'GETTING SETTLED'
A Longitudinal Study of the Experiences of
Newcomer Family Members in Canberra

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by
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This thesis is based upon original fieldwork conducted by the author as a research student in the Department of Sociology, School of General Studies, at the Australian National University, between October, 1975, and April, 1978. All sources have been acknowledged.
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ABSTRACT

Using a symbolic interactionist framework and fieldwork methods, this thesis investigates the experiences of the members of thirty newcomer families in Canberra, Australia, during 1976-1977.

The study covers two main interests. First, particular attention is given to the adaptive processes common to all newcomers, which I call the newcomer career. These processes include: making and maintaining friends; making commitments to local activities; obtaining and giving help and support; and using and developing skills. Over the course of the families' first year in Canberra, I have tried to capture a significant segment of this newcomer career for analysis.

In addition, the study focuses on the newcomers' changing perspective on themselves, their family, their relocation and the local environment. The newcomers' close relationships with others are explored because of the potential of various others to affect the self-concept in new situations. The newcomer or stranger experience is used to explicate stability and change in the individuals' self-concepts which they attribute to others actually present, distant others seen infrequently though held in the imagination, societal models or the generalised other.

Through the investigation of this substantive area (the adaptation of newcomers), I attempt to clarify various aspects of the symbolic interactionist theoretical framework; reflexively, I use that theoretical framework throughout to understand these observations.
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A NOTE ON USAGE

All extracts from discussions with newcomers are quoted verbatim. These are drawn mainly from transcriptions of the interview tapes; occasionally they come from shorthand notes taken during discussions and from the newcomers' written life histories. The punctuation is mine except where quotations are taken from their own writing and original punctuation is used. A series of full stops indicates ellipsis. The names of people, places and organisations have been changed or omitted in the quotations to maintain anonymity.

Letters and numerals following quotations identify the speaker within his family as detailed in Appendix A. By referring to that appendix, the reader may ascertain the age of children quoted and for adults, their early socio-economic background, educational attainment, and occupation category halfway through the research year.

Single quotation marks are used to signify particular usage of common words when they are first introduced in the discussion and throughout where any ambiguity seems likely.
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In a world characterised by increased geographic mobility, the processes of adaptation to a new environment are particularly significant. Job transfers and personal motivation lead to the movement of many families between cities and even countries. When the main family wage earner, usually the husband, is transferred or seeks employment elsewhere, his wife and children generally move with him to the location of his new job. When that happens, family members maintain continuous relationships with others in the nuclear family, but they necessarily cannot maintain face-to-face relationships with neighbours, friends, or kin, from their previous residence. After a move, individual family members come in contact with many others, and frequently they enter new social roles. In making or taking new roles and interacting with new others, recently-arrived family members face the potential of change both in their self-concepts and their views of each other. Although frequent face-to-face relationships with kin and old friends may be precluded in the new environment, family members can continue these relationships in fantasy as well as through correspondence, telephone calls and occasional visits. The maintenance of these relationships as well as continuous contact with nuclear family members is likely to provide a degree of stability in members' self-concepts and their views of others in the household.

Although families move and to some degree function as a unit, individual members experience the new environment in different ways~ and for that reason the unit of analysis in this study will be the individual who has relocated as part of a family.

The newcomer's situation necessarily involves many changes and a variety of adjustment processes. An interpretive, symbolic interactionist perspective was the approach that I preferred to take in trying to understand adjustment processes, and this perspective has informed the research from the start. While change and adjustment are never completed, I expected to catch many of the initial changes and adjustment processes newcomers faced by conducting a longitudinal study, which began soon after their arrival and lasted for one year.

The newcomer's close relationships with others, both local and distant, are viewed as particularly important because of the potential of various others either to effect change or to sustain the newcomer's
self-concept as he moves into new situations. The quality as well as the quantity and structure of relationships made by family members over the course of the study are explored. In taking the symbolic interactionist perspective, I develop the concept of a newcomer career, an aggregate of the adaptive processes common to these newcomers. I look at the evolving structure and quality of newcomers’ relationships with others over the course of a year to gain a better understanding of change and stability in their self-concepts. While the symbolic interactionist concept of self as emergent in interaction has guided this research, the investigation of this substantive area (the adaptation of newcomers) will be used to develop and make explicit certain mechanisms of change and maintenance of self in this particular situation. Thus, the theoretical framework and substantive area will be dealt with reflexively, in an attempt to shed light from one to the other.

Taking the view that individuals in interaction generate both society and selves (Gerson, 1976), my investigation focuses primarily on the effects of a move on newcomers’ self-concepts; secondarily, as a spin-off from that concern, I shall discuss some of the changes these individuals have made in the opportunity structure of their new locale.

Newcomers bring with them a variety of resources which they utilise in making local commitments. Just as labour and capital are some of the relevant resources of a businessman, family situation, education and self-esteem are some of the significant resources of the newcomer. Resources may be viewed across a range of possible experience; for example, in this study the resource, education, might range from the attainment of a grade school level to the completion of tertiary or professional training. Everyone has that resource to draw from, but there is considerable variation in the particulars of individuals' resources. Resources are perceived or expressed in relative terms; rather than merely being present or absent, positive or negative, resources are comparative (i.e., highly educated, quite well off, fairly restricted by pre-school children, and so on).

For the businessman, the presence of a large amount of capital and a limited labour supply prescribe certain courses of operation and proscribe others. Likewise, the newcomer’s resources make possible certain lines of action while precluding others. Some resources are
constraining, some expanding, but most are characterised by a combined pattern of opportunities and constraints. Clearly, a highly paid professional has open to him a greater variety of choices in buying a house or educating his children than has an untrained worker on minimum wages. These examples are simplified for illustration only. In actual experience, many resources in combination provide limits and open up choices for the individual as he constructs a particular line of action. An abundance of a resource may appear to provide greater opportunities, but it would be more accurate to think of the relative abundance or lack of resources as providing different opportunities rather than more or fewer.

Resources not only provide options for action, but they also invite response from others. A particular resource opens up opportunities for the newcomer to do certain things and allows others to do specific things for or to the newcomer. The degree to which the newcomer controls the utilisation of his resources varies. Some resources, like job qualifications, are dependent on the acknowledgement of others to be put to use. Other resources, like previous experience in moving, can be used by the newcomer quite independently. Generally, it is useful to consider resources in terms of both opportunities to act and to be acknowledged. The man who is unemployed, for example, has low financial resources while he looks for a job, but he does become eligible for a variety of welfare benefits. He may also receive sympathy and help (or perhaps blame) from others in contrast to the professional who is more likely to receive respect or envy. Thus, when we think of newcomers' resources, we shall consider how these affect individuals' actions and the reactions of others in the new environment. Relevant resources brought in by these newcomers include: socio-economic background, education, family situation, existing relationships with others, knowledge and expectations about the new city, experience in moving, skills, expectations of their relationships with others in the new environment and self-esteem.

All newcomers, whatever their resources, go through some common processes in adapting to the new environment. Adaptive processes bring newcomers into contact with older residents in a variety of interactive situations during their first year. These processes include: making and maintaining friends, meeting family obligations, becoming part of a neighbourhood, obtaining and giving help and support, using and
developing skills, and learning about the new city. It is the nature of these processes as perceived by the newcomers that we hope to understand. The resources newcomers bring in with them affect the way they go through these processes, and in turn the processes affect their resources. For instance, an individual may come into a new location with the expectation that he will become close friends with a number of neighbours, but in the processes of becoming part of his neighbourhood and making friends, he may realise that the neighbours are not his close friends, and that resource (the expectation of relationships with neighbours) will have been modified. Another individual may come in with an educational attainment of 4th Form level and enrol in a course leading to the Higher School Certificate, an action which, if successful, will lead to change in his educational resource. Someone who has left a large, close-knit network of family and friends in his previous residence may make many contacts in the new locale and let go some of his old ties, thus changing his resource of relationships with others. The adaptive processes feed back to influence individuals' resources, and the altered resources influence future actions in these and other processes. In this study, I have attempted to lift out a segment of the feedback process, starting with newcomers' resources on arrival, tracing the movement of newcomers through some of the commonly experienced adaptive processes and finally looking for change in their resources after the year.

On arrival, newcomers perceive the environment in terms of an apparently given structure which provides opportunities for employment, membership in voluntary associations, education and informal affiliations with others. Although this study focuses on the effects of the adaptive processes on newcomers' resources, some of the findings allow us to take another perspective and, to a limited degree, discuss the impact of the newcomers' adaptive processes on the opportunity structure of the setting.

While I explicitly take the symbolic interactionist viewpoint and aim to make a contribution to that theoretical framework, there are obvious areas of related research stemming from a variety of theoretical perspectives with which these findings might be compared. The literature on which this research directly builds will be reviewed in Chapters 2 and 3. A number of other studies of peripheral interest will be used for comparison in the analysis although they will not be formally reviewed,
since they are drawn from such widespread substantive areas as: migration, urban sociology, kinship, family, community and the types of social relationship which involve the 'stranger' or intimates. An incidental outcome of an investigation aimed at a broad understanding of a social process and the subsequent development of theory is that some of the findings may be fruitfully compared with those of a variety of other enquiries which have been conceived quite differently. Here, briefly discussed, are some of these research areas of peripheral interest, which, in the chapters ahead, will be compared with findings from this study.

As this research is specifically concerned with families moving into a capital city, much of the urban and community literature is relevant. A number of studies, including some by symbolic interactionists, have viewed the city, to which migrants move, in terms of social disorganisation and personal estrangement. Cities as opposed to rural areas have been depicted as dehumanised and individualistic. Many social theorists have made a rural-urban contrast which frequently favours the close-knit, supportive, traditional community (e.g., Durkheim, 1947; Nisbet, 1960:47-106; Park, 1928; Thomas, 1966; Tönnies, 1963; Wirth, 1938). Building on this theme, using the systems or structural-functional approach, Parsons (1943) found the modern nuclear family relatively isolated. His work, combined with the more general rural-urban dichotomy, prompted a number of enquiries on the nature of interpersonal relationships in cities (e.g., Adams, 1968; Gibson, 1972; Litwak and Szelenyi, 1969; Sussman and Burchinal, 1972; Tilly and Brown, 1967). Some of these deal explicitly with the problems of newcomers, but more important, all are concerned with the quality of city life a newcomer ultimately faces. The theoretical perspective of these studies has generally been positivist rather than interpretive, and the methodology has most frequently included survey research techniques and statistical analyses. Interpersonal relationships most often have been operationally defined, and kin, neighbours and friends have been compared with one another on the basis of the frequency of contact and/or amount of support exchanged. Many researchers have found that significant supportive relationships are maintained in the city, but the adaptation of people to a new city is still frequently presented as problematic (Butler, et al., 1973; Henderson, 1976; McAllister, et al., 1973; Mackay and Spicer, 1975; Pahl and Pahl, 1971; Smith, et al., 1954; Weinberg, 1961). While this study is not directed at
testing any of the hypotheses presented in research on urban life, we shall be able to comment on the degree to which this group of nuclear families has become connected with others during the year in a new city. We shall also explore qualitative as well as quantitative aspects of the relationships developed by family members in the new community and maintained by them elsewhere.

Theorists have presented the stranger role in a number of different lights. For Park (1928) and many of his students, the stranger was a 'marginal man' who at least initially lacked knowledge of the norms and skills required in the new community and the support and restraints of the old community. Lacking these things, the stranger stood to face personal turmoil until he became integrated into the receiving population. Schutz (1971b:91-105) saw the stranger as one involved in a great deal of extra interpretive work, since he had to question all the practices taken for granted by the local group. While members could suspend doubt in the independent existence of a coherent reality, Schutz distinguished the stranger as one whose ordinary thinking was inadequate to interpret the behaviour of others. Park's and Schutz' views of the stranger make him distinct in terms of his deficiencies vis-à-vis the new community. In contrast, Simmel's conceptualisation of the stranger was positive largely because it was from the viewpoint of the community. He stressed those aspects of the stranger role which allowed him, exclusively, to engage in specific kinds of relationships such as confidant, trader or judge (Levine, et al., 1976:830; Wolff, 1950:402). Again, this study is not designed specifically to test the validity of any of these perspectives on the stranger role, but the relevance of these perspectives to the situations of this group of newcomers will be discussed.

The empirical data will be used in this thesis to develop a detailed understanding of the processes involved in adapting to a new city. In Chapters 2 and 3 the theoretical framework and methodology will be reviewed. Discussion will centre on the symbolic interactionist perspective, the social network concept, and the fieldwork research style used in this study. In Chapter 4 the opportunity structure of the city as perceived by these newcomers will be described in an overview of the setting. Resources which the newcomers brought to the city and commitments made by them soon after
arrival will be discussed in Chapter 5, where we shall see the range of variation in newcomers' resources and establish a baseline from which to trace their experiences in the new city. The adaptive processes, or newcomer career, will be described in Chapter 6. The newcomers' resources at the end of the year will be the focus of Chapter 7. Changes in the newcomers' perspective on the opportunity structure and their impact on it will be detailed in Chapter 8. The reflexive relationship between certain resources and particular types of adaptive process will be the subject of Chapter 9, where I shall explore certain patterns which have emerged, defining the utilisation of specific resources in particular adaptive processes and alterations in resources over the course of the year. In Chapter 10 I shall conclude with a discussion of those empirical findings which contribute to the symbolic interactionist theoretical perspective and to substantive areas of related interest.
CHAPTER 2: SYMBOLIC INTERACTION AND SOCIAL NETWORK: A SYNTHESIS

The theoretical perspective of symbolic interaction and the concept of the social network have developed in separate disciplines with distinct histories. Symbolic interaction is a theoretical perspective from which society can be viewed and interpreted. The network concept can be used within that perspective to elucidate various aspects of interpersonal linkages. Used within any theoretical perspective, the social network concept invites certain kinds of comparison and analysis. There are areas of common concern to both symbolic interaction theory and social network research which point toward the fruitful utilisation of the network concept explicitly within a symbolic interactionist perspective.

Symbolic Interaction

Symbolic interaction developed during the late 1800's and early 1900's at the University of Chicago, and from that time has been a significant force in American sociology, social psychology and related fields. One of the challenges taken up by researchers at Chicago was the explanation of problems facing developing urban areas. The change in relationships presumed to occur in rural-urban transitions and the adaptation of migrants to a new country were two of the social problems which were a focus of the early symbolic interactionist research. The quality and quantity of interactions between individuals and their neighbours and kin in the city were investigated. Fieldwork, derived from and developed with British social anthropologists and geared towards understanding the perspectives of individuals in interaction, was the methodology of the interactionists at Chicago.

The discipline known as the Chicago School of symbolic interaction is based primarily on the philosophy of G.H. Mead. Significant influences in the field were made by Mead's contemporaries, Baldwin, Cooley, Dewey and James (Coser, 1971:351), as well as his colleagues and students. Park, Burgess, Thomas, Znaniecki, Faris and Wirth were among those teaching at Chicago with Mead. These men did not form a united group or 'school' at that time. But Mead's work was assembled and published posthumously by his students and colleagues, all of whom had been influenced by Mead's contemporaries at Chicago, and it is the work of this group which did form something of a 'school' (Morris, 1934:v-vii). Herbert Blumer, one of
Mead's students, continues to interpret Mead, writing on the theory and methodology implicit in his teachings. Everett Hughes and Buford Junker were among Blumer's colleagues, who with Blumer taught a second-generation of symbolic interactionists, including: Becker, Gans, Goffman, Lindesmith, Rose, Shibutani, Strauss, Turner, and Whyte. The approach of the Chicago school of symbolic interaction is now widespread, but nevertheless continues to be referred to as the Chicago school.

The foundations of Mead's theory are found not only in compilations of his work and their introductions but in specific reviews of his work such as Blumer (1969); Manis and Meltzer (1967); Meltzer, Petras and Reynolds (1975); and Rose (1962b). The methodology of Chicago school symbolic interaction is presented in Blumer (1969); Becker (1963); Denzin (1970); Glaser and Strauss (1967); Junker (1960); McCall and Simmons (1966); McHugh (1968); Schatzman and Strauss (1973); and Znaniecki (1934). Mead's theory is also the foundation for the Iowa School of symbolic interaction which developed from the work of M.H. Kuhn and has been reviewed in Meltzer, Petras and Reynolds (1975). The methodology of the Iowa school is based on the conception of self as a set of organised self-attitudes which are effectively pre-established plans of action. The Iowa school stresses the operationalisation of definitions and concepts and the testing of hypotheses rather than fieldwork and sympathetic introspection (Meltzer, et al., 1975:56-63). Kuhn's test of self-attitudes will be discussed in the following chapter and in the findings which result from the application of that test in this research. Theoretically, however, this thesis is based upon the approach of the Chicago school as grounded in the writings of Mead. In contrast to the Iowa school, the Chicago school is based on a conception of self which is processual and emergent in interaction rather than pre-established. A brief explication of this processual view of self and society primarily drawn from Mead's writings should indicate the direction given this research by his theoretical perspective.

For Mead the social act precedes the self which arises in social experience (1934:140). Socialisation involves learning to take the role of the other. First the child takes the roles of particular others with whom he interacts. He then takes the attitudes of a category of others and finally can guide his action with the intentions of all others (or
the generalised other) in his head (1934:55-58). Language makes role-taking possible, allowing an internal conversation in which the individual indicates to himself the objects to which the other is responding, thus taking the other's role and responding from his perspective. Mead is specific that "The essence of the self ... is cognitive: it lies in the internalized conversation of gestures which constitutes thinking ..." (1934:73). The self emerges as the individual looks back at himself from the perspective of the other whose role he has taken. As Mead says, "In the process of communication the individual is an other before he is a self" (1932:168). The self is both subject and object in this process (1934:136).

Similarly, Cooley (1967, 1962) likens the other to a looking glass which allows us to view ourselves, and he recognises the importance of any particular other to the viewer in determining the significance of the reflection he gives off. Certain others are especially important, and in a given society various categories of others are recognised as socially significant and their reflections highly valued. Work and family relationships are recognised as significant for adult identity in our society (Becker and Strauss, 1956:253; Berger and Kellner, 1964:1; Hughes, 1958; Stryker, 1967:446). Family interaction may involve a continuous process of negotiation and adjustment of members' images of each other (Hess and Handel, 1967:15; Wallace and Fogelson, 1965). When family members and work colleagues are to a degree given, their reflections are not necessarily weighted equally in an individual's self-concept. Laing, et al. (1966:11) credit the individual with considerable control over his self-concept, suggesting that he tends to select others for whom he can be the self he wishes to be.

Both change and stability in self-concepts exist and can in part be managed (Strauss, 1959:86-141). That the importance of the other influences the amount of control his reflection has on the self has already been suggested as a possible limitation to change. Particular others in structurally given relationships may be socially significant and relatively stable in a society, limiting the possibility of changing significant others with reference to a particular role. Another stabilising factor is found in the comparison of one's self with models of conduct which are available through the media as well as in interaction with others (Gerth
and Mills, 1954:85; Kemper, 1966:343). For some adults the self-concept is fashioned after and compared with expectations or models which are socially available. One's performance as a 'good mother' or 'hard worker' can be measured not only by the perception of others' judgements of that performance but also by a comparison of the performance with a model of what an individual knows the performance 'ought' to be. Rather than particular others' influencing the self-concept in such a case, the generalised other or social model provides a mirror of an ideal performance with which the individual can compare his imagined view of his actual performance.

The self-concept (or identity) has been broken down for analysis in a variety of ways. Different aspects of the self-concept and their hierarchical arrangement have been discussed by Goffman (1963:68-85), McCall and Simmons (1966:87), Schutz (1971b), and Wallace and Fogelson (1965). In the light of their own values and beliefs, individuals rank their self-images in various situations. The influence of others can be considerable but certain basic qualities of the self may be quite stable, and the overall self-concept is more integrated than the sum of situational self-images (Turner, 1970; 1968). While particular others and social expectations are important in forming the self-concept, selective perception and selective interpretation are also significant (McCall and Simmons, 1966:87; Miyamoto and Dornbusch, 1971:180).

In society individuals take the attitudes of particular others and the whole group or community in guiding their actions (Mead, 1934:159). They act in and with regard to situations which are formed and interpreted by the interactants (Blumer, 1969:2-11). While much social interaction follows a regular pattern, the individual acts within that patterned situation, interprets it and can change it (Mead, 1934:216-7).

Perspective is a key concept in Mead's philosophy. For him the perspective is objectively there in the relationship between the actor and the object of his perception in given situations (1938:281). Just as the social act precedes the self, individual perspectives develop from the common perspective, which pre-exists any individual perspective (1938:140). Becker, et al. (1961) applied and developed Mead's concept of perspective, further differentiating long- and short-term perspectives in use. They
defined the perspective as the individual's application of a co-
ordinated set of ideas and actions used in a problematic situation
(1961:34), and the term will be used in that sense here.

The locus of meaning and reality in Mead's philosophy is the
present. Meaning exists in the present rather than being an addition to
it. Individuals in social interaction mutually determine the meaning of
the action by their responses to one another in the ongoing passage of the
act (Mead, 1934:76-8; 1932:1). For Mead meaning is a 'threefold
relationship' which includes the relationship of the gesture to the
interactants and its relationship to the resulting social act which is
found in the response of the interactants (1934:76). As long as the act
proceeds unhindered, meaning is created as a part of the act. But given
a problem which stops the progress of the act, reflective thinking occurs
and the individual must tease out and indicate to himself the meaning of
his objects in such a way that activities can proceed (Mead, 1934:90-2;
1932:68). Because objects have impulsive and unpredictable qualities,
new forms or events emerge in social action. If the object in question
is an emergent, then the teasing out process involves the construction of
a past which implies this present (Mead, 1938:96-100). The meaning is
constituted in the present but its object is not necessarily the same in
the present. Such a construction of the past as a 'working hypothesis' or
'perspective' gives meaning or validity to the past in the light of the
present and relative to the present act. By definition, the past has a
different meaning in the present than it could have had when it was a
present (Mead, 1932:68). Mead sees the past as a process, one which we
continually adjust to give significance to the emergents in the present
(1938:100). The past is as uncertain as the future, as we continually
reconstruct these to make sense of the emerging present (Mead, 1936:417).

This process of adjustment due to emergence Mead calls 'sociality',
which is the being in two systems or perspectives at once and the phase
of adjustment which lies between the two perspectives (1932:47).
Similarly, Mead uses the term sociality for the process of role-taking,
again the being in two perspectives at once:

... the appearance of mind is only the culmination of
that sociality which is found throughout the universe,
its culmination lying in the fact that the organism, by
occupying the attitudes of others, can occupy its own
attitude in the role of the other ... It is due to the
structural organization of society that the individual, in successively taking the roles of others in some organized activity, finds himself selecting what is common in their interrelated acts, and so assumes what I have called the role of the generalized other (1932:86-7).

Sociality is an important concept in Mead's philosophy. It encompasses the process of adjustment to emergents, the presence of objects in multiple perspectives and the continual process of mutual adjustment between man and his environment.

Blumer interprets three basic premises from Mead's philosophy:

1. that humans act toward things on the basis of the meanings things have for them;
2. that meanings are a product of social interaction; and
3. that meanings are sustained and changed through an interpretive process (1969:2).

From a grounding in Mead's philosophy which he summarises in these premises, Blumer develops the methodological position of the Chicago school (1969).

As a philosopher, Mead was not directly concerned with the methodology of sociological research, but it is clear from his discussion of meaning that participant observation would to him have been the only viable method of gaining access to threefold meaning. He advised philosophers that the act is basic:

It is much safer ... to come back to the conduct of the individual if you are going to study him than to come back to something he reports to you by means of introspection (1936:400).

In his first proposition, Blumer contradicts Mead's view of meaning. Instead of the threefold relationship through which Mead locates meaning in present action, objectively there between the actors, Blumer locates meaning within the individual, although he goes on to say that meaning is socially produced. Blumer's position has many implications for theory and methodology. Perhaps the most significant is that he places less stress on observation of the social act, and hence Blumer accepts a wide range of research methods.
Participant observation is nearly always one of the research methods used in studies by Chicago symbolic interactionists. But to get access to meaning-giving, emergents and the resulting interpretive adjustments, researchers supplement their observations of conduct with a variety of methods through which they attempt to tap individuals' reconstructions of their pasts as these are necessitated by the emerging present. Chicago school fieldwork is varied and situational:

... it may involve direct observation, interviewing of people, listening to their conversations, securing life-history accounts, using letters and diaries, consulting public records, arranging for group discussions, and making counts of an item if this appears worthwhile ... This means seeing the situation as it is seen by the actor, observing what the actor takes into account, noting the alternative kinds of acts that are mapped out in advance, and seeking to follow the interpretation that led to the selection and execution of one of these prefigured acts. Such an identification and analysis of the career of the act is essential to an empirical understanding of social action (Blumer, 1969:41, 56).

The methodology and theory of the Chicago school has been applied to a wide variety of empirical areas. The careers of deviants (Becker, 1964; 1963), medical students (Becker, et al., 1961), the families of polio patients (Davis, 1963), and managers (Dalton, 1959) are among those analysed in the framework. Community studies (e.g., Gans, 1962; Hughes, 1943; Whyte, 1955) have also been numerous in the interactionist literature. These studies are similar to some of the British-influenced community studies which utilise the network concept discussed below. Family interaction has been studied by interactionists such as Stryker (1967) and Turner (1970). The emergence of identity in interaction has been a topic of frequent investigation among those following the Chicago school (McCall and Simmons, 1966; Pahl and Pahl, 1971; Stone, 1962; Strauss, 1959; Stryker, 1967; Tiryakian, 1968). The dramaturgical model of Goffman (1969, 1963, 1961, 1959), the approach of reality construction or the sociology of knowledge of Berger (1967) and Berger and Luckmann (1966), and the ethnomethodology of Garfinkel (1967) have developed in part from the theoretical base of symbolic interaction and continue the explication of individual action and reaction in society. The influence of German sociologists and phenomenologists on the development of reality
construction, life worlds, and life plans has come not only through the early teachings at Chicago but through the more recent advent of European academics in the United States, most significantly Alfred Schutz (1971a, 1971b) at the New School for Social Research in New York. Phenomenological, cognitive and interpretive sociology and symbolic interaction have numerous common roots and interests.

Social Network

The social network concept was developed in British social anthropology which was built on holistic studies of primitive societies and the structural-functional analysis of these societies as systems. Increasing contact between societies and a growing dissatisfaction among some anthropologists with the emphasis on institutions, equilibrium and stasis, which was implicit in the structural-functional approach, caused some researchers to look for new analytical frameworks. A number of social anthropologists began to look towards extra-institutional relationships between individuals and their interconnections as a means of ordering and interpreting their field data. Barnes called this conceptualisation a social network (1954:42-3). The concept was adopted and occasionally modified by other researchers whose empirical concerns were concentrated in the areas of urbanisation and migration with a wide range of applications in other areas.

Social and kinship relations as well as the interrelationships of corporate groups have been likened to the image of a net, in which the knots represent persons or groups and the lines represent the existing ties between them (Firth, 1956:41; Fortes, 1949; Nadel, 1957:12-6; Radcliffe-Brown, 1952:10). Building on the metaphorical usage, Barnes developed the network concept in his study of class and community in a Norwegian village (1954). In considering the extra-institutional relationships as well as those based on industrial or territorial fields, Barnes began to make explicit his concept of social network (1954:42-3). Barnes' original usage of network was an unbounded and unfocused entity, but as it is used now network is ego-focused and bounded, and Barnes' original distinctions between network, star, and zone have not been maintained (Barnes, 1969a:48-9; Lancaster, 1961:326). Once bounded, the networks of various egos could be compared in terms of size and the degree of interlinkage among contacts. This comparison has been made
qualitatively and quantitatively\(^1\) by various researchers and labelled connectedness (Bott, 1955:349) or density (Barnes, 1969a:63; 1968:118; Boissevain, 1964:35; Kapferer, 1973:96; Niemeijer, 1963:46). This consideration of links between contacts independent of the focal ego is the distinguishing feature of the network concept, the one which differentiates network research from work which deals with the effects of others on ego but which is not concerned with the relationships among those others.

Elizabeth Bott, a social anthropologist, was a major contributor to the development of the network concept. She was aware of the work of symbolic interactionists, and more than most network theorists Bott was concerned with the effects of a person's network on his ideology, norms, values and self (1971:222). Bott found that the connectedness of a couple's social network was directly related to their conjugal role relationship such that couples with highly dense social networks tend to have segregated conjugal roles and those with networks of low density tend to have joint conjugal roles (1971; 1955). Her study prompted much further research including a few studies which directly test or comment on her hypothesis, although none of these corresponds with her definitions and conceptions exactly (Aldous and Strauss, 1966; Nelson, 1966; Turner, 1967; and Udry and Hall, 1965). The use of the network concept in family research has been furthered by Cubitt (1973) and Noble (1973). The Pahl's study (1971) of managers and their wives was influenced by both the network concept and symbolic interaction theory as well as other perspectives.

Looking at the quality of network links, Epstein (1961) made the distinction between the more dense, effective regions of a network and the less dense, extended regions. He differentiated the quality of relationships from the quantity of total links or amount of interaction with a particular contact. This suggests an application similar to reference group theory (Hyman and Singer, 1968; Merton, 1957:229-302; Shibutani, 1967). Boissevain (1968), Barnes (1959) and Cubitt (1973) further developed the question of the quality of links and clusters, which may represent norm-enforcing groups. Barnes (1969), Mitchell (1969), and

\(^1\) The methods of quantitative network analysis and related applications involving graph and matrix theory have not been used in this research. For reviews of these applications, see: Barnes (1972; 1969), Harary, et al., (1965), Jongmans (1973) and Leinhardt (1977).
Kapferer (1963) attempted to describe network links in terms of multiplexity, a measure of the kinds of interaction or role contents involved between two people, but the difficulties in defining this concept have largely precluded its use (Barnes, 1962:17). Boissevain (1974) and Kapferer (1973) divided networks into subjectively defined intimacy zones, partly in order to detect movement between these zones over time and the resulting changes effected by such shifts (Boissevain, 1974:48).

Network formation and maintenance are affected by many psychological, sociological and ecological factors which have been explored by Boissevain (1974), Fallding (1961), and Mayer (1971) in particular. While these variables affect network formation, there exists a two-sided cause and effect relationship, for the network also affects many of the variables. A change in network links may sufficiently change certain restraints to allow further network changes. These researchers see ego manipulating his network or being constrained by it. The symbolic interactionist perspective suggests that ego is not only constrained by the network, he is made by it and in part chooses how and by whom he will be made.

The network literature is widely scattered with the exception of two collections of articles on empirical research and theoretical developments by Mitchell (1969) and Boissevain and Mitchell (1973). Summaries of the mainstream development of the network concept in British-influenced social anthropology are found in Barnes (1972) and in "Reconsiderations" by Bott (1971). Specific areas of network application are diverse. Redfield (1960) used the concept in interpreting economic activity in peasant societies. Frankenberg (1966), Jay (1964), Simic (1973), Craven and Wellman (1973) and Srinivas and Beteille (1964) utilised the network concept in tracing change from rural to urban society. P. Mayer (1971; 1962) and Pauw (1963) correlated different types of network with differences in adaptation to city life in Africa. A. Mayer (1962) used network analysis to elucidate the recruitment and maintenance of political support, as did Barnes (1968) and Van Velsen (1964). In the economic sphere, network has been used by Colson (1958), Trouwborst (1973), Van Velsen (1964) and Wolf (1966b). Geographic and social mobility have been explained in network terms by Kohl and Bennett (1964) and Turrittian (1976). The social network has been seen by some researchers, such as Boissevain (1974:27) and Katz (1966:199), as a potential bridge between
the ego-centred and holistic approaches to social analysis in that ego's network indicates his participation in society and existing networks indicate the links which bind society together. Dealing with the importance of strong and weak network ties, Granovetter found that weak relationships were the ones which broaden individual perception and integrate communities and societies (1973:1360-78). While not necessarily the main focus of their studies, the network concept was familiar to British-influenced community sociologists and social anthropologists. Not surprisingly, they deal with networks implicitly or indirectly and occasionally explicitly (Bottomley, 1973; Firth, 1945; Firth, et al., 1968; Kerr, 1958; Lancaster, 1961; Lewis, 1975; Marris, 1958; Martin, 1972, 1970; Rosser and Harris, 1965; Townsend, 1957; Young and Willmott, 1957).

In the United States the use of the network concept has been less common and has tended to develop along the lines of the quantitative approaches referred to above. Other applications have been an investigation of class structure (Beshers and Laumann, 1967; Laumann, 1963) and the explication of communication flow or the diffusion of information (Coleman, et al., 1957; Korte and Milgram, 1960; Travers and Milgram, 1969). A number of American studies of friendship, kinship, and community use the term network. But unlike the British-influenced network studies, many of these American studies focus on the differences between the categories of kin, neighbours, and friends, and not on their interconnections nor on their combined effects on ego, and therefore the use of the term network in these studies is misleading. Exceptions have been noted in the discussion of some symbolic interactionist community studies which are similar to the British community studies mentioned above. Looking across the empirical situations in which the network concept has been used and developed, one is struck by the breadth of its application in sociological and social anthropological investigations.

A Synthesis

In spite of the differences in their history and primary focus, the interests of symbolic interactionists and network analysts coincide in the areas of community studies and those applications which test predictions concerning the decline in primary group interaction in city life. Wirth (1938) and Park (1928) were instrumental in continuing the kinds of
inquiry concerning the quality of urban life which underlie Tönnies' concepts of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft and Durkheim's mechanical and organic solidarity. The same questions were prominent in the research of social anthropologists using the network concept either in rural-urban migration or in community studies. The term 'network' is used metaphorically in some of the interactionist literature (e.g., Blumer, 1969:19; Rose, 1962:13), and the notion of others contributing to the identity of the self is incorporated in some of the network literature (e.g., Bottomley, 1975:12; Martin, 1972). However, the use of the network concept as a tool to elicit those particular others who maintain and change the self in specific interaction using Chicago school methodology has not been found and is suggested here. Such a synthesis will be used in this thesis to provide a framework for determining the importance of proximity, change, and density of significant others (intimate network zones) for self-making and self-maintenance. Specifically, the choice, imposition or change in specific others and the developing relationships between them will be considered, as will the resulting changes in self which are effected through interaction with these others. Given such a framework, the effects on the individual of actually present others and of others held in the imagination can be investigated, as can the influences of societal models or the generalised other. If the self-concept is partly a 'looking-glass' self (Cooley, 1967), then a systematic search for those others providing the looking glass might make more explicit the process of self-making and change in the self over time. The use of network analysis is suggested as the tool which could answer the question 'what other?' (Hughes, 1962:119).
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

The methodology used in this study of newcomer family members is the fieldwork style which is common to both Chicago-school symbolic interactionists and social anthropologists. After a general discussion of this style, specific field techniques used in the study will be described in the following section of this chapter.

The Fieldwork Style

The fieldworker shares in the activities and sentiments of his subjects in face-to-face relationships (Bruyn, 1966:13-4). He seeks to understand from the subjects' viewpoints their interpretations and definitions of everyday situations (Blumer, 1969:66; Bogdan and Taylor, 1975:2-14; Wax, 1971:13). Through some combination of participation and observation, the fieldworker learns the language, meanings and symbols of his subjects through interaction with them (Becker and Geer, 1969:324; Bogdan and Taylor, 1975:53). A feature of some of the best fieldwork studies is the explication of situated word usage or perhaps a glossary of terms which, for those under study, have specialised, shared meanings.

There are many facets to fieldwork, and the term, participant observation, is used to cover a variety of activities. While the participant observer always shares in some aspects of the lives of his subjects, he frequently obtains information through the use of additional techniques, such as open-ended interviewing and inspecting personal documents (i.e., diaries, letters, autobiographies) (Blumer, 1969:41; Bogdan and Taylor, 1975:6). Especially when interviewing, the fieldworker has considerable control in directing the conversation to cover areas of his interest, while at the same time allowing the subject freedom to talk about aspects of that general area which are personally salient (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975:57; Schatzman and Strauss, 1973:60). Fieldwork which includes social participation, observation and open-ended interviews, allows the researcher to see, feel and hear events, to question participants about them, and then to check on participants' interpretations in subsequent observations. These techniques frequently provide different sources of data on a particular event. Each also gives the fieldworker access to data which would be inaccessible using another
technique alone. For instance, the presentation of self in a situation is best understood through observation, since the actor would be at times unwilling and often unable to describe his behaviour in the rich manner in which the researcher could observe it. Interview material might or might not be gathered to determine individual perspectives of the actor or his audience to supplement observation in such a situation. But, clearly, observation in such a case would yield data which would be unavailable to the interviewer, and, if sought, interview data would be different and supplementary to observed data. Observation is the only method which allows the researcher access to the emergence of threefold meaning which Mead described (1934:76). If interview material is the sole source of data, the researcher cannot provide another perspective on events, because they are reconstructed, and he is denied the opportunity to observe changes in the social environment and the self (Becker and Geer, 1969:323-30).

The degree to which the fieldworker directs his interactions with subjects is determined largely by the nature of his research topic. If the social behaviour he is investigating is accessible and observable, he may be able to rely heavily on a modified form of participant observation, questioning subjects only to check on their interpretations of events. Behaviour in any public setting could be studied in this way. But if it is impossible to observe some of the interactions which bear on the research, the fieldworker must rely more heavily on interviews to obtain individuals' interpretations of these interactions. The more intimate or private the behaviour in question, the more the fieldworker must rely on interviewing. If the interpretation process itself is an object of investigation, then the researcher must direct his interaction with the subject in such a way as to discover these interpretations. In such cases, the researcher is focusing his investigation on the range, distribution and variety of interpretations given an event by various participants, and the interpretations rather than the behaviour are his primary concern.

Sometimes subjects volunteer their interpretations in the course of normal social interaction without the fieldworker's exerting much control, but it may be necessary for him to conduct informal open-ended interviews to obtain these data efficiently and comparably from a number of subjects.

The Chicago-school symbolic interactionist goes into the field with a particular view of self and society, as discussed in the previous chapter,
but he does not go into the field with a model or set of hypotheses which he seeks to test. Rather, he enters a social situation to observe and inspect, using parts of Mead's philosophy and related ideas as sensitising concepts to direct his looking and knowing (Blumer, 1969:127-52). While he is in the field, the researcher forms his concepts and relates them together into tentative models or hypotheses which he tests and reworks in the course of further observation (Becker, 1958:653; Glaser and Strauss, 1970:288). In the process he checks frequencies and distributions (Becker, 1958:653), often using 'quasi-statistics' which are based on observations not formally tabulated nor analysed statistically, but validly applied in suggesting possible relationships, causes and processes (Barton and Lazarsfeld, 1969:182-7).

After choosing his area of investigation, the fieldworker seeks to maximise the diversity of situations in which his research problem may be observed. Using what has been called 'theoretical sampling', the fieldworker aims to find subjects who will enable him to develop his categories as fully as possible (Glaser and Strauss, 1967b:45-51). When investigating a particular category, the researcher optimally continues to find cases until he sees sufficient similarity among them that he feels the category is 'saturated' or that he will be unlikely to learn anything new from additional cases (Glaser and Strauss, 1967b:61). Through theoretical sampling, and especially a search for negative cases, the researcher seeks to discover new categories and their properties (Glaser and Strauss, 1967b:62). The fieldworker selects cases to further his aim of understanding a social process, not to obtain precise distributions of people in various categories within that process (Glaser and Strauss, 1967b:30, 62). He attempts to maximise his knowledge of the range of situations in which the process occurs. Given a widely varied rather than representative sample, the fieldworker tries to understand the social process and the relationships between his concepts and categories, which should persist in the same direction given any sample (Glaser and Strauss, 1967b:63).

The analysis of field data is similar to, and often based on, Znaniecki's explication of analytic induction:

... in analytic induction certain particular objects are determined by intensive study, and the problem is to define the logical classes which they represent. No definition of the class precedes in analytic induction the
selection of data to be studied as representatives of this class. The analysis of data is all done before any general formulations; and if well done, there is nothing more of importance to be learned about the class which these data represent by any subsequent investigation of more data of the same class (1934:249).

First, a general hypothesis is drawn from a single instance, and then other instances are examined to substantiate the generalisation (Znaniecki, 1934:261-2). The researcher seeks cases which do not fit the hypothesis and modifies his generalisations into a hierarchy in which the most essential elements characterise the more general classes, and less essential elements describe subclasses (Znaniecki, 1934:270). In this way, cases which do not fit the developing hypothesis are used to further the understanding of the class or to clarify a subclass:

If a datum is merely viewed as a 'contradictory instance', i.e., as an individual case in which a hypothesis presumed true proves false, it is scientifically unproductive, for all it does is to impair the logical validity of the hypothesis and force us to substitute a particular for a general judgement. But if we base upon it another general hypothesis, we go beyond mere contradiction, we have two positive conflicting theories to choose from and the choice can be decided only by introducing new evidence - previously unknown or neglected elements, characters, connections or processes. Thus, further research is made indispensable, and out of it emerge new hypotheses and new problems (Znaniecki, 1934:281-2).

With continued examination of more and varied cases, the researcher uses analytic induction to discover the limits within which described processes occur (Znaniecki, 1934:306). He aims finally to formulate a general law to cover the entire category of investigation and to describe the properties of subcategories which he has discovered in the analysis.

Analytic induction has been detailed by Becker (1963), Cressey (1950), and Lindesmith (1968), and a similar analytic process is frequently found in the symbolic interactionist literature in the use of the concept 'career'. In analysing field data the researcher notes the development of a sequence or pattern of behaviour and positions which is called a career. The career includes both structural factors and changes in the
self or the individual's perspective, and the reflexive relationship between these factors. In forming his theoretical model of a career, the researcher must account for every case within the model (Becker, 1963; Glaser and Strauss, 1967b).

While building a career model, the researcher must seek negative cases and explain them, if found, or perhaps develop a model which accounts for the possibility of alternative careers in a given situation (Becker, 1948:663; Becker and Geer, 1960:287-8). A good deal of the construction of the processual model goes on simultaneously with sampling and data gathering (Glaser and Strauss, 1967b:45; Schatzmen and Strauss, 1973:117). The model is continuously built up from observations, tested by them, revised and retested. As the model is formulated, new categories and concepts will likely emerge and suggest further sampling. Data gathered from new cases must be worked into the model. The final stages of analysis may be completed after the researcher has left the field.

The fieldworker weights his data, assessing differently evidence which is given in the presence of others and that which is given only to himself. He notes particularly statements which are volunteered rather than directed (Becker and Geer, 1960:273-4). Participation and observation allow the researcher to check on which explanations and meanings are shared, or expressed in front of others, and he accepts the shared explanations as the more valid 'general' or 'group perspective' (Becker and Geer, 1960:273-4; Hughes, 1971:511).

While any good fieldworker gathers data which provide a vivid description of a social phenomenon, Lofland criticises some interactionists for not moving beyond description, saying they suffer from what he calls 'analytic interruptus' (1970:42). He advises the researcher to investigate variation among his examples of a social process or career and "... to classify them into an articulate set of what appear to him to be generic or phenomenological types of strategies ...." (Lofland, 1970:43). Admittedly, such classifications or models are missing in the reporting of some interactionist field studies, but this level of analysis is generally the goal of Chicago-school symbolic interactionists. It is an integral part of the research system in which data collection, sampling and analysis are simultaneous pursuits and each is a check on the validity of the others.
Methods and Field Techniques Used in this Study

In a broad sense, the research topic of this study is the adjustment of family members to a new environment. This includes their management of distant and local social relationships and their establishment of commitment to jobs and/or activities in a new city. Much family interaction was open to my observation, and the family often provided the milieu in which members' interpretations of outside interactions were shared or even created. Participating in and observing family interaction made clear the dependence of family members on each other in defining both their situations and themselves and allowed me some access to the emergence of meaning in the three-fold sense which Mead described (1934:76). Within the family I could gather data from both observation and interviews. But family members had ties with others outside the family which affected their self and situational definitions, and these were not easily open to observation. Here I took Blumer's direction (1969:2) and used open-ended interviews to obtain data on the subjects' relationships with others and on their interpretations of the effects of the move on themselves and the rest of the family. While some of these interpretations and their views about the move were volunteered in the course of informal interactions, I could not rely on getting comparable data in this way, and therefore used individual interviews to gather some specific data from each respondent. The interviews were taped and transcribed, but my memory and notes generally written soon afterwards are the only documentation of informal interaction.

