

INTERNAL MIGRATION AND
AN AUSTRALIAN RURAL COMMUNITY

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the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the University of Queensland

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is addressed to the task of providing a theoretical and empirical link between two areas of research; namely studies of internal migration and of small community structure. It is asserted that migration and migrants must be seen as linked to the social context and an understanding of the process of migration stems from an understanding of this relationship. In pursuit of this goal the research focuses on the collectivity of actual migrants, the universe of potential or non-migrants and the social, political and economic environment which contained or continues to contain them.

The first section of the thesis sets the theoretical and methodological scene. Chapters one and two outline the work done previously in the two fields of internal migration and community structure. It is pointed out that migration is rarely considered within the context of the community and also that analysis of community structure is infrequently examined in the light of the geographic mobility of local residents. Chapter three reviews the methodological techniques which were used and notes that a combination of participant observation and social surveys were adopted as best suited to the research goal.

The second section of the thesis concentrates on the small rural community which forms the focus of the study. A general description of the physical environment is given in chapter four while chapter five examines the interrelationships of the various

groups in the community. This chapter also considers the manner in which the inflow of a body of migrants has altered the interaction patterns of the indigenous groups.

The third section turns away from community structure as such towards a consideration of the outmigration aspirations and actions of residents and ex-residents. Chapter six examines a proposition that potentiality to migrate is related to the degree of involvement in the local community while chapters eight and nine analyse the character, motivation and migration paths of mobile youths and adults.

The final section is more general in scope, here chapter nine surveys the likely consequences of internal migration for the individuals and communities concerned and chapter ten provides an overview of the findings and implications of the study.

Except where indicated in the text, this thesis represents the original work of the author.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to offer my sincere thanks to the people of Barcaldine whose cheerful assistance and forbearance made my task a pleasant one. My debt to them is very great.

Funds were provided for the project by the Queensland State Government Co-ordinator General's Department. I appreciate this assistance which enabled the research to be carried out.

Many people assisted in the conception and birth of this thesis: the secretarial staff of the Department of Anthropology and Sociology who remained ready and willing to help despite the many demands I placed on them: my supervisor, Professor John Western who gave many hours of his time to me and my work and tolerated the ups and downs of a thesis writer with admirable fortitude: and Peter Glynn, who provided me with the personal stability and opportunities for growth which more than anything have made this thesis possible. To all of these people I extend my grateful thanks.

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PREFACE

This thesis considers the phenomenon and process of internal migration within the context of a small Australian community. These two areas of concern, migration and community structure, have rarely been considered as linked although this approach has been advocated, notably by Mangalam (1968) and Mabogunje (1970), as one likely to produce significant insights into the process of migration. It is the opinion of this author that, particularly in the Australian context, such an approach can also give considerable assistance in the description and analysis of the structure and organisation of small communities.

With this in view a section of this thesis is devoted to, the examination of the interactive patterns that exist between the process of migration and community structure. This research thus considers how far and in what manner the social, political and economic structure of the community is influenced by and has an influence on the character and decision making process of those persons who chose to be geographically mobile and those who opt rather for residential stability.

The immigration of a new and distinct group of individuals is seen to have modified the traditional interrelationships of the indigenous groups in the community, and the continuous outmigration of certain types of individuals is shown to have had or at least to foreshadow certain consequences for the future of community life.

It is also noted that the degree to which individuals are embedded in the local social structure, particularly in the social and economic sense, is of crucial importance in analysing and predicting their choices with regard to outmigration. Decisions in respect of geographic mobility and stability are also seen as strongly related to choices about socio-economic mobility.

The constraints of a small rural community are such that the individual who seeks to pursue socio-economic mobility and who has the qualities - especially in the educational and occupational sense - to achieve it is virtually forced to move. Those, on the other hand, who see the goal of upward socio-economic mobility as either undesirable or unattainable for any number of reasons are more likely to content themselves with geographic immobility. The choice of destination of the mobile is also influenced by the context within which the migration decision is made. This decision about the most suitable destination for the attainment of upward social and economic mobility is structured by the particular nexus of elements such as the age, aspirations, qualifications, marital and family status, the residential and social background of the individual, and the amount of previous contact with the range of possible destinations.

This thesis is so organised that section one which contains the first three chapters provides a theoretical and methodological introduction to the study. Section two concentrates on the rural community and the consequences of immigration. Section three focusses on the mobility and immobility of community residents, and section four considers the overall consequences of a continuous pattern of

outmigration and the broad implications of the research in terms of the development of policy, theory and future research.

PART ONE

THE CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

CHAPTER ONE

AN INTRODUCTION TO STUDIES IN MIGRATION

Introduction

This chapter will concentrate on the major issues which have occupied the attention of those working in the field of internal migration and an attempt will be made to indicate the manner in which the present research relates to these issues. The first concerns the categorization of the phenomenon of migration; the second has to do with explanations or part explanations of the process of migration and the third relates to the attempts to develop theoretical frameworks within which the study of migration can be subsumed.

It will be noted that this thesis is primarily concerned with internal migration as a process which must be viewed in its social context and not as an event or phenomenon in isolation. Thus to gain an understanding of the total process it is necessary to examine the social situation into and out of which individuals move, and the character, actions and motivations of both persons who do and do not migrate. If migration can be viewed in this light then, it is here argued, both theoretical developments and empirical understanding can be seen as a linked possibility instead of - as in the past - two separate and divergent approaches.

Categorization of the Phenomenon of Migration

In attempts to bring some order into the plethora of data on migration a number of scholars have constructed typologies of the phenomenon of migration. These typologies have been based on a variety of criteria. -

One early classification was by Fairchild who made a fourway classification of migration as invasion, conquest, colonization and immigration based on the difference in the level of culture and on the presence or absence of violence. Hobbs (1942) identified two types of migrant; resultant migrants who leave "as a result of socio-economic conditions, yet exercising some degree of choice" and epiphenomenal migrants who leave "as a result of personal factors". Kant (1962) distinguishes intra-local or intra-regional and interlocal or interregional migrants. At a later date Beltramone (1966) followed essentially the same line and divided migration initially into temporary and definitive moves and subsequently into those taking place within or without areal units.

Meanwhile Heberle (1955) proposed a classification based on two "sociologically significant criteria" - the way in which migration affects the social relationship of the migrants and the differences in sociocultural systems between areas of origin and areas of destination. Das Gupta (1959) identified voluntary, obligatory and sequential (passive) movements; voluntary migration originates from free choice of the individual concerned; for example an individual moving in search of better economic prospects; obligatory migration

covers moves made under some form of duress or obligation; for example on transfer under contract of service, or a wife moving to join a husband's family on marriage; finally sequential migration covers movement of dependants who follow the head or other independent individual. At about the same period Petersen (1958) put forward perhaps the best known of the typologies; he discriminated between migration which is innovative - undertaken in order to change the way of life - and migration which is conservative - undertaken in order to preserve the way of life.

Others who have also succumbed to the desire to classify include Taylor (1969) who distinguished between migrants who can be described as either resultant, aspiring, dislocated or epiphenomenal depending on the prominence of two characteristics (aspiration and dislocation) in the motivation content of their migration. There was also George (1970) who isolated only two classes of migration, that prompted by economic factors and that in which the obligation to move is so strong as to push economic considerations into the background. A final example is Pryor (1975) who described migration as either autogenic or allogenic depending on the type of stimuli or initiating features. Thus autogenic migration is essentially voluntary and rational in contrast to allogenic migration which is essentially non-voluntary and initiated by a force outside the individual's control.

Despite their intrinsic interest these numerous attempts to categorise the phenomenon of migration have not contributed widely to our understanding of migration as a process. They are essentially descriptive in nature rather than analytical and have rarely been

applied for explanatory purposes by anyone apart from the originator himself or some of his fellow typologists in the course of their own classification construction. No attempt is made in this thesis to contribute to this area.

Explanations of the Process of Migration

The second major area of concern for migration scholars has long been the search for universal statements on the tendencies or observable patterns in internal migration. This has in effect, since the first efforts by Ravenstein in 1885 and 1889, lead to a quest for some generally applicable answers to the four questions of who are the migrants, why do they migrate, where do they migrate to and what are the consequences of their migration.

Character of Migrants

The question of who migrates has generated perhaps the greatest volume of research and despite exhaustive efforts, has failed to reveal any universally and invariably applicable migration differentials except possibly that of age. The comment made by Thomas in 1938 remains largely true today:

The one generalisation about migration differentials which can be considered definitely established, although even this one cannot be stated precisely, is the following: there is an excess of adolescents and young

adults among migrants, particularly migrants from rural areas to towns, compared with the non-migrating or the general populations.

Thomas (1938:11)

The search has ranged through innumerable migrant characteristics such as intelligence, sex, occupation, income, residence tenure, number and ages of children, educational level, duration of residence, previous migration history, presence or absence of kin, and physical and/or mental health¹. A few scholars have attempted to synthesize a number of such differential factors and produce a less reductionist and more sociological basis for migration differentials. For example the concentration by Rossi (1956), Chevan (1971), and Leslie and Richardson (1961) on the migrant's position in the developmental life cycle, and by Beshers and Nishiura (1960) on the individual's stage of occupational development and his or her mode of orientation. The

-
1. Examples of such research are myriad and include: on intelligence - Klineberg (1935), Gist & Clark (1938), Philblad & Gregory (1954, 1956), Chopra (1968); on education - Shyrock & Nam (1965), Jansen (1968), McInnis (1971), Long (1973), Levy & Wadycki (1974a); on physical health - Freedman (1947); on mental health - Malzberg (1936a & b), Lee (1958), and many more reviewed by Struening et al (1969); on number of children - Long (1972); on home ownership - Rossi (1956), Taylor (1969), Speare (1970); on length of residence & past residential history - Taeuber (1961), Myers et al (1967), Jansen (1968), Land (1969), Speare (1970), Morrison (1967, 1971a & b); on age and/or sex - Thomas (1938, 1958), Philblad & Gregory (1956), Bohlen & Wakeley (1950), Maudlin (1940), Byerlee (1974); on occupation - Tarver (1964), Saben (1964), Oliver (1964), Illsley et al (1963), Grubel & Scott (1967), Ladinsky (1967a, b & c), Jansen (1968), McInnis (1971), Long (1973); on presence of kin - MacDonald & MacDonald (1964), Mitchell (1972), Johnston (1971a), Levy & Wadycki (1973), Greenwood (1973): and many others who have commented on migration differentials in passing and not concentrated on them as their central concern.

search has so far produced little evidence that universal rules of migration selection can be invariably applied. Bogue highlighted this situation in an article criticising the search for migration differentials:

It is fruitless to seek permanent inflexible differentials in migration that will not vary in pattern or intensity with time and place.

Bogue (1961:407).

The suggestion by Bogue that rather than continue this search for universal migration differentials researchers should strive to formulate and test hypotheses or theories which express principles of selectivity under specified combinations of environmental and population conditions has not been widely noted nor implemented. On the whole then those who have confronted the question of who migrates have tended to produce descriptive analyses of the situation under scrutiny and have not linked their research findings into any broad theoretical schema.

Motivation of Migrants

The second question as to why people migrate has been largely neglected by migration scholars. This is the case partly because of the nature of the data so often gathered and partly because of the inherent difficulties in collecting such qualitative information. Thus official censuses and vital statistics commonly used by scholars can give few clues to the behavioural aspects of the decision making

process. What work there has been on motivation has tended to concentrate on the economic context of migration decisions, that is on identifying measurable economic factors which can be seen as responsible for a decision to move, inter alia MacDonald and MacDonald (1968), Kuznets and Thomas (1958), Okun and Richardson (1961), Herrick (1965), International Labor Office (1960), Gallaway (1967). In the same vein various models have been developed which attempt to demonstrate that migration is essentially a response to income differentials; for example, Sjaastad (1960), Johnson (1956), Greenwood (1969a, 1969b), Raimon (1962), Rabianski (1971), Sahota (1968), Speare (1971).

There have been some who have stressed the search for higher or more varied educational opportunities as a strong motivating factor or who have seen the move as a response to changing housing needs such as Rossi (1956). Others have explored the possibility that migration is related to low levels of community satisfaction, Schulze et al. (1963), Stea (1967), or a sense of 'dislocation' with the home community, Taylor (1969), or a means of adjustment to environmental stress, Wolpert (1966). A number of the typologies mentioned above have stressed differing patterns of causation as the distinguishing feature of the various types of migration. Examples of typologies based on causation include those developed by Petersen, Taylor, Hobbs, Pryor and George and also Duncan (1956) who postulated that migration was likely to be caused by one or a combination of five basic factors; economic and technological, social, personal, cultural or miscellaneous. This latter group included such things as labour disturbances, real estate promotions, and the discovery or exhaustion

of resources. However, as with those works purporting to examine the character of the migrants most of this literature on motivation provides a description of the circumstances obtaining in a particular research situation and has contributed little to the development of cross cultural or cross study conclusions of general relevance.

Destination of Migrants

The search for systematic data on migration destinations has produced various attempts to explain and to predict why migrants chose to move to particular places. Initially distance was seen as the crucial factor influencing choice of destination; Ravenstein (1885, 1889), Price (1948), Zipf (1946, 1949) but subsequent authors have attempted to assess the importance of other variables. Thus economists have stressed the economic motives behind migration decisions. The migrant is seen to be seeking the maximisation of economic benefits and thus his choice of destination will be influenced by factors such as the level of income and of unemployment and the size and diversity of the labour market in places of possible destination: Raimon (1962), Beals, Levy and Moses (1967), Nelson (1959), Sahota (1968), Sjaastad (1962), Greenwood (1969b, 1971), Vanderkamp (1971), Rabianski (1971), Trott (1972). Others have seen the migrant's choice as influenced by the degree of previous contact with or presence of kin at a particular place or the existence of information channels to an area of potential destination; Levy and Wadycki (1973), Choldin (1973), MacDonald and MacDonald (1964). The level of education has been considered as a factor by Levy and Wadycki (1974a), similarly the size of the community of origin or of prospective destination by Ogburn (1944), Tarver and

Beale (1968). Yet others have considered the possible effects of a combination of any number of these factors; for example Olsson (1965), Greenwood (1969a, 1970), Tarver (1961), Hägerstrand (1957).

One particular theory which has excited considerable interest and resulted in many criticisms, retests, re-evaluations and reformulations is Stouffer's well known theory of intervening opportunities. He stated the theory as follows:

The number of persons going a given distance is directly proportional to the number of opportunities at that distance and inversely proportional to the number of intervening variables.

Stouffer (1940).

Stouffer (1960) later refined the theory to take account of the centres of population between source and destination and the competing migrants these produce. Critics and those who have attempted to validate or invalidate the hypothesis include Bright and Thomas (1941), Strodbeck (1949, 1950), Folger (1953), Anderson (1955), Rose (1958), Galle and Taeuber (1966) and Isbell (1966). The general consensus appears to be that despite its theoretical interest, the hypothesis is difficult to operationalize owing to the absence of and difficulty in obtaining a precise and widely applicable definition of intervening opportunities.

In recent years another orientation has emerged which can be termed the behavioural approach. Here the importance of analysing

information about individuals rather than population aggregates is stressed. Thus the problem of how and why individuals choose to live in a particular community is seen as related to changing environmental perceptions or evaluations of place utility; Wolpert (1965), Simmons (1968), Kasl and Harburg (1972), Brown and Moore (1968), Brown et al. (1970), Brown and Horton (1970); and also to the internalisation of mental maps; inter alia Gould (1966, 1967), Gould and White (1968), Fuller and Chapman (1974), Stea (1969), Downs and Stea (1973).

Geographers and others have recently attempted to develop various models designed to account for and to enable prediction of the direction of migration streams. Some have suggested the use of the gravity model; inter alia Olsson (1965), Christian and Braden (1966). Others have employed mathematical and algebraic techniques of varying degrees of complexity to account for the continuity of migration streams, Muhsam (1961), and to make long range projections of population movement; inter alia Tarver and Gurley (1965) and Brown (1970).

