4	Better off in Australia (H and W)	.16	.14	n.s.	.14
	5	General satisfaction (H and W)	.14	n.s.	n.s.	.19
	6	Friends are mainly Australian (H and W)	.19	.21	n.s.	.19
	7	Correct decision to emigrate (H and W)	.15	n.s.	n.s.	.17
	8	Spend rest of life in Australia (H and W)	.26	.14	.16	.16
	9	Feels more Australian (H)	—	.60	.31	.27
	10	Support Australian team (H)	.31	.15	—	.48
	12	Active vocabulary (H)	.13	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
	31	Feels more Australian (W)	.60	—	.15	.29
	32	Support Australian team (W)	.27	.29	.48	—
	33	Passive vocabulary (W)	n.s.	n.s.	-.15	n.s.
	34	Active vocabulary (W)	n.s.	.12	.12	.14
	35	Assimilation level (H)	.53	.31	.25	.21
	36	Assimilation level (W)	.31	.45	.24	.29
1966	43	Better off in Australia (H and W)	.14	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
	45	Friends are mainly Australian (H and W)	n.s.	.13	n.s.	.14
	46	Feels more Australian (H)	.22	n.s.	.15	.14
	47	Feels more Australian (W)	n.s.	.18	.13	.15
	48	Support Australian team (H)	.20	n.s.	.36	.25
	49	Support Australian team (W)	.22	.18	.21	.35
	53	Active vocabulary (H)	.13	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
	55	Active vocabulary (W)	.14	.14	n.s.	.15
	56	Assimilation level (H)	.26	.18	.13	n.s.
	57	Assimilation level (W)	n.s.	.20	n.s.	n.s.

Table A4 Correlates of two identification measures (1966)

Year	Key no.	Variable	Feels more Australian		Support an Australian team	
			46	47	48	49
			H	W	H	W
1959	14	Age (H)	-.14	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
	21	Education (H)	n.s.	.13	n.s.	n.s.
	22	Education (W)	n.s.	.13	n.s.	n.s.
	28	Birth order (W)	-.14	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
	29	Parental attitude to emigration (W)	n.s.	.14	n.s.	n.s.
1961	2	Working conditions (H)	.13	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
	5	General satisfaction (H and W)	.20	.16	.17	.15
	7	Correct decision to emigrate (H and W)	.17	.20	.19	.21
	8	Spend rest of life in Australia (H and W)	n.s.	n.s.	.21	.20
	9	Feels more Australian (H)	.22	n.s.	.20	.22
	10	Support Australian team (H)	.15	.13	.36	.21
	12	Active vocabulary (H)	.23	.14	n.s.	n.s.
	31	Feels more Australian (W)	n.s.	.18	n.s.	.18
	32	Support Australian team (W)	.14	.15	.25	.35
	34	Active vocabulary (W)	.23	.22	.15	n.s.
	35	Assimilation level (H)	.31	.15	.21	.19
	36	Assimilation level (W)	.14	.23	n.s.	.15
1966	37	Housing satisfaction (H and W)	.15	.15	n.s.	.18
	39	Number of job changes since 1961 (H)	n.s.	.12	n.s.	n.s.
	43	Better off in Australia (H and W)	.17	.17	.13	.14
	44	General satisfaction (H and W)	.19	.27	n.s.	n.s.
	45	Friends are mainly Australians (H and W)	.17	.27	n.s.	n.s.
	46	Feels more Australian (H)	—	.53	.22	.19
	47	Feels more Australian (W)	.53	—	n.s.	.24
	48	Support Australian team (H)	.22	n.s.	—	.53
	49	Support Australian team (W)	.19	.24	.53	—
	50	Correct decision to emigrate (H and W)	.14	.21	n.s.	n.s.
	51	Spend rest of life in Australia (H and W)	.30	.30	n.s.	.13
	53	Active vocabulary (H)	.28	.21	n.s.	.13
	55	Active vocabulary (W)	.21	.22	.14	n.s.
	56	Assimilation level (H)	.59	.34	.18	.15
	57	Assimilation level (W)	.33	.56	n.s.	.15

Table A5 Correlates of two acculturation measures (1961)

Year	Key no.	Variables	Active vocabulary		Passive vocabulary	
			12	34	11	35
			H	W	H	W
1959	14	Age (H)	n.s.	n.s.	-.12	-.14
	15	Age (W)	-.13	n.s.	-.13	-.15
	17	Occupational status of father (W)	n.s.	n.s.	-.13	n.s.
	19	Occupational status (H)	n.s.	n.s.	-.13	n.s.
	21	Education (H)	n.s.	n.s.	.17	n.s.
	22	Education (W)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	.22
	25	Birth order (H)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	-.12
	27	Association activity (H)	.19	n.s.	.14	n.s.
1961	2	Working conditions (H)	n.s.	.16	n.s.	n.s.
	3	Savings on arrival in Australia (H and W)	-.15	-.15	n.s.	n.s.
	5	General satisfaction (H and W)	n.s.	.17	n.s.	.16
	7	Correct decision to emigrate (H and W)	n.s.	.21	n.s.	.12
	8	Spend rest of life in Australia (H and W)	n.s.	.17	n.s.	n.s.
	9	Feels more Australian (H)	.13	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
	10	Support Australian team (H)	n.s.	.12	n.s.	-.15
	11	Passive vocabulary (H)	.32	n.s.	—	.26
	12	Active vocabulary (H)	—	.41	.32	.18
	31	Feels more Australian (W)	n.s.	.12	n.s.	n.s.
	32	Support Australian team (W)	n.s.	.14	n.s.	n.s.
	33	Passive vocabulary (W)	.18	.30	.26	—
	34	Active vocabulary (W)	.41	—	n.s.	.30
	35	Assimilation level (H)	.52	.22	.16	n.s.
	36	Assimilation level (W)	.25	.46	n.s.	.20
1966	37	Housing satisfaction (H and W)	.14	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
	41	Weekly earnings (H)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	.12
	45	Friends are mainly Australians (H and W)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	.17
	46	Feels more Australian (H)	.23	.23	n.s.	n.s.
	47	Feels more Australian (W)	.14	.22	n.s.	n.s.
	48	Support Australian team (H)	n.s.	.15	n.s.	n.s.
	51	Spend rest of life in Australia (H and W)	.13	.14	n.s.	n.s.
	52	Passive vocabulary (H)	.26	.15	.36	.21
	53	Active vocabulary (H)	.59	.28	.28	.17
	54	Passive vocabulary (W)	.16	.18	.27	.54
	55	Active vocabulary (W)	.28	.52	n.s.	.25
	56	Assimilation level (H)	.46	.25	.20	n.s.
	57	Assimilation level (W)	.13	.38	n.s.	n.s.

Table A6 *Correlates of two acculturation measures (1966)*

Year	Key no.	Variable	Active vocabulary		Passive vocabulary	
			53	55	52	54
			H	W	H	W
1959	14	Age (H)	n.s.	n.s.	-.17	-.13
	15	Age (W)	n.s.	n.s.	-.17	-.15
	16	Occupational status of father (H)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	-.13
	18	Number of job changes (H)	n.s.	.17	n.s.	n.s.
	21	Education (H)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	.14
	22	Education (W)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	.15
	25	Birth order (H)	n.s.	n.s.	-.19	n.s.
	27	Association activity (H)	.18	n.s.	.14	n.s.
1961	1	District satisfaction (H and W)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	.15
	2	Working conditions (H)	n.s.	.20	n.s.	n.s.
	3	Savings on arrival in Australia (H and W)	-.20	-.14	n.s.	n.s.
	4	Better off in Australia (H and W)	n.s.	.15	n.s.	n.s.
	5	General satisfaction (H and W)	.12	.16	n.s.	n.s.
	6	Friends are mainly Australian (H and W)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	.20
	7	Correct decision to emigrate (H and W)	n.s.	.14	.15	n.s.
	9	Feels more Australian (H)	.13	.14	n.s.	n.s.
	11	Passive vocabulary (H)	.28	n.s.	.56	.27
	12	Active vocabulary (H)	.59	.28	.26	.16
	31	Feels more Australian (W)	n.s.	.14	n.s.	n.s.
	32	Support Australian team (W)	n.s.	.15	n.s.	n.s.
	33	Passive vocabulary (W)	.17	.25	.21	.54
	34	Active vocabulary (W)	.28	.52	.15	.18
	35	Assimilation level (H)	.35	.20	.15	.15
	36	Assimilation level (W)	.21	.33	.14	.21
1966	37	Housing satisfaction (H and W)	.16	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
	44	General satisfaction (H and W)	.17	.14	.13	n.s.
	45	Friends are mainly Australian (H and W)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	.19
	46	Feels more Australian (H)	.28	.21	n.s.	n.s.
	47	Feels more Australian (W)	.21	.22	n.s.	n.s.
	48	Support Australian team (H)	n.s.	.14	n.s.	n.s.
	49	Support Australian team (W)	.13	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
	50	Correct decision to emigrate (H and W)	.13	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
	51	Spend rest of life in Australia (H and W)	n.s.	.13	n.s.	n.s.
	52	Passive vocabulary (H)	.34	.15	—	.32
	53	Active vocabulary (H)	—	.31	.34	.16
	54	Passive vocabulary (W)	.16	.27	.32	—
	55	Active vocabulary (W)	.31	—	.15	.27
	56	Assimilation level (H)	.70	.20	.17	n.s.
	57	Assimilation level (W)	.26	.57	n.s.	.14