Finding families soon after they arrived in Canberra was the first step in the study. I wanted to find families with at least one primary-school-age child in order to obtain a sample in which some children in each family interacted regularly with others outside the family (as might not be the case with younger children) but conducted much of their defining and meaning-giving interaction within the family group (as might not be the case with older children). This goal suggested that families might be contacted through the primary schools. At a practical level, school administrators assumed a close connection between the family and school at the primary level, and they were sympathetic and helpful in putting me in touch with newcomer families. Further, the schools provided the most efficient means of contacting newcomer families, since children were often enrolled in school before the family had found permanent accommodation.
No other institution or association appeared to give access to as broad a group of new families with children of this age as did the schools. While I expected that many newcomers joined voluntary groups, I realised that many did not, and hence these groups did not seem the best means of contacting a range of families. The goal of obtaining a sample in which the husband-fathers worked in a variety of jobs precluded contacting new families through a particular work situation. I also felt that the family members' perception of me as associated with the schools in the first instance was preferable to their perceiving me as a part of any employment or service organisation.

After hearing a brief explanation of the study, all of the school principals contacted agreed to send a letter from me home with newly-enrolled children, requesting their parents' permission for me to contact them about the study (a sample letter appears in Appendix B). All families were contacted during the first term their children attended the school. Depending on the time of year when the family arrived, the first contact varied from a few days to a few months after their arrival in Canberra. The school was not formally involved in the study beyond providing this valuable initial contact. However, principals did discuss their problems with newcomer students and parents informally with me, thus providing another perspective on newcomers' interactions in the school situation.

Ultimately, I wanted a sample of thirty families, but the principals I talked with were uncertain about the number of newcomers expected in their schools, and I was unable to estimate the willingness of families to participate. It was also important that families not be gathered all at once, in order to allow me time to explain the study and, if they were willing, to begin interviews and visits soon after the first contact was made.

Schools for the study were chosen from among those servicing the Woden Town area, which is described in Chapter 4 and shown on Map 2. There were ten government and three Catholic primary schools in the area. The Catholic schools were distributed so that each drew students from three or four surrounding suburbs. Initially, I decided to start with one Catholic school and two of the government schools drawing from the same area, in
order to test the sort of response I might get. The three schools originally used in finding families yielded eleven of the thirty families in the sample. After a few months another Catholic and four government primary schools were chosen, and families from these schools filled the sample. These eight schools are marked with an asterisk on Map 2, page 44. I refrained from contacting families through the Catholic and surrounding government schools in the area in which I lived. Informally, I was able to interact with newcomers and older residents in this area and gathered some data in this way, but I wanted to avoid the situation where subject families were also neighbours or schoolmates of my children. Within the Woden Town area, this was the only selection factor that affected the choice of schools to be used in contacting families. As a result, I had worked through all schools in the Woden Town area with the exception of my neighbouring Catholic school and the four government schools in the suburbs from which that Catholic school drew students.

Three selection processes affected the choice of families from all schools. In most cases, principals had accurate information about family composition and parents' occupation for each child enrolled. Based on that information which principals provided, I chose not to send letters to families in which the eldest or youngest child was starting school for the first time in Canberra, since I felt that these situations could effect changes in the wife-mothers' social relationships to such a degree that the move itself might appear relatively unimportant. Second, I did not take families into the study when parents said they expected to be in Canberra for less than two years. Finally, near the end of recruiting new families, I did not send letters to more military officer's families, since there were already five officers in the sample. Even with such small numbers, this category was beginning to appear saturated. Moreover, I chose to recruit the last group of newcomers from families in which the husband worked in the private sector, since in a large majority of the families which entered the study in the earlier stages, the husband worked for some government department.

The non-response rate of families who were sent my letter was four. I believe that the high response rate was due mainly to the cooperation of principals and class teachers who reminded the children repeatedly about returning the slip from the bottom of my letter, indicating whether or not they were willing to be contacted about the study. Many families who received the letter were willing (often anxious) to participate but were unsuitable for the study since they had been posted or transferred back to
Canberra, often to their own homes, after only a few years in another Australian city or overseas. Two families returned my letter, refusing to be contacted but offering no reason. Two additional families were willing to hear more about the study but then refused to participate: one man, employed by a foreign embassy, did not wish his family to discuss their relationships with others, and therefore refused to take part in the research; in the second family, the wife-mother said she was afraid my questioning the children about the move in any way might make them think the move more important than she felt it was, and so refused to participate. The remainder of the families willing to be contacted and living for the first time in Canberra in this family unit agreed to participate in the study. The sample is certainly not representative of all geographically-mobile families in Canberra or any other population. However, as was the aim, the sample seems sufficiently large and diverse to reveal patterns of general relevance.

After receiving permission to contact the families, I arranged a time to talk with them about the study so that they could decide whether or not they would participate. I explained that I was studying the effects of moving on families, and was also interested in family members' contacts with others outside the family. I told them that I wanted the study to cover a year and that it would involve numerous contacts with them, but I assured them that if at any point they chose not to continue participating, they could simply tell me so and stop. I was relieved that no family chose not to continue, but I felt that they appreciated the fact that they could control the situation in this way from the outset. I said that I would want to talk with them all informally and to interview each family member alone as soon as possible, and again one year later. Between these two periods of social participation, observation and interviews, I asked to visit with them together. Thus, there were three distinct periods of contact with each family after our initial meeting:

- **Time₁** informal discussions and independent interviews with each family member as soon as possible after they agreed to participate;
- **Time₂** informal discussions with the whole family, during which six questions were directed to the adults of each family, six months after **T₁**;
- **Time₃** informal discussions and independent interviews with each family member, one year after **T₁**.
The times for interviews and visits with the family members were arranged at their convenience. Most took place in the afternoon or evening, but some interviews were conducted in the morning. Often a number of family members were available to be interviewed in succession, but sometimes separate times were made for each person's interview. During informal discussions all family members were usually present, but individuals occasionally came and went depending on other obligations. As much as possible I let the family define the interaction situation in informal visits, and there was quite a variety in their preferences. In some cases they stopped other activities or were waiting for me to share tea or coffee in a rather formal setting. In others, we talked more casually as meals were being prepared, laundry folded, television half-watched or gardens weeded.

Interviews were held in various settings, wherever some privacy was available. I asked each individual for permission to tape record his interviews, and no one objected. I also took some notes during interviews. During less formal interaction I relied on my memory rather than the tape, and wrote down notes after leaving the house. While no one objected to the use of the tape recorder during the interviews when they could see that I wanted to get down specific information, they often saved personal or sensitive items to bring up after the tape recorder was turned off. I was frequently aware that they felt the tape recorder was acceptable for specific interviews but not for informal visits, especially so as we got to know each other better. If I neglected to turn the tape off as an interview slid into general conversation, they often reminded me to do so.

The time spent with these families varied considerably. The initial meeting during which I explained the study usually lasted two to three hours. Quite quickly, I discovered that if I visited a family during the evening after dinner, their expectation was that I would spend the whole evening with them, and it was therefore difficult to leave much before midnight. A minimum of eight hours was spent with each family at T1. At the T2 visit I usually spent an entire evening with the family. The T3 period with each family was covered in a minimum of one evening. Frequently the time involved with families was two or three times the minimum length. In addition I spoke on the telephone with some family members while making arrangements to visit them, and gathered varying amounts of information.
from them in these conversations. In a few cases, at their request, I
met family members at other times or they telephoned me with news they
felt was relevant.

A complete set of interview documents is included in Appendix B.
During the first visit every adult was asked to write or tape his life
history, and all but two individuals did this. Many actually remarked
that they enjoyed it, and this was obvious in a number of cases where
detailed and lengthy documents were produced. At T1 and T3 adults were
asked their knowledge of a variety of local services on a sheet which they
ticked appropriately to indicate whether they did or did not know of the
particular service or if they had actually used it. They were also asked
to list their membership in associations, clubs, and organisations. At
T1 I obtained the names and their means of introduction to local
professional service people. At each time period open-ended interview
questions were aimed at securing social network particulars and subjects'
views of the move and its effect on themselves and other family members.
At T1 various background details were also gathered. Children were asked
a shorter but similar set of questions.

In addition, at T1 and T3 adults and children completed a Twenty-
Statements-Test (TST). This is the instrument which provides the answers
Iowa-school symbolic interactionists equate with or operationally define
as the self (Meltzer, et al., 1975:58). Kuhn and other Iowa-school symbolic
interactionists treat the answers to the TST as indicative of the
attitudes derived from an individual's internalised statuses and roles
without regard to situational factors (Kuhn and McPartland, 1954; Meltzer,
et al., 1975:64; Wylie, 1974:242). As used by Kuhn and others, the TST
is based on a theoretical framework quite different from that adopted in
this study. The test, as they use it, assumes a pre-existing structure
of the self which, once identified, can be used to predict behaviour
(Meltzer, et al., 1975:57-61). Such a view of self is antithetical to the
processual, role-making and interpreting view of self which is assumed
in this study. The TST was used here to supplement the data on self
gathered in participation, observation, and interviews and to provide
another means of tapping change in self-attitudes over the course of the
year.

1 The term adult always denotes a parent, since there were no adult
children interviewed in the study.
The duration of the fieldwork period was eighteen months. The first families were contacted in February, 1976, and the last family completed T1 in August, 1976. T2 and T3 visits and interviews followed at six-month intervals. The last T3 visits and interviews were finished in August, 1977. All thirty families completed the T1 and T2 periods. Twenty-six families completed the entire study. The four families not completing T3 moved away from Canberra between T2 and T3 (these were family numbers 8, 10, 22 and 26 in Appendix A). One single-parent family chose to move to be near relatives. In two families the husband-father's job required him to move away from Canberra. I corresponded with these three families at the time that T3 interviews would have occurred had they not moved. In letters they gave me details of social relationships which family members still maintained in Canberra and their views of the importance of their period of residence here. The only other family not completing T3 moved from Canberra without leaving a forwarding address with the child's school or the post office. In spite of numerous attempts to contact them by telephone, mail, or through the school, I was unable to get a response, and therefore have no T3 data from this one family.

Considerable information was gathered from children and adults in this study. As will be noted in the chapters ahead, the analysis centres largely on the adults' data. This choice was made when it became apparent that I had more data than I could handle in this context, given the desired level of analysis. Further, the changes in self resulting from the move and altering relationships with others which I sought to investigate were often masked in the case of children by changes which both parents and children attributed to growing up processes. In this thesis, the data gathered from the children will be incorporated when it appears to be especially salient to family interaction, and indeed this is frequently the case. But I realise that I have not done justice to the vast amount of material provided by the children, and hope to return to this task in the future.

Analysis of field data was a continuous process which began soon after my first contacts with these families. I went into the field with the broad aim of gathering network data and interpretations of the move and local situation made by family members. The instruments used in the first interviews were designed to achieve these aims, and some of these
were repeated at T₃ to detect change over the course of the year. Questions asked at T₂ and T₃ took form as the research proceeded. Most valuable to the analysis was the opportunity, provided in informal interaction, for me to 'try out' my tentative hypotheses or career models on some family members. Many took an interest in the research and in this way collaborated in forming, confirming or denying my developing ideas. The analysis, data-gathering and sampling procedures were partly concurrent, and fed back on one another, checking and directing the research.

The Relationship Between Researcher and Subjects

At the first meeting with these families we were strangers, but there were many common grounds which provided topics of conversation and, as others have noted, helped to establish an easy relationship between us (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975:46). Like these adults, I was also new to Canberra and had children of similar ages, and these were areas we often discussed. But I was also different, in that I was a research student (a role none of them shared) and was an American who had lived only a few years in Australia. I did not seek to minimise my stranger role, and, like other researchers, found that most subjects were pleased to teach me about a number of things a stranger would not be expected to know (Trice, 1970:77).

Researchers are sometimes fortunate enough to study people in a situation which for some reason causes the respondents to want to talk with them (Wax, 1960a:92). Because these people were newcomers, they were often lonely or even bored, and I believe that I was often accepted by them initially because there were not many others wanting to talk with them or hear their views (Wax, 1960a:92). Once they had agreed to participate in the study we became partners in the research. As others have noted in field situations, I, as researcher, quickly developed empathy or sympathy for 'my families', and they developed a keen interest in helping me get every bit of relevant data (Becker, 1970:16; Geer, 1964: 341; Stevens, 1976:103). We all undoubtedly changed in the process (Wax, 1960a:177).

In the early stage of the research most families accepted me as a new acquaintance. Usually, as soon as they had given me their life
histories, our interaction changed. They then expected me to understand their pasts, and most often I felt a high degree of understanding for their current perspective on their lives. They frequently used the life history they had prepared as a shorthand reference through which they could 'explain' their present situation at T1 on the basis of the past, the knowledge of which we now shared. It was not uncommon for them to mention that I was the only person in Canberra outside the family who knew so much about their pasts.

Some families credited me with more authority or knowledge than I felt was due, and many used me as a source of information on a variety of topics, some appropriate, others not. Where I could help with needed information, I was happy to be able to offer it. Frequently, help came largely through my listening rather than in answers. It was clear that I provided a sounding board for many ideas they wanted to express at a time when there were few alternative listeners. I was at first surprised to find that most family members enjoyed and valued my visits and interviews for reasons of their own. As Hughes notes, the interview can be a mutually rewarding experience:

... that by offering a program of discussion, and an assurance that information offered will not be challenged or resisted, self-expression is facilitated to an unusual degree and that it is inherently satisfying (1971:511).

He goes on to say that affective responses often result from these interactions, and that would often have been the case in this study (Hughes, 1971:512).

Strauss and Schatzman found class differences significant in their interviews: a rich interplay of gestures and multidimensional communication typical of middle-class respondents and rare among lower class respondents (1960:209-10). Here I found respondents with lower educational attainment and lower socio-economic backgrounds quite apt to treat me with formal respect because of my work. Respondents with more education or higher socio-economic background most often treated me as an equal. But, with subjects whose educational attainment or socio-economic background was low, I felt we were generally able to communicate on many levels, and freely discuss a variety of areas which interested both of us. They were in
every way as instructive to me as the more typically middle-class subjects. Independent of variation in education or socio-economic background, some subjects appeared to enjoy talking and conversed with me more openly than others. While most subjects said they found our discussions enjoyable and looked forward to them, one man appeared only to tolerate my questions and he frequently had difficulty answering them. He did not volunteer comments on his own, a characteristic all of the others exhibited.

As I became a regular visitor in their homes, family members increasingly treated me as a friend, one who knew a great deal about their lives. The children were often open in expressing delight during my visits when they could tell me about their victories or difficulties much as they would an older relative. As the year wore on, most family members greeted me with warmth and trust, and I returned these feelings. There seemed to be a mutual feeling of pleasure at our visits, and we looked forward to catching up with one another. The catching up was somewhat one-sided. I kept track of their many social relationships and views of life in Canberra, and they usually covered their interest and knowledge of my life in the question 'How's your research going?' We often shared our feelings or opinions on particular issues but I realised that the exchange was largely one way when a woman met me after T3 and said: "You know everything about me, but I don't know anything about you." Many of these adults said at some stage of the research that they had told me more about themselves than they had told anyone else.

The Presentation of Qualitative Data

One of the difficulties faced by the fieldworker is the convincing presentation of his findings. Field data gathered from a number of sources using a variety of techniques become voluminous. While some critics ask for the presentation of all field data in support of the final analysis, this is neither practical nor possible (Becker, 1958:659): in this study the typescripts of the T1 documents exceed 700 pages. Complete presentation is furthermore impossible because, in spite of taking notes and taping the interviews, much of the data which gives substance to the analysis lies in conversations and gestures which were shared with these families but were not documented.
Some solutions to the problem of presenting a credible account of fieldwork have been offered by others and attempted here. Becker and Geer (1960:270) suggest that the researcher present the natural history of his analysis, giving the successive stages of his conceptualisation of the problem, career, or concept in question. Where appropriate, I shall try to describe the emergence of this analysis as it occurred during the fieldwork.

Glaser and Strauss suggest two means of making qualitative data more convincing. First, they recommend that the theoretical framework be made explicit, as was the aim here in Chapter 2. Second, they advise that the social world under study should be vividly described so that the reader can 'see/hear' it (Glaser and Strauss, 1970:296). Readers will have to judge the degree to which this has been achieved in this thesis. Many quotations are included in the text in order to bring readers closer to these family members. The quotations are taken largely from transcriptions of taped interviews, but occasionally also from life histories and my notes of short comments taken down verbatim. The punctuation of quotations is mine, with the exception of those taken from written life histories in which I use the newcomer's own punctuation. Quotations are numbered so that the reader may locate the speaker and some details of his situation by referring to Appendix A. In this appendix all subjects are listed by number in family groups, giving the ages of the children and education, occupation, and early socio-economic background of the adults. Descriptions and quotations which can be related to family situations and structures will allow the reader some understanding of these families.

It was difficult to present a credible and interesting description of the processes investigated while at the same time giving the reader access to most of the relevant data from which the description was drawn. Nevertheless, both seemed important. In an effort to solve this problem, I have given most of these research data in Chapters 5 and 7, which document the newcomers' resources at T_1 and again at T_3. These chapters do not include description of the processes under analysis or interpretation of the relationships between resources or processes and processes. They are included to give the reader a snapshot of the sample at two points in time, or a data bank to which he can refer in assessing the description and interpretation which come later. Chapters 5 and 7 may prove frustrating to
read, prompting the reader to ask 'so what' questions. I am aware of this limitation, but include the material for the benefit of readers who might want to make comparisons and interpretations on their own.

Description of the adjustment processes and interpretations of relationships between resources and processes are given in Chapters 6 and 9, where I have tried to discuss the 'so what' questions in some detail.

In spite of efforts made to present a vivid description of these family members and their lives together, it is clear to me that at times they appear fragmented in the analysis, and that they do not come across in as rich detail as I would like. At one stage, the presentation of family case studies appeared the only solution to this problem, but the goal of analysing a social process did not seem best achieved in that way. While I try to present the processes, interpretations and people clearly, where necessary to choose between them, I decided to focus on the processes and interpretations of the processes at the expense of blurring the whole picture of the experience of any one individual.
CHAPTER 4: THE SETTING AT T1

A Canberra Image

A unique Australian city, Canberra is the planned Federal Capital located in the Australian Capital Territory (A.C.T.). Constituted as the Federal Capital in 1911, Canberra had a population of only 1,150 in 1921. Parliament opened in the city in 1927. At the 1961 census the population was 141,795 (N.C.D.C., 1975a:1), and the A.C.T. population had grown to 203,300 by 1976 (N.C.D.C., 1977:7). Planners estimate that the proportion of growth in Canberra in the last twenty years caused by net migration has been over 70% (N.C.D.C., 1975a:3). While atypical of Australian cities, Canberra is a good example of the rapidly growing, planned city which will likely become a more common form of urban development in the future.

There are many variables, both quantitative and qualitative, which distinguish Canberra from other Australian cities. The six State capitals of Australia are all located on the coast. Canberra is nearly a three-hour drive from the coast, high in the tablelands, which accounts for its greater daily temperature range and colder winter. Recreational advantages due to the location of Canberra include proximity to the ski slopes and easy access to natural bush, rivers and grazing country. Chosen in part for the natural beauty of the setting which its designer, Walter Burley Griffin, sought to maintain by developing the valleys while leaving the hilltops in their natural state, Canberra is generally found to be a picturesque city. Planners since Griffin have with only a few exceptions maintained the policy of confining building to the lower altitudes. Urban planning in Canberra covers not only Government buildings, lakes and public facilities, but the location and rate of development of industrial and service facilities as well as residential areas. Government maintains control by its ownership of land in the A.C.T. and hence its power to determine the time of development and the terms of land leases. While in every case the adults and children in these newcomer families reacted to some aspect of Canberra as physically beautiful, clean, less congested, and having a slower pace than other major Australian cities, some reacted negatively to certain aspects of living in a planned city. There may be an air of the unreal in the regularity and order of a totally planned city which gives the impression of living in an architect's model rather than the 'real' world. Generally, the physical aspects of Canberra were pleasing, as evidenced in these early reactions:
I rather enjoyed it. External things I enjoyed - those were good roads, footpaths - to me the amenities here are so much better than what I've been used to. 24-H

... lovely clear skies, lovely clean city ... we can see where the tax money is going - we're enjoying it. 24-W

The pluses for Canberra were environmental things ... 23-W

I thought how open it was ... how marvellous to look at all those hills. 6-W

I knew the proximity to the Snowy Mountains - we all enjoy skiing, so I was pleased to come. 28-H

Looking at the physical aspects of Canberra on the negative side, some reactions were:

I didn't think I'd like the climate. 24-W

We feel quite strongly that we would not like our children to grow up in Canberra only ... it is just too comfortable and it's unreal ... 4-W

I compared it to cities like - pictures of cities like Sydney or Melbourne - it never had the quaintness. 12-H

I'd been led to expect it was designed for people, but it's designed for the motor car. 15-H

Reactions even to the physical setting were the result of interpretation through each person's particular values and interests, and so varied considerably. The notion that Canberra might be too comfortable to provide 'real life' experience was shared by a few newcomers. Whether accurate or not, the notion highlights the contrast between Canberra and other Australian cities. As one man expressed it:

It's so sweet here, I know how tough it is out there and how cushy it is here. 9-H

Canberra does not have particular areas which become known in other cities as 'uptown', 'downtown', the theatre district or business centre. Some of the newcomers missed that:

You've got to know where to go. The city looks dead of of a night. 19-W

The city is the living, throbbing centre, and there's nothing like that here. It hasn't got a centre - it hasn't got a place where you want to go, so you have to look after yourself in your own area in your own suburb. 4-H
Others could not support this complaint, as evidenced by one who said:

I've got no grumbles - it's a very nice place. This bit where people say it has no soul or anything. I don't know what they mean. 19-H

Whatever they mean, and whether Canberra has a soul or not, the stereotype view of Canberra which each newcomer brought in with him or obtained soon after arrival included the knowledge that Canberra had been labelled by some a soulless city. Regardless of the accuracy of the label, a well-known reputation gets a certain momentum of its own, and this case is no exception. That Canberra has been called a city without a soul is part of what everyone in the city knows and debates or affirms in various life situations here.

The commonly held stereotype of Canberra also includes the view that the Public Service ranks provide a rigid and well-known system of stratification which, in addition to strata within the University and diplomatic circles, pervade Canberra life. Nearly all the newcomers expressed some lack of understanding of the Public Service grades, which they found a matter of common reference in Canberra. Most believed that a characteristic of Canberra was snobbishness based on occupational rank:

I knew it was snobbish - everybody had their place. 16-W

Well, I thought it was a very pretty place - and I thought very snobbish, very upper class type of place. 19-H

On the basis of early interaction with Canberra people, some newcomers affirmed this stereotype:

Everybody wants to know who you are and what you do. It is hypocritical. You have to fall into other people's categories. 1-H

Another newcomer found a different reality:

People continually told us about the Public Service snobbery, and I just don't think it exists. 11-H

Again, this aspect of the Canberra stereotype was brought into their situations by the newcomers.
While newcomers varied a great deal in the depth of knowledge they had of Canberra before arrival, all had gathered some ideas about the city. Previous visits were a direct source of information. Indirect sources were friends and acquaintances who knew the city, books, newspapers, comparisons made with other places on the basis of a few known variables (i.e., bigger, colder, and so on), and imagined views of what it would be like on the basis of a few limited facts about Canberra. The knowledge they brought with them was tested, accepted or rejected in the light of their particular experiences in the city.

The Population

Certain features are characteristic of the Canberra population because it is a planned Government city. It is a youthful population since it has grown largely through net migration (N.C.D.C., 1975a:3). While some newcomers were pleased to live in an area with many young people who would be friends with their children, others missed the presence of older people which they had enjoyed in their previous community.

The ethnic composition of Canberra is quite similar to Sydney. In the 1971 census, 3/4 of the Canberra population was born in Australia; of those born overseas nearly 1/2 immigrated from British or British-settled countries (N.C.D.C., 1975a:5). Being a smaller city, Canberra's non-English speaking population is not as evident as it is in larger Australian cities. Initially, many of the newcomers in this study missed the presence of foreigners and the international flavour which they bring to the city in their cultural events and restaurants.

Being a Government centre, Canberra has a labour force which differs from other Australian cities. In 1976, 35% of the labour force in Canberra was employed in Public Administration and Defence; 20% was employed in community service industries (including education, health, and welfare); 9% in construction; and 14% in wholesale and retail trade (N.C.D.C., 1977:18). Educational attainment of Canberra residents is higher than that in Sydney. Of the Canberra population fifteen years and over in 1971, 41% had tertiary qualifications or were studying. In Sydney the comparable figure was 28% (N.C.D.C., 1975a:5). Average weekly earnings in the A.C.T. for 1975-76 were $210.40 as compared with the Australian average of
$169.30 (N.C.D.C., 1977:31). In this regard, Canberra was well summed up by one newcomer who remembered his expectations of the city before arrival:

Lots of facilities, average IQ higher than elsewhere in Australia, class conscious because of Public Service, cold, hectic ... 12-H

The percentage of now married, separated, widowed, or divorced women in the labour force in Canberra in 1971 was 66% as compared with 62% in Sydney (N.C.D.C., 1975a:13). By 1975 this figure for Canberra had risen to 73% (N.C.D.C., 1977:23). This was noticed particularly by newcomer women on arrival in Canberra, as they found comparatively few neighbours at home during the day. This factor was a contributing or decisive influence on some of these women who chose to take jobs in Canberra within a few months of their arrival. Those newcomer women who did stay at home by choice or to care for pre-school children made frequent comments about the number of neighbours who worked and the emptiness of the neighbourhood in the daytime.

The Suburbs

Rather than allowing Canberra to develop a single centre large enough to service the suburbs which would house the growing population, Canberra planners chose the construction of new 'town centres' to service suburbs developed in rural areas surrounding the original city (see Maps 1 and 2). The town centres were to grow in balance with the main city, which was to be maintained as 'the dominant commercial focal point of Canberra' (N.C.D.C., 1972). Newcomers for this study came from the first of these new towns, Woden. Woden was chosen because it was an established area at the commencement of the study, yet there appeared to be sufficient movement of property to enable the recruitment of thirty newcomer families. A single town centre was chosen in order to maximise the common experience of these newcomers regarding local as well as city-wide facilities and services. A characteristic of the Woden area which was noted in gathering families for the study was what seemed to be a large proportion of families moving in and out of the area, returning to their original home after other Australian or overseas postings. Many families contacted were in fact returning to their homes after a period away. While these
families were not suitable for this study, their presence may be a distinctive feature of the area and is certainly indicative of one relatively common pattern of movement due to job transfers in some Public Service departments.

Development of the Woden Valley began in 1962 along two adjacent valleys south of Canberra city. Nineteen suburbs are now developed in the Woden and adjacent Weston Creek area which is the second valley linked to the Woden Town Centre. In 1975 the population of these suburbs totalled 60,000 of the projected 90,000 (N.C.D.C., 1972; N.C.D.C., 1975b). The Woden Town Centre is still being completed, but is currently a substantial employment, commercial, and recreational centre. However, most entertainment, such as cinemas, theatres and restaurants, is still found in Canberra city. In 1975, 5,000 were employed in the Woden Centre (N.C.D.C., 1975b). In the newcomer families, twelve of the twenty-seven men were employed in the Woden Centre at T1.

These suburbs were designed for a population of between 3,500 and 4,000 people (N.C.D.C., 1972), serviced with small shops and schools up to primary level. Canberra is decidedly different from other Australian cities in that the suburb generally does not identify its members by socio-economic class. While even elsewhere such identification is never perfect, the policy of social mix which has been applied in most of the newer Canberra suburbs has largely precluded the development of any correlation between socio-economic classes and particular suburbs. There are exceptions among older suburbs in Canberra, where socio-economic class can more readily be inferred from the suburban location. Also in two newer suburbs (Chapman in Weston Creek and Hawker in Belconnen) there are no Government homes, and hence there is less variation in property values. The final exception is the suburb of O'Malley in Woden which is being developed as an extension of the diplomatic area in the older suburbs of Forrest and Red Hill. Houses in this suburb are much larger than the Canberra average and the area as a whole presents quite a different face from its neighbouring suburbs. None of these more exclusive areas was included in this study. Rather concentration has been on the more typical Canberra suburb which has developed through a largely unwritten policy of social-mix. This policy is effected by a wide distribution of building block size, building covenants, and Government houses, provided on the
Diagram of Canberra including new towns of Tuggeranong and Gungahlin, both in early stages of development.

Legend:
- National Area
- Urban Area
- Broad Area Development
- Urban Subway System
- Centre

Map by the National Capital Development Commission: Used with permission.
MAP 2

Diagram of Woden-Weston Creek Area, Enlarged

LEGEND
RAPID TRANSIT ROUTE
RESIDENTIAL AREAS
INSTITUTIONAL AREAS
TOWN CENTRES
GROUP CENTRES
NEIGHBOURHOOD CENTRES
INDUSTRIAL AREAS
SECONDARY EDUCATION
PRIMARY SCHOOLS
PARISH CENTRES
RECREATION, PARKS AND OPEN SPACE
HILL AND FOREST AREAS, BROAD ACRE AND INSTITUTIONAL USES

*school used to recruit newcomer families

Map by the National Capital Development Commission: Used with permission.
basis of a means test, within each suburb (Lewis, 1975:22-3). While
the suburb is mixed, there are areas within each suburb which are more
or less homogeneous. Generally, larger blocks and larger houses are
found on the highest streets while Government houses are clustered on
lower land often near the shops. Further evidence of social mix is found
in Lewis' figures on the percentage of manual workers in the suburbs from
which families were recruited. With one exception these suburbs contained
20 to 29% manual workers; the exception had only slightly fewer manual
workers in one area and a variation of 10 to 29% (Lewis, 1975:30). On the
basis of his Canberra data, Lewis found:

A suburb was primarily just a place to have a
house ... for social relations neighbourhoods in
Canberra are relatively unimportant (1975:125).

Canberra is predominantly a middle-class city, and even though these
suburbs were 'mixed', they were not heterogenous by more universal
standards. Most newcomers initially perceived little difference between
suburbs, as evidenced by the fact that no family chose a house in order
to live in a particular suburb. Rather, they chose the house for the
house itself, which occasionally was noted as being amongst other 'nice
houses', but more often was chosen as their island in what appeared to
be a rather mixed sea. Proximity to schools, shops, and work were given
as reasons for the selection of the location of homes. A preference for
the southside over the northside of Canberra was expressed in a few cases.
But most often the house was chosen for itself and never because of its
location by suburb. Perhaps this is in part due to the exclusion from
this study of the more prestigious suburbs. Of greater importance, it
seems that the policy of social mix has up to now disallowed the
identification of most suburbs with particular socio-economic classes and
discouraged differences between suburbs.

Another part of the Canberra stereotype brought in by the newcomers
was the expectation that neighbourhoods would not be friendly. The great
majority of these newcomers felt that neighbouring relationships should
be friendly or sociable, but reserved:

I don't like them to be too friendly - I like to
talk to them occasionally. I think neighbours can be
a problem. 5-W
I would never set out to be a good neighbour person - I like my privacy too much. 4-H

We would prefer not to have neighbours. We would prefer to be able to yell at the kids without the neighbours knowing about it. And if the neighbours yell at their kids or you have horrible neighbours then you're not so close that you can't avoid it. We prefer to be spread out where you're not all that close. 7-H

But some felt quite differently:

I think it's better to have smaller gardens and backyards and be a little bit closer to the neighbours. 24-W

I expect neighbours to be I guess friends. 18-H

Well, so we can share our problems and we can be quite close. 22-W

The amount of friendliness found by a particular newcomer in the neighbourhood depended in part on the expectations concerning neighbouring relationships held by the people involved. In most neighbourhoods there was sufficient choice for these people to find others who shared their expectations, but occasionally this was not the case. One reason for this variation may be due to the size of the neighbourhood. The area defined as 'the neighbourhood' ranged in size from an entire area of flats at one extreme to the immediately adjacent houses at the other. Usually the question of what constituted the neighbourhood was answered in part before the newcomer arrived, but the newcomer, too, had to define the boundaries by recognising the established area or denying and subsequently redefining it. Whatever it is that constitutes a particular neighbourhood, it is open to negotiation between the parties involved and is not determined by any one for all others. Definitions of neighbourhood limits are conveyed through such customs as welcoming newcomers, offering help, having teas and coffees, requesting help, arranging playmates for the children and so on. The degree of variation in the size and characteristics of Canberra neighbourhoods in this study was considerable and unrelated to the particular suburb in question.

Education, Welfare and Community Services

The school system in the A.C.T. was known by the newcomers to be of a high standard in comparison with other Australian cities. Each suburb
has a pre-school and primary school, and secondary schools are nearby. A single high school (Forms 1 through 4) serves every three to four suburbs, and Phillip College (Forms 5 and 6) draws students from the entire Woden area. Higher education is offered in Canberra at the Technical College, the Canberra College of Advanced Education and the Australian National University. In addition to Government schools, there are Catholic primary and secondary schools throughout Canberra. In the Woden area there are three Catholic primary schools and a secondary school for boys. At the secondary level girls go to the Catholic Girls High School in Griffith which is linked to the Woden suburbs by bus services. Seven of these families sent children to Catholic schools. There are Church of England Grammar Schools for boys and girls in Canberra just outside the Woden area, again linked by bus services to Woden suburbs. Two of the newcomer families sent children to the Grammar schools within the first year, but due to the waiting lists at most levels in these schools, other families considering Grammar school for their children were still awaiting entry. Independent schools run by the Seventh Day Adventist Church and Association for Modern Education are available in Canberra but were not used by these families.

Reactions by the newcomers to the schools varied from pleasure to disappointment. Nearly all of the children expressed appreciation for school facilities, which by Australian standards are notably superior. The quality of teaching, rate of progress and in some cases the use of 'open-plan' classrooms were areas which some parents found disappointing in the light of the very high education standards they had come to associate with the A.C.T. In nine families the A.C.T. schools were a strong factor in their overall positive view of Canberra. Three families, expecting a high standard of education here, were disappointed in the situation they found, which compared to their past experience was inferior.

In addition to high standards in educational facilities, newcomers believed that welfare and community services in Canberra were better than average. While newcomers varied in the degree of their specific knowledge of particular services in Canberra, they expected to find services available if needed, and, in every case, they did find them. Child care facilities, counselling, employment services, emergency housekeeping and other social welfare services are offered by the Government. Private
organisations such as Citizens' Advice Bureau, Woden Community Service, and Life Line provide additional helping services. Pamphlets listing Government services are available from many departments and information centres. The Department of Social Security lists sixty-four advice and welfare services in the front of the Canberra telephone book.

A wide variety of health services is available to Canberra residents. During the time of this study the medical profession in the A.C.T. was involved in some well-publicised disputes on the relative benefits of salaried medical staff and private medical practice, as well as on changes resulting from alterations in the organisation of Medibank (the Government-administered health fund). Health centres, hospital clinics and private doctors attend to out-patient medical problems. The Woden Valley Hospital offers medical, surgical, obstetric, gynaecological, paediatric, psychiatric, and rehabilitation services. A small private hospital is located in the Woden area as well. Free dental treatment is offered to children in primary schools. Private dentists and a dental clinic at the Hospital provide routine and emergency treatment. While these newcomers were rarely enthusiastic about medical care in Canberra, they were able to find satisfactory professional help when it was needed. A few families 'shopped around' for a general practitioner whom members liked, but generally they chose to attend clinics or the general practitioner practising in their suburb.

Religious, cultural, ethnic, recreational, educational, and social groups are active throughout Canberra and generally are open to new members. Some of these voluntary groups are organised at the Town level (the area shown on Map 2); many draw from the entire Canberra population (as shown on Map 1); and only a few are organised at the suburb level. Church parishes for instance, contain more than one suburb. From the experience of this group of newcomers, there appears to be no particular need to choose a local parish church if another is for some reason preferred. Most of these families were aware that there was a wide variety of opportunities for joining voluntary groups, and where they had particular interests they were able to follow them. In a few cases, where a particular interest was not already provided for, newcomers were instrumental in forming new groups. Canberra is known to provide for community services and interest groups, and the attraction of these services as well as the high standard of
education was a strong factor influencing those families who had the choice to select Canberra as a place of residence.

Bus services link the suburbs to the Town Centre and the Town Centre to Canberra city and other suburbs. In addition, walkways and underpasses provide for the pedestrian, and there is a well-developed road system and parking for private vehicles. As well as the large shopping facilities in the Town Centre and small local suburban shops, there are two medium-sized shopping areas in Woden, one in Curtin and the other in Mawson. Within the Town Centre are a swimming centre, squash courts, tennis courts, bowling greens, and a series of sports fields. Golf courses are available in Canberra but outside the Woden area. There are more sporting facilities in Canberra per capita than in any other Australian city (N.C.D.C., 1975a:22).

Employment in Canberra

Apart from demographic features of the workforce in Canberra, there are distinctive characteristics of local employment situations which have developed as a part of Canberra's unique pattern of growth. These newcomer men came to Canberra to specific jobs, largely as a result of promotions. With the general expectation that a promotion would bring more responsibility as well as the interest resulting from learning a new job, many of these men came to find an employment situation which was quite disappointing. Being promoted to a Canberra job implies a high degree of success in the extra-Canberra employment ladder. Many men came from the top of their local departments to the bottom of the Canberra line up, and the reactions they had indicate that for many it was an experience of being promoted down:

A Squadron Commander is a coffee boy in Canberra. He was at the top before. 7-H

Here I command my desk and a wastepaper basket. 17-H

... a big conglomerate of offices. All you do is push paper from one part of the organisation to the other. 18-H

A man's got to feel wanted jobwise ... contributing. I do anyway. I've seen some pitiful things down here that make me wonder whether people are alive from the neck up anyway. 20-H
When you're a small cog in a small wheel, it's different from being a small cog in a big wheel.

In some cases, being promoted down was compensated for by an awareness that there was room for promotion in Canberra, but initially the more common reaction was the recognition of decreased responsibility.

Women, too, found that they were given less responsibility here than in previous jobs. One woman who transferred within a department to a similar job said:

... just say workwise I feel I've been used to responsibility - at home I had lots of responsibility. Here I feel helpless, but not giving what I can give.

On the other hand, women who pursued higher education in Canberra found that local institutions offered them greater opportunities than they had previously found. Responsibility may come with longevity in a particular job, but, perhaps in a highly educated community representing the upper echelons of many Government departments, there is not as much responsibility left for newcomers as they would expect from their previous experience elsewhere.

Among newcomer men working in the private sector in Canberra, there was a feeling of being in a minority and missing the community of 'business mates' which they had known elsewhere. With the large local proportion of Government employees, these newcomers in the private sector found it difficult to find others who understood the different problems they faced as small business owners or employees.

The Political and Economic Situation

The political scene is especially significant for the labour market in a Government town, and perhaps particularly so at the time of this study. The Labor Government had been elected to power in Australia in 1972 and 1974. It was through routine transfers and public expansion under this Government that the majority of these newcomers were brought to Canberra in the latter part of 1975. Quite suddenly, on 11 November, 1975, the Government changed. After the Senate blocked two supply bills, the Governor-General dismissed the Labor Prime Minister and swore in the Leader
of the Opposition. The supply bills were passed, but the House of Representatives passed a no confidence motion in the new Prime Minister. Parliament was dissolved, an election campaign waged, and on 13 December, 1975, the coalition Liberal/Country Party won, and Malcolm Fraser was the elected Prime Minister (Horne, 1975:101-3). The change in Government indicated a degree of political turmoil which was felt especially strongly in a city with a payroll largely met by and thus dependent on Government funds. The Labor Government had increased the level of spending in a number of areas, and after the change in Government people were concerned about the future of their departments and jobs under the new leadership. The period immediately following the election was one of economic contraction in the public sector. For Canberra this meant severe cuts in spending with very few job opportunities and virtually no private sector to pick up the slack.

The uneasiness which some newcomers felt regarding their jobs was a reflection of these political and economic developments. Most particularly, newcomer women who came to Canberra expecting to find employment, and who had successful work histories, found that there were no jobs. This was a strong contrast to the fact that Canberra as a city has a high proportion of women in the work force. The degree to which the lack of jobs was understood as a widespread problem varied among these newcomer women. Initially, some of them explained the situation in personal terms and felt personal rejection. Within a few months, however, they could at least rationalise their experiences as beyond their own control and due in part to the Australian economic climate and specific characteristics of Canberra.

Summary

What is Canberra? To these newcomers, the city initially showed many faces, partly because of their differing values, expectations and goals. Their experiences in Canberra varied also because they moved into different houses, jobs, neighbourhoods and activities. They interacted with different others. They had different pasts from which to view their new situations. The range of their experiences, past and present, will be discussed in the chapters ahead. What they held in common and continually wrestled with, was a stereotype view of Canberra which is part
of 'what everyone knows' and yet finds tested in daily experience. All of them knew part of the Canberra lore; some knew it well and from many sources. In the early weeks here Canberra presented itself to the newcomers as a certain kind of place and these situational impressions were somehow meshed with whatever stereotype knowledge the newcomers had of the city. A composite of these two sources of information would describe the Canberra these newcomers saw soon after arrival:

It is a beautiful, clean if not sterile city without much of a flavour of its own. People are a bit snobby and status conscious, and yet at the same time 'as friendly as people anywhere'. It is a Government town where you come in at the bottom of the stack. People are highly educated, and the schools, public services and facilities are good. Especially if you are a woman at this time, it is hard to get a job.

The degree to which any part of the description had significance varied not only among newcomers but over the course of the fieldwork period. As will be discussed, the newcomers' views of Canberra were modified during the year because their positions in Canberra altered. After a year they were no longer new, their perspective on the city had changed, and in living here they had changed Canberra. In the chapters ahead we shall be looking at the processes through which the newcomers' initial stereotypes changed as they gained particular knowledge about the city.
CHAPTER 5: THE SAMPLE AT T₁

The thirty families involved in this study came to Canberra with a wide variety of background experiences and expectations. Here we shall establish a baseline for the description of the members of these families as they presented themselves in the first interviews and visits. Certain resources were brought to Canberra by these newcomers. Among those discussed here are: family composition, ethnic background, health, socio-economic background, occupation, education, previous experience of moving, knowledge of Canberra, reasons for moving, and intimate social networks. After arrival in Canberra but before T₁, these families made arrangements for their housing and children's schooling. These arrangements further varied their situations here as will be discussed. The newcomers' expectations of the kinds of social relationships to be made in Canberra are detailed on the basis of T₁ data. While these expectations may have changed between their arrival and T₁, it seems likely that if they were aware of significant changes they would have reported them. Finally, the newcomers' self-concepts and self-esteem are described as they appeared at T₁. Even as soon after the move as T₁, many of these people perceived changes in themselves which they attributed to the move, and therefore their self-concepts at T₁ are different from those they held at the point in time when they arrived in Canberra.

In the chapters that follow some of the common experiences associated with being newcomers and their impact on these people will be explored. Here we will have a reference point documenting the variation in the sample on a number of factors at T₁ with which we can compare their situations a year later. It is the range of variation within the sample which we will establish here, as it represents the beginning of this longitudinal study. It is not my intent to explain how this variation in background factors had arisen, but rather to make explicit what the range of variation was.

RESOURCES BROUGHT TO CANBERRA BY THE SAMPLE

Family Composition

Three of these thirty families were single-parent families, consisting of a mother and child or children. There were thus thirty adult women and
twenty-seven adult men in the sample. They ranged in age from late twenties to late forties. In two cases the woman's mother lived with the family. Because of disabilities due to age and health, these older women preferred not to take much part in the study and were not encouraged to do so by other family members. They are therefore not included in the sample numbers.

There were eighty-four children in these families, varying in age from a few months to nineteen years. The distribution of family size is given in Table 1. Sixty-eight of these children were included in this study. Sixteen children were not interviewed. Thirteen were too young to understand or to dare talk with me (all under five years). Three children from two families were away at school or University and had not moved with the family to Canberra (all over fifteen years).

Most of the children in these families had one to three siblings. Of the three only-children, two were children of single parents, and thus there were two family units consisting of only two people whereas the more common family unit included four to six people.

The ages of the children interviewed are given in Table 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of children in family</th>
<th>Number of children</th>
<th>Number of families</th>
<th>Per cent of families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>84</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 2
Ages of children in sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age (Years)</th>
<th>Number of children in sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The family composition of this sample has been in part determined by the means used to contact these newcomers, which is detailed in Chapter 3. Due to the fact that families were gathered through the infants-primary schools, the sample contains a majority of primary-school age children. The stage of family life cycle which describes and differentiates these families is given in Table 3.