Despite the multiplicity of studies in this area few if any can be seen as providing a wide perspective or encompassing framework for the study of migration. The concentration on distance, destination and migration direction has resulted in a number of interesting hypotheses but cannot be said to contribute directly to the formation of theory about migration as a total process but merely to one aspect of that process.

The Consequences of Migration

Returning now to the fourth question often broached by migration scholars - what are the consequences of migration? Again there appears to be a mass of studies of particular instances poised in a broad theoretical vacuum. Research in this area has concentrated on the adjustment or assimilation problems or lack of them for migrants in their new place of residence. A number of topics have been explored such as what kind of an effect geographic mobility has on local organisational participation, maintenance of kin relationships, personal or psychological disorientation, and on the educational achievements, delinquency patterns or psychological well being of the young. Also examined has been the relationship between social and occupational mobility on the one hand and geographic mobility on the other¹. This area of research has produced a number of general statements but little systematic and comparative work has been done to draw any broad theoretical conclusions of general applicability.

The Neglect of the Non-Migrant

In their efforts to understand the process of migration most scholars have addressed themselves to the task of answering one or more of these four basic questions². A number of other and equally significant questions have rarely been formulated and even more rarely

-
1. This topic will be covered in depth in Chapter Nine and detailed references are left until then.
 2. Some have postulated hypotheses which research more than one area; thus Wolpert (1965) attempted to synthesize information on the character, motivation and destination of migrants in the development of his behavioural model.

answered. These questions are the logical corollaries of those more frequently broached and are as follows; who are the non-migrants, why do they not migrate and what are the consequences of their non-migration? As a result of this omission or at the very least, neglect, a number of facets of the total migration process have not been considered. For example the problem of whether non-migration is selective is seldom approached nor the questions of what are the principal selective mechanisms in operation or what forces or pressures act upon individuals to constrain them from making a move. Similarly neglected is the whole area of what are or may be the social, political and economic implications for the non-migrant and the home community of this stability or continuity of residence.

A few but very few voices have been raised on these issues and it is particularly in this area that the major contribution of this thesis is seen as lying. Petersen (1958:258) wrote that "sometimes the basic problem is not why people migrate, but rather why they do not". Another scholar urged that:

We must account not only for decisions to move but also decisions not to move; not only for rates of population movement but also for general population stability.

Goldscheider (1971:50).

And Uhlenberg (1973) examined some instances of low migration among groups of persons who on the surface would appear to be strongly motivated to become migrants. In the course of his analysis he shed a significant degree of light not only on the character and motivation

of these non-migrants but also on the character and motivation of their fellows who chose to migrate. This thesis is an attempt to broaden the usual approach to the study of migration by heeding the implicit advice of these scholars and specifically of Mabogunje who wrote:

Few studies have concerned themselves with the universe of potential migrants. More often the tendency has been to study only those who have successfully made the move.

Mabogunje (1970:5).

Thus the thesis focuses not simply on migrants but also on those individuals who can be seen as only potential migrants or non-migrants. Consideration is given to both residential stability and residential mobility. Insights gained from the study of the one can shed light on the other and a clearer understanding of the total process of migration attained.

Development of Theory

The final area which has been of concern to migration scholars has been the area of theory development. The majority of those who are interested in the geographic mobility of the population have addressed themselves to the analysis of particular research situations and few have attempted to develop any broad theoretical framework within which to assess the many 'ethnographic' type research reports and hypothesis formulations.

Various explanations have been put forward to account for this situation. Jansen (1969) suggested that because the study of migration has been of interest to scholars from many varied disciplines - demography, economics, political science, sociology, history, geography and anthropology - it has been hampered in the development of any overarching theoretical orientation. Mangalam (1968) and Mangalam and Schwarzweller (1968) postulated four main reasons why empirical rather than theoretical issues have concerned students of migration. Firstly they claimed that there has consistently been an inadequate level of abstraction made of the phenomena under consideration which has led to a tendency to reductionism and to a conception of migration as a random event with little or no predictability. Secondly they called attention to the nature of the data usually employed in migration research. This has traditionally come from official statistics or censuses and, from records and directories, all sources which have proved inadequate for behavioural analyses, unable to reflect the interactional dimensions of migration and incapable of revealing any of the social processes involved. A third barrier in the path of theoretical development was seen by Mangalam and Schwarzweller to be the various disciplinary orientations of those studying migration. Thus demographers have tended to be preoccupied with data collection and have displayed little interest in theory building; economists have been concerned primarily with the investigation of specific economic problems and rarely with the behavioural aspects of migration, and most sociologists have followed a socio-psychological path of interpretation which emphasizes the individual's subjective responses and neglects any broader more general issues. Finally these authors attributed the paucity of

theory development in migration studies to the lack of concern with or interest in the phenomenon by those working in the field of the theory of human behaviour in general.

Since the pioneering work of Ravenstein in the latter half of the nineteenth century few major advances or even contributions have been made in this area. It is only in the last decade that four papers have been published which can be seen as adding to the body of theoretical knowledge about migration or at least pointing the way forward towards that goal. These are the papers by Lee (1966), Mangalam (1968), Mabogunje (1970) and Zelinsky (1971)¹; the contribution of each paper shall be examined here chronologically and an indication made of where the present study lies in relation to each.

In 1966 Lee published an article in which he attempted to develop a "general schema into which a variety of spatial movements can be placed". He distinguished four factors which he saw as entering into the decision to migrate and influencing the process of migration:

1. Factors associated with the area of origin
2. Factors associated with the area of destination
3. Intervening obstacles

1. Kammeyer and McClendon (1975) maintained that the major theoretical contributions to the study of migration have come from three authors. Two of these, Lee (1966) and Mangalam (1968) are scholars discussed here; the other, Beshers (1967), is seen by this author as contributing more to the narrow formulation of an explanatory hypothesis rather than to the development of an overarching theory.

4. Personal factors.

He claimed that the schema or conceptualization of migration which he developed was:

a simple one which may perhaps be accepted as self evident. It is now argued that, simple though this is, it provides a framework for much of what we know about migration and indicates a number of fields of investigation.

Lee (1966:49).

Lee was indeed correct when he described his schema as simple in that it states explicitly and succinctly what many other migration scholars have assumed implicitly or touched on tangentially. Were more of the ethnographic type data expositions framed within such a schema we would perhaps be faced less with an unconnected collection of research descriptions and more with an organised body of knowledge from which general deductions could be made.

Two years after Lee's paper Mangalam¹ published a bibliography of migration studies setting out in the introduction his criticism of the lack of theoretical development. He then went on to suggest

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1. What seem to be refined abbreviated versions of the same paper were published subsequently in two sections, firstly the criticism of the lack of theoretical development as Mangalam and Schwarzweller (1968) and secondly the development of theoretical guidelines as Mangalam and Schwarzweller (1969), both in the International Migration Review.

"some guidelines and sociologically relevant foci which may serve to stimulate further effort by other social scientists in building toward the goal of a general sociological theory of migration", Mangalam (1968:7). He postulated that migration should be viewed within a social organisational framework and wrote that:

as a collectivity phenomenon, migration is an adaptive process whose major objective is maintaining the dynamic equilibrium of the social organisation with a minimum of changes and at the same time providing those members ways to overcome their deprivations.

Mangalam (1968:14).

He claimed that in the process migration affects and is affected by the social organisation of the society of origin and destination and by the social organisation of the migrants themselves. Thus migration can be seen as consisting of a donor sub system (society of origin) and a recipient sub system (society of destination) joined by a linking sub system (the migrant collectivity) all of which operate in dynamic and mutual interdependence. Mangalam believed that to place migration research within such a structure would enable researchers to see the dynamics of the phenomenon while at the same time extending their outlook beyond the narrow framework of isolated studies. He believed that this approach would aid the cumulative growth of a general theory of migration and as well contribute to an integrated body of sociological knowledge and to a greater understanding of change processes.

The third foray into the theoretical wilderness was made by Mabogunje in 1970. He was writing specifically of rural to urban migration but the main burden of his contribution is equally applicable to migration from any origin to any destination. He argued that migration should be viewed as "a spatial process whose dynamics and spatial impact must form part of any comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon", Mabogunje (1970:2), and he contended that this is best done within the framework of general systems theory. Thus the migration system is influenced by the economic, political, social and technological environment and the exchange between it and the environment is open and continuous. The potential migrant, having been stimulated to migrate, will be influenced by the origin control sub system (family, local community). Then having made the move the urban control sub system (largely related to housing and economic opportunities) can help the migrants to adjust to the new environment. There is a constant exchange of information between area of origin and of destination and this feedback in the form of for example letters, telephone calls and visits between migrant and non-migrant relatives helps to influence future migration. Such a conceptualisation of migration emphasises its circular interdependent, progressively complex and self modifying nature. Looking at migration in this way Mabogunje claimed, can not only give a theory of migration "incisiveness and breadth" but also can emphasise the "structural congruencies or isomorphy" of migration with other human problems.

These three students of migration all proposed ways of looking at migration data so that it may be cast within a conceptual framework which can provide a constant background or overarching explanatory

scheme. The fourth protagonist conceived of a theory on a different level of conceptual development. Where Lee, Mangalam and Mabogunje proposed conceptual or theoretical approaches divorced from a sequential setting in time and space, Zelinsky (1971) provided a frame of reference which could suggest possible relationships between migration trends in different places and at different points in time. He proposed a five stage mobility transition based on the hypothesis that, "there are definite patterned regularities in the growth of personal mobility through space - time during recent history, and these regularities comprise an essential component of the modernization process." Zelinsky (1971:221). The five stages of the mobility transition closely parallel stages in the vital or demographic transition, as laid out below.

	Vital Transition	Mobility Transition
Phase 1	<u>Premodern Traditional Society</u> High fertility, high mortality, low natural increase.	Little residential movement.
Phase 2	<u>The Early Transitional Society</u> Slight rise in fertility, rapid decline in mortality, relatively rapid natural increase.	Massive rural-urban migration, rural frontiers extended by pioneering migrants, major outflows of emigrants to foreign destinations.

Phase 3 The Late Transitional Society

Major decline in fertility,
continuing though slowing
decline in mortality,
decelerating natural
increase.

Slackening but still
significant rural-
urban migration,
fewer pioneers or
emigrants, internal
population circulation
increases.

Phase 4 The Advanced Society

Low fertility and mortality,
stable natural increase.

Rural-urban migration
continues at much
reduced level, vigorous
inter-and intra-city
movements. Frontiers
stagnant or retreating,
net immigration of
unskilled from under-
developed countries,
vigorous circulation
especially in form of
business and pleasure
trips.

Phase 5 A Future Superadvanced Society

Probable that fertility closely
controlled, mortality
continuing low.

Speculatively - nearly all
residential mobility in
form of inter-or intra-

urban moves, still
some immigration of
the unskilled, strict
political control of
internal and inter-
national moves may be
imposed.

Zelinsky emphasized that the five stage model represented a highly idealised pattern not designed for descriptive or predictive purposes at a small scale or over a short period. Rather, it was intended to give a general overview of migration as a sequential process in space and time. He claimed that just as the notion of the demographic transition has facilitated international comparisons of fertility and mortality trends so the mobility transition would provide a similar comparative basis for migration studies.

These then are the four main theorists that the study of migration has produced in the last century or so. Zelinsky postulated an hypothesis designed to place the phenomenon of migration within the broad sweep of human development. No attempt is made in this thesis to examine his proposition¹. Lee, Mangalam and Mabogunje have, on the

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1. An attempt has been made by Rowland (1975) to ascertain whether Australia's migration characteristics are those which would be ascribed to 'an advanced society' the phase to which this country would be assigned by virtue of its fertility and mortality patterns. He concluded that the State of Victoria and probably Australia as a whole possess the attributes of 'an advanced society' but did not experience the full sequence of stages of the mobility transition; "after initial colonization, Australia emerged as a society of phase III, which it remained in until about the 1950's, when rural development approached its limits of spread and intensification, and affluence brought increased individual mobility". Rowland (1975:223).

other hand, focussed their attention on developing a framework within which migration can be viewed as a continuous ongoing process. Mangalam and Mabogunje, despite differences in terminology and background (the one in functionalism, the other in general systems theory), seem to be advocating similar approaches. Both insist that the phenomenon must be examined in an holistic and not in a fragmentary fashion. Thus migrants should be regarded not as individuals but as members of a social organisation sub system or collectivity. Similarly a migration should be seen not as a single event or phenomenon but as a process which occurs in response to and is causative of changes in the social organisation of the society of origin/sub system, in the social organisation of the society of destination/sub system and also in the collectivity of the migrants themselves. In fact migration is part of an endless cyclical dynamic process of readjustment and adaptation.

Conclusion

Essentially this is the approach which will be adopted in this thesis. Migration will be viewed as a process linking a small rural community with the wider environment. The community into and out of which individuals move in response to a variety of constraints and pressures is thus one of the areas of major concern. The social, political and economic structure of the community is influenced by and has a crucial influence on the character and motivation of those persons who chose to be geographically mobile and of those who remain residentially stable. This research focuses on three of the vital

elements in the migration process - the collectivity of actual migrants, the universe of potential or non-migrants and the social, political and economic environment which contained or continues to contain them. Some attention is also given to a fourth element, the social, political and economic environment of the community or communities to which migrants are drawn or from which non-migrants are repelled.

In this way an attempt is made firstly to examine a number of specific areas hitherto neglected by migration scholars with a view to integrating them as crucial elements in the study of the total process, and secondly to link the empirical study of the phenomenon of migration into a broader theoretical framework of social mobility and change in general. Geographic mobility can be seen as crucially linked to social and economic mobility. It is as yet uncertain exactly what the parameters are of this linkage but certainly choices about geographic mobility also involve choices about occupational, social and economic mobility. As such migration is merely a facet of the more general human problem of mobility or social change.

CHAPTER TWO

AUSTRALIAN APPROACHES TO INTERNAL MIGRATION AND COMMUNITY STRUCTURE

Introduction

In the previous chapter a general review of migration studies was undertaken and their relevance to the present study was touched upon. In this chapter the main concern is with the location of this research in its national context. As was suggested earlier this thesis concentrates on the total process of migration by focussing not simply on the migrants themselves but also on the environment within which migration and non-migration decisions are made. It is necessary therefore to assess the current state of knowledge about migration in Australia as well as the quality of information available on the social organisation of small rural communities of the type on which this thesis is based. A continuing theme which shall become evident is that prior to the nineteen seventies work in both areas was limited and our knowledge scanty. It will also become clear that studies of a linking character are largely absent, that is to say, there are no studies which consider both the structure of rural communities and the mobility or lack of mobility of residents, and the relationship between these phenomena. A consideration of this relationship is seen as one of the major contributions of this study.

Internal Migration in Australia

By international standards Australia's mobility rate is not unusually high. Between 1966 and 1971 about 39 per cent of the population changed their place of residence compared with 45 per cent and 50 per cent moving within Canada (1956 - 1961) and the United States (1955 - 1960) respectively, Long (1973:1196), and 35 per cent within New Zealand (1966 - 1971), Rowland (1976:15). In Australia statistics on residential mobility of the population have only been gathered on a systematic national basis since the census of 1971 and have to date provided detailed data on mobility rates and migration patterns for the single intercensal period 1966 to 1971. Prior to this time relatively little work was done on the internal as opposed to the international mobility of the Australian population and apart from a couple of broad surveys of population change, Fenner (1929) and Gover (1946) the field was virtually untouched until the 1950's.

In that decade a few state-specific analyses of population change were published. Lawton (1958) examined the growth and distribution of the South Australian population, Blainey (1954) and Scott (1957a, 1957b) looked at similar changes in Tasmania. The latter concluded that the demographic structure of Tasmania was characterised by net population loss to the mainland and that within Tasmania "the flight from the country to the town will continue, despite all effort social as well as economic to arrest it". Scott (1957b) also made one of the first attempts in Australia to analyse the characteristics of internal migrants. He suggested that internal migration appeared to be in some ways selective and tentatively implied that ex-rural and

ex-Tasmanian migration was selective of the more able and intelligent. Holmes (1959) in his thesis demonstrated a correlation between sparse farm population, greatest farm population loss and production decline along the New South Wales coast.