Table A7 *Correlates of assimilation scale (1961)*

Year	Key no.	Variable	35 Assimilation level (H)	36 Assimilation level (W)
1959	20	Number of residential changes (H and W)	-.13	n.s.
	26	Parental attitudes to emigration (H)	.13	n.s.
1961	1	District satisfaction (H and W)	.44	.43
	2	Working conditions (H)	.18	n.s.
	3	Savings on arrival in Australia (H and W)	-.15	n.s.
	4	Better off in Australia (H and W)	.24	.17
	5	General satisfaction (H and W)	.30	.26
	6	Friends are mainly Australian (H and W)	.20	.19
	7	Correct decision to emigrate (H and W)	.26	.28
	8	Spend rest of life in Australia (H and W)	.27	.28
	9	Feels more Australian (H)	.53	.31
	10	Support Australian team (H)	.25	.24
	11	Passive vocabulary (H)	.16	n.s.
	12	Active vocabulary (H)	.52	.25
	31	Feels more Australian (W)	.31	.45
	32	Support Australian team (W)	.21	.29
	33	Passive vocabulary (W)	n.s.	.20
	34	Active vocabulary (W)	.22	.46
	35	Assimilation level (H)	—	.42
	36	Assimilation level (W)	.42	—
1966	37	Housing satisfaction (H and W)	.16	.12
	45	Friends are mainly Australian (H and W)	n.s.	.12
	46	Feels more Australian (H)	.31	.14
	47	Feels more Australian (W)	.15	.23
	48	Support Australian team (H)	.21	n.s.
	49	Support Australian team (W)	.19	.15
	51	Spend rest of life in Australia (H and W)	.12	n.s.
	52	Passive vocabulary (H)	.15	.14
	53	Active vocabulary (H)	.35	.21
	54	Passive vocabulary (W)	.15	.21
	55	Active vocabulary (W)	.20	.33
	56	Assimilation level (H)	.43	.22
	57	Assimilation level (W)	.14	.29

Table A8 *Correlates of assimilation scale (1966)*

Year	Key no.	Variable	56 Assimilation level (H)	57 Assimilation level (W)
1959	27	Association activity (H)	·16	·12
	30	Association activity (W)	n.s.	·13
1961	2	Working conditions (H)	·13	n.s.
	4	Better off in Australia (H and W)	n.s.	·15
	5	General satisfaction (H and W)	·27	·15
	7	Correct decision to emigrate (H and W)	·23	·19
	8	Spend rest of life in Australia (H and W)	·18	n.s.
	9	Feels more Australian (H)	·26	n.s.
	10	Support Australian team (H)	·13	n.s.
	11	Passive vocabulary (H)	·20	n.s.
	12	Active vocabulary (H)	·46	·13
	31	Feels more Australian (W)	·18	·20
	32	Support Australian team (W)	n.s.	n.s.
	33	Passive vocabulary (W)	n.s.	n.s.
	34	Active vocabulary (W)	·25	·38
	35	Assimilation level (H)	·43	·14
	36	Assimilation level (W)	·22	·29
1966	37	Housing satisfaction (H and W)	·18	·16
	38	District satisfaction (H and W)	·15	·25
	43	Better off in Australia (H and W)	·16	·15
	44	General satisfaction (H and W)	·20	·25
	46	Feels more Australian (H)	·59	·33
	47	Feels more Australian (W)	·34	·56
	48	Support Australian team (H)	·18	n.s.
	49	Support Australian team (W)	·15	·15
	50	Correct decision to emigrate (H and W)	·26	·20
	51	Spend rest of life in Australia (H and W)	·26	·23
	52	Passive vocabulary (H)	·17	n.s.
	53	Active vocabulary (H)	·70	·26
	54	Passive vocabulary (W)	n.s.	·14
	55	Active vocabulary (W)	·20	·57
	56	Assimilation level (H)	—	·34
	57	Assimilation level (W)	·34	—

Table A9 *Rotated factor loadings of 54 variables out of 57 selected for analysis from data obtained in 1959, 1961 and 1966 (n=271)*

Key no.	Variables	Identification (1961, 1966)	Socio-economic Status (1959)	Satisfaction (1966)	Husband's Acculturation (1961, 1966)	Age	Satisfaction (1961)	Wife's Active Acculturation (1961, 1966)	Wife's Passive Acculturation (1961, 1966)	Economic achievement (1966)	Social participation U.K. (1959)
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
9	More Australian (H) 1961	71	-08	-00	13	-07	-10	-20	02	00	05
10	Athletes (H) 1961	60	03	01	-04	06	-11	13	07	00	-13
31	More Australian (W) 1961	63	-09	07	02	-10	-05	-14	-18	-06	20
32	Athletes (W) 1961	61	01	06	-04	06	-15	04	-06	-01	08
35	Assimilation level (H) 1961	49	-01	02	52	-04	-35	-10	03	10	05
36	Assimilation level (W) 1961	42	-15	09	17	04	-39	07	-34	-06	22
46	More Australian (H) 1966	35	04	-40	33	-09	04	29	-03	-01	-02
47	More Australian (W) 1966	33	07	-46	05	-10	05	36	-28	-06	05
48	Athletes (H) 1966	45	03	-10	06	06	-14	25	04	08	-31
49	Athletes (W) 1966	51	06	-13	03	-07	-10	17	-01	01	-19
3	Savings on arrival 1961	03	49	-12	-26	21	21	-05	-08	18	21
16	Occupational status head's father U.K. 1959	-10	-35	-24	00	-01	03	-02	19	03	-03
17	Occupational status wife's father U.K. 1959	05	-37	06	-12	00	04	22	-02	04	-08
19	Occupational status (H) U.K. 1959	05	-85	-06	00	-05	06	-13	01	02	-05
21	Education (H) U.K. 1959	06	50	04	05	-10	10	-08	-19	-03	02
38	District satisfaction 1966	-12	12	-31	-09	-10	-16	07	14	11	26
40	Periods of unemployment (H) 1966	09	02	38	11	-11	02	34	21	-05	-24
43	Better off compared with U.K. 1966	14	-02	-56	-04	-22	-07	-23	-00	-03	00
44	General satisfaction 1966	-13	-05	-70	13	-06	-17	08	04	-06	01
50	Correct decision to emigrate 1966	-09	-06	-72	05	-03	-24	-06	-06	04	03
51	Rest of life in Australia 1966	04	-08	-71	08	09	-14	10	02	05	-07
11	Passive vocabulary (H) 1961	-13	22	04	61	-04	00	-12	-21	-10	-02
12	Active vocabulary (H) 1961	12	-15	-04	76	-01	-02	06	-07	15	15
35	Assimilation level (H) 1961	49	-01	02	52	-04	-35	-10	03	10	05
52	Passive vocabulary (H) 1966	-15	15	04	53	-15	-15	-06	-22	-18	04
53	Active vocabulary (H) 1966	13	-14	-18	73	-02	03	18	-12	-02	06
56	Assimilation level (H) 1966	29	07	-40	62	-01	-05	19	03	03	10
14	Age (H) 1959	02	06	03	-11	88	01	-01	06	-07	-02
15	Age (W) 1959	04	02	01	-13	89	00	-05	06	-05	03
20	Residential mobility U.K. 1959	01	14	-04	-02	46	06	09	-03	-30	01
28	Birth order (W) U.K. 1959	-02	-11	04	07	37	03	-12	07	12	-04
37	Housing satisfaction 1966	08	-02	-33	11	-41	-21	07	08	-07	-03
1	District satisfaction 1961	11	04	08	07	-03	-59	-08	-03	-06	07
2	Working conditions 1961	03	-08	-05	02	-09	-48	16	04	10	00
4	Better off compared with U.K. 1961	17	-15	-19	-09	-12	-53	-19	-09	-04	04
5	General satisfaction 1961	09	04	-21	07	03	-76	02	-07	06	-05
7	Satisfaction with decision 1961	11	04	-06	05	-02	-74	04	-05	-07	-06
8	Rest of life in Australia 1961	19	07	-21	02	08	-71	-04	02	-01	-06
18	Number of job changes (H) U.K. 1959	-07	-16	01	03	14	-09	30	-17	-24	-29
34	Active vocabulary (W) 1961	14	-18	-02	29	02	-21	38	-37	04	18
39	Number of job changes (H) 1966	-02	06	00	03	-07	07	47	07	08	-05
55	Active vocabulary (W) 1966	12	-24	-06	19	04	-21	43	-40	-13	27
57	Assimilation level (W) 1966	20	-06	-35	03	-08	-10	54	-24	-09	37
6	Friendships 1961	29	19	-01	07	22	-09	-25	-30	10	02
22	Education (W) U.K. 1959	12	18	-04	-06	-15	10	-10	-43	03	-23
33	Passive vocabulary (W) 1961	-19	07	10	22	-14	-14	06	-66	-02	-02
45	Friendships 1966	18	10	-18	01	12	08	-04	-49	16	-05
54	Passive vocabulary (W) 1966	-11	11	08	23	-11	-19	02	-64	03	00
13	Number of children U.K. 1959	-06	-18	13	06	19	-07	04	10	-68	-07
23	Time deciding to emigrate 1959	09	05	10	-12	03	04	19	00	-34	-12
41	Head's weekly earnings 1966	-09	36	-14	00	-22	14	-20	-09	-43	06
42	Total income 1966	02	08	-19	02	02	-04	-30	-00	-73	06
27	Association activity (H) U.K. 1959	-02	11	-04	20	-02	09	02	02	-03	69
30	Association activity (W) U.K. 1959	-00	17	01	06	-01	-07	-03	01	06	70
	Latent roots	3.41	2.92	3.40	3.17	2.70	3.36	2.09	2.48	1.85	1.94