TABLE 3
Stage in family life cycle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage of children's development</th>
<th>Number of families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One or more pre-school age children at home and children in infants-primary school</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All children in infants-primary school</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children in infants-primary school and high school, college or university</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Those families with all children in infants-primary school tended to be smaller families with children closely spaced. Families with children in infants-primary and high school, college or university were larger families with children less closely spaced. Families with pre-school and infants-primary school children were a mixture of families with fairly wide gaps in age between children (four families) or with closely spaced children of whom the eldest had been at school only a few years. Differences in both stage of family life cycle and form or structure of the family were apparent. They had a significant effect on the wife-mother and her freedom to work and attitudes toward employment.

Family role expectations of the husband and wife appeared to be influenced by the stage in family life cycle and structure of the family as well. Where household jobs and responsibilities were partially shared by husband and wife (six cases), the span of children's ages was small and the woman was either employed or sought employment except in one case where bad health limited her ability to work. Where the span of children's ages was larger, the woman much more often took responsibility for nearly all household tasks whether or not there were actually pre-school age children at home. Other factors were important here as well, such as the nature of the husband's work and amount of time he was at home, as well as the concept held by the adults of what a mother is and does.

It appears from this sample that one form of family life sequence involves some sharing of household responsibilities between the husband and wife, the close spacing of two or three children and the return of the wife to further education or employment on a full-time basis when the children reach school age. Some of the families with pre-school children anticipated that they would follow this pattern when all their children reached school age. Alternatively, in larger families with more widely spaced children, the wife combined nearly sole charge of family responsibilities with part-time employment or pursuit of her own interests over an extended period.

In the majority of these families the wife carried most of the household responsibilities. In about a third of these cases, this was seen as temporary and due to the presence of pre-school children. In others both spouses felt that a wife-mother ought to do all the household work. In some large families the longer period of childbearing and minding young
children appeared to them to have established a pattern of the wife's being at home and taking the greater share of household work. When children were finally all in school, the demands of a larger family prevented them from seeing the change as dramatic, and the division of household responsibilities established over a number of years appeared almost self-perpetuating.

Ethnic Background

The family members in this study were largely of Australian birth. While no effort was made to achieve similarity between the ethnic composition of the sample families and the overall Canberra ethnic composition, the sample is fairly similar to the general Canberra pattern except that it under-represents the proportion of people of European birth in Canberra. The comparison of family members' birthplace with the population of Canberra is given in Table 4.

**TABLE 4**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of birth</th>
<th>No. of adults</th>
<th>No. of children</th>
<th>Sample total</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Canberra percent at 1971 census (N.C.D.C., 1975a:5)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overseas:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British or British-settled (including</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.K., U.S.A., Canada, N.Z.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>57</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

None of these newcomers was a recent immigrant from a non-English speaking country. Hence, language was not a problem for them in their everyday lives in Canberra, nor was there difficulty in communication during the research. In the two instances where English was a second language for the newcomers (both adults), they had been resident in Australia for over ten years and spoke English well even before arrival in this country. Minor differences
in pronunciation and word usage were pointed out by many newcomers as a matter of interest rather than as a problem.

Health

With only a few exceptions, members of these families were in 'good health' at the time of the move. By good health we mean that they were fully functioning in their social roles without hindrance from unusual physical symptoms of illness. The children in a few families suffered from recurrent bronchitis or asthma, but generally these attacks were controlled and regarded by family members as intermittent interruptions in their otherwise good health.

Two of the newcomers, and to a degree their families, suffered from chronic nervous disorders which, although medically treated, produced symptoms which affected their social and physical functioning. One of these was a wife-mother with young children; the other was a nine-year-old child.

Four women reported drinking problems which occasionally interfered with social and physical activities. One noted the problem in herself. The other three said that their husbands' drinking was a times worrisome to them.

Whatever health problems these newcomers recognised on arrival, they were confident that they could obtain adequate medical advice locally as required. In chronic cases necessitating close surveillance, they had already established a relationship with a local doctor whom they expected would manage their treatment. The woman who perceived her own drinking problem had found a counsellor who was treating her for a broad range of emotional-psychological complaints. This type of supportive relationship was one which the woman had relied on for a number of years prior to the move and picked up again after the relocation. The women whose husbands' drinking seemed a problem did not seek outside help in Canberra, and had not previously done so.

Socio-Economic Background of Adults

The early socio-economic background of the adults is given in three categories based on information provided in life histories, interviews
and informal discussions. Socio-economic background is one of a number of factors believed to influence early socialisation and hence values, beliefs and self-feelings. While in the scope of a larger study of Australian society, almost all of these people would be viewed as middle-class on the basis of life style, income, education and occupation, their early life experiences were more varied than one might suspect from observation alone. The three categories of early socio-economic background were defined as follows:

L - mention by the subject of scarce money, poor conditions, or being unable to afford secondary schooling;

M - mention by the subject of comfortable, 'ordinary' background with an opportunity to continue secondary schooling;

U - mention by the subject of a large unearned family income, large land-holding, attendance at top private schools, many servants in the household or a great deal of privately financed travel.

The distribution of newcomers in these categories is given in Table 5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-economic background</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upper</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Early socio-economic background was the same for both adults in twenty-one families. In the remaining six two-parent families the spouses were of different but contiguous socio-economic background. There was not a family in which one adult was from an upper and the other from a lower socio-economic background.
Occupation of Adults

Occupations of the adults are given in Table 6 in five categories. No implication of regular spacing or distance between the categories is intended. Groupings were made on the basis of differences in training, responsibility and other criteria used by the respondents themselves.

All the men had jobs on arrival in Canberra. One woman came to Canberra with employment already organised, and another began working part-time in a business owned jointly with her husband. Three women had arranged to continue their education in Canberra prior to their arrival. None of the other women had found employment or made commitments to further their education before T1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Professional, including Army, Air Force, Naval Officers, medical doctors, clergy, public service administrators, teachers, nurses, librarians, and pharmacists</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Self-employed, owners of small businesses (employing fewer than five full-time employees)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Sales/Clerical/Tradesmen, including sales representatives, soldiers, public servants (non-administrative), book-keepers, stenographers, typists and clerks</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Students, including all full-time students and part-time students where study is combined with household responsibilities</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0. Neither employed nor studying</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Education of Adults

The highest level of educational attainment of the adults is given in four categories in Table 7. Given the nature of the Canberra workforce, it is not surprising that these men were generally highly educated and employed in professional work. The women were less highly educated than the men, and at T1 most were unemployed.

TABLE 7
Education of adults

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Highest level of educational attainment</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Completed some tertiary training or 6th Form, HSC, Matric, plus occupational training, including nursing, accounting, teaching</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Completed HSC, Matric or 6th Form</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Completed 4th Form plus occupational training, including nursing, teaching, secretarial, drafting</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Completed 4th Form or less</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Previous Experience of Moving and Knowledge of Canberra

The parents in these families varied considerably in their prior experience of moving. Their intercity moves from the time when, as adults, they established an independent residence will be considered here as a measure of past geographic mobility. Individuals rather than families are compared here, since in four cases spouses had different previous experience of moving. Three had never moved from the city where they had been reared. Five had moved only once or twice before coming to Canberra. Fifteen adults had three to five moves before coming to Canberra. The remaining thirty, over half the sample, had moved more than five times before the move to Canberra. During their lives, fifty-three of these adults had lived in a variety of towns and cities including at least one smaller and one larger than Canberra by population. Of the four remaining, two had always lived in cities or towns smaller than Canberra and two had always lived in larger cities.
The knowledge spouses had of Canberra before their arrival was to some degree shared, but differed between some spouses and will therefore be considered for individuals. The majority had stayed in Canberra prior to the move for a holiday or during the course of work or education. Twelve of these felt they had gained quite considerable knowledge of Canberra before coming, while the remainder had only a few impressions gathered from short holidays or perhaps only an overnight stay. Twelve adults had second-hand knowledge of Canberra which resulted from contact with others who had lived in the city. Six of these also gathered indirect knowledge about the city from books and pamphlets. Before arriving, one family arranged a rented home which they had located on a map of the city, and had communicated with the principal of the local school about enrolling their children. At the other extreme, six adults felt they had known nothing of Canberra before they came and had been quite content to wait and see what it was like on arrival.

By 11 adults had acquired considerable knowledge of Canberra. Of the twenty-six services I asked them about (see Appendix B), the newcomers knew how to contact a mean of 14, and the mean number of these services they had actually used was 5. Once arrived in Canberra, they were generally quick to locate and use local services.

Reasons for Moving to Canberra

For nine families the move resulted from a job transfer about which they had no choice at all. For all these men the move was part of an ongoing act or career which revolved around their occupations. For their wives the move was continuous in terms of their family careers, but resulted in the loss of jobs for seven women, only one of whom was able to find similar employment in Canberra by the second interview period. Two of these families reported that they had considered splitting the family temporarily, allowing the wife and children to remain at the previous location while the husband moved to Canberra, but had ultimately decided to keep the family together, and all moved to Canberra.

The three single-parent families chose Canberra particularly because of educational and welfare advantages in the city. For these families the move to Canberra represented a new start in a comparatively advantaged
situation, the beginning of a new act or career in a sense. None of these single parents was for the first time the sole household head at the time of the move to Canberra.

All of the eighteen remaining families came to Canberra by choice to some degree. For six families the choice was one of location and opportunity, involving a change in the nature of the husbands' jobs. Such large-scale shifts in both career and geographic location were in each case agreed on by their wives, and even in the one case where a woman left an educational career, she was optimistic about the likelihood of continuing this in Canberra. In these six families reasons for the move were in part due to the advantages of Canberra, the attraction of a different and challenging occupation, and in four cases the chance to make a new start independent of their parents or parents-in-law.

In the remaining twelve families having some choice in making the move to Canberra, the men applied for jobs in Canberra which followed the career pattern they had already established. They moved into Canberra as part of an on-going career, but also in part because Canberra appeared to them to be as good or better than their previous residence or alternative places they might go. Occasionally the move was seen in a positive light because they were able to leave a disliked location. Again, since the move was partially chosen, the women generally had been able to influence the decision to some degree. Some left jobs or educational careers reluctantly, yet before the move had been able to define as good their chances of continuing or bettering their opportunities in Canberra. Only one of these women was against the move at the time of the relocation, although others became so as they perceived their hoped-for opportunities to be non-existent.

While the majority of the men (twenty-one) saw the move as part of an established act or career pattern, the women were much less frequently in that position. Six of the men looked at the move as the beginning of a new occupational career. Twelve of the women saw the move as the temporary or permanent end to an ongoing occupational career, while six others anticipated beginning a new work or study career in Canberra. For the remaining women, household responsibilities continued in Canberra as they would anywhere, and the continuity of their lives in this regard was maintained.
Expected Length of Residence in Canberra

The degree to which individuals saw themselves to be in control of the length of their stay in Canberra varied as did their wishes for the duration of residence here. The nine families who moved to Canberra because of a job transfer beyond their control felt the same lack of control regarding future moves. Five other families defined the move to Canberra as permanent. The rest arrived with a 'wait-and-see' attitude, and recognised the possibility of remaining in Canberra for an extended period or moving on if things did not work out well. The parents in eleven families hoped to remain in Canberra until the children finished school, but they recognised that other factors would influence the duration of their stay. Where children were in high school, residential stability was a common concern of the parents.

Intimate Social Networks

Newcomers maintained relationships with others outside Canberra through letters, telephone calls and occasionally visits. At T₁ all but two adults (one man, one woman) named friends outside Canberra with whom they kept in contact. Thirty-one individuals (fourteen men, seventeen women) kept in touch with five or more friends outside Canberra. The remaining twenty-four who maintained some friendships outside Canberra were in contact with four or less friends. About a third of these newcomers kept in touch with one or more friends from their school days and placed special significance on such relationships.

Some contact with relatives was maintained by all but one adult (the same woman who did not have friends outside Canberra). Thirty individuals were in regular contact with five or more relatives, while the remaining twenty-six were in contact with four or less relations. Relatives in frequent contact with these newcomers were generally parents, parents-in-law, siblings, siblings-in-law, and less frequently an aunt or cousin. In the cases where a relative as distant as a cousin was a regular contact, the newcomers explained this by the fact that these relatives were especially good friends as well as relatives, and that others in a similar genealogical relationship were not in regular contact.

With only one exception these people expressed the feeling that there was something unique about the kinship ties they maintained, and
that even if such relationships involved differences or conflict, they were highly valued. Forty of these newcomers had a relationship they defined as very close with at least one relative. Nearly all the parents and children mentioned the importance of the parents' parents regardless of whether or not they defined these relationships as close. The relationship between grandparents and grandchildren was nurtured by these family members. While many subjects missed being close to relatives, the majority felt that they could maintain much of the significance of relationships with relatives even when geographically distant. Some noted that relationships with relatives had improved with the physical separation, since there was no longer a need to deal with day-to-day worries or conflict.

No family had less than three contacts with relatives outside Canberra. Many of the adult subjects viewed their relationships with their parents in terms of increasing responsibility because their parents were becoming less independent due to ageing. Contact with siblings frequently arose out of their shared responsibility toward parents. In a number of cases newcomers mentioned that contact with siblings would certainly decrease on the death of their parents. Whether largely a responsibility, the result of emotional closeness, or a combination of both, relationships with kin were active and significant to these people with the single exception of the woman who for many years had been isolated from all others apart from her husband and children. Of the fifty-six adults, forty-two maintained a similar level of contact with both friends and kin (i.e., five or more contacts with friends and five or more with relatives, or four or less contacts with friends and four or less with relatives).

In coming to Canberra, both adults in three families and two other women left large and close-knit networks of relatives and friends. These people had lived close enough to their own parents, other relatives and old friends to allow daily contact. Frequent interaction within these networks had been the pattern in every case, and the networks had been a source of help and support in a variety of situations.

Nearly all of the newcomers had previous experience in maintaining relationships with friends and relatives who were geographically distant.
They realised that some relationships could be maintained in spite of separation while others could not. Many had experienced the revival of relationships with friends from the past when they were again geographically close even if contact had not been maintained in the interim. But they knew from experience that the reverse could be true, as they had met up with old friends with whom they no longer had much in common. Some believed that relatives changed less than friends, but many did not share this belief. Those involved in close, self-revealing relationships with others (either friends or relatives) often continued this exchange in correspondence. But for those whose relationships with others centred around shared activities, contact was rarely maintained by letter or telephone.

For nearly all of these newcomers, relationships with others outside Canberra were an important aspect of their lives. They maintained the relationships for the pleasure they derived from them and to fulfil a sense of responsibility to parents especially.

While not necessarily intimate, pre-existing contacts in Canberra were also important to newcomers. Previously known friends, acquaintances or relatives in Canberra offered newcomers support, sociability and a means of meeting others. On arrival five families had relatives and acquaintances already living in Canberra. (These do not include the two families in which the woman's mother moved with the family to Canberra.) At least one adult in fifteen of the other families had one or more acquaintances in Canberra. In the ten remaining families the adults had no personal contact in the city at the time of their arrival.

**HOUSING AND SCHOOLING ARRANGEMENTS**

**The Housing Situation and the Community**

On arrival in Canberra, twenty families moved into rented homes. Seven of these were long-term rentals which they expected to retain for the entire length of their stay in Canberra. Three families lived at first in hotels while looking for houses to purchase. Six families moved straight into their own homes on arrival, since they had been able to arrange the purchase of a house during a visit before the move. Of the
sixteen families initially in hotels or renting homes while looking for permanent accommodation, four had moved into their own houses by T1.

For those owning their own homes, commitment to Canberra was frequently expressed in terms of 'loving the house'. Having found a home which gave them the space and atmosphere they defined as desirable appeared to be a major factor in their positive feelings for the city. Two families found a private hotel a good starting place, especially for making friends, but generally those in temporary accommodation felt as if they were marking time and waiting to move again before getting involved with people or activities in Canberra:

... living in a rented house, knowing that we will be moving fairly soon, I hope, into our own new home. It makes me feel very impermanent at the moment. 16-W

I do not like the short period that I must rent this house in which we live. I feel I have no roots or anything to call my own. 12-W

... until I get my own home I can't see fitting in very much. 13-H

Of those living in long-term rentals, one family was in a block of flats in which people were very friendly. They felt this was a good way to begin life in a new city, since all family members could meet people easily; they had much the same view as the two families mentioned above who spent time in a private hotel. Where houses had been rented as a long-term housing solution (six families), newcomers held mixed opinions as to the advantages of renting and buying. In two families the adults felt that relationships with neighbours would have been more friendly had they owned the house. For one other family the rented house seemed just as good as owning a house, and they saw no difference in neighbouring relationships due to home ownership. Two families had not considered buying a home and did not refer to the possible advantages it might have.

Living in temporary accommodation appeared to limit the adults' desire to make friendships and become involved in local activities. The demands of looking for permanent accommodation or building a house necessarily limited the time available to those in interim housing situations. While the behaviour of neighbours to newcomers varied whether
or not newcomers owned their homes, a number of newcomers who were renting attributed the lack of friendliness on the part of neighbours to this fact.

Usually distinct from the purchase or rental of a house, some newcomers' situations included the option for membership in a ready-made 'community'. By community here we mean a group of people aware of one another, having the same sense of belonging together, and desiring a degree of mutual sociability and support within the group. In network terms these communities appear as clusters of high density. Access to such a group does not appear to be initially available to everyone; if it is, newcomers may accept it in various degrees or reject it. Twelve families had access to such a group and participated in it. By T1 they had established more sociability and support ties than those who did not have or take such opportunities. Such communities were found in the private hotel and block of flats discussed above. Salaried doctors and their families connected with a particular hospital found this type of community. In one case a church group provided a community in this sense. Of the newcomers who found communities, the majority found them within the service groups of the Army, Navy or Air Force officers. Six of the seven families that had access to such communities became involved in them and found social activities and mutual help, both formal and informal, within these groups. Although a similar community appeared to be available to soldiers in the Army and their families, the two families which had access to these refused, since they preferred to remain independent.

The Children's Schooling

At T1, fifty-two (76%) of the children interviewed were in infants-primary schools. Fourteen of these children attended Catholic primary schools, one attended Boys' Grammar, and the remaining thirty-eight attended government schools in their local suburbs. Of the older children living at home at the time of the move, fourteen (21%) were in high school and two (3%) in college. Two of the high school children attended Catholic secondary schools, while the other high school and college students attended government schools in their local area. Due to the move, arrangements had been made for two children to live away from home.
to maintain stability in their education. (These children were not interviewed; the third older child living away from home had planned to board at University regardless of where the family lived.)

EXPECTATIONS OF SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS IN CANBERRA

The quality of social relationships maintained and expected by these newcomers varied considerably. For twelve of the men and sixteen of the women friendship was seen as a close relationship based on understanding, trust and mutual support:

A close friend is always someone I feel I could trust with any confidence with an ease of relationship, not having to worry about offending or upsetting, that you've got some kind of rapport, that you can understand why things are done, and usually it involves a long association. 4-W

I think good friends are quite few. - I think a relationship that's completely relaxed, two-way and absence in terms of time makes little difference. 16-H

I'd say someone you can rely on, someone you can confide in, probably someone whose advice you'd like to obtain. 18-H

I have very close friends who I'm used to sharing very intimately with. They know me inside and out and I just let it all hang out. 22-H

As indicated in some of these statements, close friendships were sometimes seen to be the products of long association and thus were not expected to develop soon after arrival in a new city. Two of the women believed that Canberra people were so different from those 'at home' that the development of close relationships with them seemed most unlikely. However, even though some of these subjects doubted that close friendships would form quickly in Canberra, all were willing to enter close relationships if they developed. Most were willing to wait and see what developed in Canberra, but three of the men and eight of the women already had missed the proximity of older friends sufficiently to have begun exploring ways of meeting new people who might become closer.
In discussions with these newcomers about their close friends it became clear that many things could be said about friendship - understanding, trust, good feelings, reliability, mutual help - but that none of these really explained the close relationship. While friendship can be intellectualised to a certain degree, there were aspects of friendship which they could not account for:

I make friends, but I don't know how or why - things just sort of happen. 15-H

... you can't manufacture friendship. It's something that either happens or it doesn't. 20-W

Many of the adults stated that they neither had nor wanted close relationships of the sort discussed above. While they may have had close relationships with friends in the past, fifteen of the men and fourteen of the women preferred relationships which were reserved and enjoyable but not too revealing. Because of family demands at this stage of life, some limited close relationships to the nuclear family:

I think people have less time as they get older simply because they have families. I met people I think I would like to become friendly with but it is simply their time and my time and our individual interests. 28-W

Others found that they had developed a conscious reserve in relationships because, moving frequently, these subjects recognised that the associations they made would not last:

If you've really had an upheaval, you can't afford to get too close to anyone because you might lose them. 17-W

For some the loss of close friends, for whatever reason, justified holding back in future relationships:

I tend not to become emotionally dependent on others because I know we will be moving around a lot, because I lost a couple of friends in Vietnam that hurt. I don't depend on that friendship. I don't feel I have to have that friendship. 7-H
Some had never had a close relationship with a friend:

I don't know how to take a friend, even from being little. My friends would be animals. Strange enough because they don't seem to let you down. They - even when you're cranky with them, they still come back and show you love. I've had an experience with a few friends when I was little and they didn't come up to much - so I would say acquaintance I've had more than once but I wouldn't call them a good friend. 19-H

Families as well as individuals differed in defining relationships with friends. In eight families the adults felt that their best friends should be friends of all the family, not of just a single member:

... one you can rely on, one you can socialise with, not only for me but also the families - my wife especially. The wives must not be antagonistic to one another for obvious reasons. 21-H

... they have shared in family times and accept my family as well as myself. 12-W

In the remaining families, individuals recognised the possibility of maintaining close relationships with others who might or might not be or become friends with other family members. If the adults maintained close relationships at all, some of these were independent of the rest of the family.

Most of these married couples defined friendship similarly. Both spouses in nineteen families agreed on their definitions of friendship, while in the eight remaining two-parent families definitions were mixed. The categories of friendship definitions were not mutually exclusive. Many people experiencing and desiring close relationships with some also had reserved relationships with others. The distinction is that twenty-eight of these adults maintained and valued close, revealing relationships with others while the remaining twenty-nine limited their relationships with others to a more casual exchange.

Relationships with Neighbours

All of the newcomers had some expectations of the types of relationships they would like to make with neighbours in Canberra. The
large majority (nineteen men, twenty-one women) said that they would prefer neighbourhood relationships to be friendly but reserved. Most were able to relate some previous experience with neighbours which 'justified' their attitude:

I believe in helping neighbours in genuine cases, but I believe in a certain amount of reserve. I don't like neighbours dictating your life style.

25-H

The lass next door is very nice. I think with neighbours it's nice to have somebody like that, but you don't want to get too involved - maybe you get a bit cautious as you go along ...

18-W

Some felt it was the right of the older resident to make the first move:

I don't sort of rush out and meet the neighbours if I am new. I feel because they are here first and if they want to they will ...

28-W

Quite a few newcomers saw their reserve in neighbourhood relationships as a protection for privacy which they valued highly. Knowing from past experience that some neighbours could be a problem, these people preferred not to become too involved with neighbours, waiting to see what kind of people they were before going beyond a nodding acquaintance.

Three of the newcomers saw the question of neighbour status as irrelevant, and felt that they would make relationships without regard to residential proximity. The remaining six men and seven women expected to make close relationships with some of their neighbours, largely because they had always done so in the past:

I have always - we have always been extremely lucky and had the most charming, helpful, neighbours. Because I haven't a mother or sister, I probably have had to ask things of them that other people wouldn't have to ask.

6-W

In all except three cases the expected relationship with neighbours was agreed on by both spouses and was often explained by them independently in recounting recent experiences with neighbours which they had defined similarly.
Relationships with Workmates

Most of these adults expected to get on well with workmates but generally did not expect to extend the relationship beyond the work setting. On the basis of past experience they recognised that some workmates might become friends, but saw this more as a lucky break than a reasonable expectation. Mutual respect in work relationships was the most important factor to the majority of newcomers. Nine of the men and three of the women defined the work situation as one where they expected to develop friendships as opposed to the more commonly expected casual relationships. The remainder of the men and nearly all the women expected to be friendly at work (or study) but did not look toward these situations as a means of making friends. Many would have been open to friendship with workmates had it developed, but some preferred no involvement with workmates outside of the job setting.

While few newcomers described their expectations of work relationships in terms of friendships, these relationships were important to them in other ways. The importance of work relationships was found in the fact that nearly every newcomer now or recently employed defined the opinions of some work associate as significant to their feelings about themselves. Work provided good positive feedback. For a number of people a particular superordinate was a highly valued model:

Like my supervisor - I want our relationship to develop. I have a certain kind of respect for him as a person and I want to learn from his orientation ... 22-H

... I am happy to be working with a chap who is greatly concerned with education and standards as I would like to be, and so I find it valuable to be participating and learning from him ... 4-H

In contrast, a number of those in a supervisory role at work felt restricted in developing friendships, since they felt friendship might hinder their ability to lead:

... it's got to be friendly, but they've got to understand their position on the job. 17-H

I wouldn't expect too close of a relationship - I have people working for me that I tell what to do. 3-H
In two cases women had maintained relationships in the past with older women whom they defined as 'like a mother'. In a sense these were superordinate/subordinate relationships similar to those discussed above, as the women hoped to learn from and rely on the older women whom they saw as a model. Both of these newcomers hoped to establish similar relationships with older women in Canberra.

Relationships with Others in Clubs, Organisations and Associations

Only seven of the adults said they expected to make friendships through educational, recreational or social associations. They could not recall making many friends through such organisations in the past, although they had friends with common memberships. Rather than making friends through these associations, they said that they had joined associations in which they already had friends or acquaintances and had nurtured these relationships in that setting. Many of the women recalled that they had once expected to make friends through parents' associations at the school but had been so disappointed in that expectation that they either no longer went to these meetings or went simply out of duty and not with the expectation of meeting people.

Four families expected to make friends through their church affiliation. Six other families joined a church but expected only the kind of distant relationships with church members they had in their previous church affiliations. The remaining families did not anticipate joining a church.

Other Expectations of Social Relationships

About half of the adults expected to have social contacts which might become friendships with the parents of their children's friends. The remainder, while interested to meet the parents of their children's friends, did not expect social contacts with them.

Newcomers saw their relationships with tradespeople or professionals (solicitors, doctors, dentists) to be friendly yet businesslike. They recognised their obligations to tradespeople and professionals and valued their services. While a number of the newcomers had professional people as friends in the past, these were friends first, whose services they
later had chosen to use. While they may have used the services of a doctor or solicitor who was a friend, they said they did not become friends with their own professionals. Because many of these newcomers were in fact professionals, it is not surprising that they had some friends who were also professionals. But in Canberra, when making contact with doctors, for instance, these people looked for personal and professional qualities which they wanted in the doctor-patient relationship rather than the possibility of friendship.

Help or Support Relationships

Newcomers seemed likely to need help or support in a variety of situations before they had time to establish long-standing relationships with others in the new community. At T1 I asked the adults what people or agencies they expected to use or had already used to obtain help or support in given hypothetical situations. If they had a personal problem, thirteen (nine men, four women) said they would solve it themselves. Eighteen (nine men, nine women) felt they would discuss it with their spouse. Two women said they could contact a friend or relative from their previous home. Ten (six women, four men) had friends in Canberra they would talk with regarding a personal problem. Nine (two men, seven women) said they would seek help from a professional or agency. Four (three men, one woman) said they would pick someone to talk with who had specialised knowledge about the particular problem. One woman, who had no contacts with friends or relatives, said she talked to any stranger in a park or bus and found this helpful. Men more often than women said they would solve personal problems themselves without discussing them with anyone else. Women more often than men said they would seek professional or organisational sources of help. About one-third of these adults solved problems within the nuclear family.

In asking about newcomers' anticipated solutions to personal problems, I left the nature of the problem open so that they would be free to imagine the kind of problem which had occurred before or seemed likely to occur in the future. Nearly all the newcomers answered the question without asking for further information, although a few specified that the nature of the problem would be a determining factor in choosing a person who would be able to help. Most newcomers had strong feelings about which people, if any, they should ask for help. I believe their answers to many
questions about support relationships reflected their norms in particular situations more accurately than they reflected the quality of relationships with the others they named as sources of support. For example, those who said they would ask friends in Canberra for help did not necessarily have the closest local friends among the newcomers. Rather, these were people who felt that friends could properly be asked to provide such help. As Canberra residents became their friends, newcomers projected their own norms onto developing relationships until they had reason to believe that these norms were not shared.1 At T1 the newcomers' contact with Canberra residents frequently had been so limited that I believe the norms newcomers expressed were those shared with others from the past and projected onto the present situation. During the year these norms were challenged, changed or shared in actual interactions here. As time went on, newcomers could not simply project their norms outward, for they learned that some others did not share these. In their answers at T1, newcomers provided a glimpse of the norms which they brought with them to Canberra.

Short-term child minding was a possible need in twenty-one families, while in nine families parents felt children were old enough to be left alone for a few hours. Five families managed short-term child care by taking children with them or by adults' covering for each other, taking time off from work if necessary. Nine families used child care centres or babysitters for child minding. Four families left children with neighbours for a few hours on a reciprocal basis. Two had a relative or friend in Canberra who helped with child minding.

While there was considerable variety amongst newcomers in their solutions to child minding needs, they presented their solutions as if they were obvious and morally correct. Each newcomer had a definite idea of what one ought to do in the situation, and while recognising that others chose different solutions, they saw only a limited range as appropriate for their own use. It would be incorrect to imagine that all newcomers had a similar range of choices for these kinds of help or support, for their own definitions and sense of propriety frequently narrowed their choices down to only one or two.

1 See Bott (1971:222-3) for a discussion of the internalisation and projection of norms.
Longer-term child care and household help could be a problem if parents were ill or hospitalised. All newcomers agreed that the wife-mother could manage the house and children if the husband-father was in hospital for a week. But if the wife-mother was hospitalised for a similar period, both parents felt that some arrangements would be necessary. In ten cases the husbands-fathers said they would take time off work to manage the household. In the remaining twenty families both spouses felt that outside help would be necessary. In eight families relatives from outside Canberra would be asked to help, a solution they had used before coming to Canberra. These relatives were parents or siblings of either husband or wife, and frequently more than one potential helper was available to these families in spite of the fact that most were geographically distant. Organised support services would have been contacted to help with the household by six families. Five families had friends in Canberra who would help in such an emergency, and one had a relative who would provide such support. In four other cases where families had relatives in Canberra, they either felt they could not or would not ask these relatives for help in such an emergency. Being a relative was apparently not the only qualification needed in such a situation. While there may have been more readiness to ask relatives for help, there are only some relatives one would ask and further only some who would actually help. In only one case in five was a relative present and chosen to provide such help given the hypothetical problem. The other four families preferred to manage for themselves, ask another relative from outside Canberra or a friend in Canberra.

Arranging a holiday for parents without the children was something the adults in eight families said they would not consider at this stage in their lives. Three more felt it would be impossible to arrange. Eleven families had relatives outside Canberra who would keep children or come to mind them during the parents' holiday. Two families felt they would use a babysitter in such a situation. Two families had friends outside Canberra who would take the children, and three had local friends whom they felt they could ask to care for the children if they wanted to go away. In one case the eldest child had taken over the household in the past during the parents' vacation and would be expected to do so again. For most families a vacation for the adults without the children seemed difficult to arrange, and even when they could imagine a solution or had found one in the past,
they viewed the possibility of actually going on a holiday alone with some doubt, especially so soon after the move. Again, the range of choices they defined as appropriate solutions varied a great deal.

Sharing good news was a problem noted by some newcomers who missed having relatives or old friends nearby, since they believed that these people would be the logical recipients of good news. For others good news was seen as something that could be told to anyone, and therefore did not require longstanding relationships for sharing. These adults divide about in half on this point, one half restricting the sharing of good news to the nuclear family and relatives and friends outside Canberra. The other half felt free to share good news with more casual acquaintances in Canberra as well as with household members and distant relatives and friends.

Being able to give help as well as receive it is a measure of social involvement as well as a contribution to self-esteem. By T1 at least one adult in about half these families had been asked to help or support someone else in Canberra in situations of the kinds discussed above. In most cases help was asked by previously known friends or relatives living in Canberra and by the husbands' work associates. Others having access to a community in Canberra had given and received help in that circle. Only one woman had become sufficiently involved with others on her own to be asked for help or support from a new friend here. Adults in half the families had not yet been asked for help or support from people in Canberra even though some of these had previously known friends or relatives here or had access to a local community. Some felt that while others might ask for help, they recognised that families were fairly pressed with their own problems soon after moving and were therefore reluctant to ask yet. The majority felt that they did not know anyone in Canberra sufficiently well to ask for such help or to expect to be asked to give it.

NEWCOMERS' SELF-CONCEPTS, SELF-ESTEEM AND FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

Here we shall try to understand how these newcomers defined themselves and their interpretations of the importance of the move to their self-concepts. I have gained access to their self-concepts through open-ended
interview questions, the TST, life histories and observation of their presentation of themselves in interaction. Like Klapp (1970:14) I include in self-concept not only statuses, roles and goals but also a feeling of competence, worth or social value. Where any of these was salient to the individual in question, it will be considered a significant aspect of his self-concept here.

These people varied a great deal in the degree to which they saw themselves in control of their lives. The combination of a sense of control over one's own future and of responsibility for past successes left some newcomers with such a drive to make this move and themselves a success that their perspective seemed likely to be a self-fulfilling prophesy. As one man viewed his situation:

The city is disappointing. Much of the job is appealing but it's a hideous mess. I've never gone into anything in life that I haven't come out the other end. I'm not going to let these bastards win - a sense of determination. We'll bloody well make it a success somehow. 4-H

Quite a few of these people were equally determined to make this experience good, and enjoyed the opportunity to control the direction of their lives:

Because of the situation in Canberra we feel we were both able to develop areas in our lives that hadn't been - athletics, music, intellect and so on. 22-H

Or if things were not going well, they took steps to alter the situation:

Well, it's pretty lonely, though I am a person that will go out to things, but other than that, it would be lonely, but I'm the type that will take up a hobby or something. I don't just sit at home. 24-W

In contrast there were some who wanted to 'go home' and who did not or could not take much control of their lives in Canberra. As one man summed up his feelings:
Familywise I think I would still have seen them back home where they wanted to be. As far as my job is concerned for careerwise, maybe it has been a good move. 30-H

For some of these people the experience of the move and its effect on themselves was seen as beyond their own control. The explanations they gave were largely in terms of things being done to them:

I found people hard to understand here. Everybody seems to be more aware of educational levels. Workwise I've been used to responsibility. Here I felt not helpless, but not giving what I can give. I feel I've become very - I have no social life, that I've become antisocial. 12-W

You always had somewhere to go at home. There are just too many unfriendly people here. 8-W

While the situations newcomers faced were different, their responses, in terms of assuming control in their situation, differed independently of particular types of situation.

Despite differences in the newcomers' sense of efficacy and resulting self-esteem, they derived their self-definitions from many similar sources. Work roles for all the newcomer men were a significant part of their self-concepts. They presented themselves as bearers of specific work statuses and all but one referred to his work status on the TST. Informal conversations were often an elaboration of their work involvements. Some of the women were similarly involved with their work roles or had been in the recent past, presenting their position at work as a significant aspect of themselves. As previously discussed, eight of the men and nine of the women to some degree felt diminishing recognition for their occupational abilities soon after the move, either because their jobs gave them less responsibility than they were used to or because they were unable to continue occupational careers begun elsewhere. A few of the women who had worked in the recent past said they had not identified their jobs as a significant part of themselves. They had worked for a little extra money at rather routine jobs, and while they appreciated the income and a place in the outside world, they repeatedly said that their family relationships were the most important aspect of their lives and the ones from which they derived a sense of self-esteem. Overall, these
newcomers placed a high degree of significance on their jobs in their views and presentation of themselves. When a highly valued job had been altered or denied, this was problematic for them. Early after the move to Canberra some were able to explain occupational changes as temporary features of 'the system'. But others explained the change in personal terms and altered their self-concepts as a result:

All I'm very conscious of is my own weaknesses and failings, and I have to work a bit harder than I did down where I was. 29-H

... in a lot of ways I feel below average here and I didn't feel so below average elsewhere. 12-H

I'm less sure of myself. 25-H

While work roles were central in the self-concepts of most of the men and had been for previously-employed women, they were not the only significant aspects of their self-concepts. Family roles were important to these newcomers, perhaps especially so at the time of the move, because family membership was often the very reason they were in Canberra. Family roles were given in response to the TST's, sixty-six times by women and forty-five times by men.

Husbands and wives were often dependent on each others' views in defining the move. For most, a positive view of the move had to be a shared one, and likewise a negative view seemed to spread to the whole family:

I'm happier because I think my wife is happier. 24-H

I don't think my wife's terribly happy so far about this move, and certainly that does reflect in the family situation. She's not as happy and I think we all feel it. 13-H

Being a parent at the time of the move was also an important concern for these newcomers. Whether or not they were present when children started school or joined a new activity, both fathers and mothers were concerned that the children 'settle' well, adjust to school, and make friends. The actual work of making contacts, transporting and encouraging children usually fell on the mother, but both parents were emotionally involved in the children's adjustment and were ready to accept some
responsibility for the outcome of the process. The child's successful acceptance in a new school and development of friendships in Canberra was a matter of pride for both parents.

The mothers especially felt the responsibility for effecting the adjustment of the children. While fathers were concerned for their children, they never viewed themselves solely as a father or husband-father. The majority of these women had at some time been solely responsible for the house and children during their husbands' absence in the course of his work. They felt competent in taking this responsibility and often continued to carry most of it even when their husbands were present. As some of them described it:

I think sometimes with the mother sort of constantly with the children, you know my husband's away sometimes and I have to be the one to encourage them. I have to be the one to say no. He says 'I don't want to reprimand them because I mightn't be here - I might be away', so therefore I am the one who generally says no. 18-W

I think we're a bit different because the decision-making usually falls on the mother because the mother is here most of the time - Dad's away on trips or working late - I think I tend to make more decisions. 13-W

When he goes away, everything goes on just as if he has been here. There's absolutely nothing different, except that Dad doesn't come home for tea ... 17-W

In addition to family roles, the two working women had their occupational role and an identity with it which was significant for their self-concepts. Similarly, for the three women who were studying, the student role was an important aspect of their self-concepts. But for the majority of women, the mother or wife-mother role was by far the most significant aspect of themselves, and at T1 they had no means of emphasising alternative roles if the family role did not give them sufficient self-esteem. Being a non-working wife-mother did not offer some of these women much self-esteem:

The more reliable you are the less appreciated you are, and it gets to the stage where you're a negative quantity. You get to the stage where you've got to get out or bust. 17-W
I just felt like a wife and mother and that respect for my feelings and for what I wanted didn't count. 14-W

Combining working or studying with family responsibilities allowed some of these women a role which contributed a degree of self-esteem they could not obtain from the family role alone. This lack of self-esteem which many women attributed to the wife-mother role was due not only to the minimal amount of positive feedback they obtained in that capacity at some stages but also to their recognition of a model of women's successfully combining family and occupational or educational roles. The model was there for comparison and they frequently used it:

At the moment I am only a housewife and mother. 6-W

I was excited because I had something to do. It wasn't as though I was going to come home here and be a housewife. 15-W

I think it's very much a man's world. I enjoyed having children but I think on the whole it tends to be a man's world - you read about it, you know especially in Australia, even more so in Australia. 16-W

I often feel I am a bit of a nothing and haven't achieved a great deal academically in my life, but it was my choice to be a full-time mother, to be here at all times when my children need me ... 13-W

In spite of feeling some discontent about certain aspects of the wife-mother role, the majority of these women viewed themselves primarily in terms of this role and felt it right that they should:

My husband is tolerant and understanding of my need to work, but he is also totally absorbed in his work, and usually I have to forego interests that I have and put him first. I think everything pivots around mother. Literally I think she is the central figure in the home situation. 14-W

He's the breadwinner and I think the wife should be looking after the children. 24-W
Usually the men agreed that the wife-mother role was the women's most significant function:

She also has the responsibility of the children's upbringing, particularly when they are young and a lot of their ideas are formed. Right through life they are under her protection and guidance virtually the whole day except when they are asleep. 21-H

... her job in my eyes is first of all to look after me and the children. The job of housekeeping is up to her. One of her jobs is to look after me, the children, the house, and the food situation. I would say that would be her job. After that, if she wants to do any activity after that - work - if she can manage to do this house and children efficiently, I don't see why she shouldn't do anything she wants. If she can do three hours work outside so that she can get out into the community and let her put some makeup on, wear some of her clothes, do what she wants like that and still see that the children and the place is tidy, well that's okay. If she couldn't do that - well, I wouldn't want to do too many jobs myself if I couldn't do it. 19-H

While family roles were important aspects of the self-concepts of both spouses in these families, there were differences in the demands and rewards of family roles for men and women. Family demands on the women were greater and the rewards often less fulfilling than they said they would have liked. By comparison, the men found family roles less demanding and the rewards relatively greater. The newcomer men seemed more self-confident than the women at T1. Even though the nature of the job may have been disappointing and lacking in suitable responsibility, they were employed. Given the limitations of their work responsibilities, they appeared to feel they were competent fathers and husbands. The women most often arrived without jobs and with the feeling of responsibility for the adjustment of other family members. They seemed less confident than their husbands. They experienced trouble getting jobs and making social contacts. Positive feedback for their efforts at home was often said to be minimal, and even if personally rewarding, the wife-mother role alone was seen by some to be lacking social support. These differences were partially reflected in answers to the initial TST's in which more men than women listed positively valued statements about themselves and more women than men listed negatively valued statements about themselves.
Both men and women saw themselves and described themselves in terms of their roles, interests, and activities. But they recognised that these were not a sufficient picture of themselves, and they presented a total, individual picture as well. The complete picture of themselves came through in autobiographical descriptions and references to the unique way in which they combined many facets of themselves. In answer to the TST, they often replied: me, myself, an individual, or by giving their names. The picture they gave of themselves was one of a stable, integrated whole which was unaffected by changes in residence, roles, activities or friendships. Yet, at the same time, they valued certain changing aspects of themselves. The move was often seen as important to their self-concepts in both positive and negative ways. Most newcomers affirmed that moving had some effect on their self-concepts:

I found it valuable to me as a man. It taught you to fend for yourself. I wasn't in the protected world of my own city with my own family. 4-H

... it's an expanding experience - you learn a lot. 10-W

... each time that we've moved, you feel a bit new. We've withstood something. 11-W

It increases self-confidence. We could do anything. 10-H

... it's like a rebirth, invigorating and stimulating. 14-W

In a lot of ways I wanted to say we can do it ourselves away from the family - like going away and starting up your own herd. 25-H

The majority of newcomers acknowledged some changes in themselves and other family members which they attributed to a variety of situations they met in Canberra, such as changes in work status, the loss of friends and increased family responsibilities during the settling process. At the same time, they recognised a sense of the self which was unchanged by outside circumstances and situations.

While most of these people found the sense of their lives through a combination of work roles, family roles, friendship and kinship networks, social models and their unique selves, many also gave meaning to their
lives through the application of biographically relevant themes. These themes, which were woven throughout their life stories, provided them with a perspective from which they understood and judged themselves and their situations. They tied together what Schutz called 'because' and 'in order to' motives (1971a:65-72) around a particular theme which they presented as salient not just for that moment but for most of their lives. The sense which they made of themselves and of the move came from a unifying theme which they found explanatory, and which they made explanatory as they created their lives around it.

For example, one woman who centred her life almost solely around her family was especially concerned with providing a warm, reassuring atmosphere for her husband and children:

... the woman should keep the house. You like to come home to something. I feel good if I'm here and the fire's going. You know I hate the thought of days like that coming home to an - no one likes coming home to an empty house. 24-W

In informal conversation and observation it was obvious that this woman did everything she could to create and maintain this feeling of warmth for her family. In her life history she gave some indication of the beginnings of this theme in her life:

We lived in a small suburb. The houses were old terrace type homes and looking at them from the outside, one wouldn't call them a tourist attraction. However, inside had a homely atmosphere about it, warmth and cosiness was the scene ... 24-W

While this woman like the others had concerns beyond keeping the fire burning, the atmosphere she felt she wanted to create for her family was repeatedly the measure she used to value herself and the new situation in Canberra.