In the 1960's a number of papers appeared which concentrated on the distribution and growth of Australia's population as evidenced by census statistics. Robinson (1962) gave a descriptive account of the process and patterns of urbanisation in Australia and New Zealand. He noted that Australia was one of the most highly urbanised countries in the world and that the trend would undoubtedly continue:

It is no longer true of the large cities particularly, to say that they are set up to serve the surrounding countryside; nor is it correct to consider urban centres as repositories for a surplus farming population carried along by the 'drift to the cities'. It is doubtful if drifting, in its historical sense, is occurring at all in Australia and New Zealand now. For a considerable time rural depopulation, as represented by growing urbanisation, has resulted from a conscious and purposeful migration to areas of greater economic opportunity and wider human interest.

Robinson (1962:48).

Sheppard (1964) examined rural population changes in New South Wales between 1921 and 1954. She saw rural depopulation as due to

one or a combination of three factors. The first was a decrease in family size and hence a decline in the average number of dependants per worker. The second had to do with rural workers and their families moving from a rural area into a small town but retaining their rural occupation, while the third concerned workers leaving rural occupations and migrating to towns where alternative work was available. A year later a monograph prepared for the Committee for Economic Development of Australia by Borrie and Spencer (1965) was published. This paper concentrated on international migration and how it affected the structure and growth of the Australian population but it also touched on possible future trends regarding population distribution within the country:

emigration of surplus population from higher fertility rural areas will continue; most small towns will likewise continue to send their surplus to large towns.

Borrie and Spencer (1965:61).

In the same decade a number of articles were also published which analysed the population changes taking place within country towns. Johnston (1967a, 1969) examined a number of variables associated with population change in small towns in the post war period. Initial size of the town, proximity to a metropolis and growth of rural population in the surrounding area were all found to be inversely related to population decline. He found that towns with a substantial service function were more likely to decline than manufacturing, resort or other specialised centres. Johnston (1966, 1967b) also made an important distinction between three groups in the

rural working population; the primary group - those engaged in agriculture, horticulture or forestry; the secondary group - those who retail goods and services to members of the primary group; and the adventitious group - those with no economic tie either directly or indirectly to primary pursuits including those who have retired, those who live in rural areas and work elsewhere and those working in industries in the rural area. Johnston found no simple correlation between decline of the primary group and of the total population and concluded that there was:

no simple pattern of rural population change in Victoria, but a complex situation which appears to be determined by the interplay of a number of components.

Johnston (1967b:180).

In a further study on Victorian country towns Johnston and Rimmer (1968) looked at the residential history of current residents. They found that up to one third of residents had lived in the area in which they were presently living for less than five years, and that most recent immigrants had come from within a radius of 150 miles.

New South Wales was also the focus of a number of studies at this time. Ryan (1964) pointed out that the small country towns of around one thousand in population were often neglected by those concerned with urban geography though they were "among the really typical elements of the Australian landscape, and this is often overlooked." (1964:3). He analysed the locations, historical development, and internal characteristics of such small towns and

noted that among the principal problems facing them was the continuing loss of rural population, the provision of urban services for those who live on farms and the improvement of the quality of life in these rural centres. Crone et al. (1966) assessed the dimensions and character of labour migration from New South Wales country centres and concluded that the general picture was one of demographic stagnation.

Daly (1968) conducted a survey of life in twelve major country centres and concluded that although the quality of life in the country town was good, dissatisfaction with specifically economic and educational opportunities provided a prime motivating force for migration to larger cities. And Logan (1965) considered the implications of population change in country towns between 1954 and 1966. Tentatively he claimed that population change appeared to have been more a function of economic activity both in the town and its hinterland than a function of town size and predicted that owing to a decline in the rural labour force and decrease in demand for local urban services many small and not so small towns would disappear or continue to decline.

The less densely populated state of Queensland was also the focus of a number of studies in the sixties; Marsden (1968) in a very brief two page analysis showed that migration was a crucial element of population change in Queensland; Allen (1969) considered the growth and function of frontier towns in the far west of Queensland and concluded that the isolation and size of the area disturbed any predicted relationship between town size and servicing area. In 1960

Dick published an extensive survey of five towns in South East Queensland and concluded that the size and growth patterns of these country centres were closely associated with the character of human occupance of the rural districts that surrounded them. Juppenplatz (1961) in an analysis of Bowen in Northern Queensland attempted to develop a model of rural-urban interdependence by examining the likely population which could be supported in a town by virtue of the employment opportunity which the indigenous resources offered.

Houghton (1969) considered the 1961-1966 intercensal changes in the Western Australian population and concluded that areas of agricultural expansion had seen a net gain through migration. On the other hand in most established farming areas net outmigration had tended to offset natural population increase and some central areas had experienced actual depopulation.

A brief description of population change in South Australia by Williams (1969) indicated that areas of increasing or stable agricultural production showed a modest increase in population while in areas of decreasing production the population was declining.

This decade also saw the publication of three papers which attempted some analysis of migration history of internal migrants by considering the background of residents of metropolitan areas. Pryor (1969a, 1969b) examined the previous residence history as well as motivation for moving and level of satisfaction with current residence of urban fringe dwellers in Melbourne. He concluded that at least 50 per cent of those interviewed had lived in the urban fringe for less

than five years, that the majority had an urban rather than a rural or a rural town background and that the reasons for moving tended to be a combination of a desire to be near employment and to acquire a suitable, that is cheaper, house. Scott (1967) considered the geographical origins of the population resident in a Hobart suburb. He found that the majority (92 per cent) had moved to their current residence from an address within the metropolitan area but he also noted that five years previously one in five of the households lived in the non-metropolitan area. This suggested that there was an inflow into the metropolis with a subsequent outflow to the suburbs¹.

Until the end of the nineteen sixties it appears that most of the analysis or discussion of population change or structure in the small country town was based on statistical evidence and few independent surveys were conducted. Those researchers who examined

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1. It is not intended here to give a detailed bibliography or summary of the many studies which have covered aspects of country town life other than those specifically concerned with population. Such studies have included two theses; McCalden (1969) who looked at the economic base of rural towns and Connolly (1960) on Dubbo in New South Wales and its function as a rural service town; Woolmington (1965) and McPhail and Woolmington (1966) on metropolitan gravitation in northern New South Wales country towns; Scott (1964a, 1964b) on the hierarchy of central places in Tasmania; Smith (1965) who attempted a classification of Australian towns primarily on the basis of economic structure; Dick (1961) who analysed the occupational structure of a number of country towns in south east Queensland; Western (1967) who surveyed farmers in the Yass valley to ascertain which social and psychological factors influenced the adoption of new farming techniques, an area of research previously touched on by Emery, Oeser and Tully (1957); Williams (1965, 1966) who considered the influence exerted by Adelaide on the shopping habits of rural residents; Williams (1964) who traced the history and development of Gawler, a South Australian country town; and the other studies mentioned in the latter part of this chapter which have been concerned with the social structure or aspects of it, of a rural community.

the individual background of residents, Pryor (1969a, 1969b) and Scott (1967) confined their interest to metropolitan residents and generally there was little concern shown for the behavioural aspects of migration. However an increasing number of studies have been produced during the 1970's. One group has emanated from state and federal government departments and has been largely statistical in nature. A second has come from the work of graduate students in Australian universities and a third from independent research by academics. The last two groups of studies have shown an increasing tendency to use survey data and to pay more attention to the subjective responses of migrants.

Government Based Research

In this first group are three labour mobility surveys carried out in 1972, 1975, and 1976 and internal migration surveys conducted each year since 1970 by the Australian Bureau of Statistics. The publications from these surveys provide extensive statistics on the types of moves and reasons for moving given by mobile members of the Australian population and they shall be considered in more detail in chapter seven. The Bureau also commissioned a number of monographs on internal migration, Rowland (1975, 1976 and others forthcoming). In these papers the author noted that although net migration was important on account of its impact on population distribution it must be remembered that it only represented a small proportion of the total inward and outward moves. He also examined and partially confirmed on the state level at least, the thesis that in Australia internal migration acts as an agent for maintaining a degree of demographic equilibrium - that is it is more concerned with maintaining the settlement pattern than with modifying it.

In the early 1970's the National Population Inquiry set up to examine "all aspects of population growth" in Australia had as one of its six major aims a consideration of:

variations in rates and patterns of growth between different areas in Australia, including the influence of internal and external migration on these.

National Population Inquiry (1975:XXXVII)

The Inquiry commissioned a number of papers to this end including Choi (1972a, 1972b) and Rowland (1974). In analysing change in rural townships of under 10,000 in population Choi concluded that although the overall number of persons living in such centres increased absolutely in the post war period, a substantial outmigration particularly of the young, had resulted in a relative decline in population. Rowland (1974) considered the age structure of internal migration streams and concluded that both intra and interstate migration streams were dominated by young families and people in the young working ages, though there was some migration of the over 50's from capital cities to smaller centres.

In 1975 the Australian Government's Cities Commission, forerunner of the Department of Urban and Regional Development itself the predecessor of the present Department of the Environment, Housing and Community Development produced a monograph describing the major internal migration patterns in Australia between 1966 and 1971. The Statistical Division Model developed for this purpose by Paterson (1975) suggested a number of findings. Firstly, that there was a

significant interrelationship between two pairs of variables, immigration and job vacancies, and outmigration and unemployment, and that this suggested that much outmigration from rural areas resulted from attempts to find more interesting jobs than were locally available. It was also suggested that increased dominance by capital cities could be avoided by the provision of attractive labour markets together with developed infrastructure outside the metropolitan areas. Finally, the study concluded that there was a trend towards greater personal mobility in Australia so that there is increasing scope for greater control of population distribution (Cities Commission (1975:62) and Paterson (1975)).

Three monographs produced for the Cities Commission by McKay and Whitelaw (1976a, 1976b, 1976c) also contributed to our knowledge on internal migration trends in this country. In the first paper (1976a) they identified an important group of internal migrants as "structured or organisationally constrained movers" (p.37) who frequently make up a large proportion of gross migration flows but who tend to be overlooked when net gains and losses are being considered. These are the individuals who move within the structure of the organisation that employs them and whose migration decisions and destinations are therefore constrained by considerations of career advancement.

In their second paper McKay and Whitelaw (1976b) addressed themselves to the problem of identifying those who moved during the intercensal period and where they moved. They reached three major conclusions; firstly that the variables of age and sex are the most

sensitive indicators of the selectivity process, secondly that metropolitan areas play a crucial role in attracting the youth of the country and finally that Australia has on the interstate level at least a highly integrated system of population change so that movement in one part of the system has an impact on other parts quite distant from the origin of the change.

The third paper (1976c) analysed the occupational, industrial and educational attributes of Australia's internal migrants and confirmed some of the findings of the first paper. It was found that:

internal migrants in Australia proceeding to rural and non-metropolitan locations tend to be highly qualified. They are highly qualified because they occupy administrative-executive-professional positions which fit them for promotion/transfer to branch locations within the large organisations.

McKay and Whitelaw (1976c:82).

Another paper which also considered urban to rural movement was produced at this time by Wagner (1975) for the then Department of Urban and Regional Development. It considered the movement of urban dwellers to rural regions for residential purposes. This movement or "rural retreating" was seen as a measure of increasing dissatisfaction with the metropolitan environment and would require close government attention to prevent speculation in land and the curtailing of access to areas of rural recreation.

Another government sponsored project in this era was the survey of apple and pear growers in Tasmania by Cuthbertson et al. (1974) for the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. The results indicated that under pressure from a changing market situation both the industry and the rural area concerned were experiencing a consistent outward movement of individuals in response to poor local employment opportunities.

In New South Wales the Department of Decentralisation and Development instigated a number of studies including the Daly (1968) survey already mentioned. In 1970 Doddridge and Holland produced a companion or rather follow up monograph which detailed the results of a survey of migrant households and school leavers who had moved to Sydney from three New South Wales country towns. This study produced one of the earliest detailed surveys in Australia of the characteristics and motives of ex-rural migrants. This was in contrast to previous studies which were compiled almost exclusively on the basis of census statistics and which manifested wider scope but less depth of analysis. This study concluded that a high percentage of school leavers migrated from rural centres to metropolitan areas each year in search of tertiary education, job training or wider employment opportunities and that they indicated a high level of satisfaction with the move after arrival in the city.

In 1971 Steinke produced a monograph for the same state department, his research was based on census statistics and he concluded:

Australian country areas¹ grew in population by 398,000 during 1954-1966. However, the natural increase of the country areas during this period was 714,000 indicating a net outmigration of 316,000 from country to metropolitan areas. As a high proportion of migrants out of country areas are likely to have been young persons of child bearing age, the eventual population loss to country areas was probably in excess of 316,000.

Steinke (1971:7).

He also noted that it was rural areas rather than country urban centres that were the primary source of country outmigration.

The New South Wales Department of Decentralization is currently presiding over the publication of a series of research reports on mobility of the rural population in general and of rural school leavers in particular. The first of these by Pullen (1975) surveyed residents of Kempsey and found that the most mobile group in a country town community were the single persons under 25 and those family units in which the household head was seeking or taking up a higher status occupation. He noted that motivation for migration was mainly economic and that the movement of "circuit" employees was a large component of the country migration pattern, that is persons who because of their occupation are transferred periodically from place to place throughout the state. The other reports in this series, Pullen (1976), Pullen and Emerson (1977) and Breen (1976) are concerned

1. All areas except the state capitals, Newcastle, Wollongong, Canberra and Geelong.

mainly with school leavers and their career and mobility aspirations.

Migration patterns in Queensland have been considered by some economists under the aegis of the state government Co-Ordinator General's Department. In their first report Widdows et al. (1974) analysed the major shifts of Queensland's population in the decade 1961-1971, especially rural to urban and urban to urban moves. The second report by Widdows (1976) attempted to investigate the impact of certain economic phenomena on migration flows and concluded:

- a) the degree of industrial specialisation at various locations within Queensland has influenced migration significantly, people preferring more diversified (economically) regions: and
- b) rural migration patterns were influenced significantly by variations in the fortunes of dairying, sheep production and mining.

Widdows (1976:74).

Government sponsored research programmes into internal migration and population changes have therefore relied largely on census statistics with the notable exception of the Doddridge and Holland (1970) survey. They have resulted in a number of statements about rural migration trends, for example they have emphasised the general pattern of ex-rural migration and the declining or static nature of the population in country towns. It has emerged that the majority of mobile persons tend to be young, either married or single and that a significant proportion fall into the category of 'circuit' employees,

impermanents or career transients. On the whole the studies that have considered motivation have concluded that migrants tend to be motivated by the desire for increased economic and educational opportunities. However these government based research projects have tended to neglect the behavioural aspects of population mobility, a feature in accord with the nature of the statistical data base which they employ.

Postgraduate Research

The second major group of studies which has appeared in the nineteen seventies consists of graduate theses¹. Most of these are state specific and the majority make use of data obtained through surveys rather than the census. The state of Victoria has formed the focus of four such theses. Firstly Lee (1970) who surveyed school leavers in the Wimmera-Mallee and Goulburn areas. He found that the most highly educated youths had the highest incidence of outmigration and that the dominant migration streams were clearly defined because of the centralisation of tertiary education institutes. He also postulated that there might be a significant relationship between a high incidence of outmigration and of pursuance of tertiary education on the one hand and a low level of local employment prospects on the other.