Table A10 Slang test norms (Active vocabulary) for Australian born men and women and for three occupational status levels

Sex and occupational status		Percentiles										Totals f
		0-20		21-40		41-60		61-80		81-100		
		f	Score	f	Score	f	Score	f	Score	f	Score	
Men	high	12	23+	11	16-22	11	13-15	12	10-12	10	0-9	56
	medium	23	27+	18	23-26	16	19-21	21	16-18	21	0-15	99
	low	8	28+	7	24-27	10	20-23	8	18-19	7	0-17	40
Women	high	4	17+	4	14-16	4	11-13	3	8-10	3	0-7	18
	medium	11	18+	11	15-17	14	12-14	13	9-11	10	0-8	59
	low	4	19+	3	17-18	4	13-16	3	10-12	2	0-9	16

Appendix II

The Slang Test

From the 20-item Slang test published in Richardson (1961) and in Taft (1965) four words and phrases were removed and replaced by other words for the measurement of acculturation on the short form of the Assimilation scale. The words removed were 'Brumby', 'To be stiff', 'Swy' and 'Winge'. They were replaced by 'Banker', 'Lubra', 'Ging' and 'Larrikin'. In selecting this final list it was hoped to avoid some ambiguities and to increase the generality of the words so that they would be equally applicable throughout Australia. This was not entirely successful. For example 'Ging' means a catapult and is known to most children born in Western Australia but is not so well known in other states. 'Yakka' not only means work throughout Australia but also means a particular kind of tree in South Australia (the Yacca). It is hoped that these were the main errors of judgment in selecting suitable items for this test.

On the basis of evidence from samples of Australian born university students, representative samples of the general population of Perth and other samples of Australians obtained from each state in Australia, it can be said that 90 per cent or more know the meanings of all 20 words in the revised list. The order of item difficulty for these words among British immigrants interviewed in 1961 (after an average of 18 months' residence) ranged from 'Banker' and 'The good oil' which were incorrectly defined by 62 out of the 412 in the sample to 'Make a blue' which was incorrectly defined by only four immigrants. The complete list will now be given with the frequency of errors placed, in brackets, immediately after each word or phrase.

Banker (62), The good oil (62), Cockie (59), Offsider (56), A fair cow (56), Deener (32), Yakka (31), Drop one's bundle (25), Skite (23), To be crook (22), Ging (22), Buckley's chance (20), Dill (20), Bonzer (18), Lubra (14), Stoush (14), Larrikin (14), Stickybeak (12), Strides (11), Make a blue (4).

A test retest reliability coefficient of 0.86 ($p < .01$) for twenty-one Australian born university students was obtained when the interval between testing on the active vocabulary measure was 17 days. For a small sample of fourteen overseas born students tested on the same two occasions the reliability coefficient was 0.94 ($p < .01$). Corresponding reliability coefficients for passive vocabulary scores were 0.84 ($p < .01$) for the Australian students and 0.90 ($p < .01$) for overseas born students.

As it was important to obtain information on the active vocabulary scores (slang usage as opposed to slang knowledge) of as wide a range of Australians as possible, copies of the slang test were sent to friends and colleagues in Benalla, Melbourne, Sydney and Canberra with the request to have them completed by representative samples of Australians. Information on age, sex, place of birth, occupation of self and of father and age at which full time education ceased was obtained on the same sheets.

Though haphazard sampling and administrative procedures of this kind are technically undesirable, it was possible to check the pattern of responses obtained under these conditions with the pattern of responses obtained from Australians interviewed individually as part of a social survey conducted in Perth, Western Australia. For the two largest occupational groups the distribution of scores appeared approximately equal for the two types of sampling and administrative procedures. Other samples of Australian born respondents were

obtained with the assistance of Rotary and R.S.L. clubs in the states of Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania, New South Wales and Victoria. The results of all these samples were combined and analysed for age, sex, marital and occupational status differences but only sex and occupational status showed consistent differences in frequency of slang usage. Separate norms were compiled for high, medium and low occupational status men and women. These norms are presented in Table A10 shown p. 130. The cut off score corresponding to the frequency of slang usage employed by at least 80 per cent of each category of Australian born respondents has been shown in italics.

The complete slang test as used in the norming studies of Australian born residents and as used in the measurement of acculturation in the studies reported in Chapters 5 to 8 of this book, is shown below. The correct meaning of each word has been shown in italics.

WORD LIST

Below you will find a list of words and phrases printed in capital letters. Opposite each of these are four other words or phrases. You are asked to do two things.

First, underline the word or phrase you think is nearest in meaning to the one printed in capital letters. If you do not think you know the meaning of the word or phrase, please guess.

Second, quickly underline Often, Sometimes or Never to show how frequently you use the word in everyday life.

Here is an example:

A. COBBER	(a) A fish	<i>Often</i>
	(b) A shoemaker	Sometimes
	(c) <i>A friend</i>	Never
	(d) A metal	
1. OFFSIDER	(a) A namesake	Often
	(b) <i>An assistant</i>	Sometimes
	(c) A bridle	Never
	(d) A scoundrel	
2. COCKIE	(a) A wagtail	Often
	(b) A hat	Sometimes
	(c) A chain	Never
	(d) <i>A farmer</i>	
3. SKITE	(a) <i>A boaster</i>	Often
	(b) A type of aeroplane	Sometimes
	(c) A term used in skating	Never
	(d) A lead miner	
4. A FAIR COW	(a) A pin up girl	Often
	(b) <i>Something very disagreeable</i>	Sometimes
	(c) Butterfat	Never
	(d) Something valuable	