Another woman saw herself in the role of healthkeeper, especially for her children. The move to Canberra was in part chosen because she and her husband felt it was a healthier climate for children suffering from allergies:
I just felt Melbourne wasn't the place for us. I thought the climate wasn't very good for my children - three out of four of them are bronchial asthmatics, and I felt we really ought to be in a drier, higher, well drier climate and you know have a bit more altitude. I felt that living so close to the sea wasn't really very good for them.

The pattern of moving to a healthier climate was almost taken for granted by this woman, as she revealed in her life history:

By the time I was about 7, my mother became ill and we left Djakarta to come to Sydney. My mother's health did not improve. We went to Rhodesia and lived there for about a year, hoping that the climate would improve my mother's health. It did not and we went to India ...

While she was involved with family and personal commitments beyond health-keeping, this woman viewed family health as a recurrent theme in her life and used it as a measure of her success as a mother and of the location of Canberra as a healthy place to live.

A dominant theme for one man's view of himself and his situation in Canberra was providing good educational opportunities for his children. He wanted to give his children the best education he could find and hoped to maintain continuity in one school system:

I get a bit worried, moving her at that age, especially going to high school. It's not good. I learned that from my own education, the limited one I had. It's not good.

The background which provided this man with his explanation is found in his recalled school experiences:

I've been in one school one year, the next year they give a letter to send home to your parents that says 'we've come to realise that your house is 200 feet nearer to Park Green school than it is to St. Thomas' School, which your son is already going to. We will have to transfer him to so-and-so because you're in their district'. Three schools in three years, and that was when I was 12 to 15. The most important time. You know it was a big game to me, but I regret - the
crunch came when you left school. You could really write books about the schooling and that. I could write something in there about when I was young. It's always been an impact and I think it makes me as I am today - at the Infants school. I was about 5, just started school and I contacted (sic) ringworms where I used to go to school, and if you had ringworm, which was quite common around there from wearing other kids' hats, cowboy hats and things like that. I happened to wear somebody's hat and I got ringworms really bad. I was out for about eight months. I had to go for treatment and they wouldn't let me go to school. Course, I wouldn't be bothered at that age you know - I was home all the time, but it really tore, because my mother had five lads to look after - she'd be working, cooking, not like all the mods and cons nowadays where you just flick this and it's all ready, washing by hand and all this. So her attention was taken off me and just normally looking after the lads and me father, because I played here, played there. What they neglected was me reading - the most important thing I've come across now, reading. Because I got better and I went back to school, they thought I could read. I don't think with my mother's limited education she could tell. And I couldn't read. I was 6, 7 and I was starting to improve by 8, but I was still very, very poor. And I went to this school and nobody bothered, the schools were all crowded then, 40 in a class, and they didn't seem to push you as hard. I got to this school and each month you had to go to the headmaster for reading tests, you know, and I couldn't read, and the headmaster took me around in front of the class and made me read and I couldn't - plus the embarrassment. And I couldn't read and the next thing he took me to another class, and he went through the whole school and up in front of everybody. He made me read this book which was impossible, and he got more intolerable. He took me around the whole school, but not only that - he got me at the end of the lesson and he hung me on a coat peg, suspended. I couldn't move from it and let me be an example for everybody else. And that was it - it was another three years before I could read. 19-H

Both Canberra and his ability to obtain a good education for his children were being tested by this man in the specific school situations of his children here. While he had other goals, the provision of a high standard education for his children was the one factor which for him was especially salient and repeatedly given in explanations.

These examples of the types of themes which these newcomers used in giving meaning to their lives are unusual only in degree. All of them
had some highly valued perspectives from which they saw, judged and explained themselves and their situations. Most had a number of such perspectives. I placed a high priority on understanding the relative values placed on these perspectives by the newcomers since it seemed likely that highly valued perspectives would be especially salient in their judgements of the effects of the move on themselves and other family members.

There was quite a range of variation in the resources newcomers brought to Canberra and in their initial arrangements for housing and schooling. In spite of this diversity, all of the newcomers gave off an attitude of optimistic anticipation at T1. It was as if they were about to open a gift, and although having no idea what was inside, they dared to hope that it would be good.
CHAPTER 6: THE PROCESSES OF ADJUSTMENT IN THE NEWCOMER CAREER

Despite the variation in their resources, newcomer family members did go through sufficient common processes of adjustment to make them a viable sociological category rather than simply a common-sense grouping. In this chapter we shall examine these processes - the experiences common to newcomers, which we shall call the newcomer career. As discussed in Chapter 2, the career is a device which is used to pull out for analysis a segment of ongoing action. When the limits of that segment of action are defined, similar segments can be compared in order to generalise the conditions of passage from end to end. It is this common passage which justifies the use of newcomers as a sociological category, one which involves specific activities, types of social relationships, interpretations of experience, and reporting practices.

The newcomer career as considered here commences with the subjects' recollections at T₁ of the time the family arrived to live in Canberra. If newcomers themselves were to define their period of adjustment here, they would likely choose a similar starting point. For the purposes of this study, the end of the newcomer career has been set to the calendar, falling a little over a year after their arrival (at T₃). The point in time when these individuals would no longer consider themselves newcomers would undoubtedly vary, not only among different individuals but for any particular individual over time and at the same time with different audiences. I am not attempting here to define the actual end of the newcomer career (the point when a person, by anyone's judgement, is no longer new). From the individual's point of view, this might extend beyond the end of the fieldwork period. In some senses, many of these people still felt new at T₃. The processes of adjustment are ongoing, and when we refer to the newcomer career, we shall understand it to be the beginning, though a significant part, of that process.

This career will be described through a number of different processes which separate the family members' experiences into analytic categories to make the description more coherent. Frequently in our discussions the newcomers used similar categories in their own accounts. But they also perceived these adaptive processes as a whole, which they expressed as 'getting settled'. In the course of transcribing the tapes from the first
interviews, I realised that 'getting settled' was a recurrent theme in their conversations:

I am not settled yet. 3-B-14

I think we've settled down. 15-H

... hopefully I'll get underway when we get a bit more settled. 18-W

Their many references to settling indicate that these people experienced the move as something of an upheaval and expected that an adjustment would take place. Many recognised that they could influence the settling process:

... the children were very secure in our last home - we really worked at it. I wanted them to be settled. 2-W

Quite a few stressed the importance of the passage of time which would not only allow them to adjust but enable others to respond to them:

It takes a while for everything to settle down. Settling myself into a different job and getting myself recognised with everybody else, you know. It takes a while to be accepted. 19-H

Many aspects of settling were affected by the actions of these newcomers, but even the most determined had to wait for actions or reactions from others which were largely outside their control.

Each person had a sense of what he considered the reasonable duration of the settling process. No one expected to be settled within a few weeks of arrival in Canberra, but they all looked forward to a not-too-distant future time when all family members would feel more comfortable in the new environment. While they seemed anxious to have a settled period of some duration in Canberra, all but one of the adults expected to make or to accept the opportunity to move again sometime in the future:

I am living in our twelfth house in as many years, and on the one hand, although I complain every time we have to pack and move and unpack again, I am not at all sure that I would be happy making the decision, if I was offered the alternative, of 'settling' somewhere for the rest of my days. 13-W
Their reflections on the past and predictions of the future were largely patterned into periods of challenge and change alternating with settling and adjusting:

It wouldn't be our last move. I expect to be bored with this and move on, somewhere remote - Central or Western Australia. 5-W

... I like to move. I don't like staying in places too long because invariably I get jacked off and I get pretty hard to take. 9-H

When the move occurred at a time that coincided with family members' desire for change, the move itself and the settling process fitted well with their taken-for-granted view of their own situation:

It was long overdue. 2-H

I was ready to leave. We were waiting to hear from June, but nothing happened until November, so that was very frustrating. 2-W

In fact we generally ... looked forward to a move. We always regard more than three years in a place - it starts to drag a bit. The last place we had four years, and I must admit we were both looking forward to the move here. 21-H

But when the move fitted poorly with their expectations, family members found it more difficult:

The timing of this move was off. A year later might have been okay. We'd just settled and we got carpets on the floor and new curtains and you know, all gone - it's just a damn nuisance shifting after 10 months.

... 13-H

In spite of the differences in the particulars of their expectations, all newcomers had fairly well defined expectations of the timing and duration of periods of change and stability at this stage of their lives, and they recognised when they were forced to accept or create a reality different from their expectations. In a majority of cases spouses had worked out a shared sense of timing in this regard, but in others, especially if both spouses had jobs, husband and wife had differing opinions on the optimum timing of family moves.
For some there had come a point when, after repeated relocations, they no longer saw moving as a challenge or desired change. Two women who had moved many times because of their husbands' transfers said that it was becoming increasingly difficult to build a new life in each home. One took and maintained the stand that:

If I make another life for myself here, and I'm going to, I'm not moving. 17-W

The other found at first that she was not able to generate much enthusiasm for the new situation:

I haven't really mentioned much about our many moves, so perhaps they haven't really worried me very much. I have felt with each move it becomes more and more difficult. Once upon a time I used to really love moving and thinking about 'I wonder what it's going to be like', 'I wonder who I'll meet'. But lately I feel that 'Oh dear, it's going to be a new group of people - I'll not know anybody' and I've become a bit withdrawn and anxious about these situations which is a shame. 18-W

One of the men also felt at first that he would no longer accept frequent transfers even for the sake of his career:

... If I was moved again, I think I'd probably tell them to get lost ... 13-H

As the newcomers used the term, 'getting settled' was an indexical expression (Garfinkel and Sacks, 1970:339), in that the term was used to refer to many specific things which were not stated in a given conversation but were understood by the participants. In transcribing the tapes, I became aware that although we had been talking about settling in words that on tape sounded general and comparable, we had in the face-to-face situation been understanding other things which tied back to previous conversations and were much more particular. Two women, for example, used exactly the same words to say that they were 'really getting settled now', yet each meant something specific which I understood at the time (and I remembered when I heard the tape) on the basis of earlier exchanges. For the first, 'really settled' meant that the youngest child had stopped vomiting before school each morning. For the second, it meant that the family had moved from a rented house into their own home and had finished
the unpacking. Getting settled was what everyone did, and the words were used to cover anything from the most general to the most specific. My question had to become 'What is getting settled?' We shall go on to look at what getting settled consisted of and what made the newcomers distinctive in sociological terms.

The Activities of Newcomer Family Members

The period immediately following the family move could be characterised by a high level of activity for all members and a sense that everything was happening at once. Most often they had established a temporary base and were looking for permanent accommodation, a task which was often difficult and time-consuming. To newcomers, househunting frequently seemed urgent, since they saw no chance of getting settled until they had obtained permanent accommodation. Soon after arrival, most of them located an estate agent, usually through an advertisement in the newspaper or a look through advertisements in the telephone book. Although the estate agent was frequently contacted in a haphazard manner, once chosen, he became an important source of local knowledge. Most families were referred to solicitors, for example, by estate agents whom they had chosen by chance.

As many families could not make alternative arrangements for their children while they looked for a house, children frequently accompanied them. It is not surprising that both parents and children became tired quickly, and more than one family said that they decided on a house because they could not bear to look any more. For others, the househunting took longer and seemed to consume whatever time they would give it. If they had rented a reasonably comfortable home for the interim, these families could look for a permanent home in a more leisurely fashion. But then their choice of houses was usually restricted by the fact that children had attended school on the basis of the location of their rental, which had been taken without much thought, and parents were reluctant to make a move which would necessitate the children's changing schools.

In addition to finding housing, newcomers had other purchases to make soon after arrival. They needed household goods and clothing, especially so if they had come from a different climate. New uniforms were needed
before the children went to school. These initial purchases frequently amounted to a large sum which they may not have anticipated. Every family found that the move was expensive in some unexpected way.

Usually within a few days of the relocation, the husband-fathers started work. These situations always included learning new routines which they had to coordinate with others they did not know well, if at all. Many felt pressure or pressured themselves to perform well at work, as well as to give extra help in the family situation:

I found the work more demanding here. 16-H

I started the course as soon as I got here, so I was pretty busy. I was fully occupied ... 13-H

It's too many things on your plate at one time. Job, new house, picking up all your old - you know cancelling all your commitments in one place and establishing them in another ... 25-H

Although most men felt that work was demanding and stressful at first, they were busy in a situation which was usually similar to their previous work environment, and they became acquainted with co-workers quite quickly.

Children of appropriate age began school at about the same time as their fathers started work. In spite of the fact that during the first days nervousness, loneliness, and crying were common among them, they rapidly learned and participated in the everyday routines of their new schools. Certainly the children noticed differences in their new schools, and they reported these in some detail:

There's a gate between kinder and infants in this school ... 6-B-8

Where we lived the ground was harder - it was better for soccer. 2-B-10

I got used to my old teachers - they had a much softer voice I think. They have terrible voices here, and I'm not used to loud voices. 2-B-7
In spite of the differences between their new and old schools, the newcomer children generally accepted change and found friends in their schools, and their lives rapidly became more routine.

For the wife-mothers household responsibilities continued in Canberra as elsewhere except that they were made more difficult because facilities were unfamiliar. In this regard they were like the men and children, continuing their routines in difficult and sometimes tense circumstances. But the women also assumed a proportionately large amount of the work which related to establishing a normal life for all family members after the move. Often they did the first rounds of househunting with the estate agents. They unpacked most of the household belongings, and generally turned the house into their home:

I usually try to make every home a home. Like here I'm going to put up 46 rolls of wallpaper. Once I've got everything looking right then I'll probably not be able to stay home ... 7-W

Whatever their usual activities apart from housekeeping, the newcomer women chose to postpone these until they had the house in order and the rest of the family launched into their normal routines:

I feel that once I've got the house fixed to the way I'd like it, I feel I won't spend so much time indoors or in the garden. Then I'll look more seriously for a position ... 18-W

The women took the responsibility for making relationships for the family with professionals and service people they might need. As one man said of finding a family doctor:

I tend to leave all that to my wife. 1-H

Making these contacts took both time and knowledge:

You build a relationship with a doctor where he says 'This mother doesn't flap over nothing' but then when you move in, at first you don't know ... 17-W
Similarly, the mothers made the necessary contacts with the schools:

My husband said he was leaving that to me - he always does leave the education to me at this level. 2-W

In addition to the work of unpacking, transporting, making contact with schools, professionals, and organisations, these women also tried to provide the family with encouragement and support. Most of them consciously aimed to maintain a positive attitude towards the move and expected this to influence the whole family:

You try to make it a challenge more than a disaster - you have the attitude that it's good and sustain it. 28-W

The centrality of the wife-mother in the family soon after the move was expected by both spouses. The women felt that this contribution was both right and necessary:

I am not working at the moment. I feel that firstly I am a wife and mother ... 29-W

Keeping things going, tying up all the ends. I think everything pivots around mother. 14-W

Their husbands expected that their wives would take on the added responsibilities with competence, and rather more broadly:

... it's a case of while not providing the environment, at least keeping the home a happy place. 21-H

After the house was ready and work and school routines established for their husbands and children, the wife-mothers began to look for jobs or other activities they wanted to pursue. As discussed in Chapter 4, this was a difficult time to find employment. Many of the women spent weeks or months looking for jobs. Often they could not find work in which they were able to use their qualifications and accepted positions they felt were second-rate rather than be unemployed. Some pursued educational interests and others joined voluntary associations as alternatives to work which they had hoped for but had not found. Some studied or did volunteer
work as a first preference. Three of the women were active in founding organisations in which they could assume positions of leadership.

As the year progressed most family members joined more activities. Sometimes this was due to the influence of friends, but also they often decided to take advantage of trying something new or picking up a past interest. In the process of experimenting with new activities, newcomers dropped some activities they tried, while they continued others throughout the fieldwork period. The only activities they started soon after the move, apart from the husbands' work, were church or school related. Although they waited to become better established before starting leisure activities of their own, parents more quickly encouraged children to become involved in a variety of activities. These included: Scouts, Guides, lessons in music, art, craft or sport, and participation in competition sports. Eventually, the activities of the newcomer families seemed to them to be established firmly enough to allow for flexibility and change according to individual interests.

Relationships Within the Newcomer Family

One change in family relationships was attributed to the move by all adults: at least temporarily they had become 'closer' and relied almost solely on each other for their needs. From the time the family arrived until all members were involved in their normal activities, family relationships were especially salient. For some this was a positive factor:

The family acts as a unit - it binds you together, you get closer, a common front. You see everyone broken down to basics ... 18-W

... we've always believed that the amount of problems that moving has caused were more than compensated by the fact that we were closer together as a family. 18-H

As far as we are concerned, it has brought us closer together ... 29-W

Within the family I think it makes them closer because they have to depend on each other so much more. 17-W

But the increased closeness of family relationships was sometimes difficult. In addition to the reliance on other family members for most needs, many
newcomers found that initially they lived in less spacious houses, and so were physically closer together as well:

It's cramped, not enough space. We all get on each others' nerves. 6-W

Even if family members appreciated the opportunity to become closer to each other, they soon looked for and helped each other find relationships outside the family. There was considerable relief when each of them had some outside contacts who could contribute sociability, support and interests which the family alone could not provide:

... the hotel was really great because before Mum and Dad didn't know that many people sort of around, no one really close, and here it was good. You get to know everyone. 5-B-15

... the kids are much better settled and the backyard is filled with children which is good. 6-W

While most of the family effort was put into establishing a normal life here, the move altered some family relationships at least temporarily. Occasionally, spouses said that, in moving away from relatives and old friends, they wanted to establish a closer relationship here:

I think a lot of it was influenced by my parents who are very dependent on me and, you know, with babies you just haven't got the time to give them ... we function more efficiently as a family here ... we have to ... 25-W

In a lot of ways I wanted to say we can do it ourselves, away from the family. 25-H

... it was a good place for Pat and I to start a new life, a different life together - where nobody knows us - we're both new. 9-H

But the experience of leaving an established network of friends and perhaps relatives did not necessarily lead to a stronger or happier marital bond. Some couples noted that after the move they felt strain in their relationship which they attributed to the lack of support previously provided by others. It was generally not the case that the
spouse was unwilling to provide the missing support, but rather that he or she could not provide it in this situation. The same families quoted above who had looked forward to being in a position where they relied more closely on each other found:

You disturb the whole family when you move. If they see you achieving things, they can't relate to, you're out there, rejected. You focus on the trivial. 9-H

Frayed nerves. A wife must understand what her husband is up against. A lot of work goes on in the pubs. 9-W

I think a move could trigger off a break up in a family. 25-H

One woman who missed a large and close-knit network of family and friends found that the move had greatly affected their marital relationship:

We both drink more, both argue more about little things ... the relationship between husband and wife is difficult because it's cold and miserable and you feel like that. 12-W

For some, changes in the marital relationship were attributed to the fact that the wife-mother was temporarily out of work trying to get the family settled. Even though she knew that the situation would not last, one woman said:

I feel more dependent which I don't like. 28-W

Others felt that their husbands became accustomed to their being at home, and they resented aspects of the temporary change in the relationship:

I felt for a while, and I didn't object to this, I felt suddenly my husband wanted me to drive him to work, wanted me to pick him up, expected me to do errands and jobs that normally wouldn't have arisen, and suddenly I began to feel that he was becoming chauvinistic and I resented this. I'm getting over it now, but I feel that when you show you're involved and you are involved totally in something else, then this expectation isn't quite the same, but I just feel that it was a new experience for him, that I was available, that I could be used for these things. I didn't like it very much. 14-W
I know that, regardless of what he says, deep down under everything he's just waiting for me to give up everything that I want to do and stay in the household. 17-W

Many of the parents said that within the family children got along less well soon after the move, but that this change was temporary with relationships returning to normal after the children had made friends outside. Although adults frequently expressed positive feelings about the family's being brought closer together after the move, the children did not share this feeling. In fact, they usually saw the increased reliance on siblings as evidence that things were not at all normal, and they looked forward to changing it. As one boy said of his first day at school:

You stuck out like - stuck out. You felt different, lonely, stick around with your brother ... 20-B-13

Soon after the move there were social forces pulling family members together and others pushing them apart. The seemingly opposite forces were closely related. It would be difficult to say that one sort caused the other, but rather it could be said that they usually appeared together. As one woman said with surprise:

The girls are closer now with separate bedrooms. 13-W

Sometimes changes in this balance of separation and closeness were chosen specifically. At other times the move seemed to bring unexpected changes. People had different desires for closeness and separation, and their needs changed over time. Within the family, members' needs were continually negotiated and coordinated. For many of these families, the move sufficiently changed the family situation to change whatever balance the family had for the moment achieved, necessitating adjustments on the part of all members.

Relationships with Others in Canberra

While setting up seemingly normal activities, family members tried to construct what they had come to expect in social relationships with others. If they normally had quite a few friends, they usually developed
a number of local relationships they called friendships. If they were used to having only a few friends or no close relationships outside the family, they did not establish many such relationships soon after the move. Those who had enjoyed relationships with superordinates before the move also tried to make them here. Whatever network pattern they had established, they tended to see as normal and right, and they expected to repeat it.

The term friend is not easily or comparably defined. The newcomers themselves recognised their indefinite usage of the term. But even when they wanted to be more precise, they found it difficult to go beyond saying that some friends were better or closer than others. The indefinite nature of the word allowed them to talk about (and I believe to be reassured by) a stability in their social relationships which they frequently recognised did not exist. Although most newcomers who had quite a few friends before the move named friends here soon after the relocation, they generally went on to say that these new friends were not quite like the older friends. Children within weeks of the move could usually name more friends in Canberra than they remembered from their last home, and yet later in our conversation often said something like:

I had more friends back there. 7-B-11

Whether the comparison made was that friends in their past residence were more numerous or different, they clearly made a distinction to themselves between the new and older friends even though the label they gave them was the same.

The distinguishing feature of newcomers in regard to friendship was that soon after arrival they were ready to fill and largely did fill some expected amount of friendship slots from the available local people they met. They may not have known how to find or appraise others very well. Especially with hindsight those who had limited moving experience realised that their initial choices were perhaps naive:

I'm learning. I'm afraid I've become a little bit harder on people I think. 20-W
People you know and they know you, you aren't questioned. You've got respect. But down here you haven't got it. You extend to a stranger the same trust as before, but here it's a weeding out process. 11-H

You know, you don't know who you can trust. 7-B-11

On the other hand, many of the frequent movers had established patterns of joining activities and meeting others after establishing their normal routines, and they repeated patterns which had been successful in the past.

Newcomers' expectations varied a great deal as did their apparent need to find friendship quickly. Some were content to wait a bit to see what others were like before getting too involved. Others, valuing active involvement with friends highly, said that making friends quickly was of central importance to them. But like one man who particularly enjoyed close friendships, some felt that they had to give other people time before moving from acquaintance to a more intimate relationship:

I miss the depth of those relationships here, although there are a few who seem to be approaching that. But if you crash, you can put people off by coming on too strong ... 22-H

Whether newcomers wanted close friendships or simply sociability and shared interests, they were ready to make ties with others who would fill some of the empty places in the local network pattern they had come to regard as normal:

When I first came I was terribly lonely - no one to do anything with - that's bad. 12-H

This really only heightened the fact that I need good friends. 20-W

I really enjoy business, the challenge of it, and I enjoy relaxing, going up to the pub and having a few beers. I miss that down here because I haven't got the same sort of friends ... 11-H

Family members came in with different desires for relationships with others and they entered different social worlds. The men and children quickly found some sociability and support from colleagues at work or
schoolmates. Couples who entered the kind of community discussed in Chapter 5 found that within that group both spouses made supportive relationships with others soon after arrival. But for the rest, there was a long period in which the men and children had far greater access to continuous direct relationships with local others than did the women:

People are the contact point to me. Mainly I found them at work. 12-H

He'll go out with the men. He never did that before. For women it's harder - it makes one lonely. You move - often you don't know the neighbours ... 16-W

... here what my husband terms a good friend I would question. He has other interests I haven't got - sporting and drinking interests - just to go to a pub and drink and get to know somebody. 12-W

Immediately after moving into the city, newcomers were given different responses from those they met here. They found that they received a particularly friendly response from some local residents. Neighbours, workmates, schoolmates, estate agents, bank officers, and other service people were often mentioned for their offers of help. But others in these same categories were not so positive in their response to the newcomers. In fact, many appeared not even to have noticed that the newcomer had arrived, or if they did notice, appeared to ignore that as a possible claim for sociability or assistance.

During this early period most newcomers found that they could ask strangers for assistance of any almost any sort, and found that their explanation of being recently arrived was adequate to make the request seem reasonable. But there was a time limit, after which newcomers felt these requests were inappropriate. They felt free to claim newness for only so long. Asking a neighbour for the loan of a tool, for instance, seemed to them reasonable in the weeks soon after the move, and generally produced not only the needed tool but also an opportunity to meet the neighbours. But after some months of living near a neighbour without contact, requests for tools no longer seemed appropriate, and the newcomer was unlikely to ask.
At first many family members mentioned local residents they had known before or knew only indirectly whom newcomers expected to contact after they got settled. But often they put this off, and by the time I next saw them felt they had lost the claim of newness which would have made the contact easy, and so never did get in touch. Certainly some of the people newcomers initially intended to contact were only of marginal interest to them, but quite often the subjects seemed genuinely sorry that they had lost the opportunity to make the contact easily because they had waited too long for their own comfort.

Some newcomers did maximise their exposure to others as well as get needed information by using their claim to newness, which older residents seemed to regard as valid. Even then the claim was temporary, as some of them knew and others later perceived:

The classmates are more friendly at the beginning, but the friendship doesn't last. 3-B-13

... the lady down the street used to help me with government offices - where to go for what ... 15-W

Newcomers who contacted previously known others during this time included them on their lists of local friends. Many of the people that they had known before not only served to welcome them but continued the relationship with them over the year. Particularly within the communities previously discussed, old ties were easily reestablished after the move. Within the Army, Navy and Air Force, officers and their families repeatedly met people they had known from other postings and the expectation on both sides appeared to be that these relationships would be picked up again.

In contrast, many newcomers had only indirect contacts or no one they knew in the city before their arrival. For them, at the start, friends were those who offered help or from whom they could request it. Some found that a self-appointed neighbour was willing to give advice and assistance, sometimes for reasons of their own as well as concern for the newcomer:

Our neighbour down here, I would say that I can count on her as a friend. Just for example last week when she knew Tim's bike needed fixing, she said 'Now you can't get it into the car - I'll come and take you this afternoon' and we managed to get the bike in the
car and she drove me over. Now she didn't have to. You know the first day we were here she brought us some plums and cold juice while we were working. She's told me where to go to the markets, this sort of thing. She's an absolute gem. I think initially she was hopeful that we'd have a little girl, but Tim plays with her daughter so it works out quite well. 14-W

Similarly, at work the men found some colleagues who were friendly and helpful at the start. Most of the couples' joint friends made during the year were contacts made by the husbands through work. Many of the people who were friendly and helpful to newcomers at the start must have recognised the possibility that these relationships might develop further.

Apart from the neighbours, women had very little contact with others likely to become friends soon after arrival. At this time newcomers were apt to personalise relationships with others who in different circumstances would probably have been treated with more distance:

Well, when I was home here by myself my husband said 'For heaven sake get out and meet people - every tradesman that comes in, you talk their heads off'. But that was the circumstances of the time. 20-W

I got on well with tradespeople. I talk too much. If I've got tradespeople coming in, I make homemade cakes. 7-W

It was not uncommon for family members to mention that they had entertained their estate agent for dinner and that he had become a friend, but these relationships only rarely remained active at T 3. Newcomers' relationships with shopkeepers and service people during the early weeks and months here were part of the pattern of rapidly filling their empty local networks. I believe that they found these relationships provided them with both sociability and confirmation of themselves as friendly people during a time when there were few alternative local sources of interaction. During this time newcomers seemed to want to make relationships, and only gave secondary importance to the particular other involved:

The first friend I made across the hall at the hotel absolutely devastated me when she came and said 'Oh we've got a house to rent, we're leaving tomorrow'. My whole world just crumbled, and so much so that I said to Peter 'I'm going to have my lunch cut and
I'll meet you in town each day, just for something, some contact. Sunday Dorothy moved in and I said 'It's all right, I'm not going to cut my lunch. I'll stay here'. I just had to have someone there...

... 20-W

The children always found some people at school with whom they could made friends. While some of the classmates appeared friendly at first, others became friendly with time. The majority of the children were not surprised that their friends changed frequently. Indeed, there were only a few whose networks of friends had any continuity over the year. The principals in two of the schools said that newcomers were apt to be taken over by children who had been unsuccessful in making friendships with others, and that it took a while for new children to make ties with more popular (and, to these principals, better) children. Perhaps this was the case for some of these newcomer children whose friendships changed over the year, but none of the parents or children said that it was so.

Parents like the children found that, within any group of people they met, some would come forward quickly, offering help or friendliness, while others apparently preferred to wait until they had time to see if they wanted to develop a relationship. The newcomers themselves were divided in this way, some making a great effort to make friends while others waited. Particularly in the neighbourhood most newcomers and old residents were reticent about developing closer relationships too soon. Many consciously limited the development of neighbourhood relationships:

My neighbour over here has been extremely kind and friendly and yet she and I don't have a lot in common, and I'm the sort of person anyway who likes to sort of sit back a little. 20-W

There's a girl across the road who is very kind hearted but ... the conversation always goes back to her problems. I try to keep the conversation general. 9-W

The woman quoted on pages 105-6, whose neighbour took over as her informant soon after the move, later felt that their relationship had to be limited:

... she confided in me a lot, and I worried about that, so later I told her I had forgotten everything ... 14-W
The newcomers' perspective often changed with time and increased knowledge of those with whom they made their earliest relationships, as one woman reflected:

I have become discontented with the friendship because of their two children. I worry all the time they bring them for a visit. 12-W

Though perhaps they were more inclined to report developing relationships which they had limited, newcomers also had expectations or hopes for relationships which did not develop. Other people did limit attempts made by the newcomers to initiate friendships or increase the intimacy of an existing relationship. Soon after the move all family members were involved in many developing relationships, negotiating with others the amount of self-revealing and contact that would be shared. These kinds of negotiations go on all the time, but the newcomers were distinct in that, at first, they appeared to be 'feeling their way' in all of their local relationships at once, whereas by the end of the year some of their relationships had become more stable and mutual expectations more clearly realised.

Relationships with Others Outside Canberra

Although many newcomers seemed to make new friends quite quickly, they also maintained and valued relationships with others outside the local area. Some of these people were from their immediately past place of residence, but most were scattered throughout Australia and abroad, and these widespread relationships continued with little change due to the present move.

Nearly every adult and child felt some sadness at first because they missed their friends and perhaps relatives from their previous home. For some, particularly experienced movers, the sorrow passed and they found new friends quickly:

... I don't know why we get so up tight really because you're sort of thinking the worst and thinking it's not fair and have 4 to 5 days of tears and them saying 'It's not fair leaving all my friends' but surprisingly they settle very quickly. 13-W
There hasn't been a place we've had that I haven't really cried my eyes out when we've moved and been really depressed about it, and then next time we get a posting I cry again. So that means in every place we eventually settle down and I don't want to leave. 7-W

But, for others, most often women and children during their first major move, the pain of leaving friends and familiar surroundings was acute and prolonged:

I wish I'd never come. It is so cold and miserable - friendships lost ... 12-W, T3

I have no ties here - coming here - something fell out of my life. 30-W, T3

While most of the children appeared to adapt quickly to new surroundings, some of them missed their old friends quite badly soon after the move. Parents often remarked that their children needed extra support and comfort during the early weeks because they so wanted their old friends. A number of the children corresponded with their friends at first, but by T3 this was rare. One child who missed a particular friend seemed to have symptoms of grief due to the separation (Parkes, 1975). At T1 he told me:

Sometimes I go out in my backyard, and I look for him on the ground, and it looks like a little bit of Michael's leg ... 7-B-6

He had told his mother:

I keep thinking I see Michael on the playground, and I go up and it's someone else and I feel all sad in my heart. 7-W

By T2 this boy had made new friends and had neither written nor visited his friend Michael. But even after T3 when I met him by chance, he greeted me and said:

There's still no one in Canberra as good as Michael. 7-B-6
The non-local portions of these newcomers' networks were important to them in many ways. For the majority, most of their closest friends and relatives did not live in the newcomers' place of last residence. Two factors influenced the dispersion of their relatives and friends. First, as most of the newcomers had moved a number of times before coming to Canberra, they had generally left relatives behind in the place they came from originally and had made one or two close friends from some of their past places of residence. Second, even if the newcomers had not moved about before this, their friends and relatives often had done so. In the cases where adults had lived continuously near friends and relatives since childhood, they maintained relationships with old school friends, relatives and more recent friends who themselves had relocated. Thus, all of the newcomers who maintained contact with friends and relatives were in contact with some who did not live near their previous home. These relationships were maintained as before, through letters, telephone calls, visits, and/or fantasy. Many kinds of arrangements had been worked out between newcomers and their friends for maintaining or reactivating their relationships:

I think that the fact that you always run across people. You expect to see them again, and it's as simple as that. 13-H

Good friends always can be reactivated. I'm not much good at writing, but it's always the same when we can be together. 15-W

You know, everybody who moves constantly has this problem with correspondence - you have to write your family regularly, and with friends who move as we do they don't expect to hear unless something sort of drastic has happened. You just pick up ...18-W

... guys particularly don't write that much ... 22-H

I spend one to two hours a day in correspondence. 22-W

I don't write - I used to, but the person that was me then no longer exists - in my mind's eye I talk to them a lot - I think of them a great deal. 16-W

While newcomers maintained their relationships with these old friends, they had to establish patterns to maintain relationships with those who lived near them just before their move to Canberra. For some, contact with these friends was more frequent at the start and tapered off during the year. Others wrote very little soon after the move and began corresponding with
these friends later in the year. The first letter or telephone call could come from either party, and the pattern of regular contact was worked out by the actions and reactions of those involved.

Most of the adults did write more than once during the year to some of their old friends. These were either particularly close friends or occasionally less close friends who were themselves good letter writers. With only one exception the adults regularly wrote or telephoned their parents. Most families maintained fairly frequent telephone contact with friends and relatives all over Australia. Occasionally calls were made from home, but more often they were dialled directly from work. A few of the newcomers also made free calls from broken public telephones, which were apparently quite common and easily recognisable from the long queues waiting outside. Because most telephoning was done at work, the men were at least as involved as the women in keeping active the families' relationships with others in this way. During both periods between my contacts with these families, every family had visits from or made visits to relatives or friends from outside Canberra. Most visitors came from interstate but quite a few came from overseas as well. Newcomers made frequent interstate visits, but none went overseas during the year.

For some, letter-writing was a duty they fulfilled because they felt it was the right thing to do. As one woman put it:

I have over the years lost touch with my parents, sister and brother. I still write every week (the facade of a close family is there) but I have very little in common with them ... 20-W

But quite a few found that letters provided a dimension to some of their relationships which was qualitatively different from face-to-face exchanges. The distance between correspondents and the time lag between the sending and reading of a letter seemed to make possible a distinct type of relationship. They found that letter-writing had some advantages. The fact that some of these people said they felt closer to their parents and perhaps a few friends since moving away from them seemed peculiar to me at first, but they made it understandable. Apparently, because they were not geographically close to their parents, some people felt free to share more with them:
My mother and I are friends - because we've never lived close. You have to be apart to grow, to make mistakes ... 3-W

For this woman physical distance allowed her the freedom to tell her mother about her problems and mistakes after they had occurred. Thus, she felt she could share her feelings without the risk of interference in her actions. Another woman felt similarly that distance allowed her to tell relatives most of her important feelings and thoughts even as they occurred because:

By the time they get them, they tend to be solved. 1-W

Another woman had a longstanding friend living in Canberra with whom she had corresponded for many years. She described their past relationship:

We could write anything - we could always write about problems to each other. We did. 2-W

She was pleased to have the opportunity to live near this friend again, yet found that their exchange of confidences did not continue as much in the situation of close proximity.

Letters allowed another sort of flexibility in maintaining relationships. The newcomers had freedom not to share specific items of information in correspondence, and so, by omission, they could control the other's impression and response:

I write to my father - but no problems - he likes to think everything came out fine for me. You have freedom in letters to send or not send information. I'm not free with my parents. I gloss over ... 18-W

In these ways letters allowed some of the newcomers a degree of control in their relationships with outsiders. While telephone calls and visits were seen as substitutes for 'really' seeing friends or relatives they missed, letters provided some with a different sort of interaction than telephone or face-to-face exchanges.
Newcomers' Attitudes Toward the Move

Throughout the busy period just after the move, most family members seemed to be carried along by an excitement and anticipation for what life might be like here, and they focused primarily on their expected future. Although everything seemed to be happening at once, they were not stopping it, for they also wanted to find out about everything quickly. Despite setbacks and difficulties, most were contagiously optimistic and enjoyed their new experiences:

I guess with any new place you go it's always a bit exciting. 7-H

It's like a rebirth, invigorating, stimulating. 14-W

The family's move still, I feel, has the novelty of a new and exciting event in our lives rather than anything of trauma or difficulty. 12-H

The busyness and excitement seemed to bolster everyone during the initial period. But the pace of their lives slowed down a little, their activities actually seemed routine, and others no longer appeared to regard them as new enough to warrant special attention. With these changes, their attitude of optimistic expectation gave way to their realisation that some of their hopes had not been fulfilled or that there were undesirable aspects of living here. Disappointment in jobs, quality of schools, climate, health, housing, and lack of social contacts became apparent a few months after the first busy stage:

I was confident when I first came but after 3 months was very, very low - sick kids, school situation difficult with kids having too much money. I could find fault with anything. 6-W

I was amazed to find this sort of attitude toward medicine and people that I have encountered and the fact that I am forced to be on a side in medicine is something that I never really imagined ... 4-H

One of the big factors, we were told that the education standard we would find in Canberra was as high as we'd find anywhere in Australia. Well we're finding very quickly that that's not so compared with the standard that we've been used to ... 29-H
... It has been a financial strain to us. Socially, our life is nil ... Records remind me of home ... I howl when I remember the good times. 12-W

Well, when I say each time that we've moved you feel a bit new. We've withstood something and we've got the levelling out period now after all the hassle, but that goes away after a while I suppose. 11-W

After the period when they had many concurrent demands, family members seemed to get a chance to pull back and view the move from a new perspective. At this point most newcomers appeared to be making sense of their presence here. Retrospectively, they were seeking explanation from their own experiences which would make the present situation understandable. They used these biographical themes to make sense of their lives both to themselves and to others who asked, more or less directly, 'why are you here?' The newcomers' optimism about the unknown gave way to reflections and judgements about what had actually occurred, and some of these were unfavourable. Sometimes they could change things which they did not like. But often they could do no more than recognise their disappointments, and like the man who found the schools below standard, become resigned:

We have accepted it. 29-H

A woman who had to lower her job expectations considerably said:

I have come to terms with the move. 14-W

When they had acknowledged and changed or accepted their disappointments, these adults went on to construct their lives within the new dimensions provided by their experience of living here. As they planned new lines of action, they came back to an attitude which, like the first, was positive, but now it was based largely on the known and their focus had come to be on the present experience.

The one perspective on the move which the adults shared throughout was that this was a good thing for the development of their children:

... the children learn to mix and assimilate. 3-H

... we can settle as a family unit irrespective of surroundings. It only takes our daughter a week to make new friends. Children who move around a lot can be adaptable. Both pick up friends quickly to replace others. 1-W
Despite some parents' disappointment over the move, they could still view it as good for the children. As one said:

I've accepted it because of the kids ... I'd just as soon never have come ... but the schooling is better. 30-W

Even when children had difficulty with this move, parents felt that learning to adapt was a good thing for them:

I suppose that Susan will get used to moving, so that she will know that it's nothing to really worry about. There aren't any problems. The other two know this ... 18-W

The older ones are used to it and expect it now as part of the life. 21-H

The development of their children was a central concern of all parents, and the move was judged by them for its contribution to this development. Even in cases where children seemed to me to have had trouble adjusting to the changes brought about by the move, the parents found some reasons to explain that it had really been good for them. I wondered finally if these parents, caring so much for their children's development, could allow themselves to feel that the overall effect of the move on the children had been anything but good.

Reporting Their Experience of the Move

During the fieldwork, I became aware that, although newcomers experienced having difficulties in the course of adjusting to the move they rarely shared these with me or other family members when they were occurring. When they felt most disappointed or depressed, they either kept it in or glossed over it with the expectation, generally shared within the family, that 'it will be better'. In a long talk with one family about this, I found that although I had been with them the day after the wife had come home from hospital following a miscarriage, neither one mentioned this, nor had they discussed their feelings about it together. Later, on the telephone and in a subsequent visit, this woman apologised for not saying anything when I had seem them, offering the excuse that "we didn't know what we felt about it yet". They waited to see what it
would come to mean, and from a different time perspective they could clearly say what they had not yet discovered when I first saw them. This kind of change in perspectives and reporting was not unusual.

Since newcomers did not usually report negative events in the present and waited for things to get better before they acknowledged the difficulty, they seem to have provided the greatest possible chance that things would in fact improve. In many cases individuals probably did not know the meaning of these problems in the present, and therefore had to wait to reflectively tease out that meaning. But in addition to that, there were likely other reasons for their not sharing some of these events in the present. Many said that they chose carefully those with whom they would share their problems, and these instances would have been no exception. In some cases, I believe, the newcomers did not want to appear to be having trouble, and probably covered up some present difficulties to convince me of how well they were coping. Whatever the reasons for it, the practice of reporting negative events as past rather than present was common to nearly all newcomers, and family members supported each other in their conviction that problematic situations would improve.

In the following chapter we shall discuss more fully the newcomer's perceptions of the effect of this move on their self-concepts and other family members. One perspective which nearly all held throughout the research period was that the experience had left them unchanged, both as individuals and as interacting family units. While they often noted changes in themselves and others in spontaneous conversation and what appeared to be unreflected comments, when I specifically asked whether they saw themselves or family interaction to be different since the move, the adults nearly always said no. Children more frequently acknowledged such changes in answer to my direct questions. Informally, the adults provided a great deal of evidence that their self-concepts and family interaction patterns had changed in ways which they attributed to the move. But they had a sense of their continuous identity, both on the individual and family level, which was stable in spite of change.

What is 'Getting Settled'?

Having looked at some of the processes of adjustment these newcomers experienced, we can better understand what getting settled meant to them. It involved a number of concurrent processes: setting up activities and
networks which seemed normal, making new relationships with others, and keeping in contact with friends and relatives outside the local area. The content of their new relationships and their commitment to activities generally were not normal, but the apparent normalcy of the structure they built was reassuring to them. In addition, the appearance of this structure probably influenced others to perceive and respond to them as settled, competent people. However fragile, this 'scaffolding' of activity commitments and new relationships was supportive. Within it some relationships became stronger, and new ones grew. When stronger relationships and commitments formed, parts of the initial scaffolding were thrown off almost unnoticed. Throughout the year relationships with others outside Canberra provided newcomers with a sense of continuity and other support.

Scaffolding building was a particular kind of competence which appeared to be learned, at least in part, from the experience of doing it. All newcomers did build supports for themselves or found these already waiting on their arrival, but some did this much more quickly and elaborately than others. These variations in the rate of scaffolding building and the incidence of newcomers whose supports proved to them inadequate will be discussed in Chapter 9, where we shall consider the effects of various resources on these adjustment processes.

The newcomer career can be summed up as follows. It is comprised of the adjustment processes they all experienced: building their initial scaffolding, developing other relationships, and maintaining relationships outside Canberra. Everyone had these experiences, though there were still significant differences among them, for instance between men, women and children. It is the tenuous nature of their initial local relationships and activity commitments which I believe places newcomers in a distinct sociological category. Their changing attitudes toward the move and the ways in which they report their experiences are a part of the newcomer career, or the passage of the individual from the point where he accepts the seemingly normal structure of early relationships and activities until he develops stronger relationships and commitments.

Comment on the Concept of Career

The description of a career is the most general statement which can be made about a number of instances of the process or category under
investigation. As discussed in Chapter 3, this is the aim of analytic induction which Znaniecki explicated and which was taken as a guide by symbolic interactionists using the career model. As Znaniecki suggested, we generally want to know more about the process under investigation than can be found in the most general statements. To satisfy that curiosity, subclasses must be formed. Sometimes more cases must be sought to expand the developing subclasses.