Graham (1972)² surveyed leaving age school students in a number of Victorian high schools to investigate their geographic space

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1. A number of theses dealing specifically with intra-urban residential mobility have been completed in the seventies but shall not be dealt with in any detail as intercommunity residence shifts are our prime concern. For example Moore (1966) in Brisbane, Chugg (1971) and Ward (1975) in Adelaide, Kennedy (1970) in Ballarat, Rowe (1972) in Tamworth, Humphreys (1974) in Melbourne.
 2. This was published under the author's married name Morris (1974).

preferences and the way in which they evaluated major urban areas in terms of residential desirability. The size of the home location of these students was found not to be a major differentiating factor in their space preferences and three classes of preference were described. These comprised firstly individuals who preferred the large city, secondly those who saw northern medium size towns as most desirable and finally those who had a distinct preference for the home town area.¹

In the same year Law (1972)² completed a thesis based on census statistics for non-metropolitan Victoria between 1961-1966. She found that the Victorian countryside exhibited considerable quantitative evidence of depopulation and she suggested that the problem could be viewed as a vicious cycle where an initial movement of people from an area may have economic repercussions for those who remain and may thus trigger further depopulation of the area. She also noted that prosperous areas attract migrants and tended to have a population with an over preponderance of the young while depressed areas suffered depopulation and a related aging of their population, the key linking factor seemed to be the level of available employment opportunities.

Finally in 1975 Rowland completed the work already mentioned in Chapter One. Using a combination of survey and census data he considered the pattern, selectivity and causes of internal migration in Victoria and also assessed its contribution to the urbanisation

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1. The findings of this study shall be considered in more detail in Chapter Eight.
 2. The findings of this study shall be considered in more detail in Chapter Eight.

process. He noted the strong migration propensities of the young school leavers, their desire for improved employment opportunities and their tendency to move to large centres of population.¹

Mobility within New South Wales has been considered by four graduates. Holmes (1970) surveyed the former mining towns of Cessnock and Maitland in what was essentially a study of immobility in order to ascertain the behavioural aspects of commuting as a substitute for outmigration. He found that traits characteristic of these "stayers" included particularistic attachment to present home and its neighbourhood, to relatives and friends, or to special groups within the home area (p.422). These "stayers" also tended to be lacking in skills, experience and knowledge of alternative opportunities. He reviewed some of the constraints on outmigration considering that the most important factors were lower housing and living costs in the area when compared with destination areas. Other constraints included the relatively close knit, closed community structure characterising areas experiencing little immigration, and perception of the residential desirability of the home area.

Another graduate thesis by Core (1973) attempted to ascertain the factors which influenced off farm migration rates and the farmers' reluctance to participate in retraining schemes for off farm occupations. He found that life cycle stage appeared to be a significant factor - that the younger farmers with dependent children had the most favourable attitudes towards migration and retraining.

1. The findings of this study shall be considered in more detail in Chapter Eight.

Those individuals with a relatively high educational level, those with a spouse of non-farm background and those with a heavy burden of debt were also more likely to consider various off farm options. Two other theses by Davis (1975) and Turner (1976) employed essentially macro-statistical approaches in order to describe and comprehend internal migration patterns and trends in New South Wales. And a similarly statistically based work by Brosnan (1977) considered the economic determinants of interstate migration.

On South Australia Hugo (1971a)¹ surveyed the direction and character of migration trends using data extracted from the electoral rolls. He noted that migration from country areas appeared to be selective of young persons just entering the workforce or embarking on tertiary education and also selective of persons in white collar and professional employment. He commented on the direction of migrations to the effect that:

the availability of actual job and social opportunities is a more relevant explanatory variable for voter migration patterns than distance per se.

Hugo (1971a:275).

In 1974 Castro Lopo analysed the main features of migration patterns in Western Australia using census data. She noted the "extent to which the immigration and the outmigration can be observed to balance" and claimed to discredit the gravity model. In its place

1. The findings of this study shall be considered in more detail in Chapter Eight.

she proposed another model based on the hypothesis that migration patterns are brought about by the perception and reaction of individuals to a spatial distribution of opportunities.

Two theses which concern border areas also deserve consideration. Livermore (1970) conducted a survey in the Albury-Wodonga Wagga-Wagga area and tentatively concluded that there was a tendency for young people in rural localities and small towns to migrate directly to the metropolitan capital cities after leaving school, while middle aged and elderly migrants tended to move shorter distances within their local region. He also noted that those who moved into the study area from a short distance away tended to be older, less well educated and have a less skilled job than the migrants from further afield, especially those from Melbourne and Sydney who would tend to fall into the career transient category. Livermore also questioned the usefulness of the gravity model and noted that the results of his thesis implied that the size of hinterland had no influence on urban population trends:

the growth of country towns in Australia is related either to the provision of additional tertiary services, including government establishments or alternatively because of a growth in secondary industry.

Livermore (1970:232).

Another thesis which focussed on a border area was Buchannan's (1973) survey of tobacco farmers in Southern Queensland and Northern New South Wales. She analysed the type of responses and adjustments

made by these farmers in the face of various economic problems and found that those who moved to a different area tended to be share farmers of fairly short term residence with no capital investment in their farm, who were accompanied in their move by numerous friends and relations¹.

In an attempt to summarise the contribution of these theses it can be said that they have provided useful data in a number of areas. Firstly, they have looked more closely than any previous work at the characteristics and subjective responses of the actual migrants. They have provided some information on the composition and direction of ex-rural migration streams. Less conclusive but none the less useful has been their contribution to the problem of which areas attract or do not attract migrants and why. However, the graduate theses have rarely considered the total environment from which the migrant seeks to depart nor the body of persons who are left behind.

University Based Research

The nineteen seventies have witnessed the publication of a third group of studies on migration and population change namely papers and monographs by academic researchers. Characteristically the State of Victoria has again received the most detailed attention. Williams and MacAulay (1970, 1971) using census statistics showed that:

despite recorded increases of population in rural areas

1. This study shall be considered in greater detail in Chapter Eight.

of Victoria, there has been a significant net migration out of these areas ... Areas which are primarily dependent on rural industries tended to show a decline in population or a reduced rate of population increase.

Williams and MacAulay (1970:169).

They advocated further work which could specify the factors associated with different rates of change in the rural workforce and population in local areas throughout Victoria.

Williams (1970) surveyed town farmers in the South Australia - Victoria border area, that is farmers who resided in rural towns and not on their farm land. Reasons for the move from farm to town included semi-retirement so as to make way for sons, desire to be nearer to town facilities such as schools, shops and services, like electricity, delapidation of farm house, non-contiguity of a number of holdings or the existence in town of some business or part-time occupation other than farming.

A significant project was carried out by Salmon and Weston (1974)¹ for the Commission of Inquiry into Poverty. Their study focussed on the quality of life in the rural community and how it is affected by changes taking place in agriculture. Surveys were conducted among local residents of four rural towns to determine the characteristics of these individuals who were essentially non-migrants or at best only potential migrants, and to assess their subjective view of the local

1. The findings of this study shall be considered in more detail in Chapter Eight.

quality of life. It was concluded that:

The major characteristics differentiating those people who had already decided to remain or to stay, and those who appeared the most undecided in this matter, was age. The elderly tended to elect to remain in the town, most of the young had already left, and the undecided tended to comprise for the most part the middle age group.

Salmon and Weston (1974:69).

It was also noted that the motivation to remain in the local area would seem to be largely non-economic in nature while the motivation to leave was primarily economic. The study also comprised a survey of intending school leavers and then a resurvey of the same individuals six months later. The results pinpointed the major reasons forcing the school leaver out of rural towns - lack of employment opportunities and a desire for higher education. This work thus comes nearest to the current study in that it focussed on the non-migrant population in rural towns and considered briefly the type of environment they find themselves in.

In 1973 an earlier survey from the same University by Salmon et al. (1973) sought indications of farmers' future intentions with regard to staying on the land, retention of properties within families and farm management training. These authors found that around 90 per cent of graziers and farmers intended to stay on the land themselves though only 60 per cent saw their dependents as taking over. Motives for the decisions were mainly financial and

economic although personal difficulties such as poor health and old age were also mentioned.

Another work that concentrated on farmers came from Bell and Nalson (1974). They produced a monograph on the residential and occupational mobility of dairy farmers in Northern New South Wales, and concluded that there had been and would continue to be heavy emigration from the dairy industry in that area. They also noted that those who left were not necessarily the "worst farmers" but often the perspicacious ones and that the motivation for leaving the industry was a combination of economic and social reasons. However, social reasons seemed largely responsible for the fact that those who left the industry and the farm had a strong desire to remain in the North Coast region.

The State of Queensland has been the subject of one statistical analysis of population change. Harris and Cook (1973) focussed on the changes that had taken place in the rural and urban population between the 1954 and 1971 censuses concluding that:

the major influences of expansion affecting population levels were related to mining and tourist activities, and to a much lesser extent beef cattle, while the major influences of contraction or stagnation were related to many rural pursuits, particularly wool and dairying, and to some extent sugar.

Harris and Cook (1973:17).

Also on Queensland Allen (1971) continued his consideration of frontier towns in the Far West of the state which he had begun in the nineteen sixties. He concluded that the days of the isolated homestead and the small remote township were numbered and he suggested that an amalgamation or clustering of the rural population in larger but more dispersed rural towns is essential to ensure continued inhabitation of these remote areas.

In recent years economists have demonstrated increased interest in internal migration. Fisher (1969, 1971) attempted to develop an econometric model of the determinants of interstate migration in Australia. His conclusions were tentative but it appeared that migration could be seen as related to growth in employment. Langley (1977) reported on basic movement patterns at state and statistical division levels and also attempted an analysis of the determinants of gross interstate migration. He was even more tentative in suggesting that income and distance were significant variables in interregional migration and called for research on a lower level of aggregation.

Dufty attempted (1970) to assess the potential mobility of members of the workforce in Perth. He concluded that age and length of service with a particular firm were inversely correlated with mobility, married men were more resistant to mobility than single men; likewise those with a tertiary education and those in professional and managerial occupations were more resistant than those lower down the socio-economic scale. Dufty stressed the exploratory nature of the study but it remains interesting as one of the few which examined the potentiality for migration rather than the actuality after the

event.

A number of collections of articles and papers should be mentioned here: Burnley (1974) edited a book of articles on internal migration and the urbanisation process which was principally descriptive in character; Pryor (1975, 1976) presided over the publication of two monographs which report on the proceedings of two seminars on internal migration held at the Australian National University. The first, Pryor (1975), concerned the motivation to migrate and effectively demonstrated the lack of detailed information on this topic in Australia. The second, Pryor (1976), focussed on the definition of research needs and priorities from the point of view of planners and policy makers. Logan (1976) edited a collection of papers presented at a third seminar also on policy issues and internal migration which was held at Monash University. One theme which emerged from the papers presented at this seminar was that there is a:

need to examine internal migration within the dynamic spatial context of the predominantly market-oriented national economy and a complex social structure ... there is a case for shifting the focus of research from the macroscopic study of population to the underlying economic and social forces at work determining the migration patterns.

Logan (1976:155).

It would seem then that university based research in the

nineteen seventies has been moving away from a concentration on the macro level to a greater consideration of the micro level¹.

Increasingly the emphasis is shifting away from statistical analyses of general patterns and trends (though there is still a significant degree of interest especially among economists) towards a greater concern for the behavioural aspects of the migration process. This in turn has led to a recognition by some authors of both economic and non-economic elements in the motivational process. However studies which consider the environmental context within which the individual makes the decision to move or not to move are still noticeable by their absence.

Summary

Migration literature in Australia has increased in both volume and scope quite significantly since its beginnings in the nineteen fifties and can now be seen to encompass two general orientations. The first employs statistical techniques and a large scale data base to analyse trends and patterns in population change. The second

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1. There have been a number of works which can be seen as of peripheral interest in that they touch on some aspects of life in the small country town or rural area, but which shall not be covered in any detail. These include King (1972) who reported on the residential quality of Yass, a country town near Canberra; Davidson and Tierman (1975) who compared the cost of living in New South Wales country towns with that in Sydney; Davidson et al. (1973) who commented on the probable urbanwards migration of young aborigines; Morrish (1973) on rural poverty in the Fitzroy River area in Queensland; two reports for the Commission of Inquiry into Poverty (1976a, 1974); Widdows et al. (1973) on the attitudes of small town residents to city and country living; the Queensland Teachers Union (1974) on teaching and learning conditions in country areas; Hugo (1971b) on the development of South Australia's country newspapers; and Anderson (1972) on the financial and economic crisis facing those on the land.

utilizes a small scale data base and a more interpersonal survey approach to elucidate the character of migrants and the motivational context of migration decisions. The emphasis on the latter approach has become increasingly significant in the last decade and it is in this area that this thesis has most to contribute.

Rural Communities in Australia

Having noted in the previous section that ex-rural migration forms a significant part of population change in Australia as a whole, this section is now concerned to examine the current state of knowledge on the social organisation and structure of Australian rural communities. One of the most noticeable features of studies in this area is their paucity and the fact that they amount to fewer than half a dozen published works and a similar number of unpublished theses¹.

In the nineteen forties research was carried out by a number of graduates at Sydney University into various aspects of small community life. This was done under the supervision of Professor Elkin, who urged that social anthropological techniques should be applied to modern complex societies:

in this approach, a community is studied as a whole

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1. By a rural community is meant a social system based on a small town and surrounding area with a population of less than ten thousand which is wholly or largely dependent on the rural industry for its foundation and its continued existence.

from all aspects - history, geography, kinship, group decisions, economics, recreation, politics, religion and external relationships; and an attempt is made to ascertain the functional relationships of these different factors in the community's life.

Elkin in Walker (1945:vii).

Of these theses only Walker's dissertation on the mining town of Cessnock - which does not fall under the rubric of a rural community - reached the wider public in book form¹. Six theses based on rural communities remain unpublished to this day, Baker (1943) on Tingha, Craig (1945) on Comboyne, Coopernook, Denman and Maitland, Kelly (1945) on 'Ruraville' near Sydney, Lusher (1945) on Wagga-Wagga, Hole (1947) on the Tamworth district and Wingham, and Bell (1954) on Campbelltown near Sydney. All these authors examined the social organisation of small communities to ascertain to what extent Elkin's five principles of social integration were in operation. The five principles consisted of continuity with the past, local contiguity, kinship, social expression in shared group activities and a common hope for the future. The theses were mainly descriptive in style and all covered such topics as the geographic location and historical development of the community concerned, the physical layout and housing of the town, marriage patterns, the family, education, entertainment and leisure, local voluntary associations, crime and social control, religion, social class and leadership patterns. Each

1. There have been two other theses on Australian mining towns which shall not be covered in any detail here, Dufty (1954) on the interrelationship of school and society in Broken Hill, and Soovere (1967) on community power in Mt. Isa.

described the community studied as divided into a number of social strata and made a distinction between upper, middle and lower classes although the exclusivity and obtrusiveness of these class divisions varied from one community to another.

Relationships between the classes were not examined in any detail but it was noted that a certain degree of resentment not to say hostility was evident at times between members of different classes. A general conclusion that can be drawn from these works is that although continuity and contiguity did operate as a force for social integration various other elements such as social class, age and kinship groupings and political and religious differences were seen as exerting opposing and more divisive pressures.

The nineteen forties was also the decade in which a number of monographs based on research conducted through the University of Melbourne's School of Agriculture were published. The most significant of these is McIntyre and McIntyre's (1944) study of country towns in Victoria. The work was largely descriptive of activities and amenities in the one hundred and eighty towns surveyed but did mention facets of local social organisation. It would appear that in most towns there were a number of distinguishable groups; the farmers, the impermanent population - bank managers, teachers and so on - the tradespeople and the town people. The participation of these groups and their interrelationships with one another varied from town to town but a number of general statements were made about the small agricultural townships in particular. In such towns McIntyre and McIntyre noted a tendency for farmers to dominate the local council,

though they took little part in other organisations, and also a tendency for the impermanents to hold executive positions and to play an active part in most organisations.

By implication it appears from the description of these authors that there was frequent friction between groups; for example between permanents and impermanents, between farmers and townspeople, between different income groups and between kin groups. Little mention was made of the mobility or lack of it of the population apart from the delineation of the impermanents as a separate group though it was noted that two thirds of the surveyed towns were either declining or static in population.