5. BONZER	(a) <i>Something excellent</i> (b) Rye whisky (c) A deep sea fish (d) A breed of dog	Often Sometimes Never
6. TO BE CROOK	(a) To brand cattle (b) To be a coward (c) <i>To feel ill</i> (d) To speak badly	Often Sometimes Never
7. DROP ONE'S BUNDLE	(a) To start work (b) To eat well (c) To hitch hike (d) <i>To give up</i>	Often Sometimes Never
8. BANKER	(a) A holiday (b) <i>A river in flood</i> (c) A good crop (d) A flowering shrub	Often Sometimes Sometimes
9. LUBRA	(a) <i>A coloured girl</i> (b) Part of a coconut (c) A stone fruit (d) A long poem	Often Sometimes Never
10. STICKYBEAK	(a) <i>An inquisitive person</i> (b) A bird (c) A mongrel dog (d) A clerk	Often Sometimes Never
11. STRIDES	(a) Fence posts (b) Pig's trotters (c) Gum boots (d) <i>A pair of trousers</i>	Often Sometimes Never
12. MAKE A BLUE	(a) Prepare a meal (b) Go sailing (c) <i>Make a mistake</i> (d) Give orders	Often Sometimes Never
13. STOUGH	(a) A baby girl (b) A cemetery (c) A dry well (d) <i>A fight</i>	Often Sometimes Never
14. BUCKLEY'S CHANCE	(a) A gold mine (b) A tall story (c) A good chance (d) <i>No chance at all</i>	Often Sometimes Never
15. THE GOOD OIL	(a) <i>Correct information</i> (b) A shearer's cook (c) Kerosene (d) Beer	Often Sometimes Never

16. GING	(a) A prosperous farmer	Often
	(b) <i>A catapult</i>	Sometimes
	(c) A flag	Never
	(d) A kind of kangaroo	
17. DILL	(a) A small stream	Often
	(b) A three-legged stool	Sometimes
	(c) <i>A dunce</i>	Never
	(d) A kind of kangaroo	
18. YAKKA	(a) A gumtree	Often
	(b) A native burial ground	Sometimes
	(c) An old home	Never
	(d) <i>Work</i>	
19. DEENER	(a) A penny	Often
	(b) <i>A shilling</i>	Sometimes
	(c) An oil lamp	Never
	(d) A packed lunch	
20. LARRIKIN	(a) A tropical fruit	Often
	(b) A relative	Sometimes
	(c) A belt	Never
	(d) <i>A hooligan</i>	

Note: The total score (range 0-40) on the Active Vocabulary measure of this slang test is the sum of the frequency responses, where each word, defined correctly, is scored 'Often' (2), 'Sometimes' (1) and 'Never' (0).

Appendix III

The Measurement of Satisfaction, Identification and Acculturation

The three scales of satisfaction, identification and acculturation were constructed on the basis of the following items and tests:

(a) *Satisfaction*

- (i) On the whole do you feel fairly satisfied or dissatisfied with your life in Australia?
- (ii) Would you say that on the whole you are satisfied or dissatisfied with your present accommodation?
- (iii) Except for possible holidays would you like to spend the rest of your life in Australia?
- (iv) On the whole would you say that you are satisfied or dissatisfied with living in Newtown?
- (v) On the chart below, indicate with a tick as accurately as you can remember, the way you felt about Australia from the time you arrived, up to and including the present moment.
 - Felt very satisfied
 - Felt fairly satisfied
 - No feeling either way
 - Felt fairly dissatisfied
 - Felt very dissatisfied

(Answers of 'Satisfied' to questions (i), (ii), and (iv) were scored plus. An answer of 'Yes' to question (iii) was scored plus. Two scores were derived from question (v). The first of these was scored plus when the last tick recorded was placed against 'Felt very satisfied'. The second was scored plus if no ticks had been placed against either of the 'dissatisfied' response choices at any time since arrival in Australia.)

(b) *Identification*

- (i) A Perceived Similarity Index (PSI) consisting of a 20-statement opinion questionnaire. Each opinion required an 'Agree' or 'Disagree' response. Below each opinion statement two questions were printed each of which required a response of 'Yes' or 'No'.
 - Would most Australians share your opinion?
 - 'Yes' or 'No'
 - Would most British immigrants share your opinion?
 - 'Yes' or 'No'
- (ii) Do you feel yourself to be more Australian than British now, or do you feel you haven't changed very much at all?
- (iii) If a British team of athletes or other sportsmen came out to play an Australian team, which side do you think you would support?

(The scoring of the PSI is described in Chapter 4 of the present volume. A score of 16 or more out of a possible 40 was scored plus. A check on the scores of the 45 married couples in the Australian comparison group had revealed that 95 per cent of the Australian men and 80 per cent of their wives had scores of 16 or more on this test. Responses to questions (ii) and (iii) which indicated feeling more Australian or support for an Australian team were scored plus.)

(c) *Acculturation*

- (i) Knowledge as measured by a 20-item multi-choice test of Australian slang words and phrases.

- (ii) Beliefs as measured by response congruence with five cross validated Australian normative statements.

'It is sensible for parents to allow boys to go to school barefoot in the summer months.'

(Agree).

Soccer is the most interesting team game to watch.'

(Disagree).

'Mass produced goods are seldom as good as those made by hand.'

(Disagree).

'There is no crime worse than rape.'

(Disagree).

'Commercial broadcasting makes for better programs.'

(Agree).

- (iii) Behaviour as measured by the extent to which each word or phrase in the Australian slang test was said to be used. Response categories were 'Often', 'Sometimes' or 'Never'.

A knowledge score of 18 or more out of 20 was accounted as high, i.e., above the median for the British immigrant men and women. Australians by definition knew the correct meaning of all the words. However, in constructing the cumulative scale of assimilation all those who obtained 13 or more were scored plus. On the belief measure (Australian norms) test a score of two or more was scored plus. On the behavioural measure, which was not of course independent of the knowledge measure in this study, scores of 18 or more among the men and 11 or more among the women were scored plus. Eighty per cent of the Australian men and women scored above these scores, i.e., above 18 or above 11, according to sex.

When Guttman (1950) first introduced cumulative scaling he suggested four principal requirements of a reliable scale.

- (a) That the frequency of responses for each scale pattern should not be very high in some and very low in others (i.e., balanced marginals).
- (b) That there should be fewer errors than non-errors within any item.
- (c) That the distribution of errors within any item should not be heavily concentrated in only one or two non-scale patterns of response (i.e., distribution of errors should be random).
- (d) That the proportion of non-errors to errors should be at least 0.90 (Index of Reproducibility).

For the married male British immigrants whose response patterns are shown in Table 4.1 all of these criteria are met, so it might seem that the statistical properties of this particular assimilation scale are at least minimally adequate. In particular it should be noted that the Index of Reproducibility (IR) is 0.94. There is, however, a further problem which concerns the possibility of chance factors producing a spuriously high level of reproducibility. When 10 or more items are included in a scale it is most unlikely that an IR = 0.94 could occur by chance, but with only three items an index of this size might be no larger than the smallest index obtainable. To determine whether any obtained IR is, in fact, greater than the magnitude to be expected by chance,

several more or less adequate methods have been devised. At the present time there is no objective basis for choosing one rather than another, and for all the cumulative scales reported in this book the Jackson Plus Percentage Ratio (PPR) has been adopted. The methods proposed by Jackson and by other workers are discussed by White and Salz (1957) and more recently by Chilton (1969). When the Jackson test is applied to the data in Table 4.1, $PPR = 0.80$. As the convention is to accept $PPR = 0.70$ as indicating an IR that is significantly above chance level, the assimilation scale under discussion once again appears to be satisfactory.

The wives of the ninety British immigrants just discussed (Richardson, 1961) were interviewed separately and acceptable cumulative scales of satisfaction, identification and acculturation were found. For the overall scale of assimilation $IR = 0.97$ and $PPR = 0.88$. In the study of Dutch male immigrants by Taft (1961) the same items were used to measure the three aspects of assimilation. Three satisfactory cumulative scales were obtained and the existence of a highly satisfactory overall scale of assimilation was once again confirmed ($IR = 0.97$; $PPR = 0.87$).

It is clear that statistically reliable scales can be constructed which purport to measure assimilation. Someone answers a question, or a series of questions, and from these answers a score is derived on the basis of which that person is typed, for example, as Acculturated. The properties of a reliable cumulative scale are such that when someone is Acculturated he should also have passed the items concerned with identification and satisfaction. It is noteworthy that in this particular example, for the British married males shown in Table 4.1, this prediction is true in only 55 per cent of the cases. Corresponding figures for the wives of these British immigrants is 60 per cent and for the Dutch males is 50 per cent. Though this is a point of criticism (see Emery, 1962) and the scale would have been a better one if these errors had not been present, it could be argued that the reliability of this scale, as of any other scale, should be considered in terms of its overall characteristics and not in terms of one section taken in isolation (see Richardson, 1963). It should be noted that in the actual classification of anyone's assimilation level, non-scale patterns of response have been scored in the same way as the corresponding patterns which form a perfect scale. For example, individuals having any of the response patterns shown in the top three rows of Table 4.1 have been classified as Acculturated (Score 3) even though rows two and three do not form perfect scale patterns. It was assumed originally that individuals who show up as acculturated and identified but not satisfied (row two) or as acculturated and satisfied but not identified (row three) have these errors only through some random fluctuation in the 'true' cut off points. To maintain comparability between this assimilation scale and the shortened version of the scale, discussed in Chapter 5, this assumption regarding the scoring of response patterns shown in Table 4.1 has been retained for most of the analyses in this book. However, some evidence is presented in Chapter 5 for considering the non-scale pattern of response shown in row three of Table 4.1 as representing a theoretically significant type of immigrant and not merely a statistical artefact, i.e., the Quasi-acculturated (QA). It is always possible that some of the other non-scale patterns of response represent something more than random error. This view has not been adopted here because the number of immigrants having other kinds of non-scale response patterns is relatively small.