While the newcomer career abstracts elements which are useful in making general statements about this sociological category, the generalisation invites many unanswered questions. Some of these will be taken up in Chapter 9 where I use the variation in newcomers' resources to form subclasses. It will be clear there that the subclasses themselves invite more questions and that information gathered from this sample is not always adequate to answer these. It will be apparent that some of my generalisations of subclasses are extremely tenuous, since these included only one or two examples. In intensive, small-scale studies, however, it is inevitable that tenuous judgements must be made on the basis of a few cases or even a single case and that sometimes these judgements will prove incorrect in the light of further information.
CHAPTER 7: THE SAMPLE AT T₃

The initial variation in newcomers' resources was described in Chapter 5. We have just considered the newcomer career, which focused on the adjustment processes these people all experienced during their first year in Canberra. Here, we again look at the range of variation in newcomers' resources, this time at the end of the fieldwork period (T₃). Resources discussed here include: family composition, health, occupation, education, expected length of residence in Canberra, housing, schooling, social networks, self-concepts and self-esteem. (There were no changes in two resources as detailed in Chapter 5, and therefore ethnic background and socio-economic background will not be considered further here. Changes did occur in the newcomers' knowledge of Canberra between T₁ and T₃ and these will be covered in Chapter 8.)

In the chapters ahead we shall be making comparisons between the newcomers' resources at T₁ and at T₃, and interpreting these by taking account of qualitative differences in their passage through the portion of the newcomer career covered in this study. It is not assumed that all changes in the newcomers' resources were due to the adaptive processes discussed in Chapter 6. There were changes in these resources which could not properly be attributed to the fact that these people were newcomers. Apart from the adjustment processes investigated here, these adults adjusted in other ways (e.g., they have all become a year older, they have become subjects of this study, and so on). It is unlikely that sufficient 'proof' could be offered to link changes in their resources to the move alone. Further, some of their resources changed very little during the year, but these are discussed briefly in order to draw attention to the fact that they were stable. Where possible, changes in newcomers' resources are presented in tabular form to minimise the repetition of issues discussed in Chapter 5, but to allow the reader to compare the range of variation in a particular resource at T₁ with that at T₃.

Here we shall take another broad view of the sample, now at the end of the study, which we shall use later for comparison with the view taken in Chapter 5 at the beginning of the year. While the conclusions drawn from such comparisons will be open to alternative interpretation, the data are organised in such a way that some interpretations are proscribed. The
fact that time intervened between $T_1$ and $T_3$ means that we have some
guidelines as to what came first, and we will use these to direct our
interpretations. We cannot be certain that all changes observed at $T_3$
were caused by factors observed at $T_1$, but we can avoid making the opposite
interpretation (i.e., explaining observations at $T_1$ in terms of changes
observed at $T_3$). Where the newcomers themselves attributed changes at $T_3$
to the move, such an interpretation is strengthened. In some instances
family members denied that the relocation had effected certain changes, and
yet I suggest that the move may have been at least a contributing factor.
The reasons for and sources of these interpretations will be made clear for
the reader to evaluate.

NEWCOMERS' RESOURCES AT $T_3$

Family Composition

There were no major changes in family composition during the year. No
children were born to these families, and none left home before $T_3$. There
were no divorces or separations, and no single parents married.

Changes in the stage of the children's development were relatively
minor: the eldest child in three families went to high school for the first
time during the research period. There were no changes in the stage of the
children's development which would be expected to be significant turning
points for other family members (e.g., no last child went to school for the
first time, and no last child left school altogether during the year).

Health

Most family members had come to Canberra in good health and maintained
good health throughout the year. There was a period about midway through
the fieldwork when many newcomers believed that the family was experiencing
an unusual frequency of colds, flu and allergy, but by $T_3$ this was over.

Some health problems were tied by the newcomers directly to the move
in that they measured these in periods which were determined by the move
(i.e., they compared symptoms before the move with symptoms after it). The
woman who suffered from a nervous disorder reported an increase in the
frequency of her symptoms, and she attributed this change to her greater
levels of activity and interpersonal involvement in Canberra, which she
contrasted with many years of relative isolation before the move. The child who had a nervous disorder did not remark on his own symptoms, but from his parents' viewpoint he was much improved since the move. They credited a large portion of his progress to a sympathetic teacher, and also believed that the relative freedom they could allow the child in Canberra was a contributing factor. With the cooperation of the teacher, and their doctor's guidance, they were experimenting with reductions in the child's drug treatments which had been continuous at the same level for a few years before the move.

During the year two women had miscarriages. Both saw the move as a partial cause of the pregnancy (in each case 'unplanned') and of its termination, which both of them believed was influenced by the physical and psychological strains of moving and adjusting to the new situation.

One woman and one man had illnesses necessitating surgery during the year. They did not believe that these illnesses were connected with the move, but rather saw them as unpredictable and just 'bad luck'.

The four women who noted drinking problems at T1 again brought these up at T3. One of the women who had complained about her husband at T1 now said that she, too, drank more, and attributed this to the strain of the move.

In two families the wives told me that they found they argued with their husbands more since the move, and their husbands nodded in agreement. In one of these families the eldest child also told me that his parents had fought a lot since the move. Adults in both cases said that their arguments were a reflection of strain coming largely from the husbands' job, a problem which was aggravated by the relative isolation of the wives.

In three families, parents sought help in treating psychological or emotional problems experienced by the children. In two cases parents felt that they needed psychological advice in dealing with behavioural problems. In both instances the parents acknowledged that the move was probably a factor in these difficulties, but they went on to say that really the move had been for the good and that these problems were small in comparison to the overall gains the children had made. A child in another family spent
many weeks in a juvenile correction home during the year. As this had happened to the child before, the family did not regard the recurrence as the result of the move. Both the parents and child were adamant that the move had greatly improved his situation and behaviour.

Occupation of Adults

One of the men remaining in Canberra at T3 had changed jobs during the year because of a disagreement with his employer. He found a new job which placed him in the same occupation category as at T1. There were no other job changes among the men who were still residing in Canberra at T3, although the numbers are smaller due to the fact that three men had moved away from Canberra before this time.

Considerable changes occurred in the women's occupation categories during the year. Four women, none of whom had jobs at T1, had moved away from Canberra before T3, and these reduced the numbers in the unemployed category. Of the others, eleven had found employment between T1 and T3, and two had begun courses of study. Eight remained neither employed nor studying at T3. Six of them had not wanted employment. The remaining two had tried to find jobs but unsuccessfully. One had decided to put off further job-hunting until after the construction of the family home had been completed. The other had put off looking further until after a family holiday, and finally, with the knowledge that a transfer was likely to come up for her husband, had given up her search for a job in Canberra. A summary of the occupations of newcomers still residing in Canberra at T3 is given in Table 8.

Education of Adults

During the year two women finished their Higher School Certificates and began tertiary training; one entered the University, the other the College of Advanced Education. These were the only two changes which would result in differences in the educational attainment category of newcomers from T1.

Three of the men had enrolled in part-time degree courses at the College; all had prior tertiary training. For one, the course was taken largely as an interest, rather than for specific training related to his career. The other two were taking college courses to obtain qualifications for different jobs.
TABLE 8

Occupation of adults at T_3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Professional, including Army, Air Force, Naval Officers, medical doctors, clergy, public service administrators, teachers, nurses, librarians, and pharmacists</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Self-employed, owners of small businesses (employing fewer than five full-time employees)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Sales/Clerical/Tradesmen, including sales representatives, soldiers, public servants (non-administrative), bookkeepers, stenographers, typists and clerks</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Students, including all full-time students and part-time students where study is combined with household responsibilities</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Neither employed nor studying</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Expected Length of Residence in Canberra

A summary of these families' expectations concerning the duration of their residence in Canberra is given in Table 9.

TABLE 9

Families' expected length of residence in Canberra at T_3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expected duration of residence</th>
<th>Number of families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Uncertain since moves are determined by husbands' employer</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Plan to leave within a few months</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Husband presently seeking employment elsewhere</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Seeking house elsewhere but expect to continue to work in Canberra</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Content to stay for the next few years or longer</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In both families expecting to leave Canberra within a few months, the relocations were related to the husbands' work: one was transferred, and one chose to move because the economic situation in Canberra had not been favourable for the business he set up here. The husbands in two of the families were seeking employment elsewhere. One husband was dissatisfied with his job, and was looking for a challenge through new work, a pattern he had followed before. In the other family, the wife so missed relatives and friends from her last home that her husband was making applications for jobs back there. He had made applications for jobs elsewhere as well, and said that just some change, perhaps to a warmer climate would be an improvement. This man had worked away from his wife's friends and relations only on one occasion before coming to Canberra, and in that case he had returned to her home because of her unhappiness.

Another family was considering leaving the city to live on a property which would be close enough to allow both husband and wife to continue work in the city. They had not yet found a suitable place to purchase by T₃, but were still looking for one.

Fifteen families were content to stay in Canberra at least for the next few years. None of the adults particularly wanted to remain in Canberra forever, but many wanted to stay until the children finished school, and most were content to wait and see what happened rather than make definite future plans. Eventually they expected to move on somewhere, but few had any idea where, nor were they very much concerned about it.

**Housing and Community**

The housing arrangements families had made at T₁ were often temporary, and many moved again within the local area during the year. Geographic mobility within Canberra during the year is summarised in Table 10.

**TABLE 10**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period of Study</th>
<th>Number of families relocated (once)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between T₁ and T₂</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between T₂ and T₃</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Each of the two single-parent families relocated in Canberra twice during the year, both between T₁ and T₂ and between T₂ and T₃. By T₃ they had found permanent accommodation. Home ownership by the newcomer families is given in Table 11.

### Table 11
Home ownership at T₃

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status of home ownership</th>
<th>Number of families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Living in own home</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renting: long-term</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leaving Canberra within a few months</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waiting for the completion of construction of new home</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 'community' which some of these families had found at T₁ will be discussed in the section on network clusters. Here we shall note those aspects of the community which pertain directly to housing, as well as some general changes in the newcomers' interaction in the community during the year.

At T₃ the two families who lived at first in the private hotel maintained some relationships with people they had met there. In both cases the women named more contacts from the hotel at T₃ than did their husbands, and the women valued these contacts more than their husbands did by the end of the year. The family that had found the particular block of flats friendly at T₁ moved away from Canberra before T₃, but the wife was maintaining correspondence with five families from the flats at T₃.

For the ten families who had made community ties at T₁ and remained in Canberra at T₃, these community ties were still a dominant part of the adults' networks. In other families some members had been able to become
a part of community groups at work, and two women found such a community within the neighbourhood during this period. Of the families that had left Canberra before $T_3$, two had established community ties, and they maintained a number of these at $T_3$ through correspondence.

The children's schooling

Because some of these families moved from one school area to another when moving from house to house, a number of children shifted between schools during the year. One child was accepted at the Grammar School during the year and for that reason changed school. Changes in the children's schooling are given in Table 12.

### Table 12

Schooling changes between $T_1$ and $T_3$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of change in children's schooling</th>
<th>Number of children</th>
<th>Number of families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Children shifted from one government primary to another</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children shifted from one Catholic primary school to another</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child shifted from government primary school to Grammar school</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Four high school children from two of these families did not have to shift schools despite the family move which necessitated changes for their younger siblings. For one family the larger high school district included both suburbs they had lived in. For the other, bus transport was available from the new suburb to their original Catholic high school.

Intimate Social Networks

Family members were still in contact with many others outside Canberra at $T_3$. As discussed in Chapter 6, letters, telephone calls and visits between the newcomers and their distant relatives and friends were both frequent and meaningful to them. The newcomers' contacts outside Canberra at $T_3$ are summarised in Table 13.
### TABLE 13
Contacts maintained by newcomers outside Canberra at T3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newcomers (by sex)</th>
<th>Relatives in contact</th>
<th>Friends in contact</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5 or more 4 or less</td>
<td>5 or more 4 or less</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>15 11</td>
<td>18 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>15 9</td>
<td>14 10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The one woman who was not in contact with any relative at T1 was similarly isolated at T3. All the others had written and telephoned or visited at least one relative since T1. The mother of one of the women in the sample moved to Canberra during the year to be near her family. This was the only case in which a relative of a family member moved into or out of the local area during the course of the study.

The two newcomers who were not in touch with any friends outside Canberra at T1 were in a similar position at T3. Everyone else had friends outside whom they regarded as close and had written, telephoned or visited since the move.

Of the fifty newcomers remaining at T3, thirty-eight maintained the same level of contact with both friends and relatives (i.e., kept in touch with five or more friends and five or more relatives, or four or less of each category). Twenty-six (thirteen men, thirteen women) maintained a high level of contact with both relatives and friends. Twelve (six men, six women) were in touch with four or less in each category. In all but four cases, married couples maintained the same level of contact with others in each category (e.g., each spouse kept up with, say five or more friends and four or fewer relatives). In the cases where this was not so, two women were in contact with more friends than their husbands, one woman was in touch with more relatives than her husband, and one man was in touch with more relatives than his wife. Both single parents remaining at T3 had more contact with friends than with relatives.
In contrast to the situation at T1, the adults' intimate social networks now included many local friends and some relatives. Since no married couple gave identical responses to questions about their intimate local networks, their individual networks will be considered first. After a discussion of these, we shall consider the patterns used by these couples to share or segregate their own contacts between themselves.

As we are dealing here with the portion of the local network each person defined as the most meaningful, the network contacts discussed are included because of their 'closeness' to the newcomer. We are not including all the people in Canberra with whom these adults came in contact, but rather only those whom they regarded as important in some way. Therefore, if a newcomer named no one in his local network, he was not necessarily isolated from contact with others. He may have interacted with quite a few local people, but he did not regard any as friends; or as particularly important in some other way.

The strength of network ties varied among the newcomers as has already been discussed in Chapter 5. Some wanted close ties; others did not. Some revealed a great deal of personal information to friends; others did not. By T3, eight men and ten women had at least one friend in Canberra who knew most of the things they felt were important about their lives. The rest did not have such a relationship, and many of them had no desire to reveal as much as that to their friends. Patterns of helping and accepting help from friends also varied. Because of these differences there is no point of comparison between individual networks on the question of intimacy or relative closeness. What one newcomer might regard as a close relationship, another might rank as a remote acquaintance on the basis of mutual personal knowledge, frequency of contact or visible affection exchanged.

However, network material is comparable in terms of structural features and the change in structure over time. We can look at the size and density (or clustering) of individual networks, and implicitly here we are looking at change over time because these networks did not exist as local networks before the newcomers came to Canberra. Some families had contacts here before the move (and we shall note that), but even pre-existing contacts shifted to a new position in the newcomers'
networks after the move. On arrival in Canberra, the newcomers' interaction with pre-existing contacts became face-to-face and was influenced by the relationships of both interactants with other local residents and the potential and realised connections between these.

The individual network data discussed here are given in Table 14. One of the categories used in analysing networks is the cluster. As used in this context, a cluster consists of three or more people, each of whom is connected to all of the others independently of the newcomer whose network is in question. A married couple or family is counted as one in calculating the total number of people in a cluster. Therefore, family units or parts of family units, as well as individuals, are contained in clusters. All members of a cluster have some kind of contact with each of the others at least fortnightly. Some clusters were considerably larger than three; to distinguish these, we use the term large cluster (LC) when ten or more contacts are included. In describing a cluster, I note the setting or activity from which the cluster was drawn. A newcomer's cluster generally did not include everyone interacting within that setting or activity. Most clusters were units drawn from larger groups or categories. A work cluster, for instance, represented a selected group of friends, all of whom interacted with each other. In such a case, the work cluster was embedded in a larger social unit which contained all employers and employees in that setting. With the exceptions of one cluster of relatives (6-H, 6-W) and two of neighbours (11-W, 24-W), all the newcomers' clusters were drawn from larger social groups which at times acted as a whole unit.

Within clusters some newcomers made especially significant relationships, which are noted as 'in-cluster ties'. Many newcomers had friends who were not part of clusters, and these are noted as 'out-cluster ties'. As all of the people named by the newcomer were included by him on the basis of the quality of his relationships with them, the only qualitative distinction which is incorporated into these data is that in-cluster ties were more significant to the newcomer than other ties within that particular cluster. No other valid comparisons can be made concerning the quality of relationships from the data given in Table 14.

At T3 the size of the newcomers' intimate networks in Canberra ranged from 0 to about 14. A common feature of most networks was the presence of
one or more clusters. Of the fifty newcomers remaining at T_3, forty-two had at least one such cluster in his network. For the men clusters were nearly always drawn from work groups. The women had found clusters through their work, their husbands' work, relatives, pre-existing friends, a residential hotel, associations, neighbours and educational or recreational groups.

Outside these clusters newcomers often had friends they had known even before the move. Out-cluster friends made by them since the move were drawn from work, neighbourhoods or associations. In situations where one spouse had a cluster which the other did not share, it was quite common for one friend to be shared with the other spouse. The fact that a cluster was not shared did not preclude the possibility of sharing individual contacts. (When we refer to a shared cluster, we mean that it was named by both spouses in their individual network data.)

Some differences between the men's and women's networks are apparent from Table 14. Twenty-one men had at least one cluster in their local networks; three did not. Twenty-one women had at least one cluster in their local networks; five did not. Of the men, ten who had clusters made fifteen out-cluster ties. Six of these men had known all of the ties they named before the move. Of the women, fourteen of those who had clusters made thirty out-cluster ties. For five of those, their out-cluster ties pre-existed the move. Nine had made these ties since the move. More women made ties outside their clusters than did the men, and they made more out-cluster ties than the men did.

Women also made more particularly close friendships within the cluster than did the men. Seven of the women named at least one such in-cluster tie. One knew this friend before the move. The remaining six made ties within the cluster after the move. Within the year only one man identified a tie within his cluster as closer than the rest.

Many factors affected the formation of newcomers' networks. Some of these were within their control while others had been determined even before these families arrived in Canberra. In every case the clusters which newcomers named had existed before their arrival. The newcomer had
the option of interacting within that cluster or not, but he did not affect the connectedness between the others already in the cluster.

The clusters embedded in larger social groups followed a variety of patterns of incorporating spouses or families of primary participants into the cluster. I believe that such patterns derived from norms held in the larger group of which the cluster was a part. Some work situations, for instance, provided the opportunity for both formal and informal interaction among the spouses of the workers. In some situations it was expected that spouses of regular participants would join in various activities involving both husbands and wives. In other work situations newcomers felt that no social interaction involving their families was expected to develop. The groups newcomers entered already had such expectations influencing their social activities, and, initially at least, these set limits on the participation of family members. Spouses could accept or reject the group expectation if it favoured their participation. In the twelve instances where wives realised that they could share their husbands' work clusters, eight did do so, but three refused (each with her husband's consent if not encouragement). There was no case where the men shared their wives' work or association clusters during the year. Since the women had been working for a shorter time than the men, it may be that such sharing was expected within their clusters but had not yet developed. But from the women's comments I felt that such sharing was much less commonly expected within women's work clusters, and that often the women themselves did not want to move toward sharing work clusters with their husbands or families.

While newcomers were largely subject to the existing expectations of clusters at the start, they had already begun to influence these expectations by T3. Where the expectation that clusters did not include spouses appeared to newcomers to be the case, they accepted this at first, but later some had begun to include their spouses in interaction with one or two cluster members. Given more time, I expect that many of these newcomers would accept fewer and influence more of the group norms which conflicted with their own ideas. In other cases the newcomers' ideas would probably change because of their exposure to the group. But it appears that in this time no newcomer had changed the expectations of a cluster concerning whether or not spouses would share the activities of the cluster.
TABLE 14: Individual Networks: Clusters and Friendships in Canberra at T1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cluster</th>
<th>Number of in-cluster ties</th>
<th>Number of out-cluster ties</th>
<th>Network size</th>
<th>Number of in-cluster ties</th>
<th>Number of out-cluster ties</th>
<th>Network size</th>
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<tr>
<td>1-IW</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>IW: work*</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-IIW</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2-3</td>
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<td>4-1</td>
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<tr>
<td>5-VI</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>5-1</td>
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<td>VI: work*</td>
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</table>

Definitions of symbols:
1. Cluster: Three or more people seen at least once a fortnight, identified by the newcomer as meaningful in one way, and each of whom is connected to the others, regardless of the newcomer's family or church is possible or not.
2. In-cluster tie: A tie to someone identified as "friend" to others in the cluster.
3. Out-cluster tie: A tie to someone identified as "I don't know" to others in the cluster.
4. Network: Total number of clusters and in/out clusters. (L = largest) L = Largest number of in/out clusters. LC = Cluster of 30 or more, LC = Cluster of 19 to 30, LC = Cluster of 9 to 18, LC = Cluster of 1 to 8.
5. Indicates that the tie to cluster may be known by the newcomer before the move.

Note: Cluster 1 is a cluster of two or more people in the sample.
Some aspects of network development were more influenced by the newcomers. If a newcomer made friends outside a cluster, he could choose to introduce them to those within or to each other, possibly incorporating them within the cluster. Some newcomers had already begun to do this, and mentioned that friends they had introduced had begun interacting independently. In contrast, some newcomers chose to keep their out-cluster friends separated from one another and did not provide introductions among them, or specifically sought them out from diverse spheres of activity. Canberra was small enough that it was not possible for an individual to be sure that friends he segregated would not meet independently of him, although within the year this was rare.

In the process of forming a local Canberra network, the first possible contacts which a newcomer could name were those whom he had known before the move. Many such contacts continued to be regarded as important by the newcomers throughout the year. Apart from these pre-existing ties, newcomers accepted and named clustered ties before they named particular individuals either inside or outside the cluster. There were four cases (9-W, 25-W, 27-W, 28-H) in which the newcomer had no cluster but in fact had made ties in Canberra, each time through a pre-existing friend. In every other instance, the recognition of a cluster preceded the naming of a particular tie (unless it was pre-existing). In the three cases where newcomers had neither a cluster nor other ties (19-W, 19-H, 30-W), they had perceived a potential cluster but did not choose to join (partly because they wanted privacy and partly because they did not feel sufficiently similar to other cluster members). One couple agreed on this and did not participate (19-W, 19-H). In the case where the woman did not choose to participate in her husband’s cluster (30-W), neither of them felt that his work cluster was something which ought to be shared. Those with no clusters and no pre-existing ties had made only fleeting attempts to create independent ties here, and ties developed in this way had failed to become meaningful relationships in the newcomers’ judgement.

The degree of connectedness between one spouse and the members of the other spouse’s local network was influenced by the situational and personal factors discussed above. Three general forms of ‘couple’ networks were found among these families. Here the couple network is the pattern of combined local networks of the husband and wife. Categories are based on
their behaviour, not on stated ideals. It was not uncommon for spouses
to disagree on the ideal form their couple network should take, but in
practice they had arrived at something which, for the moment, worked,
although certainly not always perfectly. In dealing with couple networks,
we distinguish a 'common' cluster as one in which both spouses interact,
even though they may not both have named the cluster members among their
most meaningful friends. A 'common' cluster then is a cluster of people
with whom both spouses interact and whom either husband or wife or both
included among their closest friends. A common cluster may be regarded as
meaningful to one and less significant to the other, although it is
sufficiently important to both that the cluster provides a milieu for
frequent interaction. In discussing couple networks we refer to common
clusters because cluster contacts regarded as important by one spouse and
seen frequently by both seem at least potentially significant to both
spouses, since the strength of one spouse's relationships must influence
the other. Where one spouse belonged to a cluster in which the other did
not participate, that is described as an 'independent' cluster. Like the
individual network data, particular contacts within couple networks are
described as 'shared' if both spouses named that contact among their
closest local friends. Such a contact is described as 'unshared' if only
one spouse included that other among his or her closest local friends.

The characteristics of couple networks are given for each family in
Table 15. Three types of couple networks can be distinguished from these
data, and are shown in Table 16. There were eight families of Type I,
whose couple networks were completely shared and generally close-knit.
They had one or more common clusters, and some had shared ties inside
and/or outside the cluster(s). They had no unshared ties outside their
common cluster(s) and no independent clusters.

Eleven couple networks were Type II, which included some shared and
some independent relationships. These couples had either a common cluster
and/or shared ties. In addition, at least one spouse had an independent
cluster and/or unshared tie(s).

The remaining five couple networks were of Type III which included no
common clusters and no shared ties. One or both spouses may have had
independent clusters or unshared ties, but some had none of these.
### TABLE 15: Local Couple Networks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family number</th>
<th>Number of common clusters</th>
<th>Number of shared ties outside common cluster</th>
<th>Number of shared ties inside common cluster</th>
<th>Presence of unshared ties outside common cluster</th>
<th>Presence of independent cluster</th>
<th>Couple network type</th>
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<td>O</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>III</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Definition of symbols:**

1. **Common cluster**: cluster of people with whom both spouses interact and whom either or both named among their closest friends.
2. **Shared ties outside common cluster**: number of people named as friend by both spouses who are not members of any of their common clusters.
3. **Shared ties inside common clusters**: number of people named as friends by both spouses who are members of one of their common clusters.
4. **Unshared ties outside common cluster**: friend named by one (but not both) spouse outside common cluster.
5. **Independent cluster**: cluster of people with whom one (but not both) spouse interacts. W - indicates that wife had independent cluster; H - indicates that husband had independent cluster.
6. **Couple network type**: see Table 16.

Many of the spouses followed couple network patterns which had been stable over time. Some couples followed stable patterns over the years and which they were satisfied with and maintained. Two had followed patterns more which were difficult from their past behavior. Generally, because their situation had been excellent, the wifel had little or no influence of one's relationship within the work of the state.
TABLE 16
Characteristics of couple networks at T3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern of sharing network contacts</th>
<th>Characteristics of pattern</th>
<th>Families using pattern</th>
<th>Total families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Type I</td>
<td>All have one or more common clusters</td>
<td>1, 3, 4, 5, 13, 15, 17, 29</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Some have shared ties in or outside clusters</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>None have unshared ties outside common clusters</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>None have independent clusters</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type II</td>
<td>All have one or more of the following: common cluster(s)</td>
<td>6, 7, 11, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 21, 25, 28</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shared tie inside common cluster</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shared tie outside common cluster</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>At least one spouse has independent cluster or unshared tie outside common cluster(s)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Type III</td>
<td>None have common cluster(s)</td>
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<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>None have shared ties</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>One or both may have unshared ties or independent cluster</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

The three types of couple networks indicate the range of variation among these adults in their patterns of integrating or segregating extra-family relationships with their spouse. The couple networks reflect both the couple's situational constraints and their personal network style. Many of the spouses followed couple network patterns which had been worked out between them over the years and which they could continue in Canberra. Two had followed patterns here which were different from their past behaviour, generally because their situation had limited the development of some kind of relationship within the time of the study.
One man whose couple network was Type I missed the kind of unshared tie he had enjoyed before the move, and he and his wife expected that he would develop this kind of contact in the future. Another couple previously had a common cluster of friends who were also neighbours and workmates, and they looked forward to developing this kind of relationship again elsewhere, but had given up hope that such a pattern was attainable in Canberra. The remaining couples had established couple network patterns similar to those they had before. Often the size of their networks, individual and/or combined, was not as large as they remembered having in the past, but the structure was the same. Growth and change had already occurred in their networks during the year and would likely continue.

The degree of connectedness between the newcomers' local and outside Canberra networks had been strongly influenced by chance at T3. While other factors already discussed (situational and personal) affected the connection of local and distant networks, at this point in time chance factors seemed overwhelmingly important. I expect that this would change after a longer period of residence in Canberra. But at T3 the connection of the local and distant portions of the newcomers' networks depended largely on whether relatives and friends happened to stop en route from Melbourne to Sydney, and, if they did, on whether or not Canberra friends happened to be at the house at the time. Numerous stories of this type were shared with me, and the newcomers themselves recognised the importance of luck, good or bad, in such encounters, since many involved acquaintances who happened to be passing through rather than friends they would have chosen to see. In time perhaps those who passed through might be defined as closer friends, or they might stop dropping in. But the year was too short to see such changes. The economic situation of newcomers and their relatives and friends affected the frequency of visiting between them. Among other factors, health and the availability of work-subsidised travel influenced whether the newcomers or their friends and relatives did the travelling for their visits. Both personal style and class expectations probably influenced the newcomers' inclination to entertain outside visitors and to introduce them to others in Canberra. In time these patterns of network connectedness would certainly develop in a meaningful way, but at T3 I could not find anything significant in analysing the connectedness of local and distant networks except the fact that at this point chance was most influential.
Help or Support Relationships

Newcomers experienced a variety of problems during the year, some of which they felt required the help or support of others. The people in the newcomers' local networks needed help or support as well, and sometimes they asked the newcomers to provide it. I asked a number of questions to find out who had provided assistance to newcomers and to whom they had given it during the year. Some families had not encountered a few of the situations I enquired about, but gave answers in terms of what they believed they would do if such a situation arose. The majority of their answers were reports of solutions they had used during the year, but where their answers were hypothetical this will be made clear.

Through their different replies to questions about help or support relationships, I became aware that there was a distinction between their need for actual help and their wish to feel that there was someone available in case they needed help. Many of these newcomers preferred to deal with most problem situations without asking for the help or support of others. However, most of them wanted to know that there were people whose help or support they could request and would likely receive. Here again, situations (including the specific response of others) provided a potential field of others any newcomer might ask for help. His own preferences and sense of propriety in the situation further limited the field to those he would ask. In many cases the situation and personal preferences combined to leave the newcomer little choice, or no one from whom he in fact had requested help. But even when his own preference was to take care of problems himself, the newcomer who knew he could have asked someone for help felt better knowing that. One woman made this point particularly clear in remembering a relationship:

I don't discuss personal problems outside the family. I don't want to - I'll probably go mad first. Back home I would have talked to my cousin. I could say I'd talk to him, but I never did - he was always there though. 12-W

Some newcomers were troubled by the feeling that there was no one on whom they could call, even though in practice they rarely wanted to ask for help. As one woman put it:

It worries me that I don't have close friends - no one to call on like when Timmy was sick. 25-W
It seems that an important aspect of feeling settled was the newcomers' knowledge that there were others whom they might contact if help were needed. In given situations, however, their own styles of independence or reliance were strong determinants of whether or not they asked assistance, and from whom.

By T₃ many newcomers gave multiple answers to my questions concerning their behaviour in situations which had required help during the year, since they had used different solutions in various instances of that situation during this period. In most cases, therefore, the numbers in the categories of response are greater than the number of respondents.

I asked them what they had done to solve 'personal problems' during the year. Their response is given in Table 17. In contrast to T₁, their answers now contained references to specific situations which had occurred. These ranged from seeking advice about child rearing or jobs to asking for transport or help with a home chore.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Solution</th>
<th>Number of responses</th>
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<td></td>
<td>From women</td>
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<tr>
<td>Solved it myself</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Got help from spouse</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Got help from friends in Canberra</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Got help from relatives in Canberra</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Got help from professional or service organisation</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Where the newcomers' solutions to solving personal problems had changed between T₁ and T₃, the most common change was towards solving their problems themselves rather than asking for help from their spouse, friends or professionals.
In families where short-term child care was a problem, a variety of solutions had been worked out by the wife-mothers, as shown in Table 18.

**TABLE 18**

Newcomers' solutions for short-term child care needs used during the year

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Solution</th>
<th>Number of responses (all by women)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Got help from friends in Canberra</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hired babysitter</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Got help from local relatives</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Used babysitting club</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No man regarded short-term child care as a problem he might have to solve, although most men did provide the solution to this problem for their wives on many occasions. In three families the women said that they had not yet needed short-term child care, but if the situation arose they felt they could solve it, two by asking a neighbour and the other by contacting 'the welfare'.

All families could imagine needing long-term care for the children in, for instance, the case of the mothers' illness. There were three cases in which families needed such help during the year. Two were solved by the husbands' staying at home while their wives were in hospital for a day or two. Canberra relatives helped out during the mother's illness in the third case. In one family the husband had been hospitalised and his wife managed the home and children on her own during this time, although neighbours helped by transporting her to the hospital for visits. Most family members replied that no help would be needed in the case of the husband-fathers' hospitalisation, as the wife-mothers would simply continue their regular pattern of caring for the house and children. The only reference to possible need in such a situation was for some extra child-
minding which would allow the women to visit their husbands in hospital. While only four families had needed long-term child care during the year, the others had thought about the possibility of such a need. They responded in terms of solutions they might use if such a situation arose. Their response is given in Table 19.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anticipated solution</th>
<th>Number of responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Get help from neighbours or friends in Canberra</td>
<td>From women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get help from relatives outside Canberra</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get help from professional agency or babysitter</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get help from relatives in Canberra</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Send child(ren) to ex-spouse</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ten newcomers (four men, six women) said they would not consider taking a holiday without their children. This was agreed on by spouses in two families, but the adults in six families disagreed on this point. I was involved in a few conversations where spouses disputed about this, trying to convince each other (and perhaps me) of their own viewpoints. In fact, only a few parents had gone on vacations without children during the year and then only for a weekend. In one case relatives provided the necessary child care, and in the two other cases the children were left with friends in Canberra. Many of the adults had thought about possible solutions to child care during a holiday alone, and would have welcomed the opportunity to take one. Their response to possible solutions to the problem is given in Table 20.
TABLE 20
Solutions newcomers anticipated using at T3 for child care during parental holiday alone

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anticipated solution</th>
<th>Number of responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>From women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get help from friends in Canberra</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get help from relatives outside Canberra</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not know anyone to ask for help but would like to go</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among the newcomers whose proposed solutions for such child care had changed during the year, the most common change was from the reliance on relatives or friends outside Canberra towards reliance on friends here.

By T3 most of the newcomers had friends in Canberra with whom they shared their good news. Their relationship to those people is given in Table 21.

TABLE 21
Others with whom newcomers had shared good news during the year

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>Number of responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>From women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends in Canberra</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse and children only</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relatives in Canberra</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional in Canberra</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends outside Canberra only</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The most common change in their response to the question of sharing good news was from sharing it only with their spouse at T₁ towards sharing it with friends as well as their spouse at T₃.

Most of these adults had given help to others in Canberra before the end of the year. Some said specifically that they had offered such help when they saw it was needed. Some were asked to help and had been happy to do so. These adults gave help most often to those they called friends, but they also gave help to neighbours and workmates they knew less well than friends. There was a close connection between giving or receiving help and friendship. The friends newcomers made at first were often those who had offered them help. Later, newcomers offered help to many people they would have liked as friends. There were fourteen adults (ten men, five women) who had not been asked for help or offered it to others in Canberra by T₃. Of these there was only one family in which neither adult had participated in a relationship as a help-giver during the year.

**NEWCOMERS' SELF-CONCEPTS, SELF-ESTEEM AND FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS**

For a number of reasons the investigation of changing self-concepts was difficult. I realise that my questions made these people more reflective about themselves during this period than they otherwise might have been. Their responses to queries about possible change in self-concepts revealed significant differences among them. Indeed these people experienced change in their views of themselves during the year, but these changes appeared small in comparison with the continuity of the individuals' identity. A perspective many of them shared was that a stable identity was almost inevitable and certainly was desirable for adults. Small changes seemed acceptable in some areas, but their general feeling was that they admired the ability to maintain a constant 'personality' or sense of self, even in the face of change. While they viewed the maintenance of a stable self partly as a done thing, they also saw it as somewhat preordained. For many, their constancy was seen by them as their 'nature', over which they had little control:

I don't know really. I don't think I will ever change. 30-H

Well, I don't change. I always stay the same. 28-H

I'm still me. 15-W
Some of them were surprised that I would ask them about their views of themselves. They seemed to feel that it was not quite right for them to think about themselves or ways they may have changed:

I don't think I've changed. I don't spend that much time thinking about it. 17-W

I'm not an introspective person. 21-H

Some saw change in themselves which they viewed negatively, and somehow felt that they ought to have been strong enough not to have changed even in the face of altered circumstances:

I think I have changed. Not for the better. I am short with everybody now. I have tried not to, but it is difficult. 20-H

Not basically no. I have my periods of being cranky, but not as a person - I haven't changed. 6-W

I don't think I've changed. I hope not anyway. I suppose I have got a bit more quieter. 30-W

I would like to say not, but I am sure I have. We both drink more and argue more about little things. 12-W

Whether they saw changes in themselves or not, most newcomers' answers to my direct questions about self-change revealed that their perspective was that such change was either not desirable or not possible or both. At times some of them appeared to be working hard at denying change they knew had occurred. For example the two women who at T3 were still unhappy about their move to Canberra said that they had to admit changes in themselves but felt that they should not have let such changes occur. Basically, they felt they were the same in spite of marked changes in their life situations. My view was that over the course of the year these women had changed in significant ways. In one case other family members also felt that the wife-mother had changed considerably during the year.

In contrast to the 'stable-self' perspective, there were some newcomers whose perspective favoured change and development of the self. For these people change was seen as a desirable part of growth, and they
welcomed the opportunity for positively valued change. Their answers to my questions about change were different from the others:

Yes, I think I have changed. I'd be sad to think I hadn't. 28-W

Yes, I am doing a lot more - have more energy and enthusiasm. 27-W

... we've got a house - I'm still getting satisfaction out of having something we own. I needed something permanent and it fulfilled that. 4-W

I've changed in a number of ways. I tend to examine everything more, including myself - maybe I do something about it, maybe not. 12-H

Even these people, who were pleased to tell of changes in themselves, felt that such changes were only developments in a process which involved both change and stability. Those who welcomed change seemed to me to know, as much or even more than the others, precisely who they were.

At T1 the newcomers varied in the degree to which they felt in control of their life situations. Some had been more forceful than others in defining situations and themselves at first. For most newcomers these differences persisted at T3. But in the course of the year some of them had changed, and in each case they attributed this change to the effects of the move. One man, who at first had been convinced that he could control his work situation said at T3:

I've become more conservative. I tend to be more hesitant. I've been knocked on the head too many times here. 25-H

Two of the women noted the opposite change in themselves. At T1 they had been more passive in controlling the definition of their situations, but by T3 both recognised that they had come to accept others' definitions much less, now preferring to present their own in various situations. As one said of her relationship with her husband:

I don't feel quite so self-conscious. I'm not as tolerant with my husband as I was. 9-W
The other woman found the change in her interactions outside the family. At T1 she had said it was hard for her to give her point of view when talking with others and therefore she was quiet in a group. But by T3 she said:

I've changed - things I wouldn't say before I'll come out with. I've unwound with less pressure. I've learned to listen. 11-4

Taking control of defining situations was one facet of personal style which varied in degree among the newcomers at T1 and T3. Most of the variation was due to factors which came well before this study, but the changes we have found indicate that, for some, the individual's control in defining situations did alter in changed circumstances.

The newcomers' conviction that they were the same in spite of changes resulting from the move was supported in their day-to-day lives in important ways. Some of their comments, their overall self-presentation and their responses to the TST at T3 provided data which can be interpreted as supportive of the stable self-concept. But it must be emphasised that the newcomers did not make this connection, nor did I ever ask them how it was that they continued to regard themselves as the same despite changes which they acknowledged.

For both men and women family roles were important aspects of themselves throughout the year. They not only regarded these roles as significant, but also spent many hours each day doing whatever they felt the role properly entailed. Their ideas and actions concerning how to be a wife, mother, husband or father were incredibly similar during all stages of the research. In only one case did a woman discuss the fact that her ideas about the wife-mother role were changing. She wanted to move from a traditional to a more liberated role, which would involve changes in her husband's role, as she wanted him to take on an equal share in household work and child care. She brought this up at T1 and again at T3, but during the year she had not been able to translate these ideas into changed actions. Largely, I believe, this was due to her husband's rejection of the possibility or desirability of such a change. For all the other newcomers, family roles appeared almost completely constant throughout the study. They were important to both spouses, and the centrality of the
wife-mother role in the family was acknowledged by both spouses throughout. On the TSTs at T3 family roles were given by women 76 times, and by men 43 times. (At T1 family roles had been given on the TST 66 times by women, and 45 times by men; at T1 the sample included thirty women and twenty-seven men, whereas at T3 there were twenty-six women and twenty-four men).

On the basis of what I observed, I believe that these adults tried hard throughout the year to be whatever kind of parent or spouse they felt they ought to be. They made an effort not to let their own life changes and situational pressures interfere with family interaction, and felt badly if they could not succeed. Occasionally they found that job pressures caused unavoidable differences in their behaviour within the family. But more often they gave priority to stability in family roles. Even in the two cases where women were unhappy in Canberra and wishing to 'go home', they tried to make the move good for the children by providing a 'normal' home, which included the 'same' mother.

For the men who remained in Canberra, work roles were as stable as family roles throughout the year. Only one man changed jobs, and in this case to a similar kind of employment. The men continuously brought their work situations into our conversations, and sometimes, as noted above, 'explained' differences in their normal behaviour within the family in terms of work pressures. The salience of work roles to the men's self-concept was stable in spite of the move. At T3 all of them referred to their work roles in answer to the TST. (At T1 all but one man had given his work role in answer to the TST.)

The nature of some of the men's work had been disappointing to them at first. But while this irritated, frustrated, and occasionally threatened them, by T3 it did not seem to have changed either their general concept of themselves as workers or the value they were able to give to the quality of work they knew they could do. Some had become more confident in their ability to do their job over the year. Others, who at first felt they had stepped down in terms of responsibility, had redefined their job with the passage of time and perhaps as a result of changes in the job itself. For example, one man who at first felt his job required markedly less responsibility than his last appointment, said at T3 of the same job:
I'm lucky. It's the one job at the central office that's interesting. 7-H

In the few cases where the job continued to seem less challenging than their previous work, the men attributed this to aspects of the work situation rather than to themselves:

The medico-political crisis brought people together - now it's more settled, not less bitter, but even the added spice is out. 4-H

I'm more relaxed - it's the nature of the job - no pressures. I miss the pressures, the hustle and bustle. I enjoyed it - didn't like the travel. Now I'm bored. 3-H

A few of the women had obtained jobs similar to those they had held before, and like the men they found through work roles a continuity of identity in spite of the change in location. Three women who continued their education maintained this aspect of their self-concept in Canberra.

By T3 some of the newcomers had been able to enter roles outside the work or family situations, which also provided them with continuity from past activities. Seven families belonged to churches as they had previously. Two women worked on canteen committees in the schools. Two men had joined golf clubs and one woman a tennis group as they had in the past. All of these people saw themselves in part through these roles and confirmed this self-image through their participation in these activities.

Many other newcomers had ideas at T1 of activities and associations they wanted to join in Canberra although they had not previously participated in similar groups elsewhere. Initially they saw the relocation as an opportunity to try something new. A number of them did participate in activities and joined (or even helped form) associations which were new to them. But there was no case during the year where a newcomer started a new activity or joined an association for the first time which he had predicted at T1. The new things they started were always begun as the result of interaction with others in Canberra, and the effect of these others on the newcomers' choices can be seen in the fact that the newcomers did not accurately predict the specific form of their new involvements. The newcomers were not passive recipients of whatever
Canberra had to offer. They refused many alternatives which they perceived or which others actually offered to them as possibilities. The new activities and associations in which these people came to participate were in each case the result of particular interactions between the newcomer and Canberra residents. Newcomers’ memberships in associations and organisations at T2 are listed below. The numeral following a listing indicates the number of families belonging if more than one; an asterisk before the listing indicates that at least one of the families belonging had not belonged to a similar association or organisation before the move to Canberra.