Other monographs in this series were Holt's (1947) survey of Victorian wheat farmers and McIntyre's (1948) of dried fruit farmers. They provided a detailed description of activities and life style but made little mention of community structure as such. Holt noted that farmers did not participate widely in local organisations and that relations with local townsfolk were characterised by reservation if not actual hostility particularly on the part of women (p.171).

The nineteen fifties witnessed a series of publications emanating from the Psychology Department at the University of Melbourne. These studies examined the interplay of social structure and personality in a number of social milieux. One of these, the rural community of Mallee town is of concern here¹. In this small

1. Also in this series were Oeser and Hammond (1954) who considered a Melbourne suburb, Lafitte (1958) who undertook similar research in a factory and Emery et al. (1957) who examined the factors affecting decision making among farmers.

community of 500 persons Oeser and Emery (1954) claimed that:

the farmers constitute the key unit in the social structure ... The other groups owe their continued existence in the community to the continued productive activities of the farmers.

Oeser and Emery (1954:19).

Farmers were seen to have an interdependent relationship with local business people which, despite its vital importance to both groups was frequently fraught with hostility. Thus farmers depended on businessmen for goods and services and were depended on in turn for a livelihood.

Mallee town was described as containing a third group of white collar workers. These were the administrative, professional and clerical personnel of the bank, post office, railways, schools and churches and were essentially temporary residents of the area. Members of this group tended to be isolated from the permanent residents both because of a lack of intimate social and kin ties and because of a different attitudinal orientation. Their social relations with the rest of the community arose from formal organisational ties particularly in the field of leisure activities and:

from the interaction in this area it is possible to trace lines of influence which bring the social way of life of the community more into line with that existing

in the larger society.

Oeser and Emery (1954:26).

The fourth group discussed were the labourers, the employed manual workers who were long term residents of the community. They had low social status and rarely assumed leadership positions though they were active participants in many community ventures. Oeser and Emery thus depicted a rigidly stratified and conservative community with four strata of mutually interdependent and mutually hostile groups, dominated by the farmers but with a group of mobile residents who considered themselves apart from the local situation both in terms of commitment and attachment and in terms of their position relative to the other groups.

Twenty years¹ elapsed before any comparable work was published on small communities. However two theses were presented at the University of Queensland in the intervening years which focussed on the issue of community leadership and power; Halliwell (1967) concentrated on Rockhampton, a provincial city of 45,000 which hardly qualifies as a small community and so will be reviewed very briefly here; and McNab (1970) on Nambour, a country town of 6,500, a hundred kilometers north of Brisbane². Halliwell found in Rockhampton that

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1. In 1963 Campbell's book "Growing up in Karibee" was published. It concentrated on the socialisation and education of children in a country town but barely mentioned community structure or social organisation. Similarly Campbell and Cochrane (1959) on citizenship expectations in a rural community and therefore neither of these works are reviewed here.
 2. A thesis by Soovere (1967) on community leadership in Mt. Isa was also presented at the University of Queensland. See footnote p 56.

newcomers and transients tended to be engaged in formal leadership in many organisations but were not significant in the community power structure. Community leaders were likely to be members of established families or top executives and professionals of long residence.

McNab (1970) attempted to identify community leaders by using both the reputational and the issue analysis approach. He concluded that Nambour had a relatively pluralistic structure of leadership apparently without a cohesive ruling elite.

In 1974 two studies which were primarily concerned with social stratification in small towns were published. Oxley's (1974) "Mateship in Local Organisation" examined the manifestations and mechanics of the co-existence of the structural fact of stratification and the ideology of egalitarianism in the two towns and surrounding shire of Kandos and Rylstone which had a population of just under 5,000. Wild's (1974) "Bradstow: A Study of Class, Status and Power in a Small Australian Town" presented an analysis of the social stratification system operating in Bradstow, a town of 6,500 persons.

Oxley distinguished four strata, each one of which contained several of the thirteen categories of persons based on "social behavioural differences" (p.66). The strata consisted of graziers and upper, middle and lower townspeople and the categories ranged from the semi-skilled workers, small and poor farmers, large and small businessmen, upper and lower status outside professionals and other white collar workers, to wealthy graziers. Oxley used these strata

and categories to analyse interaction and leadership patterns in the community. He found that overall "stratum mixing is greater in formal organisations than in cliques or private parties" and concluded that the seeming contradiction of the simultaneous existence of stratification and an ideology of egalitarianism was made possible because the two principles had separate and distinct activity and group contexts for their symbolization and hence were not brought into conflict.

In the second study of this period by Wild (1974) Weber's three dimensional model of status, class and power was used as a means of analysing the stratification system. Bradstow emerged as a radically stratified community in which "class, status and political power reinforce each other to a high degree" (p.204). The status hierarchy was described as the most central and unchanging dimension and six core status groups were delimited. The first group consisted of old grazing or business families of inherited wealth and long standing residence often referred to as "the aristocracy" or the "landed gentry". The second core status group comprised wealthy city businessmen or top executives or professionals who lived but did not work in Bradstow. Members of the third group were the locally successful businessmen and members of the fourth were local small tradesmen and shopkeepers. The fifth group was the largest and consisted of wage earners usually described as "the workers" or "the working class". The sixth status group was known locally as the "no-hopers". The six groups were seen as separated both residentially and, to a lesser extent, organisationally, with local leadership coming from the higher strata though not the highest group which tended to be primarily interested in supra-community affairs.

Summary

These few studies then comprise the work completed in Australia on the small rurally based community. Table 2:1 summarises the present complement and emphasises again the dearth of such studies in Australia compared with the multitudinous community studies conducted in the United-States since the path laying work of the Lynds in the nineteen twenties and their many British and European counterparts.

TABLE 2:1

RURAL COMMUNITY LITERATURE IN AUSTRALIA

Published		Unpublished
	1943	Baker
McIntyre & McIntyre	1944	
	1945	Craig
	1945	Kelly
	1945	Lusher
Holt	1947	Hole
McIntyre	1948	
Oeser and Emery	1954	Bell
	1967	Halliwell
	1970	McNab
Oxley	1974	
Wild	1974	

The content of these works does not lend itself so easily to a summary. The majority of the early, that is pre-nineteen sixties, research concentrated on descriptions of the way of life obtaining in country towns and the surrounding rural areas. Thus although different social groups in the community were distinguished in a number of cases, their interrelationships and the overall social organisation of the community were the subject of passing reference rather than indepth analysis. The four studies which appeared in the last two decades demonstrated a different level of analysis. They tended to concentrate on areas of social stratification, community leadership and systems of political power. Thus a picture began to emerge of rural communities being divided into a number of groups or strata having more or less contact with one another and being more or less hierarchically organised in terms of economic class, social status and political power, with leadership positions being more or less monopolised by a small number of high status individuals.

It is our intention here to combine elements of both these approaches; the descriptive and the analytic. Thus a wide ranging description of the community in terms of its physical, geographical, social and human environment is given and an attempt is made to analyse aspects of the interrelationships between groups of individuals who reside in the community. It is not intended to examine the power structure of the community studied in depth.

Conclusion

This chapter has surveyed two major areas of research in Australia - literature which concerns internal migration and literature which considers rural community life. A number of points have become clear, firstly that although work in the area of internal migration is becoming more extensive it has concentrated largely on the macro statistical level. Secondly those migration studies which rely on smaller scale surveys of migrants have not considered analysis of the community from which migrants move to be of significance. A third point which can be made is that research into rural community life has been sparse and has in no way considered the mobility or lack of it of the residents.

This thesis can thus make a major contribution not simply in terms of analysing migration from the level of the individual but also in terms of setting the individual within the community frame of reference, and by linking two previously disparate research areas: namely internal migration patterns and rural community structure.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

Introduction

This chapter is devoted to an examination of the methods used in this study. First a rationale for the selection of the study area is given. Next the principal methodological techniques employed are discussed; these consisted of a period of participant observation, a social survey designed to provide insight into the social, political and economic environment of the study area and the character of the potential and non-migrants, and a mailed questionnaire, employed to gather data from those who had already migrated from the study area. Finally a brief assessment is made of the representativeness of the samples surveyed and of the degree of bias likely to exist in the resultant data. It is argued that complex statistical analyses have not been used in this thesis as it was not appropriate to do so.

Study Area

The focus of this study is the small Queensland country town and surrounding Shire of Barcaldine. This particular area was chosen in the belief that in a number of ways it could be seen as typical of Australian or at least Queensland country centres. As such,

conclusions based on research conducted there would be open to extrapolation or application to similar problems in similar areas.

Barcaldine can be seen to be typical in that it shares the characteristics of like centres in three principal dimensions. Firstly, with a population of 1,868 in 1971, it falls firmly into the category of centres in the population size range of 1,000 to 5,000. According to census statistics, centres of this size formed 74 per cent of all Australian urban centres in 1966 and 73 per cent in 1971. Secondly, Barcaldine is a centre almost entirely dependent on the rural industry for its initial establishment and continued existence, a condition also met with in most non-coastal and non-mining towns in Queensland and indeed in Australia. Finally, statistics available for the intercensal period 1966 to 1971 indicate that around half of all rural Shires in Queensland suffered a population loss greater than 15 per cent. (Figures given in Widdows et al. (1974:25). In the same period Barcaldine Shire lost some 18 per cent of its population.

The boundaries of the study area were set as congruent with those of the Local Government Area (L.G.A.) or Shire. This delimitation has proved a convenient one in a number of ways. Shire administration, rate collection and road maintenance are all carried out within this area and most residents regard Barcaldine as their local service centre. The Australian Bureau of Statistics has utilised the L.G.A. as a statistical unit since 1921 thus comparative data is conveniently and discretely available for the study area over a prolonged period. And finally, the boundaries of the state

electoral subdivisions (which were used as the sampling unit) are also congruent with L.G.A. boundaries¹.

Methodological Techniques

Two methodological approaches, participant observation and survey methods, which in the past have frequently and often unwarrantably been seen as mutually exclusive, were employed in this research. The relative merits of these two approaches have been the subject of some discussion in the literature.

In 1955 Vidich and Shapiro published the results of an experiment designed to compare the efficacy of the two methods, and concluded that 'the techniques of participant observation and sample survey are not competitive but, in the well conducted community study, will be complementary'. In reply, Becker and Geer (1957) indicated that participant observation, by providing a rich experiential context enables the researcher to attain an increased awareness of and sensitivity to the facts under scrutiny thus resulting in a more relevant approach to both theoretical and empirical issues. Trow (1957), in his rejoinder, claimed that no single method of collecting data has an inherent superiority over others, as Becker and Geer had implied. His view was that 'the problem under investigation properly dictates the method of investigation' and he advocated a cessation of

1. See the map on page 94 which indicates the boundaries of the state electoral divisions and the Barcaldine L.G.A.

arguments concerning participant observation versus interviewing and an adoption of an approach to problems with as wide an array of conceptual and methodological tools as are available. Zelditch (1962) undertook the task not approached by Trow of determining which types of data collection or which areas of study demand which types of methodological tools. To accomplish this he delimited three broad classes or types of information of concern to sociologists. Firstly, he distinguished the type of information he named distributions and frequencies and cited as examples the possessions of each member of the social system under scrutiny, the number of members with a given belief, the number of times member x is seen talking to member y and so on. Secondly, he referred to incidents and histories such as a log of events during a given period, a record of conversations, a description of events; and thirdly, he mentioned known norms and statuses, for example a list of statuses and of people occupying them, informants' accounts of how rules apply, how political leaders are chosen and so on. By applying the criteria of "efficiency" and "informational adequacy" (both somewhat vaguely defined) Zelditch saw the sample survey or census method as the "prototypical" and best form for ascertaining distributions and frequencies, the participant observation method as most suitable for recording incidents and histories, and informant interviewing for delimiting institutionalised norms and statuses. Even in this formulation there is still retained the underlying assumption that one uses either survey or field methods, depending on the type of information sought.

A different approach was taken by Webb:

The usual procedural question asked is, which of the several data collection methods will be best for my research problem? We suggest the alternative question: which set of methods will be best?

Webb et al. (1966:174-175)

These authors took this view on the assumption that every technique has some inherent weaknesses that can only be minimised by using other techniques as cross-checking mechanisms, "no research method is without bias. Interviews and questionnaires must be supplemented by methods testing the same social science variables but having different methodological weaknesses". Sieber (1973:1), claimed that the approach of Webb et al. presumed that the two methods are interchangeable, i.e. that any type of information can be researched by using either fieldwork or survey methods. He himself suggested in contrast that the two methods are not interchangeable, that there are areas of information that can only be gained by a particular technique. An example of this type of information is the opinions held by a large population which can only be measured by survey techniques. Nevertheless, Sieber seems to steer a middle course between Trow and Zelditch on the one hand who saw the type of information sought as dictating the method to be applied and Webb et al on the other hand who saw any type of information as amenable to either method. Sieber believed:

that survey and field research each possess special qualities that render these methods non-interchangeable, nevertheless each method can be greatly strengthened by appealing to the

unique qualities of the other method,

Sieber (1973:1340).

This is essentially the approach adopted in this thesis, by utilizing both participant observation and structured and informal interviewing techniques the relevant information was gathered. At times the information sought was appropriately collected by means of a survey - for example, socio-demographic data from a large number of individuals - at other times the significance of such data was verified or even elucidated by means of information and insights acquired through participant observation.

Participant Observation

During the period when the social, political and economic environment of Barcaldine Shire, and the background, attitudes and activities of its current residents were of prime concern a prolonged period of fieldwork was undertaken during which time the author attempted to participate in and observe as many facets of local life as was possible. This period of fieldwork extended for approximately six months, not as long a period as would have been ideal, but all that was feasible in the time available. During this time most of the newspapers produced locally from first publication to last were read, many historical papers, old photographs and council records examined, and local amateur historians were contacted and extensively questioned. At the same time all meetings, gatherings and get togethers of a public nature were attended. These included all sporting events, the regular

meetings of all clubs, organisations and associations of a sporting, social, service and cultural nature, Shire Council meetings and any formalised and public gathering of individuals.

As participator I gave short lectures to various groups of individuals - Apex Ladies, Rotarians, school children and so on. Office holders in various organisations were interviewed, membership lists noted, attendance records and minutes perused. I was invited to and attended innumerable formal and informal social events, dinner dances, barbeques, balls, card evenings, family parties, afternoon teas, weekends on properties and so on. As observer of these activities I noted seating arrangements, conversational exchanges, the appearance and interaction of individuals and anything and everything that was perceived as being of any relevance. In addition, all the individuals in town who held a position of any local consequence were contacted, the matron of the hospital, the health inspector, teachers, local business owners and many more, and informal interviews were held with them.

This concentrated period of interaction with local people and participation in local affairs gave an opportunity to gain an understanding of the community at the level not only of interpersonal relations but also of organisational activity, and provided a body of qualitative knowledge which assisted in the verification and analysis of the quantitative data collected through the various surveys.

The Social Surveys

Detailed factual information was sought from a large cross section of local residents and survey methods were seen as the most appropriate way of gathering such quantitative data. The survey sought to confirm a number of points of social organisation and interaction which had been deduced in the course of the fieldwork. For example the prolonged period of participant observation led the fieldworker to conclude that social interaction between the various groups of persons resident in the area was limited in terms of organised social activity. The survey provided data on rates and areas of participation by members of the various social groups which confirmed these initial and more qualitative conclusions. Two surveys were conducted amongst local residents, one covering local adults, the other pupils in the local high school. Two surveys were also conducted which covered ex-residents of the area, again the adult and the young. Because of the large numbers involved and the wide geographical spread the collection of information from these latter groups was not amenable to face to face interviewing and mailed questionnaires were exclusively used.