In a shipboard study of British immigrant returners undertaken in December 1966 (Richardson, 1968) a category of eighteen married, male, skilled manual workers, all of whom had received assisted passages to Australia, was separated into a sub-category of ten who reported that they were returning permanently to Britain and a sub-category of eight who reported that they were undecided whether they would stay in Britain, re-emigrate elsewhere or ultimately come back to Australia. Those returning to Britain with the intention of remaining there had originally emigrated without any opposition from their parents. On personality tests, they emerged as less 'healthy' with a tendency to believe in the influence of luck or chance as a significant determinant of personal success or failure. During their stay in Australia they had tended to mix less with Australians and were less likely to have developed any positive attachment to the country. In returning to Britain, they looked forward with most enthusiasm to the economic aspects of life there and the relative security of the Welfare State. In further support of some of these trends, the following evidence has been taken from an account of a shipboard study conducted by a Commonwealth Immigration Department psychologist (Dovey, 1967). 'Those who strongly discounted any possibility of ever wanting to return to Australia were generally less outgoing. Both in the United Kingdom prior to emigration and since their arrival in Australia they had little active involvement in groups or organizations and few friends or acquaintances. In Britain a few close friends and a familiar social and physical environment may have sustained them, but in the totally new environment of Australia their introverted tendencies may have made the task of adjustment too difficult'. Evidence consistent with these findings on the permanent returner has been reported by Richmond (1967) for a large sample of British immigrants who returned to their homeland from Canada. 'Those who planned to remain in Britain . . . were more likely to feel that their position in the community had fallen and to give economic reasons for their return to Britain. Nevertheless, the most distinctive feature of those remaining in Britain was their low level of social integration in Canada. Not so many belonged to Canadian associations or had Canadian friends . . . they were more critical of health and social welfare services in Canada and they had a higher proportion who were dissatisfied with their experiences in Canada'.

By contrast with the permanent returners Richardson (1968) found that the undecided returners (potential re-emigrants?) tended to have parents who were more opposed to the decision to emigrate. Undecided returners were more likely to be socially extraverted and on arrival in Australia to have mixed more with Australians and to have been more influenced by Australian attitudes. Despite a higher degree of success in adjusting to their new life and in establishing themselves in Australia they appeared to be more susceptible to anxiety. They seemed to be returning in part to seek emotional reassurance from the familiar faces and places of their homeland. The Commonwealth Immigration Department study reported that 'Those interviewees who considered it possible that they might return to Australia appeared generally more active, more extraverted and more realistic in the appraisal of their difficulties and limitations'. Those in the Canadian study 'who were uncertain of their future plans or were considering moving to a third country closely resembled those who planned to return to Canada in many respects . . . Their economic experience in Canada had been favourable, their level of social integration and satisfaction with life in Canada was high'.

References

- Abelson, R. P., Aronson, E., Newcomb, T. M., McGuire, W. J., Rosenberg, M. J. and Tannenbaum, P. H. (eds.) (1968) *Theories on cognitive consistency: a source book*. Chicago: Rand-McNally.
- Adler, D. L. (1966) The contemporary Australian family. *Human Relations*, 19, 265-82.
- Appleyard, R. T. (1962) Determinants of return migration: a socio-economic study of United Kingdom migrants who returned from Australia. *Economic Record*, September, 352-68.
- (1964) *British emigration to Australia*. Canberra: Australian National University Press.
- (Book in preparation).
- Barker, R. G. (1960) Ecology and motivation. In M. R. Jones (ed.), *Nebraska symposium on motivation*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- (1963) *The stream of behaviour*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.
- Beijer, G., Frijda, N. H., Hofstede, B. P. and Wentholt, R. (1961) *Characteristics of overseas migrants*. The Hague: Government Printing and Publishing Office.
- Benyei, L. (1960) Greek and South Slav immigrants in Melbourne. In C. A. Price (ed.), *The study of immigrants in Australia*. Canberra: Australian National University.
- Brein, M. and David, K. H. (1971) Intercultural communication and the adjustment of the sojourner. *Psychological Bulletin*, 76, 215-30.
- Brown, L. B. (1954) *Some psychological characteristics of applicants for assisted migration to New Zealand*. Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of London.
- (1956) English migrants to New Zealand: a pilot Rorschach study. *Australian Journal of Psychology*, 8, 106-10.
- (1960) English migrants to New Zealand: the decision to move. *Human Relations*, 13, 167-74.
- (1961) English migrants' expectations of New Zealand. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 51, 3-11.
- Chilton, R. J. (1969) A review and comparison of simple statistical tests for scalogram analysis. *American Sociological Review*, 34, 238-45.
- Cooley, C. H. (1902) *Human nature and the social order*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Curle, A. and Trist, E. L. (1947) Transitional communities and social reconnection. *Human Relations*, 1, 240-88.
- David, K. H. (1972) Intercultural adjustment and applications of reinforcement theory to problems of 'culture shock'. *Trends*, 4, 1-64.

- Dovey, W. R. (1967) The departure of settlers from Australia. *Final report of the committee on social patterns of the immigration advisory council*. Canberra: Department of Immigration.
- Egbert, L., Battit, G., Welch, C. and Bartlett, M. (1964) Reduction of post operative pain by encouragement and instruction of patients. *New England Journal of Medicine*, **270**, 825-7.
- Eisenstadt, S. N. (1954) *The absorption of immigrants*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Ellemers, J. E. (1962) The determinants of emigration: an analysis of Dutch studies on migration. *Sociologia Neerlandica*, **2**, 41-58.
- Emery, F. E. (1962) Critical notice. *British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, **1**, 72-5.
- Festinger, L. (1957) *Theory of cognitive dissonance*. Evanston, Ill.: Peterson and Co.
- Fiedler, F. E., Mitchell, T. and Triandis, H. C. (1971) The culture assimilator: an approach to cross-cultural training. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, **55**, 95-102.
- Fong, S. L. M. (1965) Assimilation of Chinese in America: changes in orientation and social perception. *American Journal of Sociology*, **71**, 265-73.
- Forster, E. M. (1924). *A passage to India*. (Reprinted 1942). London: Dent.
- Frijda, N. H. (1961) Emigrants—non-emigrants. In G. Beijer, N. H. Frijda, B. P. Hofstede and R. Wentholt. *Characteristics of overseas migrants*. The Hague: Government Printing and Publishing Office.
- Frost, I. (1938) Homesickness and immigrant psychoses. *Journal of Mental Science*, **84**, 801-47.
- Gerard, H. B. and Mathewson, G. C. (1966) The effect of severity of initiation on liking for a group: a replication. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, **2**, 278-87.
- Gibson, H. B. (1963) A slang vocabulary test as an indicator of delinquent association. *British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, **2**, 50-5.
- Giles, H. (1971) Ethnocentrism and the evaluation of accented speech. *British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, **10**, 187-8.
- Ginsberg, A. M. (1964) *Um estudo psicológico de Imigrantes e Migrantes*. Sao Paulo, Revista di Psicologia normal e patologica. Monograph.
- Glass, D. V. (1950) Introduction to cultural assimilation of immigrants. Supplement to *Population Studies*. March.
- Gordon, M. M. (1964) *Assimilation in American life*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Grubel, H. G. and Scott, A. D. (1967) Determinants of migration: the highly skilled. *International Migration*, **5**, 127-39.
- Guttman, L. (1950) Chapters 2-11 in S. A. Stouffer, L. Guttman, E. A. Suchman, P. F. Lazarsfeld, S. A. Star and J. A. Clausen *Studies in Social Psychology in World War II, Volume 4: Measurement and Prediction*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Hartley, R. E. (1958) *The acceptance of new reference groups: final report*. Special research projects, NR 171-033, 31 Aug., City College, New York.
- Heiss, J. (1966) Sources of satisfaction and assimilation among Italian immigrants. *Human Relations*, **19**, 165-77.
- (1969) Factors related to immigrant assimilation: pre-migration traits. *Social Forces*, **47**, 422-8.