- Association for Epileptics
- Babysitting Club
- Bowling Club
- Boy Scouts - leader
- Canberra Club
- Canberra Home Childbirth
- Canberra Yacht Club
- Canberra Association
- Church - 7
- Creative Leisure Association
- Family Planning Association
- Film Society
- Football Club
- Girl Guides - leader - 2
- Golf Club - 4
- Health Consumer Organisation of the A.C.T.
- Health Education Group
- Hyperactive Association
- Masonic Lodge
- New Games Group
- Officers’ Wives
- Parents of Twins
- Parents Without Partners
- Press Club
- Professional Associations - 5 School Group (Mothers’ Club, P & C, Canteen Committee) - 12
- Spinnners and Weavers
- Southern Cross Club - 4
- Tennis Club
- Toastmistress Club
- Wine and Cheese Club
- Woden Community Service - 2

Where new involvements were made during the year, these adults always saw some degree of change in themselves which they attributed to the new experience. For many of the women their jobs provided such a change, since it was rare that they continued directly from a particular type of work to a similar job in Canberra. Rather, from the opportunities available at the
time of the move, they chose what appeared to them the best (sometimes the only) option. These choices were made in a given situation in interaction with others. The outcome could not have been predicted accurately from the newcomers' expectations at T₁. Even more important to the women than the nature of their work was the fact that they were working and could present themselves as employed. As one of them said of changes she perceived in herself:

I'm much happier, more settled, more liberated. I've had a job since January ... 19-W

While work or study were important to these women, it was rare that the quality of their work was mentioned as particularly rewarding. Rather they appeared to value work because it was not tied to the family. Their first priority was the family role, and this was the most salient part of their self-concept. They valued work or study largely because it was something extra, which gave them a place outside the family. The fact that they had a job gave them a self-definition in addition to their family role. The pattern of separation from family roles which these women found in work roles seems a more meaningful interpretation of their perspective than an alternative interpretation positing a pattern of affiliation with work roles as explanation. These women were not looking toward their jobs for identification with so much as they were looking toward their jobs for identification from. They wanted an identification apart from the family even more than they wanted an identification with a job. They wanted this separation for a number of reasons, but most importantly not because they devalued the family role. For example, one woman described the nature of her family commitments as follows:

Babies are a delight to me, children a fascination, teenagers a challenging happiness. Given greater material assets I would probably have had more. Probably because the whole experience of being a mother was such a pleasant surprise, I treasure the remark made to me that 'people like you should have the children' ... 28-W

But she also wanted a job, and had qualifications and experience in technical work. She found part-time employment, and though she could not use her past training, she valued having the job almost in spite of the nature of the work:
I'm doing things I'd never done - some boring, some expanding - meeting different people. I'd never have anything to do with them outside work. 28-W

For the women whose work or study followed a pattern they had established before coming to Canberra, the impact on their self-concepts was minimal, for the affirmation of family and separation from it were almost continuous. But where jobs or study were undertaken in Canberra for the first time, the change was always reflected in their self-concepts. As one said:

I feel much more confident here. I work. 3-W

Four women became involved in voluntary work for the first time during the year. Two had held jobs in related fields before coming to Canberra, and became interested in associations here through their initial unsuccessful attempts to find jobs. Both of these women were instrumental in starting new associations in Canberra which provided services related to their past work careers. Thus, they were able to continue, on a voluntary basis, a role similar to that which had been a paid job before the move. It was occasionally annoying to them that they were not paid for this work, but they felt rewarded in knowing that they had made a contribution to the community and in being able to continue and find support for an activity they liked. Changes in their self-concept, as it pertained to this commitment, were minimal in spite of the change from paid to voluntary work.

But for the two other women, activities or training in voluntary associations changed their self-concepts significantly. One joined a community service organisation for the first time after the move to Canberra. After hearing of the organisation just before T₂, she asked me how I thought she might join and what she ought to offer as motives for joining, an indication of her uncertainty about the new situation. She did join, trained as a volunteer, and by T₃ said:

I felt inferior for three-quarters of the course, but I've gained confidence ... 11-W

The other woman, for the first time, admitted to people outside her immediate family that she had a nervous disorder. In the course of her
early interactions with others in Canberra, she became aware that there might be a need for an association to offer support for similar people and their families and to educate the community about this illness. With others interested in this idea, she founded a local association for this purpose. Her self-concept and concepts of others changed in the process, as she described:

I've met an awful lot of people that I'd never have had the opportunity to have met, but at the same time, I've had to reveal what I was. You've exposed your Achilles' heel. But I've met - the people at the association aren't really my friends, but - so I can talk to doctors for the first time. I told you I hated doctors, but now I'm getting in touch with them and finding their reactions to 'x' illness, and I'm beginning to see their kind of view also ... I've grown up more - I've dealt with myself.

Especially when the adults took new roles in Canberra, they found that they had changed during the year. The changes often appeared small, but they were observable to the newcomers and causally linked by them to the move.

By T₃ almost all of the adults appeared to view themselves as competent contributors in their new environment. In contrast to the situation at T₁, the women by T₃ seemed to have a degree of self-esteem similar to the men. In the TSTs, the women now gave more positively valued responses about themselves than the men did, and negatively valued responses given by men and women were nearly equal. (At T₁ more men than women had listed positively valued statements about themselves, and more women than men had listed negatively valued statements about themselves.)

In observing their behaviour and listening to their reflections on their experience, I felt that at T₃ the men and women were indistinguishable in terms of their self-esteem. Two individuals (one man, one woman) had notably lower self-esteem at T₃ than they had at first. They recognised this change and attributed it largely to the direct or indirect effects of the move. The woman wanted to return to her previous home, near to relatives and friends, and had not been able to make either activity commitments or personal contacts in Canberra. She was wanting to leave and felt she had not been accepted here. The man whose self-esteem appeared lower at T₃ said he had been unable to integrate changes in
himself resulting from work into the family situation, and feared that his marriage would not last. He saw this problem as an indirect result of the move, which had led his wife to lessen her involvement in work which they had once shared. With these two exceptions, all the newcomers appeared to have a level of self-esteem at $T_3$ which was similar or greater than that at $T_1$. The women showed considerable growth in self-esteem over the year.

As is already apparent, the newcomers provided evidence of both change and stability in their self-concepts, and much of this they attributed directly or indirectly to the move. Some changes (and no doubt some of the stability) in the newcomers' self-concepts were not presented by them in a way which I can document from their own statements. Instead, change has to be pulled out of the blank spaces where newcomers did not make comments on the very things I had anticipated on the basis of the $T_1$ data. The biographical themes discussed in Chapter 5 are a good example of such change.

These biographical themes appeared to be important parts of many newcomers' self-concepts, and they were central, organising features of the self-concepts of some. As the year progressed, I came to realise that my own concern for the coherence and continuity of these themes was far greater than theirs. As they became involved in local activities and met others in Canberra, their references to the biographical sense of their lives decreased rapidly, and in many cases became non-existent. I could not resist making enquiries from some individuals about biographical themes which had at first seemed essential to their understanding of themselves, but near the end of the $T_3$ visits still had not been mentioned. The reasons why these themes were no longer important are interesting in themselves. The fact that they were not brought up spontaneously by the newcomers provides the kind of evidence of change in self-concepts which I noticed through the newcomers' silence on the subject.

The woman (24-W) who had given highest value to providing a warm home atmosphere for her family still could be observed providing this at $T_3$. But she did not mention this as central in her life at the end of the year. Instead, she told me about her involvements in technical education, the neighbourhood and the church. By $T_3$, these activities and the resultant personal contacts were, in addition to her family, the important
aspects of her life. The theme she presented at T₁ was clearly still significant to her, but had been relatively diminished by the addition of other significant facets of her self-concept.

The woman (6-W) who said at T₁ that this move had been made partly to improve family health, a theme central to her entire life, had by T₃ found that the local climate had not markedly changed their health problems. Instead, the children's condition had remained stable, and the woman herself had become ill during the year and spent a long period in hospital. On hearing this, I expected that her judgement of the benefits of the move would be negative. But she continued to talk about their situation at T₃, giving details about their new house, the children's success in school, and their hopes for improvement in her husband's job. Finally I asked her how she felt about the move in relation to the health problems which at first had been such an important factor. She explained:

Even healthwise it's gone wrong ... I'm not sorry about the move. I wouldn't want to go back. 6-W

What is perhaps most significant is that she did not want to go on looking for a place with a better climate, a line of action I might have predicted from the discussion at T₁. Instead she referred to many meaningful aspects of their lives in Canberra, and planned at T₃ to live here at least until the children finished school (some fifteen years hence).

The man (19-H), whose own school experiences appeared at T₁ to underlie the importance he placed on planning for his children's stable education, did not at T₃ mention the potential difficulties of frequent school changes. He had, in fact, chosen to shift houses towards the end of the year, and the elder child had to change schools as a result. He did not seek to explain what in the light of T₁ discussions appeared to be a dramatic change in his perspective. At T₃ he proudly told me that his family was very well settled, the child was doing well at school, his wife had a job, and they hoped to stay in Canberra for a long time. Their near-future plans included the purchase of a house which would mean at least one further school change, but given his other considerations at T₃, stable schooling no longer seemed so important. In part he had found
that "... all schools are good in Canberra" (19-H). But many other changes had taken place during the year, and schooling, which had been the central theme of his life at $T_1$, was at $T_3$ a factor which he referred to only in passing.

The newcomers generally recognised both change and stability in other family members over the year just as they had recognised these seemingly opposite features in themselves. They maintained that other family members seemed to have a continuous sense of self which appeared unaltered by the move. But there were many facets of the others' selves, and some of these appeared to them to change without affecting the overall stability which made each of them sure that they all were the same people throughout the study.

Parents acknowledged major changes in their children and expected these, not because of the relocation but because they had grown up during the year. Parents said that particular school situations and the effects of certain friends had also changed their children. When parents saw positive changes in children, they usually attributed these to the move, which they believed provided many opportunities for the children's development. Parents never explained negative changes in their children in terms of the move, although there were instances (referred to in Chapter 6) where I felt such an explanation would have been plausible.

When talking about their spouses, adults sometimes acknowledged changes since the move, but they pointed out that these were relatively minor. Where such changes were discussed, adults explained the change with reference to job, study, associational or personal involvements in Canberra:

My husband's changed - the frustration of the job. 14-H

My wife's happier. She can do things socially. Here her friends are more educated and wealthier. She's found her par in social strata so she can talk her language. 28-H

Even when spouses enumerated changed in each other which had occurred since the move, they ended off the discussion saying something which indicated
that the change had been small and had not really affected their identity:

My husband hasn't changed. 30-W

I haven't seen any change in him yet. 19-W

My conversations with adults concerning change and stability in themselves and their spouses were difficult at times for them and seem contradictory when analysed. These people were occasionally aware that it was logically wrong to say that change had occurred while in the next sentence stating equally positively that it had not. For some this was not a problem, in part I think because they reflected on it less and also because I understood with them the sense in which change could and could not occur at the same time. I believe that most of them tried to tell me that they had experienced changes in themselves and their spouses during the year, but that in comparison with the constancy of their identities this change was minor. They were certain that a basic part of their own and the other's self had not changed and was quite predictable.

Children often talked about changes in their parents and siblings, which they frequently attributed to the effects of other people in Canberra on family members:

Mum and Dad have changed. Here they're close to their friends ... I just feel differences. 5-B-15

Mum and Dad have ... I'd better not say - they argue more. 6-B-10

Stephen is funnier - his personality changed. 7-B-9

Only Mum and Dad have changed - they like this place - the kids haven't changed. We'd still like to go back. 20-B-6

Tim is more rowdy because of his friend next door. 21-G-10

Peter is smarter since meeting John - that's the limit. 23-B-7

Bob has - he's more rebellious. Mum's become slacker - she lets us do more things. 29-B-16

Parents seemed to expect change in their children but much less so in themselves. The children did not seem surprised to find change in either
children or adults. When the parents did talk of change in themselves or their spouse, they covered the statement with a reminder that the change was small, that really the person was still the same. The children talked about changes in themselves or their parents without limiting their comments in any way.

Since many family members changed during the year, even if only in subtle ways, it seemed possible that patterns of family interaction would have altered and that this might have been noticed by family members. Newcomers gave many examples of situations in which they had found family interaction different since the move. These were situations involving children's behaviour, parents' response to children's behaviour, marital interaction and so on. In numerous specific instances, they had noticed change and reported it to me. But as they reflected on my question about changes they might have found in family interaction since the move, the adults usually responded that the family went on quite the same here as before the move. Once again, there was a situational sense in which change in family interactions was acknowledged but a more basic sense in which it was denied. Adults' reflections on the effects of the move on their families centred around a number of issues: opportunities for the children's development, difficulties in children's assimilation at school, the initial stress of feeling unsettled, and the dependence of all the family on the mother during the settling period. All family members experienced some of the adjustment processes together and often worked out their definitions of local situations together. From their joint perspective, then, the change may have appeared less than it would have to an outsider. As most of the newcomers perceived it, family interaction had altered only a little and in minor ways during the year. There was only one case in which a man told me that he believed he had changed sufficiently to affect family interaction during the year, and his wife agreed. The more general perspective of newcomers, however, was that many changes had occurred during the year but that these had not really changed either individuals or family patterns of interaction.

In spite of the diversity in their resources at T1, these newcomers were recognisable as a category at that time by their characteristic attitude of optimistic expectation about settling in Canberra. By T3 this sense of anticipation was not evident. They were no longer focusing on what might happen, but in the course of the year had come to know what
actually had occurred in their experience. Most of the unknowns they anticipated at T_1 had been filled in with concrete events. The majority of the newcomers were contented with their situations in Canberra, and seemed pleased to be living through a relatively settled period now that the excitement of the move had died down. In thinking about their past homes, most felt like one woman who said:

You progress - you can't go back. 6-W

Although the majority did not want to go back, their general perspective was that they could not have done so in any case. At T_3 only two adults, both women, spoke of wanting to 'go home', and yet each admitted that it was more likely that they would move on elsewhere instead. Perhaps some day they would return; for now, they considered trying something else and were optimistic about the possibility. But, in general, the newcomers at T_3 were settled in Canberra and for the time being had accepted it as home.
CHAPTER 8: THE SETTING AT T3

The general image of Canberra described in Chapter 4 was drawn from a number of sources: the newcomers' first impressions of the city, publications about the setting, and stereotypes of the city which newcomers brought in with them or learned in their earliest encounters with local residents. By T1, the majority of the newcomers knew most of the information in Chapter 4 from their own experience. From their point of view that chapter would have been an adequate description of the city then. I believe the material in Chapter 4 would have provided generally accurate and adequate information for another set of newcomers coming in a year later. But for the newcomers in this study, at T3 Chapter 4 was no longer an accurate reflection of their knowledge or opinions of Canberra. We know from the last chapter that these newcomers changed during the year, and that in the process they had made some changes in the local opportunity structure. In another sense the newcomers remained the same during that period, and certainly Canberra was recognisable to anyone as the same city it had been at T1. While we can see both change and stability in the newcomers and the opportunity structure during this study, the relationship between them had definitely changed and was at T3 in no sense what it had been at T1. Because they had lived here for a year, the newcomers' perspective on Canberra had altered significantly. In this chapter we shall discuss specific changes effected by the newcomers on the opportunity structure and the change in their perspective on Canberra which occurred during the year.

Changes in the Opportunity Structure

A number of difficulties were encountered in discussing changes in the newcomers' self-concepts over the research period. While it was hard for many of them to reflect on change in themselves, they did try to do it and commented on the problems involved. In some cases my observations and the comments of other family members were used to supplement each newcomer's reflections about himself. But when looking for change in the opportunity structure during the year, I could draw only from my observations and comments made by those around me. There was no opportunity structure out there which could have a self-concept much less reflect on it. As one would expect, the changes in the newcomers' self-concepts were more numerous and intense than the changes in the opportunity structure which
these adults effected. But it is significant that they were able to change the opportunity structure during the year. Here we shall discuss those changes which I observed through living in the city and through impressions the newcomers shared with me.

We know from Chapter 7 that these newcomers had become involved in many relationships with people in Canberra during the year. They gave help and support to local residents in various ways. In their work, associations and neighbourhoods the newcomers had made contributions to others' lives in ways which were subtly unique to each.

All of the men and some of the women filled positions in the local workforce. Decisions and actions taken in this capacity surely had effects on the opportunity structure. A few newcomers, who owned businesses here, directly influenced local job opportunities through their employment practices.

Family members participated in a wide range of voluntary associations and organisations as detailed in Chapter 7. There were only two families in which neither adult had become involved in an organisation or association of some sort by T₃. The newcomers' contributions to and effect on these organisations varied considerably according to their own accounts. Some participated largely because they thought they ought to, and likely made little impact on the organisation. As discussed in Chapter 7, others were sufficiently committed to help organise and run new associations in Canberra. At this extreme, one woman voluntarily provided qualified professional services available for the first time in the community; she had helped start 'X' Association (health related) and at T₃ gave it many hours of her professional services each week. Another woman had helped organise the 'Y' Association (leisure related) and continued to participate in its many efforts to involve Canberra residents in a variety of activities. The 'Z' Association (health related) was begun during the year as a result of one newcomer's idea, and she gave that organisation her continued support.

The opportunity structure which a stranger to Canberra would have perceived at T₃ was different because these families had become a part of and contributed to that structure. Some had founded new organisations;
others helped sustain existing ones. In work and neighbourhood situations many newcomers had changed the nature of opportunities available in Canberra, and each gave something of his personal style in these interactional situations.

Change in the Newcomers' Perspective on Canberra

At T₁ the newcomers' statements about Canberra were broad and general. They answered my questions and volunteered their own observations about the city in terms of what might be called 'big' or abstract issues. In a sentence or two they told me all about the local situation in such areas as: education, community services, the physical environment, employment, politics, social strata, and recreation. The knowledge they had then was adequate for their needs at that time, and they used it rather effectively to interpret their encounters in the new environment.

By T₃ their perspective had changed. Their knowledge which had at first been general had become specific and was focused almost solely on their social environment. Even when I asked for their general impressions of Canberra or an overview of their move here, they could not readily answer in these terms. Instead, their comments on Canberra at T₃ were long renditions of particular events which they used as illustration. Occasionally, newcomers projected the content of their specific experiences back onto the city in a generalised form, and in this way revised their original stereotypes based on their new knowledge. Sometimes they compared actual experiences with previously held stereotypes, and remarked on the accuracy or inaccuracy of the information they had brought in with them. Most often the general knowledge which newcomers had at first found adequate and necessary now seemed to them almost irrelevant and occasionally inappropriate. General information about social strata, for instance, had been replaced by specific experiences in the city, and they were quick to admit that they could not say much about Canberra as a whole, but could say a great deal about a number of related situations they had faced.

The big issues which had been prominent in early discussions were mentioned only occasionally at the end of the year. Certainly education, community services, employment, and so on were still important in their everyday lives. Their actual knowledge of local services had increased over the year. On the check list of services in Canberra given at T₃
(see Appendix B), their responses showed that: the mean number of services they had not heard of was 3; the mean number of services they knew about was 13, and the mean number of services they had actually used was 10. The services that they either knew about or had used had increased by a mean of 4 during the year. By this time they had acquired a working knowledge of Canberra services, and they took them for granted. For the time being they had little need to deal with these issues: children were established in school, buses ran mostly on schedule, those who wanted jobs either had them or knew how to look for them, and so forth. In a general sense the newcomers had little to say at T₃ about abstract issues, and their silence on these topics was evidence of change in their perspective.

While they seemed unconcerned about the big issues at T₃, the newcomers gave many and varied reports about their particular experience of life in Canberra. The general knowledge they had at T₁ provided a nearly perfect panoramic view of the city which almost anyone could share. At T₃ their knowledge appeared as many magnified spots which had a place on the original panorama but did not fill it in evenly. We have little areas of detail, some of which fit together while others remain isolated. As Strauss described it:

... the various kinds of urban perspectives held by the residents of a city are constructed from spatial representations resulting from membership in particular social worlds (1961:67).

Many of the newcomers' experiences resulted in the development of highly individualised perspectives on Canberra, but some were more common among them. We shall focus here on the more generally shared aspects of the newcomers' perspective on Canberra at T₃.

Many were surprised by the neighbourhood situation in Canberra. The majority of newcomers had found their immediate neighbours friendly, although some had been ignored. As one woman described it:

They're not really friendly but they're not anti. There's no barrier. The lady next door waved last week after 12 months. 3-W
It was the social mix of Canberra neighbourhoods that newcomers frequently found different from their past experience. One woman expressed a common view when she said:

I was astonished at the egalitarianism here. No way would I have a plasterer living on one side of us before. They are dear neighbours, but there's no community, not the sort of people we have been used to. 2-W

Another woman described the family next door, saying that the man was a plumber, and, with a little surprise, that they were very nice, but:

... we don't eat in each other's houses. 18-W

Differences in standards and values among neighbours here were often contrasted with the newcomers' experience elsewhere. Teaching 'proper' values to children in the face of plural standards within the neighbourhood seemed difficult, as two women made especially clear:

I don't like the family set-up here - too much money and too much freedom. In our last home I felt safer. The people around us had the same values on money and upbringing. Here we're the odd ones out - we have different ideas, and ours, I feel, are right. 6-W

I get disturbed about the number of children on the streets. I thought that there would be a different class of people with different standards - we expected they'd have the same background expectations. 14-W

The women who stayed at home during the day noticed that many of their neighbours were out, and compared this with their prior neighbourhood situations:

I am particularly aware of not working here - it used to be the exception to work but here it is the exception to be at home. 4-W

Here more women work. Before they were at home. The neighbours on both sides work. 24-W
Since most newcomer men were highly educated and held well-paying jobs, it is not surprising that the majority of comments on neighbourhoods reflected their difficulties in living next door to less educated and less wealthy people. The few in this sample whose education and jobs fell in the lowest categories also found Canberra neighbourhoods different from their past experience. Some wanted very little interaction with neighbours, but a few reflected disappointment at their inability to make friends in the local area as they had before. I believe one such couple was commenting on their view of neighbourhood social mix when they said:

It has been hard to meet people. I am not fussy - it could be me. People just don't want to talk to me. 30-W

The atmosphere here is so much different. 30-H

It is impossible to make a broad assessment of the policy of social mix in Canberra solely on the basis of these peoples' experience during their first year here. However, neighbourhood social mix was frequently a salient factor in the situations newcomers encountered, and their reactions to these situations provide reflections on that policy in action.

There are many arguments for and against neighbourhood social mix. Those who favour the policy say that it offers many advantages: that it promotes tolerance of social and cultural differences; that it broadens the range of formal education and general socialisation; and that if diverse people live together, they will become good neighbours and friends (Gans, 1961:177; Lewis, 1975:134-6). Stretton advocates mixing on humanitarian grounds and generally praises Canberra planners for achieving a good social mix (1975:64-124).

Limiting the case for social mix, Gans (1961:177-80) and Michelson (1970:130) caution planners that the random placement of working-class people in a middle-class neighbourhood is likely to lead to the isolation of the working-class rather than to promote interaction between neighbours. In his study of Canberra, Lewis did not find negative effects of social mix. In a mixed suburb where manual workers were in the minority, Lewis found that they were satisfied with their suburb, and therefore he concluded that the working-class would not be better off in a homogeneous neighbourhood (1975:124, 139).
Gans (1961), Lewis (1975), and Michelson (1970) all state that social mix is more successful where differences between neighbours are not extreme. They point out that there must be some similarities between people in heterogeneous neighbourhoods if a policy of social mix is to effect interaction (Gans, 1961:177-8; Lewis, 1975:142; Michelson, 1970:185). The ideal solution Gans proposes is the achievement of sufficient consensus between neighbours to prevent conflict and to allow for the growth of positive relationships (1961:181). While Lewis (1975:23) and Stretton (1975:110) suggest that Canberra social mix works precisely because it is gentle and either streets or parts of streets are homogeneous, the picture in the eyes of these newcomers is neither that uniform nor that positive. While groups of houses and occasionally whole streets were in fact relatively homogeneous in terms of house values and lot sizes, there were places where the last house in a group of less expensive houses abutted the first house in a group of more expensive houses. On some of the longer streets, there were many such transition points. Even where houses were of similar value and on the same size lot, these were not the only criteria residents used in making judgements about their similarity with neighbours. Occupation and background, among other factors, were used by residents to differentiate people who lived in like houses. It is impossible to make anything more than superficial generalisations about homogeneity or heterogeneity in neighbourhoods without knowing the ordered relevance of criteria people use to define others in particular situations.

While a few newcomers were examples of the isolating effects of social mix, others were examples of more positive aspects of the policy. Newcomers themselves were sometimes surprised at their tolerance for different life styles which had developed during this first experience in a mixed suburb. However, relatively few close friendships developed between neighbours during the year; in only six families did one or both spouses name a neighbour among their friends at T3.

Among these newcomers I have seen positive relationships develop between people whose differences were pronounced but who, because of some common bond, had been able to agree to disagree on issues toward which their views were discrepant but important to each. On the other hand, relationships sometimes failed to develop between newcomers and other residents who appeared to have a great deal in common and relatively minor differences. The newcomers whose backgrounds were more typically working-
class were in the minority in all of the suburbs in which these families lived. Some of these newcomers with working-class backgrounds were satisfied with their mixed suburbs, as Lewis also reported (1975:114). But there were other newcomers of working-class background who were without contacts in the neighbourhood, and in these families the women especially did not like the situation because it seemed to foster isolation.

Quite a few newcomers specifically chose not to develop relationships with neighbours, often because they felt they would have more in common with others at work or through some interest they wanted to pursue. Hence, some had no relationships with neighbours by choice, although they had other strong relationships. Lewis also found people in his analysis of Canberra who chose not to develop relationships with neighbours. In one suburb he studied, white-collar workers were in a minority and they chose not to make neighbourhood relationships; as he pointed out, they certainly were not deprived (Lewis, 1975:114). For many newcomers the neighbourhood was not an important area for developing friendships. Often it was avoided. But in avoiding neighbourhood relationships, these residents necessarily cut off to some degree the possibility of neighbourhood relationships' developing in their area. They were the others to whom neighbours might have been looking in the hopes of developing friendship. Thus, if most residents who have a better criterion than propinquity for finding like-minded friends develop relationships outside the neighbourhood, then there may be a minority left in that neighbourhood who are isolated not by choice but by default.

The newcomers' experience of the policy of social mix lends support to both the positive and negative arguments that have been put forward on the matter. A different kind of study than this would be needed to evaluate the policy fully and to determine exactly how socially mixed these areas really are. If the suburbs are mixed but streets or groups of houses are homogeneous, then the policy of social mix may not be as bold as planners and humanitarians believe, because people's definitions of the neighbourhood may shrink from suburban to more local and homogeneous proportions. If there are transition points where two homogeneous areas meet, then the policy of social mix may not be as gentle for residents at the transition point as it is for those surrounded by similar houses. In that case the
policy of social mix is not as gradual as some of its advocates would claim. The newcomers' experience is useful in pointing out the multi-faceted nature of the problem and the potential value of investigating further to find out more about those people who lose out in socially mixed suburbs.

Outside the neighbourhood, too, the newcomers had found some people whose values and standards contrasted with their own. As they got better acquainted with others in Canberra, some people became aware of their differences and made comparisons in an effort to locate themselves and the others in their local setting. Their descriptions clearly illustrate how the newcomers' expression of their perspective had switched from general to specific during the year and how stereotypes were modified as they gained experiences and knowledge. As a few reflected about these relationships and situations:

I have met quite a few people, lots of Greeks and Italians. I speak their language. They like that - that's not average Canberra. I can't say that the people are different in Canberra from anywhere else, although the impression I was served by others was that the Public Service was social strata conscious - you won't be accepted - but I have no drive to go where I'm not welcome. 28-H

I taught my children right from wrong, but these friends don't seem to worry about their children. Her husband is a bit of a lady fancier. I feel uneasy in their presence. 12-W

Certainly some things you have to get used to that we didn't find before. Here there is a lot more socialising. Every payday you have a booze-up - not the type of function I'm used to. 6-H

Many newcomers talked about the relationships they had made in Canberra. While they were commenting on the friendliness of the city, they did so in particular terms which described their own experience, and this, of course, was varied:

It's very outgoing ... we play bridge and have met a lot of people. 4-W

We could go out more socially if we wanted to - we decline a lot - we like to go our own way. 3-H
At Grammar they're much more friendly than the local primary even if they have more standing. 15-W

Well I haven't met many people at all - I suppose it's my fault because I haven't gone out of my way to meet people. 6-W

A perspective many newcomers shared at T3 was their discontent with shallow, generalised relationships and their desire for more depth in their interactions with others. They felt they had been well accepted by people involved in the men's work, but that it had not yet been possible for them to break out of this group into more varied situations. As they put it:

It's very difficult to meet a cross-section of the community. 16-W

We haven't met as broad a cross-section of people as I'd like - haven't been to parties where we've met people and carried on from there. All we've met through work. 12-W

We came into a fairly tight group and automatically we encountered mainly people at work which is something we, as a couple, I, as a man, have never really had. Specifically I have had a wide circle of friends, mostly outside work, all my life, mainly along a lot of interests which I particularly have developed. I've shut out part of myself. I've always been a man of many parts and I resent shutting off any. 4-H

These work-related relationships, which the newcomers had been pleased to make soon after the move, had to many of them become disappointing by T3. As they commented:

I would like to know more people - really know them. 19-H

Sometimes I get very frustrated with a relationship that hasn't any depth. People never let down, don't enjoy themselves. 18-W

She's kind but you don't know anything about her ... People help a bit but I don't know them. I wish people would let me know them better, to know they're human. The hard exterior is difficult to rip through. 16-W
One man, wanting more significant relationships, talked about a possible solution to the problem, but also pointed out why he had not yet moved toward it:

In some respects I wouldn't mind breaking out of the service circle. If you have a group and it's compatible, you get apathetic. Why should I move? If you're lonely, you go out of your way to make friends. If you're not, you don't make the effort. 18-H

In similar circumstances another man found it worth the effort:

I always try to make friends outside the service - rely on residents, not transients. We always plan dinner parties with people so unrelated that they can't understand each other's positions or work and have to just be people not positions. 1-H

At T3 most newcomers were involved in quite a few relationships with others in Canberra. But many had found it difficult to move these relationships, especially those made at work, from a level of general interaction to one which involved more meaningful and unique facets of themselves.

The physical set-up of Canberra was mentioned frequently by newcomers at T1. In contrast it was hard to find any mention of the physical environment at T3, largely, I believe, because newcomers had accepted it and now took it for granted. In the few cases where the physical environment was brought up at T3, newcomers immediately translated their remarks into terms which had personal meaning. The size of Canberra was still mentioned because it affected their lives:

I have found out how small Canberra is. It's awful after a while because you can't join anything else without seeing somebody. 16-W

It's a word-of-mouth city - you can be left out in that set up - it's close, easy to get around. 18-W

It's easier to get things in Canberra - easier to get around. 5-W

You can contemplate having children here, not like in Paris. 4-W
Most newcomers gave details about local recreation they enjoyed, places they went for outings and so on. Because of their particular experiences and the specific opportunities they had found, the newcomers generally believed Canberra was 'good for family life'. A significant part of this judgement was based on their assessment that Canberra was a safe city:

I know the kids can go out and know that they are safe and not have to worry about them. It's good for outings. 19-W

Canberra is different - one thing is it's safe. I'm more independent because the children can be safely independent. 18-W

Their view of Canberra as a safe city highlights the difference between Canberra and other places newcomers had lived. Although we have looked at these suburbs in terms of social mix and specifically at areas of disagreement between newcomers and other residents, it is clear that Canberra was sufficiently homogeneous by more universal standards for newcomers to assume that they shared many important norms with others and for this assumption to be borne out in their experience of it as a safe city.

As seen through the newcomers' comments at T_3, they had come to view Canberra in personal terms rather than from the stranger's distance which characterised their remarks at T_1. Whether or not we find much change in either the newcomers or the opportunity structure over the year, we can see that they were related differently to each other at T_1 and T_3. While the newcomer gave us an overview of Canberra at the start, by the end he gave us detailed glimpses of his experience of Canberra.
CHAPTER 9: RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE NEWCOMERS' RESOURCES AND ADJUSTMENT PROCESSES

The newcomers' resources at Tl were described in Chapter 5. Here we shall discuss the relationship between each resource and the processes of adjustment detailed in Chapter 6. We shall also look at changes in the newcomers' initial resources which have occurred during the same time period as the adjustment processes. We do this not to develop a predictive model but instead to extend the application of analytic induction in order to gain further understanding of the adjustment processes under study. Specifically, I shall use the variation in resources to form subclasses for further abstraction and generalisation to answer some of the questions which the career model invited, as discussed in Chapter 6.

Because the adjustment processes and most resources were created in interactional situations, their meaning was formed partly by others. Necessarily, most of these others were unknown to the researcher. When, as symbolic interactionists, we talk about a resource, such as education, we use various categories of achievement as an abbreviation. The assumption which lies behind that abbreviation is that there are some common interactional situations which occur at different levels of the education process. We assume that those who have achieved a high school certificate, for example, will have experienced these common situations and, therefore, will share some relevant definitions.

In practice, many resources influence the individual at once, and often these involve conflicting definitions. For this reason, it is impossible to say what ideas or values a particular individual will hold on the basis of his resources alone. Behaviour, which is based on situational factors as well as meanings derived from previous situations, is even less predictable.

The view taken here is that resources open up certain lines of action and limit others. No resource is determinant, although many in combination may seem so in particular situations. Most resources are characterised by a pattern of opportunities and constraints within which the individual
operates. As he constructs his line of action, the constraints of many resources must be accommodated (or the decision made to ignore some of them).

In trying to interpret the relationships between resources and adjustment processes, we shall consider two kinds of questions:

1. For each resource considered, we shall ask if there is a relationship between differences in the categories of that resource and various aspects of adjustment processes; and

2. Where some newcomers differed from the majority in their experience of particular adjustment processes, we shall seek understanding, retrospectively, by looking at their common resources.

The range of variation in the experience of adjustment processes within particular categories of each resource will be made explicit. In examining the instances where newcomers experienced adjustment processes to some degree differently than the rest, we shall seek not only better understanding of these instances but also the limits of the career model itself.

**THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RESOURCES AT T1 AND ADJUSTMENT PROCESSES, AND CHANGES IN RESOURCES BETWEEN T1 AND T3**

**Family Composition**

While the nature of the sample limited the variation in family composition considerably, there were some differences which did affect the newcomers' adjustment processes. As might have been anticipated, family composition influenced the newcomers' expectations about the nature of their social relationships. Their ideas of what a 'normal' network could be or what activity commitments could be contemplated had been formed within the family at this stage of its development. Children's ages often limited the freedom of parents, and some spoke of a future time when they would be able to participate in more or different activities. However, these parents had adjusted to the effects of children on their lives before the move and came with expectations which had grown out of that situation.
In families with pre-school children at home, the wife-mothers rarely worked (only one worked full-time and one part-time at T3). But the fact that most of these mothers were at home did not influence their establishment of what seemed to them a normal network. While they found it harder to get out of the house than other women, mothers of pre-schoolers found it easier to meet neighbours, especially those with children of the same age as theirs. In families where all children were in school full time, the wife-mothers were more apt to work or study. In these families the women had fewer neighbourhood ties, and generally made whatever relationships they expected through their own activities outside the home.

The number of children in the family was of minimal influence on the parents' ability to build whatever scaffolding they defined as normal, although the size of the family must have influenced their definitions. Children's activities and interests were expanding for many parents, since they joined school associations and helped in children's extra-curricular activities. However, parents who wished to become involved in this way had many opportunities even through one child. Some participated a great deal in these kinds of activities, others not at all, irrespective of family size.

The presence of the wife's mother in two families affected the families in different ways. Although the older women appeared to me to be in similar physical health, their daughters' behaviour toward them was quite dissimilar. In one case the wife took care of her mother, which limited (or justified limiting) her own scaffolding building during the year. Family members were affected by the constant need for this wife-mother to be at home. In the other case the wife shared some of her home responsibilities with her mother and, thus, gained a measure of freedom which allowed rapid scaffolding building and greater mobility for the whole family. Although the family structure and physical condition of the older women in these families was remarkably alike, the patterns of interaction which they had worked out were different and had different implications for family life.

Each of the single parents was quick to establish relationships and activities here. Although at first they were lonely in Canberra, single
parents made many contacts, largely because they sought out opportunities to meet people who also were willing to expand their networks of friends. While many of the married couples made friends through their spouses' contacts, single parents made at least as many relationships despite the lack of a spouse through whom they might have met others. Their motivation to meet people and to find adult companionship seemed to be of overwhelming importance.

Family Roles

The centrality of the mother role in these families was clear even at T1. As the fieldwork progressed, it became apparent that the women assumed the responsibility for ensuring that other family members settled well in Canberra. In Chapter 6 we saw that the efforts women made to hasten the settling process for other family members limited their ability to make relationships and activity commitments of their own soon after the move. In part because of the women's help, the men and children were able to build their scaffolding more rapidly.

The women were disadvantaged in looking for jobs by situational factors largely beyond their own control. Women who found jobs had looked for a long time and often compromised their earlier expectations. A few had given up trying.

In spite of their disadvantages just after the move, by the end of the year the women generally had made more friendships and more diversified activity commitments than the men. In the course of the year the women organised solutions for most of the families' problems. In the process they came in contact with other residents, professionals and service organisations, and in some cases developed continuing relationships with these people. At T3 the women were able to give more answers than their husbands to questions concerning actual and possible solutions to problems they had faced or could anticipate facing in the near future (i.e., long- and short-term child care, obtaining help with a personal problem and arranging child care during a holiday; total of 91 responses by women and 55 by men).

By the fact of their family role, the women began the adaptive processes later than other family members. But by the end of the year,
most of them had succeeded in accumulating a great deal of knowledge about local sources of help, and all but one woman had made some relationships and activity commitments which were meaningful to them. The men made contacts and activity commitments sooner than their wives, but generally named fewer close friends at the end of the year.

**Ethnic Background**

There is no indication that ethnic background influenced the newcomers' experience of adaptive processes or altered their resources during the fieldwork period. The sample did not include recently-arrived overseas migrants, who likely would have experienced some of the adaptive processes differently.

**Health**

Members of two families had chronic health problems on arrival in Canberra. Before coming here, these people had obtained a referral to a local doctor, and they made contact with him soon after arrival. In addition to medical personnel, these newcomers told others (e.g., neighbours, school teachers) about their problems in the course of day-to-day activities. The special consideration needed and professional contacts they made combined to accelerate the adjustment processes for both of these families. They had already adjusted to the illness before the move, and presumably their willingness to move indicated a degree of acceptance of the problem and confidence in their ability to explain it to others. In these two instances, family members quickly made social relationships and activity commitments, and the illness was of sufficient interest to the wife-mothers that they helped develop associations related to handling the specific health problem. While these people had not made many close friends by the end of the year, they had many acquaintances in Canberra at T3.

Temporary and minor health problems developed in many of the newcomer families during the year. Often family members noticed setbacks in their activities and network formation as a result of illness, but the return to health and normal activities was fairly rapid.

The women who reported that their husbands' drinking was a problem found that the adjustment processes aggravated this problem. In these
cases the men's drinking appeared to their wives to increase, since they spent more time socialising with new workmates, and the socialising was largely carried on in the pub. One of these women found that she, too, began to drink more in the new situation. She enjoyed meeting people through this form of social life, but found that at home she and her husband drank and argued more. Because of these changes, she did not regard their local social relationships as 'normal' nor did she find them as desirable as they had been in the past.

The woman who said at T1 that she had emotional-psychological and drinking problems saw little change in any of these at T3. Like those who had chronic illnesses, she found that professionals and friends who knew of her problems had been supportive over the year, and she valued these relationships. Again, the need for help and necessary self-revealing seem to have hastened the formation of a large social network here.

Socio-economic Background

Socio-economic background was an important factor shaping some of the events which newcomers defined as important in their lives, as evidenced indirectly through the kind of biographical explanations they offered at T1. However, many other factors affected their behaviour by the time they arrived in Canberra, and it is difficult to tease out the ways and degree to which socio-economic background affected the experience of adjustment processes or other resources.

Most people with middle or upper socio-economic backgrounds followed the newcomer career pattern closely. Of these newcomers, most who had left large, close-knit networks had been able to reestablish them through a 'community' in Canberra. A few, who had left close-knit networks of relatives and old friends, had looked forward to this change in order to gain freedom to develop interests and relationships without the constraints such a network imposed. Some of these women were unable to establish normal scaffolding at first because they were unable to find work, but they were quick to develop alternative interests during the year, substituting a new activity for work and thus leaving the basic structure of their resultant network nearly the same.

A few of the newcomers with lower socio-economic backgrounds were married to people with middle socio-economic backgrounds, and in these
cases both spouses followed the common newcomer career pattern. However, where both spouses had lower socio-economic backgrounds either their definition of a 'normal' network was markedly different from the others or their efforts to set up a 'normal' network were unsuccessful. In two cases where 'normal' networks and activity commitments were made, the newcomers' strong value for family privacy limited their expectation of 'normal' relationships with outsiders to a few brief, formal exchanges. Even by the end of the year they had very little contact with others in Canberra. The other two families in which both spouses were of lower socio-economic background expected to make meaningful and revealing relationships with people here. In both cases the men succeeded in meeting this expectation, but their wives found it difficult to establish 'normal' relationships. They had previously lived near relatives and old friends, and missed these relationships. One had enjoyed her work and friends made in a factory before coming to Canberra and had been unable to find employment of any kind here. Eventually she gave up the search. The other found work, but could not find people similar to those she had known before. These two women wanted to establish 'normal' networks but had little experience in making relationships on the basis of criteria which they could transfer. They did not have interests which they wanted to and could develop here. These were the two women who wanted to leave Canberra at T3.

**Occupation**

As we have seen in Chapter 6, the fact that the men had jobs on arrival in Canberra influenced their rapid start at scaffolding building. In contrast, the women's assumption of responsibility for settling the whole family before looking for employment limited their development of relationships and activities at the start. In families where women had worked before coming to Canberra but had difficulty in finding employment here, the situation made it impossible for them to set up either 'normal' relationships or activities until a job could be found. In some cases their plans had to be revised. A few couples noted that there had been changes in their marital relationship which resulted from the women's inability to find suitable work. Largely, these changes were due not to financial factors but to the difference in their expectations of family roles which depended on whether the wife-mother was present at home or at work during the day. These changes called for adaptation to new
family patterns, and occasionally limited the couples' development of other relationships and activities.

Among the categories of occupation, one particular difference stands out. Community ties (i.e., network clusters) were available and accepted by many professionals and the one male student, whereas at other levels they were not apparently available to newcomers or were not accepted by them. (There were two cases of non-acceptance of participation in a community, both occupation category 3.) As discussed in Chapter 5, the community provided rapid access to a group of people who expected to give and receive sociability and support within the group. Community ties included both spouses and often children as well.

Whether or not they had access to a community, most men found that they began to participate in a cluster of workmates. Men's work clusters were shared with the rest of the family if they were drawn from a 'community' or if both spouses worked in the same business. In other cases work clusters were not shared with the family within the research period. Among women who had obtained jobs by T3, work clusters had occasionally developed, but none had found a community through work. There was no case in which a woman shared a work cluster with the family during the year, although occasionally a particular friend from work was shared with other family members.

Occupation influenced the newcomers' adjustment processes in that various occupational situations expanded or limited newcomers' access to others in Canberra. Those with jobs had this additional avenue for making relationships. Those who accepted community ties at the start had considerably more opportunity for sociability and support from the outset. Women were limited by what seemed to be an expectation, shared by newcomers and older residents, that work clusters were more common among men than women and that frequently men's work relationships would be shared with other family members.

**Education**

Although education was built in as a limiting factor in such resources as occupation, there is little evidence that education directly
influenced the newcomers’ experience of adjustment processes. Most newcomers in each educational category followed the newcomer career pattern described in Chapter 6, but some did not. While educational attainment does not provide much help in understanding newcomers’ adjustment processes in general, it is helpful in understanding the range of variation in the experiences of those newcomers who found it difficult to establish ‘normal’ networks in Canberra.

Newcomers who had left large, close-knit networks of relatives and friends found they could not build such networks here soon after the move. They had to develop new criteria for forming relationships in the new setting, and often this was time consuming. Most newcomers in this position who had higher levels of educational attainment were successful in finding new relationships and activities in Canberra. Indeed, some of them had looked forward to this situation of greater freedom as a means of changing in desired ways. However, newcomers (especially women) whose educational attainment was in the lowest category found the establishment of networks and activity commitments difficult if not impossible. They had few interests they wanted to develop from the start and perceived fewer alternatives than the others as the year progressed.

The maintenance of relationships with relatives and old friends also differed in ways which can be understood partly through variation in educational attainment. The development of relationships through correspondence with geographically-distant others was more common among newcomers with high educational attainment. No newcomer in the lowest educational category reported that significant aspects of his or her relationships were developed and maintained in letters. Like the others, some of the newcomers in the lowest education category maintained contact with distant friends and relatives by telephone. However, no newcomers felt that the telephone had been a means of developing a relationship; at best, it was a means of maintaining interaction.

Experience of Moving

Previous experience of moving provided families with experience in scaffolding building and reduced the amount of trial and error necessary for forming relationships and activity commitments in Canberra. The
Canberra situation was not the same as any other, but much of the knowledge the people had gained could be transferred here successfully. Many frequent movers had become used to interacting on a level which was less intimate than they had once expected. They knew how to choose casual friends on the basis of qualities learned in the past, and did not necessarily judge the worth of a relationship by its length.

Members of families that had moved infrequently before coming to Canberra had to do much of the trial and error work here. They had to learn satisfying criteria for choosing friends and activities, and necessarily they made some choices they did not like and had to start again. Perhaps most difficult was the process of learning which people did not matter to them. Where family members had lived in one place for a long time, they frequently participated in such large networks that it seemed to them as if everyone mattered. On arrival in the new location, they had to define the limits of the group they would consider significant, a process which may not have been conscious before. For those who had lived most of their lives near old friends and relatives, leaving this sort of network was particularly difficult, as will be further discussed below.