Adult Resident Survey

A ten per cent sample of adult residents was drawn from the electoral rolls of the two electoral divisions Gregory and Warrego which cover the Shire¹. The electoral rolls provided the most convenient and readily available source of information about current residents. The

1. See the map on page 94 which shows the boundaries of the two electoral divisions.

Electoral Act of 1915-1973, Section 9 states that all those British subjects aged 18 and over and residents in the Commonwealth for three months and the State for six months must be registered on the electoral roll covering their place of residence. Barcaldine contains very few overseas born non-British subjects (only 2 per cent) so a very high proportion of adults should be registered. The rolls were reviewed in January 1974 and were felt to be reasonably accurate.

Barcaldine Shire falls into two State electoral divisions: broadly speaking the town is in the division of Warrego and the rural part of the Shire in that of Gregory. It was decided to draw a 10 per cent sample from each of the electoral rolls separately rather than amalgamate them. This gave a degree of representation to rural dwellers commensurate not with their total numbers in the Shire but with their relative significance as an integral part of the local community.

Support for this decision is given by Livermore (1970:64) who lamented that he did not draw his sample in this way for the purposes of his research into internal migration in the Albury-Wodonga and Wagga-Wagga areas:

In retrospect it is clear that the original decision to adopt a basic one per cent sample of all electors was probably the worst single mistake of the entire study. This procedure resulted in a very great number of cases being allocated to the large urban subdivisions, while many rural subdivisions had far too few cases in them.

Livermore (1970:64).

Every tenth name on each of the two rolls was selected. Then that individual plus his adult co-residents in a household (town dwellers) or on a property (country dwellers) were personally interviewed. Table 3:1 below gives a detailed breakdown of the number selected and interviewed. Of the 121 households selected successful interviews were conducted in 110 or 91%. Seven households were empty and the residents of four declined to participate.

TABLE 3:1

BARCALDINE ADULT RESIDENTS SURVEY

	Warrego Division Town Dwellers	Gregory Division Country Dwellers	Total
Number of households/ properties selected	95	26	121
Number of households/ properties uninhabited	4	3	7
Number of households/ properties refused to be interviewed	3	1	4
Number of households/ properties successfully interviewed	88	22	110
Number of completed interviews	178	51	229

I conducted over two thirds of these interviews myself and a sociology honours student assisted in the completion of the remainder so as to enable me to spend more of the limited time available participating in local affairs.

After a preliminary pilot survey which resulted in many minor and major changes the interview schedule reproduced in Appendix A was

drawn up. The principal aim of the interview was to elicit detailed information covering four general areas. Details of past migration history and future migration plans of current residents were sought, as was the degree of their involvement in local and non-local affairs and level of contact with the external environment. Attitudes to local residence, community affairs, facilities, interpersonal relations and so on were probed and socio-economic details of the residents such as age, sex, income, education, house tenure and religious and political affiliations were collected. Most questions were open ended and prompting at a minimum so as to gain as accurate a reflection of the interviewees' own views and opinions as possible.

School Pupil Survey

With the agreement of the headmaster of the local high school all pupils in Grades 10, 11 and 12 were asked to complete a short questionnaire (see Appendix B). The questionnaire was given out during school hours by the teachers who had previously been coached in the appropriate way in which to administer it.

The questionnaire was designed to elicit information from these young persons on their residential and family background, their current residential status, their educational record and aspirations and on their plans regarding their career and residential preferences once they had left school. Particular attention was paid to their post education migration aspirations. Fully completed questionnaires were collected from the sixty seven pupils who comprised the top three grades of the high school.

School Leavers Survey

In order to obtain data on the migration actualities of school leavers directly comparable to that on migration aspirations of school pupils, it was decided to survey all the young adults who had left the school in the five year period between 1969 and 1973. Ideally, a personal interview would have been held with each individual but temporal and financial considerations resulted in a mailed questionnaire being used instead.

The names and last known addresses of these school leavers were provided by the headmaster. Again details of pre- and post-school leaving residential changes were sought as well as of scholastic record, parental background and present educational or occupational status. The questionnaire is reproduced in Appendix C and Table 3:2 gives a breakdown of the response rate.

TABLE 3:2

BARCALDINE SCHOOL LEAVER SURVEY

	N	%
Total number of those who left school between 1969 and 1973	202	
Total of useable responses	96	48
Total of non-useable responses*	21	10
Total of Non-Replies**	85	42

* Non-useable because the questionnaire was returned blank or incomplete

** Non-replies either because the school leaver could not be traced or did not return the questionnaire

Adult Ex-Resident Survey

The names and addresses of ex-residents were obtained by means of the electoral rolls. When an individual moves from one district to another notification of his change of residence is sent to the Returning Officer in the previous electorate. These notifications were made available and they furnished the names and new electoral districts of several hundred Barcaldine outmigrants. As all notifications prior to 1967 had been destroyed details of only those individuals who had migrated in the seven year period from 1967 to 1973 were available.

The rolls covering the new electorates of these outmigrants were searched and the appropriate addresses were noted. Inevitably some outmigrants were not traced as they had moved more than once since their departure from Barcaldine. As the State Electoral Office in Brisbane holds no central records the Returning Officer at each destination would have to have been contacted individually in order to trace these outmigrants further. Unfortunately, resources did not permit this.

The questionnaire sent to those outmigrants who were traced is reproduced in Appendix D. The main categories of information sought were firstly life cycle data - including the age and number of the individuals in the migrating unit and their interrelationships. Secondly changes in various socio-economic features of the migrating unit as a consequence of the move were noted; such as changes in occupation, area of employment, number of unit members in the work

force, tenure of domicile etc. A third type of information sought concerned the motivations of these migrants, including the reasons for migration, and for choice of destination and attitudes to the migration decision.

Table 3:3 indicates the response rate which was obtained to the mailed questionnaire, and shows that over two thirds (67 per cent) of all traced migrants responded to the questionnaire and almost half (46 per cent) of the recorded migrants actually responded.

TABLE 3:3

BARCADDINE ADULT EX-RESIDENTS SURVEY

	N
Recorded Migrants: total outmigrants as notified to Returning Officer 1967-1973	678
Traced migrants: total outmigrants addresses obtained	465
Total Useable Responses	313
Total Non-useable Responses*	33
Total Non-Response	119

* Non-useable as questionnaire was returned blank or incomplete or the respondent gave an outright refusal or the respondent was deceased

Mailed Questionnaires

It has been widely noted that mailed questionnaires have a number of drawbacks not least of which is the limitation on the amount and

quality of information which can be obtained and the difficulties of ensuring an adequate response rate. Considerable attention has been devoted to this problem in the literature by such authors as Parten (1950), Levine and Gordon (1958), Kephart and Bressler (1958), Kivlin (1965), Scott (1961), Dillman (1972), Clausen and Ford (1947) and Blumberg et al. (1974).

Note was taken of as many devices suggested by these authors as possible. The length and appearance of the questionnaire were carefully considered, the questions were as succinctly and briefly phrased as possible and aimed at involving the respondent in the least amount of effort. The questionnaire, covering letter and follow up letters were all reproduced in Vari-type, a print which gives an expensive and individually produced appearance. The name of the respondent and my signature were personally inscribed on each covering letter and on each of the three subsequent follow-up letters. (See Appendix F). The envelopes were handwritten and a prepaid envelope enclosed for the return of the questionnaire.

Processing of Survey Data

As described above survey data was collected for four separate groups of individuals and in three different ways, residents were surveyed by personal interview, school pupils by self-completed questionnaire and school leavers and adult ex-residents by mailed questionnaire. The mass of data thus accumulated was coded in considerable detail in order to preserve as much of the variation in

the original answers as possible. It was then punched onto computer cards and processed using the PDP10 computer at the University Computer Centre. The prepackaged computer programme, the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences was used throughout.

No very elaborate statistical techniques were used in the analysis of survey data. They were not employed partly because the type of data obtained did not warrant a sophisticated statistical analysis and partly because such techniques were seen as inappropriate for the type of research undertaken. The main burden of this thesis is not to make exact predictions or even descriptions of the size, quality and direction of migration flows, a task which would require detailed accurate and elaborate statistical analysis. It is rather to look at the process of migration within a rounded social context, to point up various significant relationships, trends, patterns, sets of interactions and so on, a task which while it does require some statistical foundations is best accomplished by means of a broader and more qualitative approach.

Representativeness and Bias

Considerable attention was paid to ensuring that the samples which were surveyed were representative of the study universe and that bias was not introduced on account of differential selection of surveyed individuals.

Adult Residents

The decision to draw a ten per cent sample of both rural farm and rural non-farm Barcaldine residents resulted in an over-representation of farm dwellers but was considered justified for the reasons given above. However when certain characteristics of the total survey sample are matched with those of the total population it can be seen that in some senses the sample does consist of a reasonably representative group.

With respect to sex (Table 3:4) the sample survey can be seen to correspond almost exactly with the total population over 18 years of age.

TABLE 3:4

SEX OF SURVEY SAMPLE AND TOTAL POPULATION OVER 18 YEARS OF AGE

	Sample		Total Population*	
	N	%	N	%
Male	120	52	630	53
Female	109	48	558	47
	229		1188	

* Source: A.B.S. census statistics 1971

Data in regard to age is shown in Table 3:5 below. It is clear that the under 20, 30 to 39 and over 60 age groups are slightly under-

represented and the 50-59 age bracket slightly over represented.

TABLE 3:5
AGE OF SURVEY SAMPLE AND TOTAL POPULATION

Age	Sample		Total Population*	
	N	%	N	%
18-19	8	4	59	5
20-29	47	20	235	20
30-39	34	15	224	19
40-49	42	18	216	18
50-59	57	25	205	17
60+	41	18	249	21
	229		1188	

* Source: A.B.S. census statistics 1971

Religious affiliation of the survey group and the total population is shown in Table 3:6. The match of sample to population in this instance is good.

TABLE 3:6

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF SURVEY SAMPLE AND TOTAL POPULATION

	Sample		Total Population*	
	N	%	N	%
Catholic	82	36	695	37
Anglican	74	32	574	31
Methodist/ Presbyterian	48	21	396	21
Other and None	25	11	203	11
	229		1868	

* Source: A.B.S. census statistics 1971

Homeowners are somewhat over-represented (Table 3:7) due no doubt to the distorting effect of the sampling frame which resulted in the selection of an over representation of rural farm dwellers, many of whom are owner occupiers.

TABLE 3:7

NATURE OF OCCUPANCY OF SURVEY SAMPLE AND TOTAL POPULATION

	Sample		Total Population*	
	N	%	N	%
Owner or purchaser	75	70	326	62
Renting tenant	23	22	130	25
Other and not stated	9	8	68	13
	107		524	

* Source: A.B.S. census statistics 1971

With regard to educational level the sample appears to over-represent those with secondary schooling. (See Table 3:8).

TABLE 3:8

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF SURVEY SAMPLE AND TOTAL POPULATION

	Sample		Total Population*	
	N	%	N	%
No reply	3	1	55	5
None	1	1	16	1
Primary	97	42	572	46
Secondary	128	56	592	48
	229		1235	

* Source: A.B.S. census statistics 1971

Finally, a comparison of the occupation of employed persons (Table 3:9) indicates that the sample is, as was to be expected from the sampling method, over representative of farmers. Professionals, managers, and skilled employees are over represented and clerical and sales persons and those in semi-skilled and unskilled occupations are under represented¹.

1. The occupational classification developed by Broom et al. (1965) is used throughout this thesis.

TABLE 3:9

OCCUPATION OF SURVEY SAMPLE AND TOTAL POPULATION IN THE LABOUR FORCE

	Sample		Total Population*	
	N	%	N	%
Professionals	19	14	66	9
Managers	14	10	47	7
Clerical and Sales	10	7	112	16
Farmers	23	17	79	11
Skilled	24	18	60	9
Semi-skilled	20	15	136	20
Unskilled	26	19	172	25
Miscellaneous	0	0	23	3
	136		695	

* Source A.B.S. census statistics 1971

In respect then of sex our sample is representative of the total population and nearly matches it with regard to religious affiliation. As far as the variables of age, education and home ownership are concerned then the sample does not match the total population but no very severe distortions are observable. In terms of the occupational status of those sampled there is quite a degree of variance due partly to the sampling frame employed. Farmers, the higher level white collar workers and skilled employees are all over represented at the cost of semi-and unskilled workers and clerks and sales persons.

School Pupils

As all the students in the top three grades at the State High School were requested and agreed to complete a questionnaire, data based on its results can claim to be fully representative.

School Leavers

Comment has already been made on the attempts to limit bias and increase return of the mailed questionnaire sent to Barcaldine school leavers. It is unfortunate however that the response rate was as low as 46 per cent. Attempts to gauge the representativeness of those who did respond reveals that on two levels at least; namely sex and home residence, the characteristics of students match those of the total school leavers to a marked degree. (Tables 3:10 and 3:11).

TABLE 3:10

SEX OF RESPONDENTS AND TOTAL SCHOOL LEAVERS

Sex	Respondents		Total School Leavers	
	N	%	N	%
Male	49	51	104	51.5
Female	47	49	98	48.5
	96		202	

TABLE 3:11

HOME RESIDENCE WHILE ATTENDING SCHOOL OF RESPONDENTS
AND TOTAL SCHOOL LEAVERS

	Respondents		Total School Leavers*	
	N	%	N	%
Farm	10	10	22	11
Non-Farm	86	90	180	89
	<u>96</u>		<u>202</u>	

* Source: Information on the home residence of the total school leavers was deduced from their address while attending school.

Adult Ex-Residents

It will be remembered that of the 678 persons recorded as migrating from Barcaldine between 1967 and 1973 it proved possible to obtain addresses for only 465 individuals or 69 per cent. Questionnaires were sent to these traced migrants and 313 or 67 per cent responded with a fully completed form. Thus data was obtained from 313 individuals or 46 per cent of the total recorded migrants and 67 per cent of traced migrants.

Can any validity be claimed for conclusions based on data from less than half the potential respondents? In answer, a point made by Kivlin (1965) may be reiterated. He reviewed a number of studies including his own and concluded that mail survey bias does not unduly disturb the relationships between the variables studied. Thus, it may

not be legitimate to use a mail survey to state conclusively that x per cent of a population have characteristic y but it is reasonable to say that in this population there is a relationship between variables A and B. Thus though it would not be valid to claim that, for example 80 per cent of migrants will be under 20 years of age it is both useful and legitimate to state that there appears to be a relationship between age and outmigration and that those under 20 have a high propensity to migrate.

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the procedures employed in this research. In pursuance of the stated aim of this thesis - to look at internal migration as a process intimately linked to its social context - a combination of methodological techniques was utilised. Thus when the character and motivation of large numbers of migrants both young and adult were in focus a survey was used. When the character and motivation of potential or non-migrants and the environment within which they live were under scrutiny then participant observation and surveys were employed both to gather and to verify information. No sophisticated statistical techniques are used in this thesis nor are any detailed predictions of migration patterns made. Our concern is more with migration as a dynamic process which both results in and is a result of the cyclical interaction of individuals and environments. As such advanced methods of statistical analysis are deemed inappropriate to a study which basically emphasizes behaviour, interaction and interrelation-

ships and also to one which is essentially moving into an area as yet little researched and so is in a number of ways of a preliminary, investigative nature.

PART TWO

THE RURAL COMMUNITY

CHAPTER FOUR

AN INTRODUCTION TO BARCALDINE

Introduction

In this section of the thesis the social context within which the migration and non-migration decisions under scrutiny are set is introduced. This chapter covers various aspects of the social, political and economic environment of the study area and provides an outline of the physical situation within which the drama of decision making on mobility is played out.

The study area is placed in its geographic context and its various physical and climatic features described. The historical development of the rural township and its surrounding countryside is traced together with its association with the political development of the State of Queensland. The discussion then turns to the present day appearance and atmosphere of this isolated country town, its social amenities and its degree and means of communication with the rest of the State.

Consideration is then given in some detail to the pattern of population growth and decline which has occurred in the area in the past fifty years. The demographic structure of the current population is analysed in terms of the past migration history of the residents, of their sex and occupation and the composition of the labour force.