- and Nash, D. (1967) The stranger in the laboratory culture revisited. *Human Organization*, 26, 157-63.
- Irwin, F. C. (1835) *The state and position of Western Australia: commonly called the Swan-River settlement*. London: Simpkin.
- Jackson, J. M. and Saltzstein, H. D. (1958) The effect of person-group relationships on conformity processes. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 57, 17-24.
- James, J. (1968) The assimilation of recruits to the Pacific Island Regiment. Unpublished B.A. Hons. thesis, University of Western Australia.
- Janis, I. L. (1958) *Psychological stress*. New York: Wiley.
- (1968) Stages in the decision making process. In R. P. Abelson *et al.* (eds.), *Theories of cognitive consistency: a source book*. Chicago: Rand-McNally.
- and King, B. T. (1954) The influence of role playing on opinion change. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 49, 211-18.
- and Mann, L. (1965) Effectiveness of emotional role playing in modifying smoking habits and attitudes. *Journal of Experimental Research in Personality*, 1, 84-90.
- Jensen, F. A. S. (1966) Psychological aspects of the social isolation of refugees. *International Migration Digest*, 3, 40-60.
- Johnston, R. (1963) A new approach to the meaning of assimilation. *Human Relations*, 16, 295-8.
- (1965) *Immigrant assimilation*. Perth, W.A.: Paterson Brokensha.
- (1969) *The assimilation myth: a study of second generation Polish immigrants in Western Australia*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- (1972) *Future Australians: immigrant children in Perth, Western Australia*. Canberra: Australian National University Press.
- Kelman, H. C. (1966) The induction of action and attitude change. In C. W. Backman and P. F. Secord (eds.), *Problems in social psychology*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Kent, D. P. (1953) *The refugee intellectual*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Klineberg, O. (1960) Some footnotes to the psychology of intergroup relations. In J. G. Peatman and E. L. Hartley (eds.), *Festschrift for Gardner Murphy*. New York: Harper.
- Kohlberg, L. (1969) Stage and sequence: the cognitive-developmental approach to socialization. In D. A. Goslin (ed.), *Handbook of socialization theory and research*. New York: Rand-McNally.
- Lawless, D. J. (1965) The emigration of British graduates to Canada. *Occupational Psychology*, 39, 115-21.
- McCann, W. H. (1941) Nostalgia: a review of the literature. *Psychological Bulletin*, 38, 165-82.
- (1943) Nostalgia: a descriptive and comparative study. *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 62, 97-104.
- McEwan, P. J. M. (1964) European assimilation in a non-European context. *International Migration*, 2, 107-27.
- Mann, L. and Janis, I. L. (1968) A follow-up study on the long-term effects of emotional role playing. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 8, 339-42.

- Martin, J. I. (1965) *Refugee settlers: a study of displaced persons in Australia*. Canberra: Australian National University Press.
- Mead, G. H. (1934) *Mind, self and society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Mills, T. M. (1957) *Group structure and the newcomer: an experimental study of group expansion*. Oslo: Oslo University Press.
- Mitchell, A. G. (1946) *The pronunciation of English in Australia*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson.
- (1957) *Spoken English*. London: Macmillan.
- Mowrer, O. H. et al. (1954) Symposium on learning theory and identification. *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 84, 197-236.
- Nash, D. J. (1963) The ethnologist as stranger: an essay in the sociology of knowledge. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 19, 149-67.
- and Wolfe, A. W. (1957) The stranger in laboratory culture. *American Sociological Review*, 22, 400-5.
- Nawas, M. M. and Platt, J. J. (1965) A future-oriented theory of nostalgia. *Journal of Individual Psychology*, 21, 51-7.
- Newcomb, T. M. (1943) *Personality and social change*. New York: Dryden Press.
- Odegaard, O (1932) Emigration and insanity: a study of mental disease among the Norwegian born population of Minnesota. *Acta Psychiatrica et Neurologia*, Supplementum, 4.
- (1950) On the psychology of social groups as illustrated by their incidence of mental disorder. In M. L. Reymert (ed.), *Feelings and emotions*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Park, R. E. and Burgess, E. W. (1924) *Introduction to the science of sociology* (2nd ed.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Patterson, S. (1963) *Dark strangers*. London: Tavistock.
- Pervin, L. A. (1968) Performance and satisfaction as a function of individual-environment fit. *Psychological Bulletin*, 69, 56-8.
- Price, C. A. (1969) The study of assimilation. In J. A. Jackson (ed.), *Migration*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- (ed.) (1971) *Australian immigration: a bibliography and digest* (No. 2, 1970), Canberra: Australian National University.
- Radloff, R. and Helmreich, R. (1968) *Groups under stress*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.
- Richardson, A. (1950) Voice and personality. Unpublished student investigation, Department of Psychology, University of Western Australia.
- (1953) British immigrants in Western Australia: a study of the assimilation process. Unpublished B.A. Hons. thesis, University of Western Australia.
- (1956) British emigrants to Australia. Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of London.
- (1957a) The assimilation of British immigrants in Australia. *Human Relations*, 10, 157-66.
- (1957b) Some psychosocial characteristics of satisfied and dissatisfied British immigrant manual workers in Western Australia. *Human Relations*, 10, 235-48.
- (1959) Some psychosocial aspects of British emigration to Australia. *British Journal of Sociology*, 10, 327-37.
- (1961) The assimilation of British immigrants in a Western Australian

- community: a psychological study. *Research group for European migration problems* (double issue), 9, 1-75.
- (1963) A reply to Dr. Emery. *British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 2, 67-70.
 - (1967) A theory and a method for the psychological study of assimilation. *International Migration Review*, 2, 3-30.
 - (1968) A shipboard study of some British born immigrants returning to the United Kingdom. *International Migration*, 6, 221-37.
 - (1971) Predicting socio-economic satisfaction levels among British immigrants in Australia. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 2, 51-69.
 - and Taft, R. (1968) Australian attitudes toward immigrants: a review of social survey findings. *International Migration Review*, 2, 46-55.
- Richmond, A. H. (1967) *The thousand dollar cure—a study of return migration from Canada to Britain*. A paper presented at the meeting of the Canadian Association of Sociology and Anthropology held in Ottawa, 10-11 June 1967.
- (1968) Return migration from Canada to Britain. *Population Studies*, 22, 263-71.
- Rotter, J. B. (1966) Generalized expectancies for internal versus external control of reinforcement. *Psychological Monographs: General and Applied*, 80 (whole No. 609).
- Salas, R. G. (1967) The assimilation of male volunteer recruits into the Australian Military Forces. Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Western Australia.
- Samora, J. and Deane, W. N. (1956) Language usage as a possible index of acculturation. *Sociology and Social Research*, 40, 307-11.
- Sampson, E. E. (1965) The study of ordinal position: antecedents and outcomes. In B. A. Maher (ed.), *Progress in experimental personality research* (Vol. 2). New York: Academic Press.
- Sanford, R. N. (1955) The dynamics of identification. *Psychological Review*, 62, 106-18.
- Sarbin, T. R. and Jones, D. S. (1955) An experimental analysis of role behaviour. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 50, 236-41.
- Schachter, S. (1959) *The psychology of affiliation: experimental studies of the sources of gregariousness*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Schuetz, A. (1944) The stranger. *American Journal of Sociology*, 49, 499-507.
- (1945) The homecomer. *American Journal of Sociology*, 50, 369-76.
- Selltiz, C. and Cook, S. W. (1962) Factors influencing attitudes of foreign students towards the host country. *Journal of Social Issues*, 18, 7-23.
- Siegel, A. E. and Siegel, S. (1957) Reference groups, membership groups, and attitude change. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 55, 360-4.
- Simmel, G. (translated by K. H. Wolff) (1950) *The sociology of Georg Simmel*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press.
- Social Surveys (Gallup Poll) Ltd. (1966) *Image of Australia*. London.
- Storrs, R. (1939) *Orientations*. London: Nicholson and Watson.
- Taft, R. (1953) The shared frame of reference concept applied to the assimilation of immigrants. *Human Relations*, 6, 45-55.
- (1961) The assimilation of Dutch male immigrants in a Western Australian community. *Human Relations*, 14, 265-81.
 - (1963) The assimilation orientation of immigrants and Australians. *Human Relations*, 16, 279-93.
 - (1965) *From stranger to citizen*. Perth: University of Western Australia Press.