Knowledge of Canberra

Although there was quite a range of variation in the newcomers' knowledge of Canberra before arrival, this did not appear to influence their adaptive processes in any regular way. Those who knew a great deal about the city used this knowledge to get around at the start. Those who did not seemed to enjoy the process of finding out about Canberra once they arrived. Either way, they made contact with others and found the activities they wanted. Regardless of previous knowledge, newcomers found that they required a different sort of knowledge to function in the city than they needed before coming here. As discussed in Chapter 8, the newcomers' perspective on Canberra changed markedly over the year regardless of how much they knew about it before arrival. Whatever expectations they had were tested in their own experience, and many were revised in the process.
Reasons for Moving to Canberra

In cases where families were transferred to Canberra against their wishes, some of the family members were reluctant to settle and delayed adjustment processes at first. Even if the move came at an unexpected time or interrupted an act or career which was important, the newcomers generally got over that and began to make a life here. Most became resigned to the move at first and later began to make contacts and commitments in Canberra. However, one such woman had not succeeded in setting up any scaffolding here during the research period. After initially delaying adjustment processes, she made a few unsuccessful attempts to find work and finally decided not to try further, since her husband had received notice of another transfer which would take place a few months after T3.

Families that had chosen to come to Canberra generally were anxious to take advantage of whatever opportunities had influenced their decision to come. Scaffolding building for them was rapid, with setbacks occurring only when they had to acknowledge that some of their expectations had been unfulfilled.

Expected Length of Residence in Canberra

At T1 all of the families in the study anticipated that they would remain in Canberra for at least a few years. Some hoped to stay longer; others realised that another transfer was likely or that they would choose to move again. The differences in their formation of local networks and activity commitments appear to have occurred independently of their expected length of residence in Canberra. I believe that adjustment processes seemed worthwhile to them regardless of whether they anticipated living here for a couple of years or indefinitely. In the two cases where families became aware that they would leave Canberra shortly after the research period, they did not continue adjustment processes as before. Rather than making relationships and activity commitments, they either continued to maintain only the most significant ones or accepted their lack of friends and commitments here with the hope that these would improve in the next place of residence.

Where families had moved to Canberra partly by choice, many had the expectation at T1 that they might wait and see how the city turned out for
them before deciding how long they would stay. In fact, during the course of the newcomer career they usually had adjusted in ways which made moving on more difficult than they at first imagined. As children were established in schools, jobs obtained, and networks formed, families often developed their own reasons for staying in Canberra. In the case where the husband's business had not worked out and the family had to return to its previous home soon after the research year, family members had made sufficient adjustments to life in Canberra that the move away was difficult because important face-to-face relationships had to be broken and activities dropped.

Expected length of residence was determined by many factors, some of which were out of the newcomers' control (e.g., job transfers, job opportunities). A variety of justifications appeared to be socially available to family members in explaining whatever was the present situation regarding their expected length of residence (e.g., 'we want to give the children a stable education'; 'it's good for children to learn to be adaptable' and so on). The justifications which newcomers offered had very little to do with their behaviour in new situations which developed.

**Housing and Community**

As detailed in Chapter 5, the initial housing arrangements families made did affect their adjustment processes. Where families rented for a short period before buying a home, adults, particularly the women, delayed adjustment processes until after they had found permanent accommodation. Once the family obtained either a long-term rental or had purchased a home, members more rapidly began to establish a 'normal' life here. If the family rented while building a home, adjustment processes were delayed significantly. For the women, the decisions and problems that accompanied house-building seemed to take up most of their time. This was another responsibility which they took for the family at the expense of delaying scaffolding building of their own. Many decisions were made jointly with their husbands, but very often a five-minute decision made together was based on many hours of the wife's looking and choosing from a variety of samples offered by different suppliers. Some of the men took an active interest in the house building project, and they too spent their spare time on the house rather than making relationships or joining activities outside work. In all cases, building
rather than renting or buying a house extended the period in which adults held a future focus regarding settling in Canberra (i.e., their attention remained on 'what it will be like' rather than 'what it is').

Although often separate from housing arrangements, a 'community' did become available to some newcomers in their first accommodation (i.e., in the residential hotel and in the block of students' flats). In these cases, community ties provided the means for quickly establishing relationships, support and activities within that group. As discussed above, some families found such communities through the husbands' work, which likewise hastened adjustment processes. In two cases newcomers moved into neighbourhoods where such communities existed and participated in these groups. One community contained a small group of families on a cul-de-sac, all of whom had young children; the other was a group of families living near a church and church school which their children attended.

Residential proximity and a common interest or activity produced situations in which a community had developed and was sustained. Among professionals (notably medical doctors and military officers), the community did not depend on residential proximity but rather on extensive common background experience, work contact and professional goals. Nearly all newcomers of middle socio-economic background participated in the community available to them. But the two newcomer families of lower socio-economic background that perceived the availability of a community chose not to participate in it.

Whatever the basis for the community, newcomers who could and did participate in such a group had much larger than average social networks at first and used these contacts to meet others. Some were content to maintain most of their social interaction within this group, while others used it initially as scaffolding until other relationships were developed outside. Although those who had access to community ties at the start generally appreciated both the sociability and support these provided, some found that these relationships remained shallow, and at T3 were frustrated by their unsuccessful attempts to develop more meaningful relationships. A few had begun to form closer relationships outside the
community, and others said that they expected to do so. Whatever their later reaction to the nature of community relationships, newcomers found that the community provided a ready-made initial scaffolding. Whether this scaffolding developed into stronger, more meaningful supports or was dropped aside as new supports grew was a matter of personal preference partly based on past experience.

Children's Schooling

The choice of schooling for the children had results which parents frequently had not anticipated. Mainly, these choices influenced the geographical spread of the children's Canberra networks.

Since government primary schools were available in each suburb and church primary schools drew students from three or four adjacent suburbs, the networks of children in government schools were more localised than those in church schools. At the high school level, the same basic pattern was true though on a different scale. Government high schools drew students from a few nearby suburbs, while church high schools drew students from all the suburbs south of the city. As a result, children at church schools generally had fewer friends in the immediate neighbourhood than children at government schools. The children at the Grammar schools had even more widely scattered friends, as these schools drew students from the entire city as well as boarders from other states and abroad.

Parents became involved in school associations at all types of schools. During the year some of the parents had begun to establish friendships with other parents through such associations but the majority did not. The parents of two children who went to the Grammar schools became involved with other families at those schools soon after their children entered. While parents' developing friendships with others through the schools was not common, it was observed more often through church schools which for some reason they had selected instead of government schools.

Intimate Social Networks

The intimate social networks which adults had established in the past were important criteria for forming their expectations of relationships
and definitions of 'normal' networks. As we saw in Chapter 6, the newcomers frequently recreated network patterns which were similar to those they had left behind. The quality of their relationships was measured in comparison to the past, and they generally aimed to develop friendships which would involve similar levels of sharing and self-revealing to those they had enjoyed before. Some were able to do this quite rapidly and established close relationships during the research period. For others it took more time, and, although some still hoped to develop more intimate relationships in the future, they had not been able to develop these as they would have liked. When newcomers had problems establishing 'normal' networks and could not expect that initial ties would develop into relationships of the quality they expected, they usually were unhappy and found the settling process difficult. Through the newcomers' experience we shall see that the processes of developing different types of network structures varied. I shall discuss this variation first, and then go on to evaluate the degree to which newcomers found these network structures supportive during the year.

There were no structural characteristics of previous networks which proved difficult for all newcomers. They interpreted and defined structural similarities in different ways. However, the situation where a couple had lived for many years near relatives and old friends in a large, close-knit network had the most potential difficulties for future network formation. Some moved away from such a network partly by choice; others were transferred against their wishes. Some were reluctant to leave; others saw the move as an opportunity to gain freedom. Occasionally innovative solutions were found to the situations resulting from the move away from a large, close-knit network, but often such a change was experienced as isolating, discouraging and seemingly beyond the newcomers' control.

Coming from close-knit networks based largely on kinship and long-standing friendship and having neither kin nor old friends available in the new setting, some newcomers were unable to establish 'normal' networks. To establish a close-knit network newcomers had to seek relationships with others who were already connected to each other or who would want to become connected. Unless the newcomer had access to community ties on arrival, the formation of a close-knit network was almost impossible over
a short period. These newcomers had to develop satisfying criteria for choosing friends. By T3 one woman and one man in this situation had formed large and supportive local networks and were pleased with these results of the move. Two couples that had been happy to have the opportunity to develop their marital relationship away from close-knit networks were to some degree still experimenting with these changes. A great deal of trial and error was necessary in setting up new networks and in adjusting the marital relationship to the changes. Couples that had left close-knit networks of friends and relatives were occasionally aware of the relationship between their networks and marital relationship, but more often were simply aware that they had to make a lot of adjustments at once. One of the men had begun to develop relationships at work which were different in structure from his previous large network, but given time he expected to be able to develop a larger and more intimate network here. Two of the women missed their old networks and were dissatisfied with their attempts to build 'normal' networks here. At T3 they wanted to leave Canberra.

Newcomers whose previous networks were more dispersed and looser-knit generally had moved a number of times before coming to Canberra. As discussed above, this experience was an advantage in making both new relationships and activity commitments. In such networks, relationships had been made before on the basis of criteria which could be transferred to the new locale (e.g., association member, tennis player, parent of children's friend). By definition, loose-knit networks did not depend on connections between ego's friends, and hence newcomers who were building loose-knit networks had more freedom in establishing a 'normal' network. They could make a series of independent relationships on the basis of a variety of different criteria. In the process of forming a loose-knit network, some newcomers resented not being able to develop all facets of the network at once. One man, for instance, had been sufficiently busy at work and socially that he had been unable to develop a commitment to a sport which he had enjoyed before, and hence had made no relationships through that activity. This part of what he considered to be a normal network was yet to be formed, and he missed it. Others, similarly, found that some parts of their loose-knit network formation and some of their activity commitments were delayed. Some newcomers experimented with new interests and formed relationships on the basis of different criteria in
addition to those they anticipated from previous experience. A particular facet of a loose-knit network structure could be substituted or dropped without changing the rest of the structure.

Whatever sort of network newcomers had, some situational factors influenced their network formation and resultant networks at T₃. The presence of pre-existing friends or relatives in Canberra usually sped up the adjustment processes, since these people provided introductions to others and information about local activities. A few newcomers had relatives and acquaintances in Canberra they did not wish to see but for some reason could not avoid. They found that these ties restricted their freedom to explore the new city on their own and gave them only selective information about opportunities here. More commonly, pre-existing friends and relatives were valued and many of these relationships were maintained throughout the year. Another situational factor which influenced network formation was access either to a community or cluster soon after arrival. As discussed above, these groups, which existed before the newcomers' arrival, offered sociability and support soon after the move. These clusters (including 'community' ties) were the main structural variable in newcomers' Canberra networks at T₃; as discussed in Chapter 7, some newcomers had such clusters while others did not. As we shall see, it was the presence or absence of clusters in newcomers' networks which determined some of the important characteristics of their immediate social environment.

It is significant that most newcomers maintained contact with many friends and relatives from outside Canberra, and therefore at T₃ all newcomers had relatively loose-knit networks, since it was rare that any of their distant and local contacts had met, much less formed relationships independent of the newcomers. While old friends and relatives outside Canberra were no longer available for frequent face-to-face interaction, they were still a significant part of the newcomers' networks. Contact by letter, telephone and occasional visits with these people was enjoyed by most of the newcomers throughout the year. Quite a few remarked that they thought about relatives and friends a lot, and in fantasy kept close to them. We saw in Chapter 6 that geographically-distant others could remain a meaningful part of newcomers' lives through letters, and that in some cases these relationships became even closer because of the increased
distance. The distant network was a means of maintaining support for various aspects of the newcomers' self-concepts, and in some cases was managed in such a way as to increase this support or to change it.

Couple network patterns established by newcomers generally represented their attempts to recreate relationships similar to those they had developed in the past. Because couple networks usually required some sharing, they were often slower to form than individual networks, since shared relationships necessitated the working of more internal dyads than individual relationships. Some couples had maintained many shared relationships in the past and had come to know well the criteria for choosing common friends, usually because frequent moves had provided them with a good deal of experience. Others found that it took quite some time to meet people whom they both liked, and developing shared relationships was slow. Situational factors, such as access to a community or cluster, expanded or limited their exposure to potential others with whom relationships might be formed.

Each couple network pattern provided a different situation for the newcomers involved. One aspect of these varied situations was a difference in the potential for individual change within each network pattern. Differences in opportunities to meet others will also be apparent among the couple network patterns.

**Type I:** Couples with Type I networks highly valued sharing most aspects of their lives together. They participated jointly in common clusters, and spouses shared the ties they made outside these clusters. The family was brought into each individual's outside activities and relationships (e.g., work). Their closest friends were shared and frequently belonged to a common cluster. These local networks were relatively close-knit. All of these couples were from middle or mixed socio-economic background; most of the women worked or studied. With the exception of one of these couples,¹ spouses said that they believed that family relationships were by far the most salient, and from their behaviour it was clear that the family interacted with outsiders largely as a unit.

¹ This exception was a couple whose network pattern was of Type I at T₂ but expected to develop a Type II pattern as soon as they had the time to expand their activities in Canberra. In the past their couple network pattern had been of Type II, and they desired to move in that direction in the near future.
These couples had worked out a variety of criteria for choosing other couples or families as friends, and they tended to use similar means of selection in the new setting. The involvement of many dyads in each relationship between couples or families seemed to have two effects: the limitation of most of the content of the relationships to whatever all members could share; and the limitation of opportunities for individuals to change. It was these relationships which some newcomers found frustrating because they continued to be shallow throughout the year.

**Type II:** Couples with Type II networks shared some of their relationships with each other or with the entire family, but at least one spouse maintained independent relationships with others. These couples were from middle or mixed socio-economic background with one exception of a couple from lower socio-economic background; about half of the women worked or studied. While the family was still regarded as important in their lives, these couples also valued the possibility of developing relationships with others separately from their spouse. Many of these couples talked about, and thus indirectly shared these independent experiences, but they appreciated this degree of separation in their relationships and activities. Couples with these partly-shared, partly-independent networks generally noted that their independent, dyadic relationships were the closer. It was through interaction in these kinds of relationships that some newcomers significantly changed the direction of their lives. Both women who formed new organisations in Canberra and changed their own interests here had Type II networks. Likewise, the man and woman who moved away from close-knit networks and succeeded in forming satisfying networks in Canberra had Type II couple networks. Since independent relationships often became more intimate, people with Type II networks were in a position where they could develop and find support for new self-concepts more rapidly than those whose relationships were all shared with the spouse and perhaps the whole family as well. These people also gained support through sharing some of their relationships with their spouse or family, and expanded the potential field of others from which they could choose friends because each shared some relationships with other family members.

**Type III:** Couples with Type III network patterns defined family relationships as salient but *private*. This couple pattern included no common clusters or shared ties, although either or both spouses had
independent relationships. Because none of the spouses' extra-family relationships were shared, the social environments of husband and wife were quite separate. These couples were of middle or lower socio-economic background; the women of middle socio-economic background worked, while only one of lower socio-economic background had found a job by T₃. Where women worked or found it easy to join activities, the Type III network pattern did not hinder adaptive processes. But in the cases where the women were not employed and were not inclined to join activities on their own, they were isolated in the new environment unless they were able to make relationships within the neighbourhood.

These different couple network patterns did affect the newcomers' adjustment processes. Specifically, women with Type III networks were disadvantaged in entering either relationships or activities, and hence they were slow to start scaffolding building. Even by T₃ some of them had only minimal supports in Canberra and one had none outside her immediate family.

In addition to affecting adjustment processes, different couple network patterns provided different opportunities for individual change. In shared relationships the individual presented himself as a certain sort of person which at least the spouse supported. This self-definition was usually agreed on by others in relationships which continued, and the original self-definition based on the past was perpetuated. Minor changes occurred in interactional situations of this type, but over the year these appeared to the newcomers (and to me) to be small. On the other hand, independent relationships involved only the dyad. The newcomer had considerably more freedom in defining himself at the start of such a relationship, and, given separate audiences with no connections between them, the newcomer was able to define himself quite differently in different relationships. Given a situation in which the newcomer knew how to make activity commitments and new relationships and had a couple network pattern which allowed independent relationships, the individual was in a position of maximum potential change. Couples with Type I networks were limited in forming independent relationships because of their own network patterns. Women who did not work or study and had Type III couple networks were limited in making independent relationships because the pattern did not include sharing their husbands' contacts, and situational features in
Canberra effectively cut off potential avenues of meeting people here. In general, a strong value for family privacy and the maintenance of intimacy within the family were held by couples with Type III networks, and this, also, limited their potential for making close relationships outside the family.

Because this study focuses on the network as a source of personal support and differentiates between individual and couple networks, it seems appropriate to comment on the newcomers' experience of the support value of different local network structures. There is a body of literature which ties close-knit networks with traditional society or working-class urban neighbourhoods and characterises these by a high level of consensus and multiple role relationships\(^1\) (e.g., Bott, 1971; Lewis, 1975; Young and Willmott, 1957). While such networks were labelled close-knit, they were notably segregated by sex (Bott, 1971), and therefore involved little interaction which spouses shared directly. At the other end of the continuum, the literature associates loose-knit networks with modern society, which is characterised by segmented role relationships\(^2\) and a high level of interaction involving both spouses (e.g., Barnes, 1954; Bott, 1971; Lewis, 1975). While the network literature does not make explicit value judgements about the supportive qualities of different network structures, a judgement is often implied in the more general contrast between traditional and urban society and in the labels, 'close' and 'loose' which seem to suggest that intimacy and solid personal support might properly be associated with close-knit networks.

Because density has been measured in different ways by network researchers, it is always difficult to compare this characteristic. In this study the newcomers' local networks which contain clusters are more closely-knit than those which do not. Moreover, shared couple networks are more closely-knit than partially-shared or unshared networks. On the

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1 These are relationships in which participants directly share many of their roles with each other (e.g., they interact with the same person as a kinsman, neighbour, worker, and so on).

2 These are relationships in which participants usually share only a single role with each other (e.g., they interact with some as workers, others as kinsmen, and still others as neighbours, and so on).
basis of these differences, it is possible to make a general comparison between this study and others, by comparing clustered and close-knit couple networks with non-clustered and loose-knit couple networks.

The clustered (or close-knit) networks newcomers developed during their first year included 'communities' and/or large clusters which pre-existed their arrival in Canberra. Within these networks newcomers established many ties quickly and soon felt a sense of belonging because of the relationships themselves and their ability to share norms with others in the network. In ways, these networks were reminiscent of the picture we have in the literature of a traditional type of community united by common norms. But usually these networks were not segregated by sex; in fact, they were most often shared couple networks and involved multiple role relationships. These clustered networks were the ones which newcomers found comfortable at first, but often found discouraging later when they recognised that no relationships had become stronger with the passage of time. Many of the people involved in these networks found that they knew others as well at $T_1$ as they had at $T_3$, and felt after a year that such relationships were quite superficial.

A less clustered (or loose-knit) network was established by the majority of newcomers. Such networks took more time to form, and at the start many of these newcomers felt lonely and missed particular kinds of relationships. In developing these networks, they had to work their way through understanding shared norms in each relationship. But once loose-knit networks were established, people found that some relationships became more intimate, and by $T_3$ they had formed some significant and supportive ties here. Since these networks were unshared or only partially shared by couples, they were at least partly segregated by sex (there were no unshared, cross-sex friends named by these spouses), and often involved segmented role relationships.

As we have seen above, different types of network structure provided varying degrees of support for newcomers during the year, and none of these structures exactly matches the close- and loose-knit network types seen in the literature. Each network type provided adequate support for some newcomers and was associated with problems for others. Newcomers felt the inadequacy of loose-knit networks at the beginning of the year, whereas
close-knit networks seemed more problematic as the year progressed. Those who had couple network pattern Type II and whose individual networks contained both clusters and unshared ties seemed to be most advantaged. They could use the common cluster(s) to get access to a group of people with whom some norms were shared. Within this group each partner had the support of his or her spouse, and they found that the group situation provided a setting in the new locale which both spouses knew and could view similarly. In addition, they were able to form independent, dyadic relationships which often became intimate and more personally supportive. In contrast, newcomers with other network structures either missed out on the general sense of belonging which could come from participation in a cluster of like-minded people, or they did not form independent relationships which could become more intimate over time.

Expectations of Social Relationships

As we have seen above, newcomers tried to reestablish the quality of relationships they had enjoyed in the past. While many were successful at this, some had difficulty, especially those newcomers who had left intimate and supportive relationships with relatives and friends. Wanting close relationships but often having no experience at forming these in a new environment, some of these newcomers had been unable to develop such close relationships during the year. Some of the newcomers who preferred close relationships and had made some of these by the end of the year, benefitted from previous experience settling in new places. Those who preferred less close relationships had been more easily satisfied. Sometimes through interaction with others whose expectations were different, newcomers, whose original preference had been for more distant relationships, had developed closer friendships.

Newcomers could not anticipate situational factors which would become significant in determining their behaviour. Therefore, their expectations at $T_1$ often were not a good indicator of their behaviour during the year. In discussing newcomers' expectations of relationships with particular categories of others in Canberra, we shall see that these, like their expectations about the quality of relationships, were so influenced by situational factors that expectations on their own do not help our understanding very much.
As discussed in Chapter 5, the newcomers had a wide range of expectations about the kinds of relationships they would form with neighbours. While some of these expectations proved to be accurate indicators of the relationships they developed, many did not. Two of the families who at first said they believed strongly that relationships with neighbours ought to be polite but distant moved into adjacent houses shortly after T1. By T2 they had become friends and at T3 each adult named the other couple among his most intimate friends.\(^1\) There were other newcomers whose relationships with neighbours differed similarly from their original expectations. There were also newcomers whose expectations of friendly relationships with neighbours were not met because among their neighbours there were none with whom they had been able to develop such a relationship.

Most newcomers said at first that they did not expect to make relationships at work which would extend beyond the work setting. But in fact the majority of newcomers did make friends at work with whom they shared some leisure time. Many of them also included their spouse or entire family in activities with some workmates. Workmates were the most commonly named friends newcomers made during the first year, but they were often among those relationships which newcomers found frustratingly shallow at T3. These were usually the first people with whom newcomers had any regular contact after the move, and it seemed that many workmates tried at that time to help newcomers settle well. Perhaps the proportion of workmates in newcomers' networks will diminish over time, and the newcomers' earlier expectation of not maintaining many friendships through work will be more accurately reflected in their behaviour.

At T1 a few of the men particularly wanted to make close relationships with their boss. These relationships seemed to be much less important to them as the year progressed. I believe that these men were disappointed at not being able to build these relationships as they would have liked. In Chapter 5 we compared these subordinate/superordinate relationships with relationships made by a few of the newcomer women with older women they

\(^1\) I have no reason to believe that participation in this study affected their friendship. In fact, both couples said that their relationship had become well established before they discovered that the other family was also involved in the study.
described as 'like a mother'. They made friendships with older women during the year, and these were still important to the newcomers at \( T_3 \), although, again, they seemed less important than they had at \( T_1 \).

Very few of the newcomers said that they expected to make friends through organisations and associations. However, many newcomers joined organisations and made acquaintances in this way. Some had friends who were also members in the same organisation, but, where this was so, the friends had usually influenced the newcomers to join the organisation rather than having met them there.

Willingness to join organisations and activities was a factor which did influence adjustment processes, as joining was a commitment to an activity and thus a part of scaffolding building. Most newcomers who joined associations at the start chose ones like those they had belonged to before. Joining was a part of their 'normal' activities. But the newcomer situation provided some people with the opportunity to make innovative moves, and some joined organisations which were new to them partly because they wanted to change and experiment. In these cases, the activities and some of the relationships made in the association provided situations where newcomers changed themselves.

As part of their 'normal' commitments, seven newcomer families joined churches in Canberra. Two families found a supportive community within the church. For one family, this was an expected development, as they had always maintained close relationships within the church group; (this husband-father was a clergyman). For the other family, the church community was a pleasant surprise, as family members had previously made only distant relationships within the church. Two of the remaining five families that joined churches were disappointed not have made some close relationships with the church members, as they had done so in the past. The other three families had not expected to get to know church members well.

At \( T_1 \) some newcomers expected to develop relationships with parents of their children's friends during the year, but it was extremely rare for such friendships to develop in this time. The only cases where these relationships were made involved neighbours whose children had become friends with the newcomers' children.
In a few instances newcomers who had moved frequently said that they consciously avoided having expectations about the new city or relationships they might make because this saved them possible disappointments. I believe that this may have been more common than the newcomers' actual statements revealed. Perhaps many of their statements of expectations about relationships were negative to protect themselves, consciously or not, from having to face unfulfilled expectations.

Help or Support Relationships

In Chapters 5 and 7 we have discussed the newcomers' expectations of solutions to problems requiring help or support and their relationships to others who had provided such help during the year. Change in their anticipated solutions to problems was described in Chapter 7. We saw there that for many newcomers geographically-distant others remained important sources of help and support throughout the year. New friends, neighbours and workmates were added by many as sources of help during the research period.

As discussed in Chapter 6, newcomers built some of their initial scaffolding by asking for help or information, and older residents seemed to feel that such requests were justified. Generally, a willingness to ask for or offer help provided the initial steps for scaffolding building and often resulted in the establishment of wide resources. Within community groups help and support seemed to be commonly exchanged, and newcomers who joined these groups had given and received some kind of help or support in the group during the year.

At first the newcomers' sense of propriety determined those others they thought they could ask for help and those to whom they thought they might offer it. But soon others influenced their behaviour considerably. Some, who entered a community for the first time, found they could give and obtain more support here than they had anticipated. Others entered situations much like those they had left and were not surprised at what developed. Still others, who anticipated exchanging help and support locally, found that their initial requests or offers were discouraged or refused, and they were reluctant to try again immediately.
An extremely strong value for independence and privacy reduced the ability of a few couples to begin adaptive processes through giving and receiving help. These couples had only minimal local sources of support at $T_3$.

As discussed above, the women provided solutions for more of the families' problems than did the men. Because they made more and closer relationships than their husbands, the women had access to a greater number of people whose help they could expect or request. But the reverse was also true, and in finding solutions to actual or potential problems, these women developed some of their friendships.

**Self-concepts and Self-esteem**

We have seen in many of the newcomers' statements that the move was often used as a kind of self-test by which they valued their ability to 'make it' in the new surroundings. Having conceived of the move in this way, these newcomers naturally were committed to make the move successful, for their own worth was at stake. Some came with a sense of determination and control which seemed unbeatable; their commitment to make the move a good thing remained at $T_3$. In spite of setbacks and alterations in their original plans, they were able to define the move in positive terms and saw themselves as successful in this situation. I believe their attitude was related to the practice of reporting negative events in the past, which was a part of the newcomer career discussed in Chapter 6. It seemed to me that recounting difficulties that had been overcome was for these newcomers a kind of past victory. To have reported present difficulties might have seemed dangerously close to defeat.

There was naturally a wide range of variation in the degree to which newcomers seemed to be testing and protecting their self-concepts in this way. While most told me about problematic issues in the past tense, the two women who wanted to leave Canberra at $T_3$ did tell me some of their difficulties even as they were happening. Although they disliked Canberra and in ways felt defeated by their experience here, they were optimistic about the future (partly because it contained the hope of going back home), and they valued themselves as good wife-mothers because they had kept the family together in a situation which they believed was at least 'good for
the children'. Thus newcomers' general negative judgements about the move here were discussed with me as part of their perspective on the past except when the near future included plans to leave Canberra, and then negative judgements were part of the present/future perspective.

Newcomers often made comparisons and self-evaluations based on their interaction with local residents. Whether or not they were friends, neighbours, workmates and association members were readily available objects for comparison. Because a large percentage of the Canberra population had high status jobs and high educational attainment, those who did not have similar resources found their self-esteem threatened. Resources which had seemed average before were perceived below average in Canberra. These newcomers either had to work to protect their self-esteem or adjust it accordingly.

In Chapter 6 we saw that the establishment of seemingly normal relationships and activities contributed to a feeling of self-esteem. In the period soon after the move, women were disadvantaged in this regard because they commonly put off scaffolding building until the rest of the family was settled. However, their relatively lower self-esteem at T₁ did not last, and by T₃ they appeared to have as high self-esteem as the men.

The failure to establish normal networks and activities sometimes led to longer-lasting lowered self-esteem. One of the men felt less adequate because of his inability to maintain his marital relationship as satisfactorily as he had previously in a situation which included a large, supportive network. Although they did not mention it themselves, it seemed to me that some newcomer women who came from large, close-knit networks and were unable to establish meaningful relationships here suffered from lowered self-esteem as the year progressed. While they could justify the move in various ways and felt some pride in their ability to be good mothers and wives in this situation, I sensed that they were discouraged and sometimes depressed during the year. In one instance other family members also felt that the wife-mother's self-confidence had decreased since the move.

In some cases, disappointments were blamed on the environment or particular situations newcomers found here. Generally, newcomers had some means of defining the situation in such a way that they maintained self-esteem.
Some of these people put themselves in new positions in the social structure here and were willing if not anxious to change and to allow others to influence their becoming different. The new experience was not necessarily positive. Some tried to find new opportunities and failed to find them, while others who found new opportunities did not like the change they perceived produced by these experiences. Others experimented with new activities and formed relationships with new people here. Sometimes they made changes in the opportunity structure in Canberra as well as changes in themselves. The newcomers who did this were pleased at the outcome of their experimentation, and their self-esteem had increased as a result. In Chapter 10 the process of change and the maintenance of stability in newcomers' self-concepts will be discussed in greater detail.

VARIATIONS IN NEWCOMERS' ADJUSTMENT PROCESSES

Most of the newcomers reestablished 'normal' networks and activity commitments in Canberra and by T3 were generally content with their lives which were progressing much as usual. But we have seen above that some newcomers found certain aspects of adjustment processes difficult. Either they had trouble establishing 'normal' networks or could not form activity commitments which they had expected to make. These newcomers' lives had changed significantly and their attitude toward these changes ranged from one of pleasure to unhappiness. Here we shall look back to see whether these newcomers also had common resources which might help us in understanding differences in their adjustment processes and in defining the limits of the newcomer career described in Chapter 6.

Newcomers who made major changes in their 'normal' network structure and activity commitments form two subclasses which warrant further investigation: those who defined these changes positively and in terms of personal growth, and those who defined them negatively and in terms of personal dissatisfaction. Since there are only a few instances in each subclass, I cannot abstract their essential elements to the degree that was possible in describing the more general newcomer career. Rather, I shall try to present clearly the common elements which seem important in these subclasses. Such judgements are tenuous and are useful mainly in suggesting avenues of enquiry which could be pursued only by the investigation of more instances.
One of these subclasses is comprised of newcomers who developed different activity commitments or network structures here and at T3 felt happy about these changes and the move to Canberra. They were of middle or upper socio-economic background and had completed at least 4th Form plus some occupational training (education categories 1-3). Before coming to Canberra they had comparatively loose-knit networks, and all had couple networks of Type II. They could thus draw support from the common cluster(s) and from shared interaction with their spouse in this group while, at the same time, building other supportive independent relationships. Newcomers with Type II couple networks defined independent relationships as 'normal' and desirable, and it was this definition which allowed others in Canberra to influence change in the newcomers, as will be discussed further in Chapter 10. These people used the new situation to develop various interests, and they valued the opportunity for change. Since they felt that their background and previous experience were similar to most others in Canberra, they were able to be confident in participating and developing in this social setting.

The other subclass includes the two women who were so unhappy because of their inability to form 'normal' networks and activity commitments that they wanted to leave Canberra at T3. They did have common resources which help to make their experience understandable and suggest some lines of developing this subclass. Lower socio-economic background and educational achievement made it difficult for them to obtain jobs or other opportunities to contribute or grow in this setting. They felt inferior compared with others in Canberra, and therefore were reluctant to make activity commitments here. When they did join associations, they were reluctant to participate in them. Both felt the lack of support which they had obtained before from close-knit networks of relations and friends but had no means to reestablish in Canberra. One had a couple network pattern of Type II, the other of Type III. For the woman whose couple network was of Type III, the separation in the husband and wife's networks was evidence of their rather separate worlds; this woman lacked her former network ties and had no basis for increasing interaction with her husband, a move which might have given her additional support. For the other woman, there were more joint activities and relationships shared with her husband and greater understanding between spouses of each other's situation. However, supportive parts of the woman's previous network could not be found here,
and she missed these. Especially since her husband had been able to set up a 'normal' network and anticipated activity commitments, she felt relatively deprived. The disjunction between the husbands and wives' network formation seems particularly important in understanding the women's unhappiness. While the women could not see any options for making 'normal' relationships here, their husbands had been able to do so. The men's networks provided them with 'normal' support; the women lacked this. The possibility of developing a more supportive marital relationship was not brought up in front of me by either couple. Rather they continued to feel that the men had been more successful in this situation than the women. Both husbands cared very much about their wife's unhappiness and saw moving away as the most hopeful course of action.

The subclasses discussed in this section are only partly formed. In making the most general statement about newcomers in Chapter 6, these seemingly contradictory instances became clear, and, following Znaniecki's prescription, I have subjected the subclasses to as much abstraction and generalisation as the number of instances would allow. On the basis of this analysis, I would limit the general newcomer career in two ways. First, allowance must be made for both positively and negatively valued major changes in network formation and activity commitments in the new situation. Second, recognition must be given to specific situational factors in Canberra which might have little relevance in other locations. The advantages and limitations of specific resources and combinations of resources have been discussed above. We have also seen that Canberra is a city in which high status jobs and high educational attainment are relatively common. It is not surprising that some newcomers who lacked these levels of resources and came from lower socio-economic backgrounds had specific problems in adjusting to socially mixed suburban life in Canberra. For some of these people the suburbs scarcely seemed mixed in their terms; in comparison to others places they had lived, these suburbs were middle class. They perceived themselves as different from most, if not all, others in Canberra. A few were pleased to live in this advantaged city, and, valuing family privacy highly, did not mind maintaining only distant relationships with others here. But some felt disadvantaged in Canberra both relative to the local population and to their previous experience. The newcomer career does not adequately deal with the
experience of these few people of lower socio-economic background. In order to overcome this limitation, it would be necessary to investigate more cases in a variety of settings to tease out the effects of both relevant resources and specific characteristics of the social setting.

The method of analytic induction I now generalised the newcomer career and investigated subclasses suggested by the career model. Here I shall use the newcomers' experience as an example of the process of self-maintenance and change in a new situation. Again analytic induction will be used to abstract and generalise about process. While Chapter 6 dealt with the question 'what can be said about newcomers' behaviour and experience', this chapter will deal mainly with the question 'What are the means of individual change and stability in a new situation'. From this perspective some of the findings will be reviewed and discussed in relation to the theoretical framework of symbolic interaction. Before turning to that question, however, I want to comment on the newcomers' experience of this urban setting and of the newcomer/stranger position.

THE NEWCOMER/STRANGER POSITION IN AN URBAN SETTING

Newcomers' Experience of the Urban Setting

The nature of relationships and social networks in the city has been a recurrent theme in the sociological literature and is one which is relevant to a number of topics in this study. In her study of Adaline suburbs, Martin (1970) looked to the social network to find the meaning of community in the urban environment. Her suburbs were not socially mixed in the way Canberra suburbs were, and she was able to differentiate the suburbs in her study by class composition, network structure and prevalent norms. The range of variation in network structure and norms which she found was similar to the range in the Canberra newcomers' networks and norms. The difference lies in the fact that there was no grouping of common characteristics by physical area in these Canberra suburbs, whereas in the

Martin used the term community to denote a sense of belonging together. In the discussion that follows, community will be used in that way to fit with the usage of other literature. Where used with spatial connotations, 'community' will continue to indicate the specific face-connected network cluster which some newcomers joined on arrival in Canberra. 'Community' was fully defined in Chapter 8 and is used consistently thereafter.
CHAPTER 10: THE SELF AS AN ADJUSTMENT PROCESS

In the foregoing chapters the primary focus has been on the adaptive processes and changing resources of family members in a new city. Using the method of analytic induction, I have generalised the newcomer career and investigated subclasses suggested by the career model. Here I shall use the newcomers' experience as an example of the process of self-maintenance and change in a new situation. Again analytic induction will be used to abstract and generalise about process. While Chapter 6 dealt with the question 'What can be said about newcomers' behaviour and experience', this chapter will deal mainly with the question 'What are the means of individual change and stability in a new situation'. From this perspective some of the findings will be reviewed and discussed in relation to the theoretical framework of symbolic interaction. Before turning to that question, however, I want to comment on the newcomers' experience of this urban setting and of the newcomer/stranger position.

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1 Martin used the term community to denote a sense of belonging together. In the discussion that follows, community will be used in that way to fit with the usage of other literature. Where used with inverted commas, 'community' will continue to indicate the specific large, connected network cluster which some newcomers joined on arrival in Canberra. 'Community' was fully defined in Chapter 5 and is used consistently throughout.
Adelaide suburbs there was. In this Canberra sample, network structures and most norms cut across class, education and occupation categories as well as suburbs. Although it is not possible to tie common network structures or norms to particular Canberra suburbs, it is useful to follow Martin in looking at both networks and norms to understand if and where these newcomers gained a sense of belonging here.

Propinquity was rarely the basis for newcomers' developing relationships which fostered a sense of belonging in Canberra. Where neighbourhood relationships did develop, there were a number of contributing factors. As Lewis (1975:116) and Zito (1974:255) also found, neighbouring among women was greatly influenced by the age and presence of children. Among these newcomers, relationships with neighbours made by both men and women developed in cases in which either the children were of similar age or the parents had significant common interests and experiences.

Men's work relationships usually provided a sense of belonging for them and often for other family members as well. In their work roles men had access to others, many of whom shared the expectation that relationships would develop in that setting. As others have also found (e.g., Babchuck and Bates, 1963), the husbands were able to initiate more mutual friendships than their wives in this situation. Lewis also found in his Canberra study that the workplace did not provide women with such supportive ties as it did for men (1975:81).

Contrary to some studies and popular belief (e.g., Litwak, 1960a:266; Pahl and Pahl, 1971:160), these newcomers found that organisations and associations did not provide a milieu in which they readily made friends or felt at home. Instead, they often seemed more strange in these formal settings. As others have reported (e.g., Bottomley, 1973:378; Martin, 1972:132) and these newcomers found, local organisations and associations were largely a more visible form of existing informal relationships and networks. If the newcomers did not have pre-existing relationships there, they felt lonely at organised meetings. In some cases they joined an association at the first meeting they attended and did not return during the year.

Many newcomers did not participate in large clusters and belonged to no group in Canberra where common norms could be assumed. Rather than
coming to a situation where they felt they belonged, these people had to
develop one or to find their sense of belonging only through family and/or
work relationships. Most of them formed relatively loose-knit networks,
which included some small clusters and/or unconnected dyadic relationships.
They had to feel their way in these relationships, coming to an under­
standing of shared norms as they went along. A sense of belonging came
more slowly when building a loose-knit network, but once established, the
dyadic relationships often became more intimate. As Simmel suggested,
larger groups were less intimate and therefore less supportive of those
exclusively individual aspects of the self significant to the self-concept
and more commonly supported in dyadic relationships (Wolff, 1950:
127-37). Wirth also described this feature of group interaction:

The larger the number of persons in a state of
interaction with one another, the lower is the
level of communication and the greater is the
tendency for communication to proceed on an
elementary level, i.e., on the basis of those
things which are assumed to be common or to be
of interest to all (1938:23).

Bott noted a related feature of couple or family networks in her
study. She reported that families with more disparate ties had greater
control over their actions and selves than families with closer-knit
networks, which were less individuated (1971:101, 217). The degree to
which we can compare this study to Bott's is limited by the fact that
categories of analysis are different. She used couples as a unit and
investigated couple or family networks. Here we have used individual
family members and examined both individual and couple networks. However,
I believe that some of these findings provide strong support for Bott's
analysis. As seen in Chapter 9, Type I couple networks (all contacts
shared by spouses) were close-knit and were often frustrating because of
the lack of individuation they allowed. Couple network patterns of Type II
or III included the development of independent relationships which allowed
people with these network patterns the possibility of greater individuation.
Further, it was evident that independent relationships were more intimate
than shared relationships and that they provided support for individual
development.

Most newcomers with relatively loose-knit networks gained a sense of
belonging from their relationships in Canberra even though these did not
form a connected group. Newcomers with loose-knit networks had the freedom to look to any relationship or combination of relationships in gathering personal support, and as situations changed, so did their reference points. Bott described this as well:

The more varied their social experience and the more unconnected the standards they internalize, the more internal arrangements they must make. And the more loose-knit their networks, the greater the necessity for them to use constructed reference groups, abstract categories of person, as the referents of their norms and ideology (1971:222-3).

In his study Lewis described Canberra networks as dispersed, differentiated, loose-knit, and unshared (1975:84, 143). The newcomers' networks investigated here reveal a range of variation on all of these characteristics. Since Lewis' method was enumerative rather than analytic induction, the difference between his findings and these is partly to be expected. Enumerative induction abstracts by generalising, and in depicting the overall shape of a distribution emphasises larger classes. Analytic induction generalises by abstracting, and thus emphasises the range and content of subclasses, since every contradictory case becomes a subclass (Znaniecki, 1934:250-1). In this study of newcomers, the majority of networks were dispersed, though some were not. Differentiation in the newcomers' networks ranged from complete differentiation to non-differentiation, which was a characteristic in 'community' relationships where work, family and often recreational roles were brought together. The variation in network density and degree of sharing between spouses has already been detailed; these covered a much wider range than Lewis' generalisation suggests.

Looking at opportunities for the development of community feeling in Canberra from a planner's viewpoint, Stretton said:

If, finally, Canberra people want to think of themselves as members of groups and communities - my family, my neighbours, my village, my parish, my town, my city, as in Civics textbooks - then they need never be anxious or uncertain about these identities. They can see them (1974:56).

1 Lewis used the term differentiated to indicate that a network contained a prevalence of segmented rather than multiple-role relationships.
Perhaps these groups are more visible in a physical or spatial sense than in a social sense. From the newcomers' experience, I would say that very few people wanted to think of themselves as members of such groups except 'the family'. Because many did not choose to see themselves in these ways, even those who did wish such identities could not perceive the groups as distinctly as Stretton suggested. For example, the newcomers saw that some neighbours did not interact or identify with others in the neighbourhood. Therefore, it was impossible for the newcomers to perceive the neighbourhood as a group of people with a common identity. It took time for them to discover what factors, if any, in addition to propinquity brought together those neighbours who did interact and identify with one another.

Newcomers were not restricted to finding all of their sense of belonging in Canberra. They maintained contact with geographically distant portions of their networks, and gained personal support and belonging through these relationships as well as their local ones.

In addition to structural variations in newcomers' networks, there was a considerable range of variation in the content, or degree of intimacy, in relationships. Many studies have found that friendship is more important to women than to men and that women generally have more revealing, intimate exchanges (Jourard, 1964:31-5; Komarovsky, 1967:336; Lowenthal and Haven, 1968:28; Pahl and Pahl, 1971:156). Among these newcomers about half of both the men and women said that they highly valued close friendship, while others of both sexes said they preferred more casual, distant relationships. However, during the year the women made more close relationships than did the men in spite of the fact that women generally had fewer opportunities to make contacts. This is explained in part by the fact that women made most of the families' help or support contacts during the year. Some researchers have found that one means of making a friend is offering help (Adams, 1968:66; Jecker and Landy, 1969:371). While it is commonly assumed that people help their friends, these studies have suggested that a person may become friends with those he helps. In many instances these newcomers did become friends with those to whom they had offered assistance or who had offered it to them. Of course, some made friends and later exchanged help and support with them, and for others mutual support developed along with the friendship.
Klapp (1970:77) found that increased mobility influenced a shift in the content of relationships toward more casual exchange. For many of these newcomers this appeared to be true, but although they made casual relationships fairly quickly, many were frustrated by their inability to move these interactions to a more intimate level. Even some newcomers with previous experience in moving made it clear that new relationships did not have the content of remembered past relationships. Some of these people noticed soon after the move that they personalised relationships which in another situation they would have kept distant and that they did this to achieve a closeness which they found lacking in local relationships.