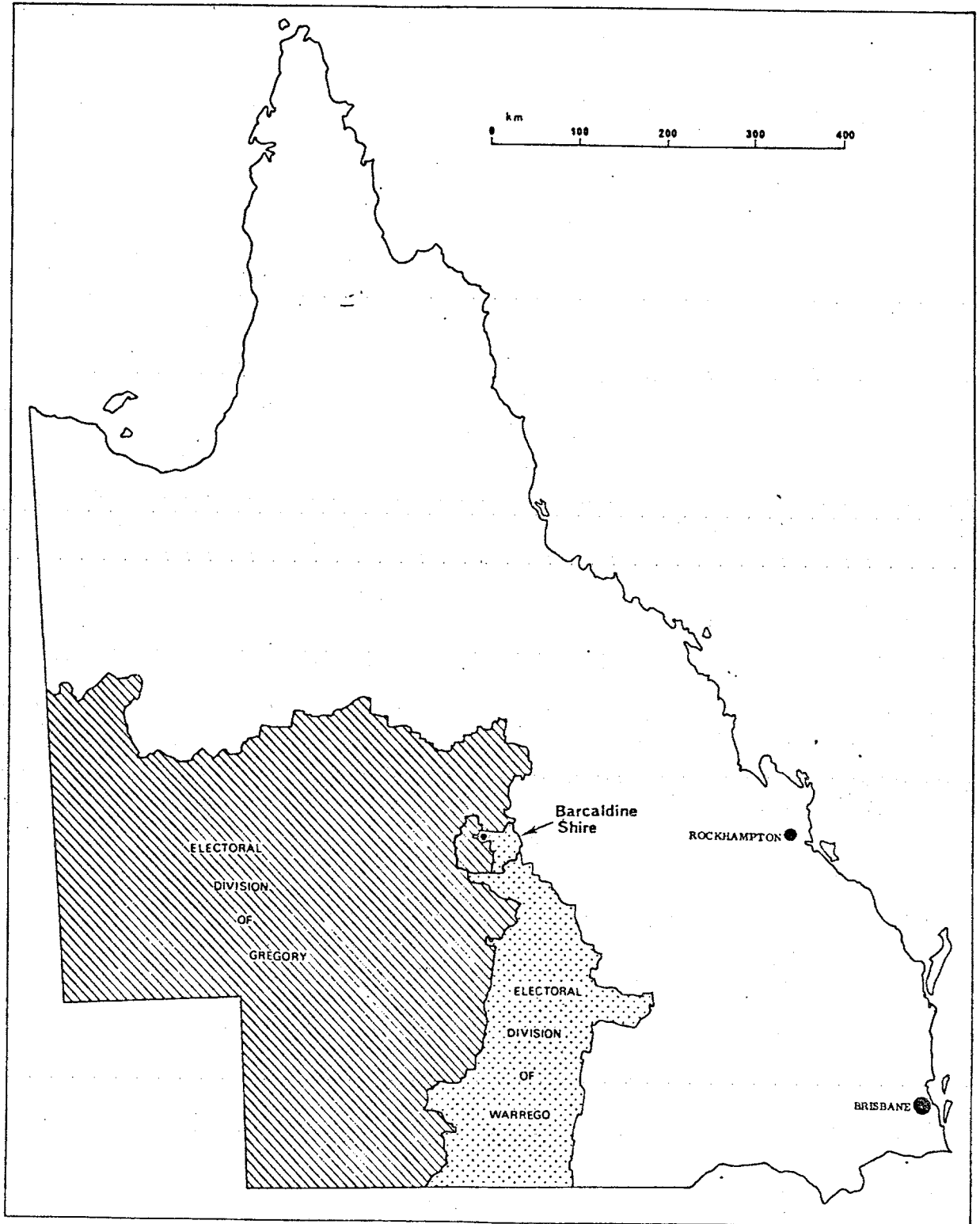
It is noted that the structure of the population seems characterised by a core of the immobile residents surrounded by a changing body of the more mobile.

Geographical Location

The Shire of Barcaldine is located over one thousand kilometers North from Brisbane and five hundred kilometers West and inland from Rockhampton in a region known as the Central West. The township itself is in the northern section of the Shire and stands astride the junction of the Landsborough and Capricorn highways. The map below shows the size and position of Barcaldine Shire relative to the State of Queensland, and the division of the Shire into two sections by the boundaries of the Electoral Divisions of Warrego and Gregory. It will be remembered from the discussion in Chapter Three that these divisions into essentially the urban and rural parts of the Shire were used as the sampling frame.

Historical Development

The origins of this little township go back to the 1870's when contractors who were pushing the railway line out westwards set up a carriers camp near the present town site. It was named Barcaldine due to the fact of its establishment on land originally leased in 1865 and registered as 'Barcaldine Downs' by a Donald Cameron who named it after a property at one time owned by his forebears in



Map I. The State of Queensland showing the position of Barcaldine Shire and the boundaries of the Electoral Divisions of Gregory and Warrego.

Scotland.¹

The town grew rapidly, a cottage hospital was founded in 1880 and the state school opened in 1887 with an initial enrolment of over one hundred children. The principal newspaper of the Central Western Region, the Western Champion, transferred its centre of operations from nearby Blackall to Barcaldine in 1886. The Shire was granted self government as a local municipality in 1892, the same year that the railway was formally opened.

One great event in Barcaldine's past which has had a lasting effect until the present day was the shearers' strike of 1891. During that confrontation between pastoralists and rural workers the main camps of the Queensland Shearers' Union were set up in Clermont and Barcaldine.²

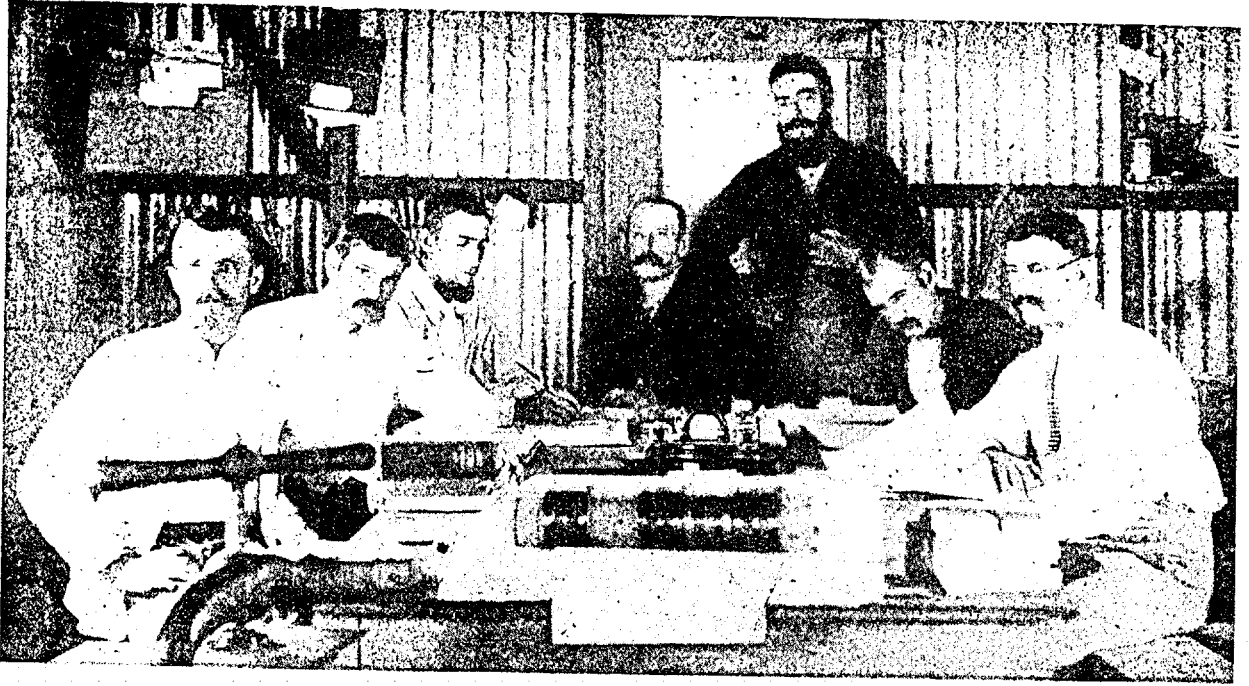
The Brisbane 'Worker' wrote early in the conflict that "the thousand odd men at Barcaldine are encamped in a regular canvas town and from a tree the blue flag is flying", and the following report was published two days after the event described;

SHEARERS DEMONSTRATION

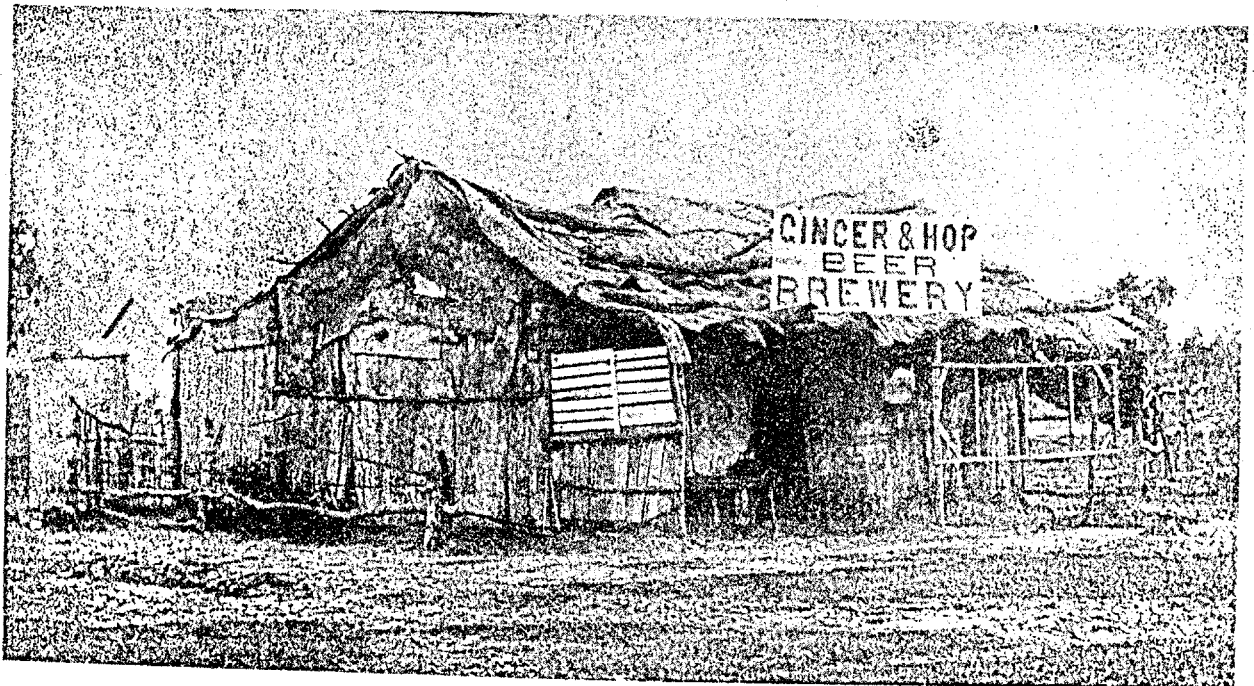
GREAT TORCHLIGHT PROCESSION AND DEMONSTRATION ON SATURDAY NIGHT

Barcaldine - Over one thousand unionists on foot, five-deep, with sixty horsemen, paraded the streets preceded by the town band. The men carried large banners inscribed 'EVIL TO HIM WHO EVIL THINKS', and 'UNITED WE STAND, DIVIDED WE FALL'. The effigy of Sir Samuel Griffith

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1. I am indebted to Rev. S. Cowen's little booklet "Barcaldine Praeterita" 1958 for much of this early information.
 2. Fitzpatrick (1968:125).



The 1891 Strike Committee.



A Grog Shop in The Early Days of Barcaldine's History.

was borne on poles and above the figure was a huge banner inscribed 'WEALTH AND WANT, SIR SAMUEL GRIFFITH. ALL TRAITORS WILL MEET THEIR DOOM'. There was also the effigy of Mr. Murphy, member for Barcoo, inscribed 'BARCOO MURPHY M.L.A. WEIGHED IN THE BALANCE AND FOUND WANTING'.

Men on horseback with small swags directed the movement, the men cheering and hooting at various stopping places. An immense crowd lined the footpaths, amongst whom were many women and children. After the procession the whole crowd formed a circle. Sir Samuel Griffith and Mr. Murphy were indicated as tyrants and traitors and condemned to death. The marshalls were then called on to do their duty. The figures were plentifully saturated with kerosene and set fire to. The men rushed frantically forward, belabouring the burning effigies with sticks and hats, and howling until they burnt out. Short speeches followed and cheers for the Strike Committee. The men then dispersed quietly. The police present had no occasion to interfere.

Wagga Wagga Advertiser, 5 March 1891¹

Later in the conflict the "Barcaldine correspondent" of the Sydney Morning Herald described what can be seen as a forerunner of May Day celebrations in Australia.

The feature of today has been the great demonstration

1. From Buxton (1964).

made by the unionists, in which 1340 men took part. Of this number 618 were mounted. Not included in the count was the Oddfellows' band, which headed the procession. Then came the banner of the Australian Labour Federation and the men carrying samples of the trades in which they were employed. A wagon, drawn by six horses, exhibited a group of shearers and rouseabouts, the former operating upon three sheep; and the latter with brooms and a tarpot. Behind the banner of the Shearers Union walked men with shears and wands, dressed with wool. After the banner of the Carriers Union came 12 footmen and 52 horsemen. Many banners followed with labourers bearing picks, shovels, drills and all tools used by bushmen. Then came the Union Band, and behind it footmen and horsemen walking four abreast. Behind all came a shearer driving a waggon in which sat a stout woman waving a flag with "Young Australia" inscribed upon it. Four leaders rode at the head magnificently adorned with gaiters and immense blue sashes. There was a large crowd in the streets, but no enthusiasm and no sound was heard until the procession reached the Union office, when cheers were given for the Union. Afterwards the whole party returned to the main camp.

While the men were gathered together the chairmen of the strike committee stated that, as the proposals for arbitration had been accepted by the joint committees of the bush unions, but declined by the pastoralists, they would make no more overtures for a settlement, but fight

the matter out to the end.

Sydney Morning Herald, 2 May 1891.

Much is still made locally of the importance of Barcaldine during the strike - it is claimed that the strikers encampment outside the town can still be distinguished and that their makeshift earth oven has been identified. Local present day unionists and Labor party men claim that Barcaldine is the place where the Australian Labor Party (A.L.P.) had its first beginnings, and the 'tree of knowledge' is pointed out on the main street as the actual spot. However, a little research has shown that this popular belief is not strictly accurate. A number of small local craft guilds amalgamated in 1889 to form the Australian Labour Federation and at the First General Council of the Federation in 1890 an attempt was made to organise a Labour Party, the Council enumerated its political aims and directed the executive to prepare a scheme of political organisation. Glassey had already been elected in 1888 to the Parliament and Hoolan in 1890 both Labour men but with no formal endorsement by a Party. Then came the failure of the 1891 Shearers' Strike, the leaders were arrested at Barcaldine, and tried and convicted at Rockhampton in May of that year. One of these men was T.J. Ryan (not the T.J. Ryan) who later in 1892 became the first endorsed Labour man to be elected to the Queensland Legislative Assembly and who represented the Central Western area of Barcoo.

This failure of the strike convinced many that unless there was a strong Labour Party in the Legislative Assembly, the unions would have little chance of success in industrial disputes. A meeting of

delegates of the Queensland Labour Organisation in 1892 formally marks the birth of the modern Queensland Labor Party, as Rayner wrote :

the political labour Party had no clear cut beginning and in fact, it may be said to have existed before it was founded, for when the party was formally established in 1892 there were already four Labour M.L.A.'s who became ex-officio members of the first party executive.