- (1967) The role of personality traits in the social assimilation of immigrants. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, 3, 19-31.
- and Doczy, A. G. (1962) The assimilation of intellectual refugees in Western Australia: with special reference to Hungarians. *Research Group for European Migration Problems* (double issue), 10, 1-82.
- Thibaut, J. W. and Strickland, L. H. (1956) Psychological set and social conformity. *Journal of Personality*, 25, 115-29.
- Thomas, B. (1954) *Migration and economic growth*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tyhurst, L. (1951) Displacement and immigration: a study in social psychiatry. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 107, 561-8.
- Verwey-Jonker, H. and Brackel, P. O. M. (1957) *The assimilation and integration of pre- and post-war refugees in the Netherlands*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Warren, J. R. (1966) Birth order and social behaviour. *Psychological Bulletin*, 65, 38-49.
- White, B. W. and Salz, E. (1957) Measurement of reproducibility. *Psychological Bulletin*, 54, 81-99.
- Wilkes, J. (ed.) (1971) *How many Australians: immigration and growth*. Proceedings of 37th Summer School of Australian Institute of Political Science held at Canberra, 30 January to 1 February 1971.
- Wolff, K. H. (trans.) (1950) *The sociology of Georg Simmel*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press.
- Wollaston, J. R. (1967) *Wollaston's Picton Journal (1841-1844)*. Osborne Park, Western Australia: Paterson Brokensha.
- Zajonc, R. B. (1952) Aggressive attitudes of the 'stranger' as a function of conformity pressures. *Human Relations*, 5, 205-16.
- Ziller, R. C. (1965) Toward a theory of open and closed groups. *Psychological Bulletin*, 64, 164-82.
- and Behringer, R. D. (1961) A longitudinal study of the assimilation of the new child in the group. *Human Relations*, 14, 121-33.

Index

Abelson, R. P., 45, 199, 201

Acculturated settlers: case histories of, 112-16; **description of**, 152-3; see also **Settler types**

Acculturation: advantageous, 5, 44-6, 144; **aspect of**, 25, 144-5; **correlates of optional**, 185-6; **measurement of**, 62-3, 191-3, 196; **obligatory**, 5, 43-4, 144; **optional**, 5, 46-8, 144-5; **stage of**, 42-8, 54-5, 69

Adjustment: economic, 39, 100; **social**, 38, 40; **stable**, 6, 75, 138, 140, 163

Adler, D. L., 140, 199

Age of immigrant, 54-5, 70-2, 140-1, 148, 171

Anthropology, 1, 3

Anxiety: post migration, 27, 150; **premigration**, 22, 27; see also **Fear**

Appleyard, R. T., 3, 13, 15, 16, 20, 21, 22, 52, 58, 84, 118, 130, 131, 199

Aronson, E., 199

Assimilation: aspects of, 140-5; **correlates of**, 72, 147-9, 187-8; **definitions of**, 6; **depression pattern in**, 32-6; **elation pattern in**, 28-32; **end stage of**, 44, 47, 146; **long form of scale**, 49-51, 195-7; **of children**, 40, 95, 97, 142; **progression in**, 78-88; **psychological theory of**, 4-7, 24-48; **recovery pattern in**, 36-8; **regression in**, 88-101; **sequences of**, 48, 76, 146-7; **short form of scale**, 50, 60-4; **sociological theory of**, 6-7

Assisted emigration: Commonwealth nominees, 15-16, 22, 127; **eligibility**, 2; **numbers from Britain**, 2; **personal nominees**, 15-16, 127

Australia: as a reference group, 40, 61; attitudes toward, 28; changes in, 42; choice of, 14, 114, 139, 156; emigrant's knowledge of, 72, 173; population of, 1; stereotype of, 3, 14
Australian: climate, 34, 52-3, 154; definition of, 24; immigration policy, 156; speech, 5, 45-7, 69-71, 107, 191-4; style of life, 30, 42, 47, 67, 94, 112, 115, 163

Australians: acceptance by, 106, 144; attitudes of, 28-9, 31, 35, 110-11, 119; contact with, 39, 198

Backman, C. W., 201

Barker, R. G., 3, 199

Bartlett, M., 159, 200

Battit, G., 159, 200

Behringer, R. D., 30, 204

Beijer, G., 20, 32, 199, 200

Benyei, L., 39, 199

Birth order, effects of, 86

Brackel, P. O. M., 39, 204

Brein, M., 4, 199

Britain, ties to, 42, 55, 103, 124, 142, 151, 163

Brown, L. B., 14, 18-19, 22, 27, 199

Burgess, E. W., 43, 202

Canada: alternative country of immigration, 14-15, 114, 156; departure from, 118, 198

Children, of immigrants, 49, 95, 98-9, 133, 142

Chilton, R. J., 197, 199

Clausen, J. A., 200

Cognitive dissonance, 21, 31, 45

Commonwealth nominees, 15-16, 22, 81, 127

Cook, S. W., 32, 203

Cooley, C. H., 45, 199

Correlation analysis, 66-72, 168-88

Culture shock, 32-3

Cumulative scaling, reliability of, 197

Curle, A., 32, 199

David, K. H., 4, 158, 199

Deane, W. N., 46, 203

Demography, 1

Departure from Australia: actual decision, 125-30; consequences of, 130-6; departer types, 120-5, 138, 154-5; growth of disposition, 38, 119-25; opportunity, 125-30; rate and net loss, 128, 153

Dissatisfaction: aspect of, 140-3; stage of, 51, 64

Dissatisfied settlers: case histories of, 97-101; description of, 150-1; see also *Settler types*

Doczy, A. G., 88, 204

Dovey, W. R., 83, 118, 198, 200

Dutch immigrants, 26, 49

Economics, 1

Educational level of immigrants, 173

Egbert, L., 159, 200

Eisenstadt, S. N., 13, 200

Ellemers, J. E., 12, 200

Emery, F. E., 197, 200, 203

Emigration attitude: of husband's parents, 66; of parents, 148; of wife's parents, 66

Emigration decision: bolstering factors in, 21-3; climate of, 10, 14; energising component in, 12-13; intention in, 10; opportunity, 10, 16-19, 139; personality characteristics associated with, 19-21, 139; precipitating factors in, 21; stated reasons for, 10, 16

English, 23, 40, 45, 163

Factor analysis, 66, 168

Family size: number of brothers and sisters, 17; number of children, 37, 72, 85, 142

Fear, anticipatory, 158-9; see also *Anxiety*

Festinger, L., 45, 200

Fiedler, F. E., 159, 200

Fong, S. L. M., 25, 200

Forster, E. M., 4, 200

- Friendship**, 102, 106
Frijda, N. H., 12, 199, 200
Frost, I., 34, 200
- Gerard, H. B.**, 31, 200
Gibson, H. B., 46, 200
Giles, H., 45, 200
Ginsberg, A. M., 159, 200
Glass, D. V., 3, 200
Good Neighbour Council, 167
Gordon, M. M., 6, 44, 200
Goslin, D. A., 201
Grubel, H. G., 11, 200
Guidance procedures for emigrants, 161-5
Guttman, L., 196, 200
- Hartley, E. L.**, 201
Hartley, R. E., 145, 200
Health, 34, 123-4
Heiss, J., 30, 65, 149, 200
Helmreich, R., 86, 202
History, 1
Homecomers, 130-3
Homesickness, 33-4, 123-4, 142
Hofstede, B. P., 199, 200
Hostels: departure from Australia of residents in, 87, 127-8; **length of residence in**, 81-8, 127-8; **life in**, 127-8
Housing in Australia, 91, 99, 124
- Identified settlers: case histories of**, 105-9; **description of**, 151-2; **see also Settler types**
Identification: aspect of, 25, 143-4; **cognitive component in**, 39-40, 73, 147; **correlates of**, 183-4; **measurement of**, 73, 146-7, 195; **motivational component in**, 40-2, 73, 147; **stage of**, 39-42, 53, 67
Income, 132, 177, 181-2
Individual-environment fit, 67
Information about Australia: pre-migration, 157; **sources of**, 13
Insecurity feelings, 100
Interviewing, 26
- Irish**, 24, 163
Irwin, F. C., 164, 201
Italian immigrants, 65, 148
- Jackson, J. A.**, 201
Jackson, J. M., 44, 197, 201
James, J., 51, 201
Janis, I. L., 23, 45, 158, 201
Jensen, F. A. S., 36, 201
Johnston, R., 25, 46, 88, 146, 201
Jones, D. S., 45, 203
Jones, M. R., 199
- Kelman, H. C.**, 45, 201
Kent, D. P., 39, 201
King, B. T., 45, 201
Klineberg, O., 72, 201
Kohlberg, L., 42, 201
- Lawless, D. J.**, 134, 201
Lazarsfeld, P. F., 200
Leisure, enjoyment of, 34, 112
Likert, R., 28
- McCann, W. H.**, 34, 201
McEwan, P. J. M., 39, 201
McGuire, W. J., 199
Maher, B. A., 203
Mann, L., 45, 201
Marriage: into the host group, 79-81; **mixed religions**, 129
Martin, J. I., 88, 202
Mathewson, G. C., 31, 200
Mead, G. H., 45, 202
Mental rehearsal, 158
Migrant unit, definition of, 58
Migratory behaviour, 1, 25
Mills, T. M., 30, 202
Mitchell, A. G., 45, 202
Mitchell, T., 158, 200
Mobility: international, 10-11, 117-18, **see also Transilient migrants; job in Britain**, 17, 71, 87; **residential in Britain**, 17, 148
Mowrer, O. H., 41, 202