In a current Canberra study, Henderson is investigating the relationship between social networks and health. He defined close social networks as a field of "affectional attachments and source of psychosocial supplies" (1976:15-6), and said:

It is legitimate to ask what the effects on an individual are if he or she becomes deficient in the availability of social, including affectional, relationships (Henderson, 1976:18).

One of the hypotheses Henderson developed was:

That in a population exposed to adverse life events, the presence of strong social bonds confers protection against the development of psychiatric morbidity (1976:26).

While the newcomers came to Canberra with close family relationships, they were relatively deficient in local social and affectional relationships immediately after the move. Some of them were depressed at that time, although none sought professional help for this. I cannot assess whether or not they would have been diagnosed as psychiatrically ill then, and for most of them this stage passed quickly. The two women who still missed close-knit networks so much that they wanted to return home at T3 seemed to be examples of the kind of person Henderson would describe as lacking protection against the development of psychiatric morbidity. The young boy who so missed his friend that he thought he saw him on the playground and could see his ankle in the backyard was even
closer to the kind of person Henderson was trying to identify. While none of these people had sought psychiatric help, they seemed to be experiencing some of the consequences of interactional deprivation posited in Henderson's paper.

The investigation of these newcomers suggests that the link between health and interactional deprivation may be difficult to forge. An investigation of newcomers with psychiatric illnesses would almost certainly show that they were deprived of some important close relationships. If one looked at a sample of people diagnosed as psychiatrically healthy, I believe some members of that group would also appear relatively deprived of significant close relationships. But in looking at a more general sample of newcomers, all of whom had recently been deprived of valued face-to-face relationships, there was little evidence of related health problems which I could detect during the year. It seems likely that the category of people suffering from psychiatric illness contains both those who are deficient in social relationships and have become less resistant to illness as a result and those who had symptoms of psychiatric illness and have developed fewer social relationships as a result.

Newcomer family members and families as a unit generally tried to reestablish patterns of interaction which were similar in content and form to those they had previously enjoyed. These patterns of interaction included not only their connections with others but also their separation from others. Patterns of interaction and separation go together, as other researchers have pointed out (Hess and Handel, 1967:10; Swartz, 1968). A recurrent theme in the newcomers' experience has been the apparent contrast between their value for family life, including some degree of family privacy, and their desire for greater intimacy than they often achieved in extra-family relationships. Relationships with others (especially neighbours) were often restrained or avoided in order to maintain a degree of family privacy and freedom. But some of the same people who used restraint in these relationships also wished that they had more intimate relationships in Canberra. Even within the family there was a contrast between individuals' desires for personal growth, which involved time alone or separate from the family, and members' desires to be together, acting as a unit.
Inter- and intra-family patterns of interaction and separation affect one another, as evidenced by the strain felt by couples who had moved away from a large, close-knit network with the aim of establishing a closer marital relationship in Canberra. The notion that conjugal roles and social network density were related was developed by Bott (1971). I was unable to make distinctions similar to Bott's which would differentiate the sample on the basis of conjugal role sharing. These newcomers were remarkably alike in this regard: they all had some joint activities and spent a good deal of leisure time together as a family group; and they generally performed different household tasks with the women providing the larger share of both child care and other household duties. But despite the lack of similar categories here, some of these findings support Bott's and reemphasise the interdependence of the social network and conjugal role relationship. This interdependence again points out the significance of the balance between separation and connection which couples, families, and friends work out between themselves.

It was especially clear in Chapter 9 that some families that had left large, close-knit networks were having difficulty in making their new networks (usually looser-knit) fit old marital patterns. For example, one couple had left a large, close-knit network with the hopes of developing a closer marital relationship in Canberra. The husband formed quite a few relationships through a work cluster, but the wife had not found many friends here. Both realised that she had received support in the past from her previous network and that here she had hoped to receive much of that missing support from her husband. But he was tied up in the work relationships which he valued and could not share with her. They knew that their relationships with others and with each other in the new situation were not complementary. The wife was looking to her husband for greater intimacy; he was looking for closer relationships with his mates and enjoyed this degree of separation from his wife and family, as he had in the past. Within the year they had not been able to find a solution to this imbalance.

The question of privacy and the contrast between patterns of interaction and separation deserve a second look. The newcomers' experience highlights the interdependence of these patterns and suggests avenues of further enquiry.
The terms used to talk about patterns of interaction and separation are value laden and imprecise. Privacy is usually considered a desirable state; isolation is not. It is often unclear whose value judgement is being conveyed in these words: the subjects' or the researcher's? In this study I have reported isolation whenever the subject was physically alone but said he wanted to be with others; when I have talked about privacy, the subject had specifically chosen to be alone or apart from specified others. As Swartz (1968) pointed out, the positive value is part of the meaning of privacy in our language, and since privacy is defined as a desirable item, it often must be bought. It is more than coincidental that many middle-class newcomers seemed to choose privacy rather than neighbourhood interaction, while some lower-class newcomers felt isolated in their neighbourhoods throughout the year. Since values are embedded in the language, researchers and subjects alike tend to use words in ways which express and confirm existent values and relationships.

Many of the newcomer women who worked outside the home provided a clue to the complexity of defining privacy. These women valued work for the privacy and separation it gave them from their family roles. They gained a sense of belonging in a world which was private or separate from their home life. Even though they valued family life far more than their jobs, they wanted a degree of separation from the family, and they found this at work.

Privacy is a state of being apart from others, but what others? Privacy does not describe all situations of being physically alone, for one can be alone and isolated rather than private. Moreover, privacy can be found in a place like work even when others are present. It seems that privacy or separation is a situation in which the individual wants to be apart from some other individual or group at a given time. Thus, privacy or separation has to have an object: private or separate from whom or what?

The conceptual opposite to privacy, community or a sense of belonging, was not necessarily found in group interaction or even in a dyad. Newcomers frequently had communal feelings when they were alone. Some of their strongest feelings of belonging were expressed in letters.
or fantasy. The people themselves had conflicting ideas about privacy and belonging. Often they seemed to want both at the same time and even with the same people. The balance was usually temporary, and it had often been upset by the move.

Michelson tied together prevalent values on family privacy with house styles and urban planning:

An emphasis on the nuclear family and its joint activities is most congruent with the access of people to each other and to various activities now provided by the typical housing, open space, and land use patterns of the suburbs (1970:193).

Chermayeff and Alexander advised planners that:

... an urban anatomy must provide special domains for all degrees of privacy and all degrees of community living, ranging from the most intimately private to the most intensely communal. To separate these domains, and yet allow their interaction, entirely new physical elements must be inserted between them. It is because these new elements of separation emerge as vital and independent units in their own right that a new urban order may develop from the hierarchy of domains (1963:37).

And they advised architects that:

Provision for voluntary communality rather than inescapable togetherness is essential. It demands recognition, first of all, of the diversity of interests that occurs in the average family of adults and children ... (Chermayeff and Alexander, 1963:215).

The planning of domains for privacy and community in urban areas and family dwellings must be sensitive to people's needs, much as these authors suggest. But the newcomers' experience can be used to alert us that privacy and community are not just spatial problems. People within the confines of a single space can be very private, and those separated by geographic distance can be very much together. Before we decide that the allocation of space can provide opportunities for the optimum
balance between privacy and community, we need more knowledge about
individual and group experience of privacy and community and the
processes which alter the balance between the two.

Because they valued family privacy and some degree of individual
privacy, these newcomers chose to live in single-family homes with their
own yards. Canberra did not offer a wide variety of choice, however.
The only alternatives were flats or townhouses, most of which had too
little space for these families in the light of both their own
expectations and general Australian norms. Although houses and lot sizes
in these suburbs did vary, neither varied much in comparison with other
Australian or international standards. Instead of choosing a house which
would allow the family free expression of its preference for privacy and
community, these families had to fit their preferences to the rather
narrow limits imposed by the range of housing available here. While
many families found the housing situation adequate, one family would have
much preferred to live nearer to neighbours, and quite a few would have
chosen larger homes with more space and privacy from neighbours had these
been available at a price they could afford.

The Newcomer/Stranger Position

On the basis of the literature, the newcomer/stranger position
appeared potentially problematic or marginal. Many of these newcomers
took recognised positions in the local structure, and some of the
problems described by Park, Schutz and Simmel were perhaps less applicable
to them than they might have been for others who had no claim to local
membership.

Some of these newcomers were more strange in Canberra than others.
Those who had jobs shared some norms and expectations with workmates from
the start. Army, Navy and Air Force officers and their families were
immediately integrated within these 'communities'. They had belonged to
similar groups before the move and already shared the norms relevant to
the Canberra 'community'. Likewise, churches provided two families with
a familiar interactional setting in which they did not feel strange.

Other newcomers did not have ready access to groups in which they
felt at home. As they went about developing relationships with local
residents, these newcomers did feel strange and realised that making relationships was work which involved the gradual accumulation of sufficient knowledge to determine whether or not important norms were shared. Some who had not been able to develop such relationships felt strange throughout the year.

The newcomers' experience of strangeness was further influenced by their varied experience in moving. Schutz described the stranger's experience in terms of the inadequacy of his understanding and interpretive schemes:

... the ready-made picture of the foreign group subsisting within the stranger's home-group proves its inadequacy for the approaching stranger for the mere reason that it has not been formed with the aim of provoking a response from or a reaction of the members of the foreign group ... The discovery that things in his new surroundings look quite different from what he expected them to be at home is frequently the first shock to the stranger's confidence in the validity of his habitual 'thinking as usual' (Wagner, 1970:89).

While some newcomers avoided these difficulties through membership in 'communities' where expectations, interpretive schemes and norms were already shared, others were equally at ease because they had sufficient experience in moving to have become 'competent strangers'. They knew even before coming here that they could not expect to know ahead of time what Canberra would really be like. They knew that much of their 'thinking as usual' could be transferred to the new setting but that some of it would prove inadequate. For many of them, the changes in 'thinking as usual' which occurred after a move were an exciting and welcome difference, and they looked forward to a series of such changes during the rest of their lives. Some of the others who had less experience in moving did find that the move was the sort of threat to their 'thinking as usual' which Schutz described. Of these, some came to like the changes, while others did not within this time period.

All of the newcomers changed their view of Canberra from one which contained themselves as outsiders to one in which they were members of the social setting. As Schutz said, the newcomers needed a different kind of knowledge as members of the setting than they required as
outsiders (1971b:97-8). Similarly, Martin noted in her study of displaced persons (1965:53) that their evaluative, comparative comments which were common at first were later replaced by other topics. Apparently, a search for explanation was necessary at first but not later when they had become more a part of the social situation. The newcomers to Canberra exhibited this kind of change in their symbolic organisation of both the setting and their position in it during the fieldwork period.

**BIOGRAPHICAL EXPLANATION OF THE NEWCOMER/STRANGER POSITION**

Whether or not the newcomers rapidly entered recognised social positions, they experienced some aspects of the move as problematic. At first they seemed to be asking themselves for an explanation of why they were here and what their position was in this situation. Generally, they found this explanation through a retrospective examination of their own past, from which they selected a series of events or objects which led logically toward this particular experience.

A number of writers have dealt with the biographical situation as restrictive, focusing on the limits it places on the individual, both directly and through others' interpretations and reflections (e.g., Goffman, 1963:74-84). Schutz also discussed the individual's use of his biography as the source of his 'because' motives (1971a:71). Berger et al. (1974:69-70) called the family a 'life-planning workshop' in which the individual's biography developed as a primary source of identity. I have found Mead's work the most helpful in interpreting the process of biographical searching observed here.1

While Mead specifically placed the locus of meaning in the present, he said that in a problematic situation the emergence of meaning in the ongoing present stops, and the individual must tease out the meaning of his objects so that action may continue (1934:90-2; 1932:68). As the individual looks for explanation, he constructs from the past a

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1 I realise that Schutz (1967:94-5) later developed a similar perspective which was partly based on his knowledge of Mead's philosophy.
perspective which calls for the present situation. He adjusts the past in the light of the present and relative to the present (1936:417).

I believe that for these newcomers the move was such a problematic situation, and that the biographical searching which they did was the kind of reflective organisation of the past which Mead specified as the solution which allows action to continue by providing explanation for the present. As we saw in Chapter 7, the explanations which they created were not timeless. In fact, most of these had become unimportant or were ignored at T3. Often by that time the newcomers had reached a point where meaning was part of the ongoing present and required little reflective thinking. For the most part, they seemed to have done enough interpretive work to take the new situation for granted, and they were not worried about the continuity or coherence of biographical themes which at first they had made central to their lives. Sometimes further emergent situations necessitated more reflective thinking during the year, but then the new present required a different line of explanation, and the past was used in a new way to provide an adequate perspective on these developments.

In spite of the varied ways and degrees to which newcomers changed their biographical explanations during the year, they generally shared the view that as individuals they had not changed much, if at all, and that family interaction had not changed either. Given this discrepancy, there must have been common methods of self-maintenance which allowed the newcomers to hold the view that they had changed little or not at all.

METHODS OF SELF-MAINTENANCE AND CHANGE IN THE NEWCOMER/STRANGER SITUATION

The most important means of self-maintenance for these adults was their general adherence to prior perspectives which both limited their possible lines of action and affirmed that each was a certain kind of person. We have seen throughout that newcomers' alternatives were limited by what was sometimes called their personal style or perspective. The newcomers compared their situations not only with their peers but also with their earlier self, a process other researchers have noted as
well (e.g., Lowenthal and Haven, 1968:25; Shibutani, 1955:562-9). When making comparisons with an earlier self, the individual adjusted his behaviour to fit with his past, and thus made his actions coherent and relatively stable over time. Researchers using a variety of theoretical frameworks have reported similar interpretations of stability in adult identity (e.g., Allport, 1955:78; Becker, et al., 1961:35; Gerth and Mills, 1954:85; Kemper, 1966:343; McCall and Simmons, 1966:87; Strauss, 1959: 91-143; Turner, 1970, 1968).

I have looked to the newcomers' social networks to determine 'what others' provided support for both changing and stable aspects of their self-concept. Local and distant others were significant in supporting change and maintaining stability in newcomers' self-concepts during the study.

Through the year nearly all newcomers maintained contact with relatives and friends. Newcomers said they often thought about these geographically distant others and frequently referred to them in conversation. As the newcomers looked back to their past interactions and reworked these events to fit the present, their networks provided support and stability for certain aspects of their self-concept. These newcomers continued to see themselves through many geographically distant members of their network during the year. Social networks were important to newcomers in providing validation and reality to the autobiographical sense they made of their lives in the new situation, as other researchers have also found (e.g., Pahl and Pahl, 1971:149; Tilly and Brown, 1967).

Some of the newcomers were able to change their relationships with geographically distant others through the exchange of letters, and thus to a degree they managed change in some aspects of their self-concept. The distance between correspondents and the time lag between the sending and reading of a letter seemed to make possible a distinct type of relationship. Some of them felt closer to others who were geographically distant, since they had been able to increase the intimacy of their exchange. Others found that letter writing allowed them the freedom not to share some information with friends and relatives, and so, by omission, to control the other's impression. Letter writing seemed to be a means of
sharing the present without losing control of the meaning attached to it. In correspondence the recipient was more or less obliged to accept the writer's meanings. Even if the reader disagreed or wanted to help, it was often too late to do so, since the situation would have passed by the time he replied. Again, I have used Mead's work in trying to understand this process.

In his explication of the nature of meaning as an ongoing part of the present, Mead made the response of the other one of the three essential parts of that meaning (1934:76-82). I believe that some of these newcomers effectively controlled the response of the other to their letters by allowing the other only one possible reaction. While some have stressed the necessity for face-to-face interaction in close, reality-building relationships (e.g., Berger and Kellner, 1964:5; Cooley, 1962:23-31), and others have pointed out the limitations of interaction by letter (e.g., Schutz, 1971b:112-3; Wolff, 1950:353), I think we can see here that in certain circumstances letters provided the means for newcomers to obtain strong personal support while maintaining a high degree of control over their self-concept. Thus, social network ties maintained by letter were not only stabilising but sometimes contributed to the development and change in newcomers' self-concepts.

In forming networks in Canberra, newcomers also found support for individual change and stability. Most important was the newcomers' tendency to reestablish and feel supported by the structure of seemingly normal networks. In setting up new portions of their networks, these people were aware of similarities between many new and old others, as they substituted people from the new locale into their empty network slots. As Bott (1971:280) also found, they oriented themselves in the new situation by comparing the present with the past, and this led to a good deal of repetition in the structure and content of their social networks which served to maintain stability in their self-concepts.

In contrast, some newcomers changed their network structure in Canberra. While some newcomers had chosen to come to Canberra in order to change their social networks and perhaps themselves, others came here against their wishes or not realising that they would have to adjust to changes in their networks, marital roles, and self-concepts. Bott found
similar situations among her couples, and noted that where change occurred it was particularly difficult for working class families who had moved away from close-knit networks and faced a new situation for which they had had little experience (1971:307, 380). Some of these newcomer families experienced such discrepant situations, and their inability to reestablish normal networks invited change which they met occasionally with creative solutions but sometimes with defeat or withdrawal. The network was the immediate environment which, if reestablished, provided stability and continuity for the self in the new situation. Where it could not be reestablished, the development of a new network structure provided the possibility of change in the self. Where situational factors limited the individual's ability to build a satisfying network in Canberra, this lack was personally difficult and caused reevaluation and retrospective meaning searching.

As we have seen, in most circumstances newcomers set up relationships and activity commitments which followed lines of action they had already established and provided continuing support for selves they already knew. But sometimes choice or situational factors necessitated changes in newcomers' networks and activities, and others in these interactional settings provided support for new aspects of the self which emerged. While Laing et al. (1966:11) suggested that the individual at times chose others to support the self he wanted to be, I found that the newcomers who changed significantly during the year did not have a clear plan of who they wanted to be before entering new situations. Changing aspects of the self were emergents which could not have been known before interaction with others had occurred. In situations of change, some of the newcomers chose not to be supported by others who offered support for a self-image they did not wish to accept. Where change did occur, the newcomers allowed others to influence their becoming different, but the directions in which this influence led were not predictable before the interaction took place because the response of the other could not be known ahead of time. The following cases should clarify this point:

MRS. SMITH

Mrs. Smith had been excited about coming to Canberra. Although she had given up an administrative/teaching job in Sydney, she was optimistic
about finding opportunities to expand this work here. In addition, she had enrolled in a part-time, non-resident diploma course as an extra interest. Her search for a job was unsuccessful and frustrating, however. As she described it:

I found it hard to face the realisation that I couldn't be accepted for some part-time work while I was completing the course. I had to look at all the alternatives and discard each one before I could settle for doing less. I've had to accept that the study is just enough ... I found there were no job opportunities whatsoever. I found this very frustrating ... I went through a week of being very moody, very depressed, very anti-social to everybody until I got over this ... I decided to make contacts again to see if I could gain some practical experience without pay. I found that 'X' Institution seemed very cold ... They weren't very enthusiastic, whereas 'Y' Institution invited me to go and told me of another girl who was doing exactly the same course and she would like to see me and help me ... at least they were sure they would help me with practical experience. So this cheered me up ... I felt much better. At long last somebody was making me feel welcome. 14-W

While Mrs. Smith continued looking for a job, she made minor commitments to a number of organisations and was asked to help in school, Cub Scouts and Girl Guides' activities. But she said:

I reject this at the moment because I still am searching myself out, and I feel I have to do this. 14-W

Six months later Mrs. Smith had obtained practical experience at one institution and was continuing her diploma course. She had become involved with counselling and school education through a government commission but still had not found a job or interest to which she could give as much of her attention as she would have liked.

By the end of the year, however, her situation had changed markedly. She had seen an advertisement calling a meeting of people interested in forming a health-related association. She went along, talked with some of the people, and became a founding member. By the end of the fieldwork period, she was giving that organisation many hours each week of her professional services.
With some of the others from the government commission where she volunteered, Mrs. Smith helped form an association dealing with the problems of children suffering from a nervous disorder. Their initial meeting drew over 100 people. She became one of their community educators, who speak to small groups and occasionally answer questions on local radio programmes.

MRS. WHITE

On arrival in Canberra, Mrs. White was isolated except for relationships with her husband and two young children. She had no contact with relatives or friends outside Canberra, nor had she kept such contact for many years. When I first visited her, she told me that she had a disease that prevented her driving a car, working, or participating in sport, and described herself as:

... a lonely person at the best of times, really the worst person you could ask all these questions to. 16-W

The one opportunity to meet people here seemed to her to be through school activities. But she said:

I find that the kind of people that join those kinds of things aren't the kind of people that would interest me very much ... They're the same kind of people ... doesn't matter where you go. The same people will organise it, and they will tell the others what to do, and the bees work and all the other buggers are so busy organising it that they never do any of the work but they get all the credit. 16-W

She didn't seem sorry to rule out the possibility of meeting people. I found Mrs. White insightful, but I was uncomfortable at this first meeting. She admitted but would not identify her illness, and she had a variety of symptoms which I could not identify but knew were not ordinary behaviour. I was consciously trying to be supportive of her world, but it was difficult.
Six months later I telephoned to arrange another visit. At first she could not remember me by name, but as I explained she interrupted:

Oh, yes, I know. I'm so busy now, and it's all your fault. 16-W

We made a time to meet, and I went to find out why it was my fault and what had happened. She explained it:

I'm pretty sure that it was your fault ... I got the general impression that you thought we were strange sorts of people, and so I joined a course ... not encounter but talking about ideas on certain things. I decided - I didn't tell you before that I have 'x' (nervous disorder) - and I decided that it ought to be brought out into the open ... that's what happened in the course. I found out what they thought about it ... We didn't actually talk about the disease, but I just wanted to know what they thought about it, what they thought of me. When they found I had 'x' (nervous disorder), their ideas about me changed completely, and I wanted to know why. Also, as I pointed out to somebody before, if you get 12 people sort of talking about you, there must be something in it. Like I talk too fast, and when 12 people tell you, you take notice - if it's just a doctor, you think 'oh, well, he's just a medic'. It's very good for you. They were all psychologists, sociologists, social workers, and I was the only Joe Blow, so it didn't give me much faith in the social workers ... to find they needed to go through this course, that they themselves had problems. I'd always been under the impression that they knew how to get on in society, and they found it harder in a way than the ordinary Joe Blow in that their education gets in the way ... I've found that their education sometimes ... the more you learn, the more you lose of simple things ... They had to be categorised ... I decided that 'x' (nervous disorder) ought to be brought out ... I talked to doctors and they felt there wasn't a need for an organisation and that annoyed me. Apparently a lady had come from Sydney the year before to see what the reactions were and got no reaction to it. So we got some literature and got it all over Canberra, having a meeting at Beauchamp House. The course instructor probably regretted ever having me in the class. He helped and I went to the attorney general - I think about 35 people came. I spent all my time since doing that. I'm not very good at speaking when it comes to the crunch ... so now I'm going to a public speaking club. I find it pretty hard going. They're pretty professional - I see it like a classroom ... I've met an awful lot of people that I'd never have had a chance to meet, but at the same time, I've had to reveal what I was ... I thought about it for a long, long time ... I got the general impression that you thought I was just sitting here. I thought you
thought you could never live like that, and thinking about it, I thought 'you must make the effort'. I must admit it was a very hard effort. 16-W

At that point I commented that I had never made as much of an effort as she had in the last few months, and she went on:

I guess when I do, I put an awful lot into it. I wouldn't want to do it again for a long time. I have found how small Canberra is ... it's awful after a while, because you can't join anything else after a while without seeing somebody. One of the things I did was to gauge people's reactions to 'x' (nervous disorder). It was hard - some places said that they would like to help me. I was pretty hurt. People wanted to look at me. I went down to one organisation and said to the lady 'by any chance do you need help' and on purpose I said I had 'x' (nervous disorder), and a lady happened to walk past and said 'oh of course we need help'. I thought that was very nice of her. I didn't agree with a lot of it, but it was one way of getting out. It's very hard to get out once you've been away for a long, long time, and once you've admitted what you are - they're always looking at you and waiting. You're on your guard. 16-W

By the end of the year, Mrs. White was a member and publicity officer for the association she formed to educate the community and help people suffering from 'x' (nervous disorder). She was a regular member of a public speaking club and a community service organisation, as well as treasurer of another community service association.

Like these women, some newcomers changed in ways which they valued positively. Others changed in ways they regretted. No newcomer had planned or expected the changes precisely in the ways which they emerged.

**THE SELF AS AN ADJUSTMENT PROCESS**

While we have seen that much of the newcomers' behaviour was self-maintaining during the year, we have also seen that some people made significant changes in that time. Nevertheless, they believed that they were basically the same people they had been before the move and felt the same about other family members.
A similar continuity was found by Davis (1963:162-4) among the parents of young polio victims who denied change in family life and interaction patterns in spite of their child's disabling illness. He felt that these parents used 'masking devices' to disguise change as they redefined the past to fit the present through retrospective reconstructions (Davis, 1963:11). Where family members felt strain on their identity, Davis noted that they balanced this by either or both of two interactional strategems: normalisation and disassociation (1963:148).

Although the situation of the newcomers may not seem similar to that of the polio victims' parents, they are both situations which necessitate adjustment for all family members. We can see parallels between Davis' interactional strategies and the newcomers' adjustment processes: normalisation was seen in the newcomers' efforts to establish 'normal' networks and activities; and disassociation was seen in cases where a lack of opportunities in the social environment disallowed normalisation and newcomers became relatively isolated.

Like Davis, I believe that the process of retrospectively constructing the past to fit the present situation was the key to the maintenance of continuous identity in a changing situation. We have seen here that in problematic situations the newcomers sought explanation of the present from their own past. They consistently either had on hand or were constructing a biography which made sense. While it was essential that they made biographical sense of their lives for the present, we saw that they did not find it necessary to maintain a continuity between the sense they found at one present and the sense they made for another. Continuity came from the perspective of any present looking back at the past, not from stringing together the perspectives of different presents. While it was troublesome at first to me that newcomers did not maintain a coherent picture of their lives as one present led to another, this did not worry them. The process of adjusting the past to the present was ongoing and almost automatic. I believe that it was through the knowledge that their life was biographically sensible and its events were causal that newcomers felt certain they had changed very little. They could always refer to a logical continuum which linked together various stages of their self into one. This biographical view of their lives was not only the means through which they attained a sense of stability and continuity, but it was also documentary evidence of that continuity.
The process of adjusting the past to the present which the newcomers demonstrated was an example of what Mead called sociality, or the being in two systems or perspectives at once and the phase of adjustment which connects the two (1932:47). I believe that because they were in two systems at the same time, the newcomers were certain that they were the same in each. The process of adjustment which change necessitated also provided them with a sense of stability.

The methodological implications of this interpretation of the self as an adjustment process ought to be made clear. They hinge on the difference between the two distinct kinds of meaning explicated by Mead. In one sense, meaning is a part of ongoing present action, which was available in this research through observation and the newcomers' reports of ongoing action. In another sense, meaning is a retrospective search for explanation of the present, which was available here through the observation of newcomers' biographical explanations.

During the year I was able to observe many instances of present meaning which later became the objects of retrospective explanation searching. For instance, newcomers like Mrs. Smith and Mrs. White, whose positions in Canberra had developed in interaction with others here, had by the end of the year begun to construct a biographical explanation which made sense of the emergent outcome. They could point out events in the past which they linked causally to the present in a way which would have been impossible a year earlier. The newcomers' efforts to make biographical sense of the present thus masked the creative and emergent aspects of events.

I found that the length of the fieldwork period in this study allowed me to observe or solicit reports of ongoing action often enough to see some of this emergence. But as I came back to the newcomers again and again, they had reworked much of what I had last seen in the light of new events. I felt that I was continually juggling these different meanings, trying to sort out what an event meant, first in the present and then in successive pasts. It seemed important to be consistent in comparing presents with presents and pasts with pasts in the analysis. No matter how much the newcomers wanted to help me understand the events of their lives, they themselves were unaware of the processual nature of the past.
and present in their explanations. It was a part of their everyday reasoning, which itself had not been a matter of reflection, and so they could not tell me about it. Finally, it became clear that the newcomer was not simply going through adaptive processes, he also created himself with others in an adaptive process which paradoxically gave him the feeling of stability as it provided for change.
APPENDIX A

FAMILY COMPOSITION

Abbreviations and Categories:

H - Husband
W - Wife
M - Men
F - Men following entry is age at T1; parentheses around F - Men following entry indicates child not interviewed.

Socio-economic background of adults is the second entry:

1. Mention by subject of scarce money, poor conditions, or being unable to afford secondary schooling;
2. Mention by subject of comfortable, 'ordinary' background with opportunity to continue secondary schooling (there is necessarily a wide range of attitudes towards this category);
3. Mention by subject of large unearned income, large land-holding, attendance at top private schools, many servants in the household, or private travel.

Highest level of educational attainment of adults is the third entry:

1. Completed 4th form;
2. Completed 4th form plus occupational training, including nursing, teaching, secretarial, draughting;
3. Completed HSC (matriculation, 6th form);
4. Completed some tertiary training, or HSC (matriculation, 6th form) plus occupational training, including nursing, accounting, teaching.

Occupation of adults at T2 is the fourth entry:

1. Neither employed nor studying;
2. Students, including all full-time students, and part-time students where study is combined with household responsibilities;
3. Sales/clerical tradesmen, including sales representatives, soldiers, public servants (non-administrative), bookkeepers, stenographers, typists, clerks;
4. Self-employed, owners of small businesses (have more than four employees working full-time);
5. Professional, including Army, Air Force, Naval Officers, medical doctors, clergy, public service administrators, teachers, nurses, librarians, pharmacists.
FAMILY COMPOSITION

Abbreviations and Categories:

H - Husband  
W - Wife  
B - Boy  
G - Girl  

Numeral following entry is age at T₁; parentheses around entry indicates child not interviewed.

Socio-economic background of adults is the second entry:

L - mention by subject of scarce money, poor conditions, or being unable to afford secondary schooling;  
M - mention by subject of comfortable, 'ordinary' background with opportunity to continue secondary schooling (there is necessarily a wide range of experience in this category);  
U - mention by subject of large unearned income, large land-holding, attendance at top private schools, many servants in the household, or a great deal of private travel.

Highest level of educational attainment of adults is the third entry:

4 - completed 4th Form;  
3 - completed 4th Form plus occupational training, including nursing, teaching, secretarial, draughting;  
2 - completed HSC (matriculation, 6th Form);  
1 - completed some tertiary training, or HSC (matriculation, 6th Form) plus occupational training, including nursing, accounting, teaching.

Occupation of adults at T₂ is the fourth entry:

0 - neither employed nor studying;  
4 - students, including all full-time students, and part-time students where study is combined with household responsibilities;  
3 - sales/clerical tradesmen, including sales representatives, soldiers, public servants (non-administrative), bookkeepers, stenographers, typists, clerks;  
2 - self-employed, owners of small businesses (none with more than four employees working full-time);  
1 - professional, including Army, Air Force, Naval Officers, medical doctors, clergy, public service administrators, teachers, nurses, librarians, pharmacists.
### PROFILE OF FAMILIES STUDIED

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>H-M-1-1, W-M-1-1, G-12, B-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>H-M-1-1, W-M-1-1, B-7, G-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>H-M-2-2, W-M-4-2, G-15, B-14, B-12, B-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>H-M-1-1, W-U-2-0, G-7, (G-4, G-2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>H-M-1-3, W-M-2-4, B-15, B-13, B-11</td>
</tr>
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<td>6</td>
<td>H-M-1-1, W-U-2-0, B-10, B-8, B-5, (B-1)</td>
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<td>H-M-2-3, W-M-4-0, G-6, (B-1)</td>
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<td>H-M-3-1, W-M-3-2, G-11, (B-1)</td>
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<td>H-M-1-2, W-M-4-0, G-6, B-5, (B-1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>H-L-4-3, W-L-4-3, G-10, G-9, B-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>H-M-2-1, W-M-1-4, B-9, W's mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>H-M-1-1, W-L-3-4, G-8, G-7, G-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>H-M-3-1, W-M-3-0, B-5, (G-3)</td>
</tr>
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<td>17</td>
<td>H-M-1-1, W-M-3-3, (G-19, B-16), B-7, G-7, W's mother</td>
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<td>18</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>H-L-4-3, W-L-4-0, G-9, (B-3)</td>
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<td>24</td>
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<td>W-L-4-0</td>
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<td>G-6</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>H-M-1-3</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>W-U-3-3</td>
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<td>(B-17)</td>
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<td>B-16</td>
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<td>G-13</td>
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<td>B-9</td>
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<td>H-L-1-1</td>
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<td>W-M-1-1</td>
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<td>B-16</td>
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<td>G-11</td>
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<td></td>
<td>H-L-4-3</td>
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<td>W-L-4-0</td>
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<td></td>
<td>G-13</td>
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<td></td>
<td>B-11</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
To the families of Holy Trinity School children

Holy Trinity Primary School has made it possible for me to contact the families of children in classes 3-6 who are new to Canberra this year in order to ask their cooperation on a research project. The project is directed at furthering the understanding of family adaptation in a new community. Your participation is, of course, optional and confidential. No specific information gathered in the study will be given to the School or any other organization. The aim of the study will be the development of a general body of knowledge of geographically mobile families. It is hoped that the general findings may be used in the future to smooth the relocation of other mobile families.

If you would be willing to learn more about the project in order to determine whether or not you would like to assist with it, please complete the form below and return it to the School. I would be very grateful for your cooperation.

Thank you.

(Mrs.) Wendy Jones
Ph.D. Student, Department of Sociology

We would be willing to be contacted by Mrs. Jones to discuss the possibility of assisting in her research.

Parent's Signature

Address

Telephone

If you have a preference for the time of contact, please tick the appropriate box:

Morning

Afternoon

Tuesday

APPENDIX B

FIELD INSTRUMENTS
TO: NEW FAMILIES OF HOLY TRINITY SCHOOL CHILDREN

Holy Trinity Primary School has made it possible for me to contact the families of children in classes 1-6 who are new to Canberra this year in order to ask their cooperation on a research project. The project is directed at furthering the understanding of family adaptation in a new community. Your participation is, of course, optional and confidential. No specific information gathered in the study will be given to the School or any other organisation. The aim of the study will be the development of a general body of knowledge of geographically mobile families. It is hoped that the general findings may be used in the future to smooth the relocation of other mobile families.

If you would be willing to learn more about the project in order to determine whether or not you would like to assist with it, please complete the form below and return it to the School. I would be very grateful for your cooperation.

Thank you.

(Mrs.) Wendy Jones
Ph.D. Student, Department of Sociology

We would be willing to be contacted by Mrs. Jones to discuss the possibility of assisting in her research.

Parent's Signature

Address

Telephone

If you have a preference for the time of contact, please tick the appropriate time:

Morning  Afternoon  Evening
Before we get down to the question of your move to Canberra, would you bring me up to date in your life experiences so that I may better understand your present situation. Would you write, tape record or tell me your life history, including any particulars you feel are important. Exact time references are not important. Include anything of significance to you and your feelings about these things. You might want to include the following: childhood, educational career, work career, family career, plans for the future, aspirations for yourself and your children. If there are other aspects of your life of greater importance to you, include these. Please prepare this material on your own - it is your feelings I want rather than accuracy in dates or place names. (Extra pages attached.)
TWENTY-STATEMENTS-TEST (TST) - GIVEN AT T₁ AND T₃

Would you fill in the blank spaces below in answer to the question 'Who are you?' - answer fairly rapidly as if responding to yourself in the order thoughts come to you regardless of how important they seem. If you want more space, carry onto the back of this sheet.

1. _______________________________________
2. _______________________________________
3. _______________________________________
4. _______________________________________
5. _______________________________________
6. _______________________________________
7. _______________________________________
8. _______________________________________
9. _______________________________________
10. _______________________________________ 
11. _______________________________________ 
12. _______________________________________ 
13. _______________________________________ 
14. _______________________________________ 
15. _______________________________________ 
16. _______________________________________ 
17. _______________________________________ 
18. _______________________________________ 
19. _______________________________________ 
20. _______________________________________
KNOWLEDGE OF LOCAL SERVICES - GIVEN AT $T_1$ AND $T_3$

The following is a list of local service organisations. Would you tick the appropriate column to indicate whether or not you have used or heard of the particular organisation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service Provided</th>
<th>Do not know service offered</th>
<th>Know service offered</th>
<th>Have used service</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D.C.T.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.C.D.C.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Emergency Housekeeping</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Medibank</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Legal Advice Bureau</td>
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<tr>
<td>Occasional Care Centre</td>
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<tr>
<td>Child Care Centre</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Land Sales Office</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Housing Sales Office</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.C.T. Schools Authority</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Child Health Clinic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Woden Valley Hospital</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Department of Social Security</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Woden Community Service</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Library</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phillip or Deakin Swimming Pools</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bus Service</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Dental Clinic at Hospital</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>School Dental Service</td>
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<tr>
<td>Welfare Office</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Commonwealth Employment Service</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizen's Advice Bureau</td>
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<tr>
<td>Child Endowment</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Y.M.C.A. or Y.W.C.A.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.C.T. Health Service</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Canberra Life Line</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following is a list of professional and service people you might have needed locally. Would you indicate the particular professional or service person you use or intend to use in Canberra and indicate how you learned of the particular person. If you have not local contact for a given service, leave that space blank.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Could or have contacted</th>
<th>Referred by</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Estate Agent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dentist</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Babysitter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bank Officer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solicitor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accountant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hairdresser</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Would you list any associations, organisations, or clubs you have joined since coming to Canberra (religious, cultural, social, welfare, business, professional, sport, other), and note whether you were a member of a similar organisation in your previous home community?
QUESTIONS ASKED OF ALL ADULTS AT T₁

Date of arrival in Canberra?

How long do you expect to stay in Canberra?

History of residential moves (as a child, young adult, and since marriage)?

How much did you know about Canberra before coming? From what sources?

What did you expect Canberra to be like as a place to live?

How did you decide to come here?

What were your initial experiences and reactions on arrival?

So far, would you find differences between your life in Canberra and that in your previous home?

Apart from your immediate family (living in this house), have you any close friends or relatives living locally? If so, give name, suburb, relationship, duration of relationship, and indicate if this person is known by other family members.

Have you any close friends or relatives outside the local area with whom you keep regular contact? If so, give name, city, relationship, duration of relationship, and indicate if this person is known by other family members.

Who are the people you feel are most important to you (locally or distant)?

How did you decide on a place to live, on schools for the children, and on the job?

Are there any things (customs, expressions, humour) which you found difficult to explain to people here or to understand?

When you were faced with the decision to come to Canberra, what did you find you had to give up on account of the proposed relocation?

Do you feel in any way differently about yourself as a person because of the move? How? How do you feel about these changes?

How do you see yourself fitting into the local community? How will you gain access? Do you seek to join associations and organisations or prefer to wait and be asked?

Which of the many things you do have the most value to you?

Are you able to continue these valued activities in Canberra pretty much as in your previous home? Have any of these activities changed because of the move? Have any new activities been added?
For each activity mentioned above or in TST: whose opinions of you as a matter most to you? Name, relationship, city.

Whose opinions of you as a person matter most to you? Name, relationship, city.

What sort of a relationship do you expect with the following categories of people: workmates, friends, organisation and association members, neighbours, church members, the parents of your children's friends, tradespeople with whom you deal, professionals.

How, in fact, have your relationships with these people here fit with your expectations?

What action do you think you would take to obtain the necessary help or support in the following kinds of situations?

If your child cut himself and you thought needed stitches during the weekend?

If you wanted to discuss a general personal problem?

If you needed someone to mind the children while you went to an appointment?

If you were in need of hospitalisation and had to arrange for the family for two weeks?

If you and your spouse wanted to take a holiday without the children?

If you just wanted to share some good personal news?

Are there people in Canberra who would contact you for help or support for the situations mentioned above? Name, relationship, suburb.

If you could have that time to spend anywhere, how would you spend it? With whom?

Have you been able to locate shops which stock the items you wish to purchase?

Every family has some expectations of the responsibilities and privileges which accompany various positions and relationships. Would you say what you expect generally to be the obligations and rights of the following positions in the family? Husband, wife, mother, father, child, teenager, grandparent, grandchild, brother, sister.

A move can be a significant change in people's lives. Are there any ways in which you see family members or their relationships to have changed since the move? Have you any idea why?

How about your relationships with other people outside the family (relatives or friends) - have these changed much since the move? How? Why?

All things considered, how do you feel about your decision to make the move to Canberra? If you had that decision to make again, would it be different now that you have gained some real experience here?
QUESTIONS ASKED OF ALL CHILDREN AT T1

How do you feel about coming to Canberra?

How long would you like to stay?

What did you think it would be like here before you came?

How was life different for you in ............... (previous home)?

Are there people in ............... whom you would especially like to visit? Are there relatives or friends anywhere else you really like to visit? Will you still be able to see them occasionally? Do you write to them? Name, city, and relationship of each.

Do you have any friends here in Canberra? Name and suburb of each.

Do you play sports, belong to Scouts or other organised group? Do you have friends in these? Name, suburb, and organisation for each.

What do you like to do most?

What do you like to do on vacations?

What about school here - is it different than in ...............? How?
Is your teacher pretty different? Your classmates? What was it like to come in new?

What do you hope to do in your life?

If you had a few days to spend just as you pleased, how would you spend them? With whom?

Who do you consider your best friends (living here or elsewhere)? Name, city, relationship of each.

When you think about yourself as a person, whose opinions of you matter most? Name, city, and relationship of each.

For each activity volunteered on TST: whose opinions of you as ........ mean the most to you? Name, city, and relationship of each.
QUESTIONS ASKED OF ALL ADULTS AT T2

Have you any close friends in Canberra? Name and suburb for each.

Have you visited or been visited by friends from outside Canberra since I saw you last? Name and city for each.

How do you feel about your move to Canberra now?

Do you have firm plans for the future? Short or long-term?

If you had no constraints, what would you like to be doing and where would you like to be living in the next year or so?

Do you see any changes in the way the family works together since coming to Canberra?
QUESTIONS ASKED OF ALL ADULTS AT T3

Do you feel you had a pretty good idea of life in Canberra before you came?

What have you found to be different from your expectations?

Have you any close friends in Canberra now? Name and suburb for each. How did you meet them?

How do you feel about the number of people you see here and the kinds of relationships you have with them?

Have you visited or been visited by others outside Canberra since I saw you last?

Who are the people outside Canberra you write more than once a year?

About how many would you say you write once a year, say in Christmas cards?

Who are the people outside Canberra you speak with on the telephone regularly?

Have you any plans to leave Canberra?

How do you feel about the move to Canberra now?

What effects would you say moving has on families?

Do you feel you have changed at all in the time here? Any idea why?

How about other family members?

Do you see any difference in family life here - how the family works together?

Whose opinions of you as a person seem most important to you?

What do you do now to get help or support with the following kinds of situations?

If you had a personal problem of a general nature?

If you needed someone to mind the children for a couple of hours?

If you were ill and needed someone to mind the house and children for a week?

If you wanted to share some good personal news?

If you wanted to take a holiday without the children for a week?

Is there anyone in Canberra who would ask you for help or support in situations of this kind?

Are there any things you found hard to understand or make understood here?

Is there anyone in Canberra who knows most of the things you feel are important about your life? Is there anyone outside Canberra who knows most of the things you feel are important about your life?
QUESTIONS ASKED OF ALL CHILDREN AT T₃

Did living in Canberra turn out to be anything like what you thought it would be before you came? How different?

Where would you most like to live?

Who are your close friends? Where do they live?

Are there people outside Canberra you like to visit? Name and city for each.

How have you found school here?

Whose opinions of you seem to matter most to you?

If you wanted to talk to someone about a problem you had, who would you go to?

Do you feel you have changed since coming to Canberra?

How about other family members, have they changed since the move?

What are your plans for the future? What do you think has influenced your plans?


1970 "Whose side are we on?" Pp.15-26 in W.J. Filstead (ed.), Qualitative Methodology. Chicago: Markham.
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Becker, H.S. and A.L. Strauss

Bell, W. and M.D. Boat

Berger, P.L.

Berger, P.L., B. Berger and H. Kellner

Berger, P.L. and H. Kellner

Berger, P.L. and T. Luckmann

Beshers, J.M. and E.O. Laumann

Blumer, H.

Bogdan, A. and S.J. Taylor

Boissevain, J.

Boissevain, J.  

Boissevain, J. and J.C. Mitchell (eds.)  

Booth, A.  

Boswell, D.M.  

Bott, E.  


Bottomley, G.  


Brownfain, J.J.  

Bruyn, S.T.  


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