- Nash, D. J.**, 30, 46, 201, 202
National identity, 39-40, 72, 111, 143, 147; see also **Identification**
Nawas, M. M., 34, 202
Newcomb, T. M., 5, 199, 202
Newcomer, 29-31, 43, 46; see also **Stranger**
New South Wales, 90-1, 114, 192
New Zealand: as an alternative for British immigrants, 12-14, 97-9, 114, 156; **departs from Australia to**, 59-60, 82, 97, 122, 125, 130
Nostalgia, 33-5, 123-4, 142; see also **Homesickness**
- Occupational status of immigrant**, 66, 143, 172
Odegaard, O., 20, 202
- Park, R. E.**, 43, 202
Patterson, S., 3, 202
Peatman, J. G., 201
Personal nominees, 15-16, 127
Personality of immigrants: change in, 4, 24, 56-57, 80-1, 107-8, 131; **cosmopolitan**, 145; **extraversion (sociability)**, 19, 139, 145; **persuasibility**, 80; **predisposition to change**, 41, 163; **self reliance (dependency, I/E control, adaptive capacity)**, 36, 37-8, 56-7, 86, 106, 163; **self concept**, 31, 45; **self esteem**, 143; **social optimism (social mistrust, cynicism)**, 41, 163
Pervin, L. A., 67, 202
Platt, J. J., 34, 202
Political science, 1
'Pommy', as used by Australians, 73-4, 92, 111, 120
Practical implications of research, 7, 156-67
Prejudice, against the British, 35-6, 42, 100
Price, C. A., vii, 6, 128, 146, 199, 202
Proust, M., 130
Psychiatry, 1
Public opinion polls: Australian, 119-20; **British**, 11-12
- Quasi-aculturated settlers: case histories of**, 109-12; **description and explanation of**, 46, 72-7, 152; **measurement of**, 197; see also **Settler types**
Queensland, 91, 192
- Radioff, R.**, 86, 202
Reference group, 40, 143, 145; see also **Identification**
Regression in assimilation: in cultural acquisitions, 94; **in material circumstances**, 90-1; **in social acceptance**, 91-4
Research methods, 3, 18, 58, 66, 70, 95-6
Residence, length of in Australia, 54, 66, 140
Retirement, 104
Returners: actual re-emigrants, 155-6; **permanent**, 154-5, 198; **potential re-emigrants**, 155, 198
Reymert, M. L., 202
Rhodesia, alternative country of immigration, 14-15
Richardson, A., 2, 3, 4, 5, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 25, 27, 29, 31, 32, 33, 37, 41, 45, 49, 50, 51, 52, 56, 60, 62, 64, 70, 118, 119, 126, 141, 144, 145, 191, 197, 198, 202, 203
Richmond, A. H., 11, 118, 134, 198, 203
Roman Catholics, 129-30
Rosenberg, M. J., 199
Rotter, J. B., 37, 203
- Salas, R. G.**, 51, 203
Saltzstein, H. D., 44, 201
Salz, E., 197, 204
Samora, J., 46, 203
Sampson, E. E., 86, 203
Sanford, R. N., 41, 203
Sarbin, T. R., 45, 203
Satisfaction: aspect of, 140-3; **correlates of**, 181-2; **measurement of**, 195; **stage of**, 26-39
Satisfied settlers: case histories of,

- 101-5; description of, 151; see also **Settler types**
Savings on arrival in Australia, 126
Schachter, S., 86, 203
Schuetz, A., 30, 131, 203
Scott, A. D., 11, 200
Scottish, 24, 104-5, 163
Secord, P. F., 201
Selection procedures: general, 160;
 use of psychological tests in, 159-61
Selltiz, C., 32, 203
Sensory shock, 33
Settlement, permanent, 69, 107, 122
Settler types: Acculturated, 152-3;
 case histories of Acculturated,
 112-15; case histories of Dissatis-
 fied, 97-101; case histories of Identi-
 fied, 105-9; case histories of Quasi-
 acculturated, 109-12; case histories
 of Satisfied, 101-5; Dissatisfied,
 150-1; Identified, 151-2; non-Hostel,
 83-7, 127; Quasi-aculturated, 152;
 Satisfied, 151; summary of, 149-53
Seward, J. P., 41
Siegel, A. E., 44, 203
Siegel, S., 44, 203
Simmel, G., 30, 203, 204
Single immigrants, 79, 125-6; see
 also **Marriage**
Slang test, 59, 70, 146, 191-4
Social interest, 149
Social psychology, 1
Sociology, 1
Sojourners, 4, 10, 158
**South Africa, alternative country of
 immigration**, 14-15, 114
South Australia, 97, 102, 106, 109, 113,
 192
Speech, 5, 45-7, 69-71, 107
Star, S. A., 200
Statistical significance, 18, 52
Storrs, R., 4, 203
Stouffer, S. A., 200
Stranger, 30-1, 46; see also **Newcomer**
Stress, situational, 36-8, 142
Strickland, L. H., 44, 204
Suchman, E. A., 200
Taft, R., 25, 26, 31, 41, 42, 46, 47, 49, 51,
 88, 119, 144, 145, 191, 197, 203, 204
Tannenbaum, P. H., 199
Tasmania, 192
Thibaut, J. W., 44, 204
Thomas, B., 17, 204
Transilient migrants, 134
Triandis, H. C., 158, 200
Trist, E. L., 32, 199
Tyhurst, L., 32, 204
Verwey-Jonker, H., 39, 204
Victoria, 110, 192
Warren, J. R., 86, 204
Welch, C., 159, 200
Welsh, 24, 163
Wentholt, R., 199, 200
Western Australia, 28, 49, 110, 164
White, B. W., 197, 204
Wilkes, J., 156, 204
Wolfe, A. W., 30, 202
Wolfe, T., 130
Wolff, K. H., 203, 204
Wollaston, J. R., 28, 204
**Women: correlates of assimilation
 among the married**, 56-7, 72; reasons
 for emigrating among the married,
 55
Zajonc, R. B., 30, 204
Ziller, R. C., 30, 145, 204

Alan Richardson is a graduate in psychology from the University of Western Australia and a Ph.D. from the University of London. He is now Reader in Psychology at the University of Western Australia.

Dr Richardson's main interest is in the problems of social and cultural assimilation of immigrants, particularly those of British immigrants in Australia. He has published widely on various aspects of psychology and is the author of *Mental Imagery* (1969).

Book designed by ANU Graphic Design
Text set in 10/12 Baskerville
and printed on 85 gsm Burnie English Finish
at The Griffin Press, Netley, South Australia

Alan Richardson is a graduate in psychology from the University of Western Australia and a Ph.D. from the University of London. He is now Reader in Psychology at the University of Western Australia.

Dr Richardson's main interest is in the problems of social and cultural assimilation of immigrants, particularly those of British immigrants in Australia. He has published widely on various aspects of psychology and is the author of *Mental Imagery* (1969).

Printed in Australia
Jacket designed by ANU
Architecture/Design Section

The series *Immigrants in Australia* is the result of a project sponsored by the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia. Already published are:

Jean I. Martin, *Community and Identity: Refugee Groups in Adelaide*

Ruth Johnston, *Future Australians: Immigrant Children in Perth, Western Australia*

Paul R. Wilson, *Immigrants and Politics*