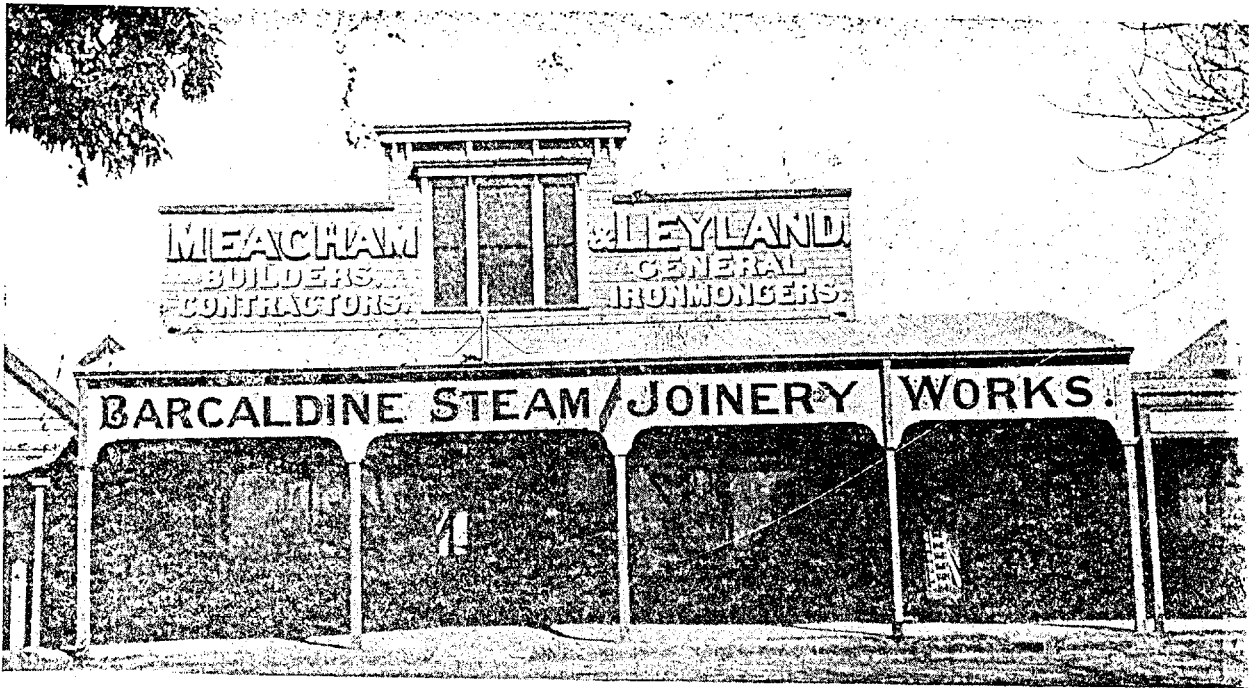
Rayner (1947:76).

Thus Barcaldine's claim to be the home of the A.L.P. rests mainly on the fact that out of the defeat of 1891 came the realisation that a political organisation was a necessity and this effected the political success of the following year. Whether the A.L.P. was actually founded in Barcaldine or not the early radical position of local working men persists and support for the labour party is noticeably stronger in this town than it is in neighbouring and seemingly similar areas. A brief glimpse at recent voting trends for the region clearly indicates this point. In the federal electoral division of Kennedy, the Barcaldine sub-division consistently records a majority of votes for the A.L.P. candidate and has frequently been the only one of eighteen sub-divisions to do so. In the 1969 House of Representatives election Barcaldine and Barcoo alone gave a majority of votes to the A.L.P. candidate; in 1972 and 1974 Barcaldine was the only sub-division to do so; in 1975 Barcaldine recorded a 127 vote majority for the A.L.P. and two other sub-divisions, Barcoo and Londgreach gave a nine vote majority. It will be seen later in the

next chapter that among present residents almost without exception the local landless and propertyless working men claim allegiance to the A.L.P. in contrast to the numerically fewer graziers and local businessmen who are Liberal and National Party supporters.

Turning back now to the closing years of the nineteenth century it can be seen that in these years Barcaldine consolidated its position as a thriving town acting as a busy service centre for the surrounding district. At one time during this period it is reported that there were twenty hotels provided for by a local brewery, McLoughlin's Wool Scouring and Shearing works worked three shifts a day and two Boiling Down Works processed the products of the local grazing properties (Cowen 1958). A leaflet produced by the Queensland Government Intelligence and Tourist Bureau (Q.G.I.T.B.) stated, "From the railway station for the 12 months ending June 1913, wool to the value of £13,846 from Barcaldine and £6,086 from Westbourne Wool Scour together with livestock to the value of 10,672 were sent away". Harold Lewis (1973) in his reminiscences of pre-first World War wanderings in Australia recalled a letter written about Barcaldine in 1912:

We liked Barcaldine at first glimpse. There, along the road on the south side of the station, were several hotels. Some - the swank places - were two deckers with iron balconies ... There's a huge outdoor swimming bath - no roof on it - and the water's always warm because the bath's being fed all the time, day and night by an artesian bore. Down in the town there's a roller skating rink. Isn't that



An Early Local Store- still in business today and run
by descendants of the original owners.



Shearing at McLoughlins at the turn of the century.

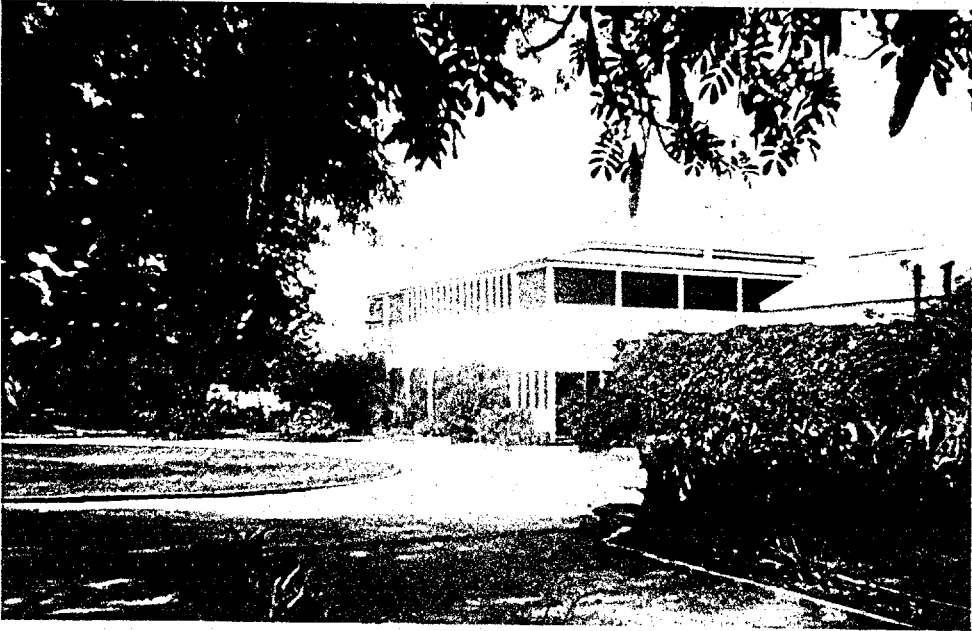
amazing? And a moving picture house.

Lewis (1973:132)

The twentieth century has witnessed the fluctuation of Barcaldine's fortunes as it has of most country centres in Queensland. Periodic droughts, rises and falls in world prices of primary products, the great depression of the thirties and the boom during the second World War have all left their mark. Queensland obtained the right of compulsory purchase of land in the first decade of the century. (Roberts 1968:362). In 1914 the Q.G.I.T.B. booklet mentioned that "Land in the district which is or has been resumed lately comprises: Home Creek 80,080 acres, Pittsburg 28,800 acres etc." Resumption and reallocation of land has continued in the post war period, a number of graziers acquired land through the balloting system and gradually a situation has been reached whereby the largest single property consists of 20,000 acres; the huge over 80,000 acre properties are a thing of the past.

Geographic and Climatic Features

The Shire as a whole comprises an area of approximately eight and a half thousand square kilometers. Apart from the township there are some seventy-six rural holdings which are between five and fifty kilometers out of town and in many cases are serviced by dirt roads which in black soil areas are impassable after a minimal amount of rain.



Homestead on 'Barcaldine Downs' the Largest Local
Property.



A Typical Road Out to a Grazing Property.

As is shown in the aerial photograph, to the east of the town there is some fairly substantial tree cover but westwards the trees gradually give way to rolling down land. Less than fifty hectares in the Shire are devoted to crops of any kind, the remaining seven and a half thousand hectares are utilised as sheep and cattle grazing.

Barcaldine lies in an area which has a tendency to suffer the extremes of flood and drought. Data given in Juppenplatz (1961:19-20) indicated that floods due to cyclonic action occur on average every eight years and droughts can be expected every three. Many properties rely on open bore drains of artesian water but their construction is severely limited nowadays due to the wasteful nature of such a system and fears of the depletion of water supplies in the Great Artesian basin.

Present Day Appearance and Amenities

The aerial photograph gives a clear idea of the layout of the township today - and incidentally of almost all other Western country towns. Most of the roads are sealed, all are grass lined and laid out with box-like symmetry. The wide main street (Oak Street) is flanked on one side by the railway (running East to West in the photograph) while a few stores and cafes, a hairdresser, stock and station agent, bakery, electrical shop, chemist, a newsagent and six hotels line the other. The next street to the south, and strictly parallel contains most of the public buildings of importance, the library, the Shire Chambers, the Post Office, the offices of the

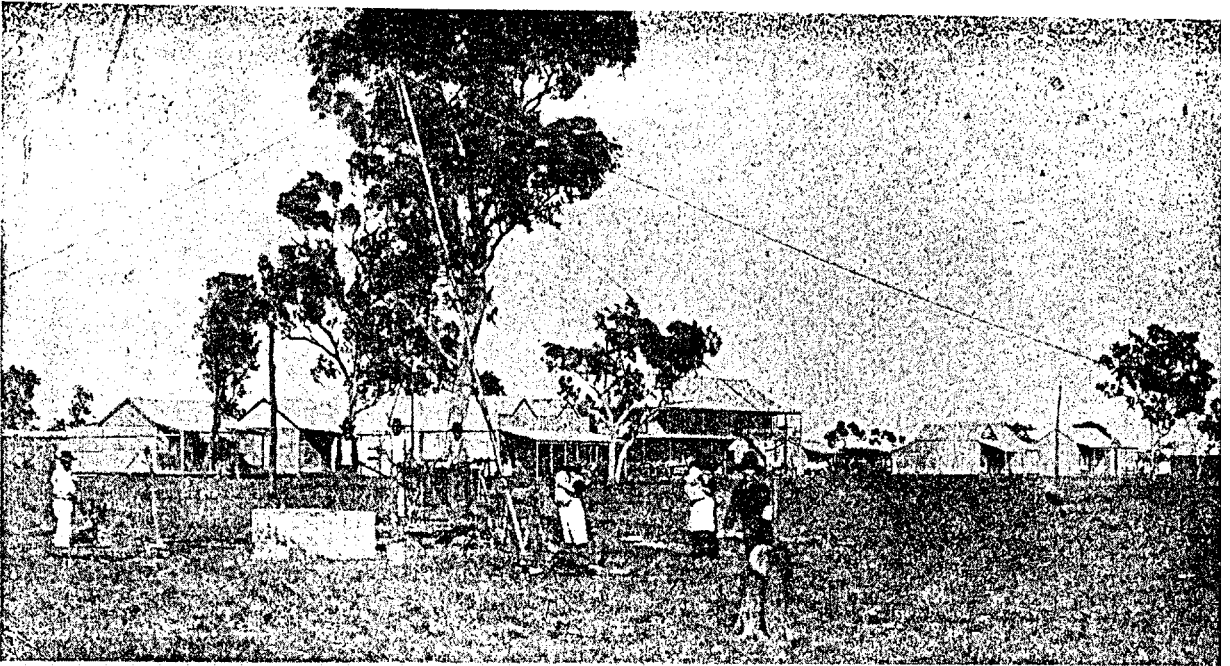


Aerial Photograph of Barcaldine township

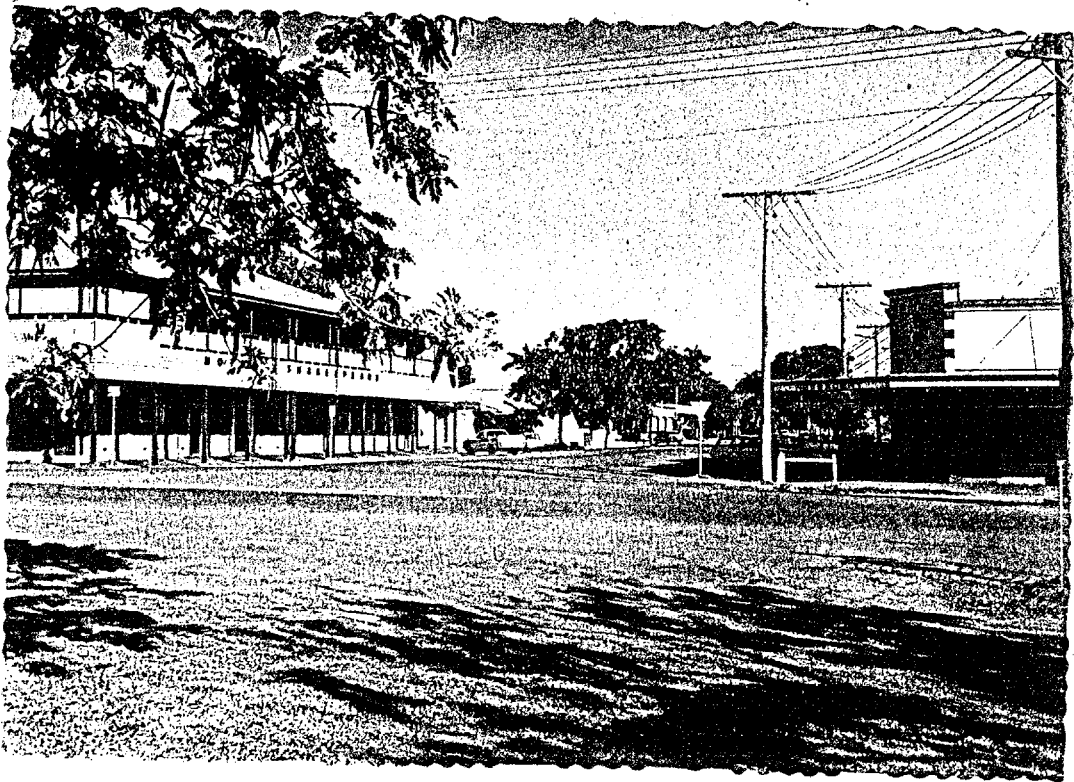
Central Western Regional Electricity Board (C.W.R.E.B.), Main Roads Department (M.R.D.) and Department of Primary Industry (D.P.I.) and the Court House. Behind this 'business' area the houses straggle back in an untidy haphazard fashion until they merge with the bush on the outskirts of town. These houses are almost without exception wooden buildings on low stumps, some are unpainted, delapidated and patched with corrugated iron, set in a lot of straggling unmown grass and sagging fences, others still show the grace of their verandahs and ornate balconry to fine advantage. Barcaldine, once known as the "Garden City of the West", thanks to the efforts of Messrs. Peut and James¹ in the 1890's, retains many trees on footpaths and in gardens in contrast to most other Western towns where unsuitable soil and lack of water have led to a bare, dry, parched appearance.

Apart from the abovementioned public buildings, the town boasts a small hospital with a doctor and peripatetic dentist, usually young men newly qualified and sent out to do country service to fulfil a state health department scholarship bond. There are three churches, Anglican, Roman Catholic and Methodist-Presbyterian combined, each with an attendant church hall for meetings. The Barcaldine State High School is one of six in the State which combine all grades from One to Twelve in the one institution. A kindergarten provides pre-schooling for a limited number of children and an alternative primary education is available from a Catholic convent primary school. A number of garages serve the essential and ubiquitous motor car and a recently established motel caters for drivers and passengers. In one

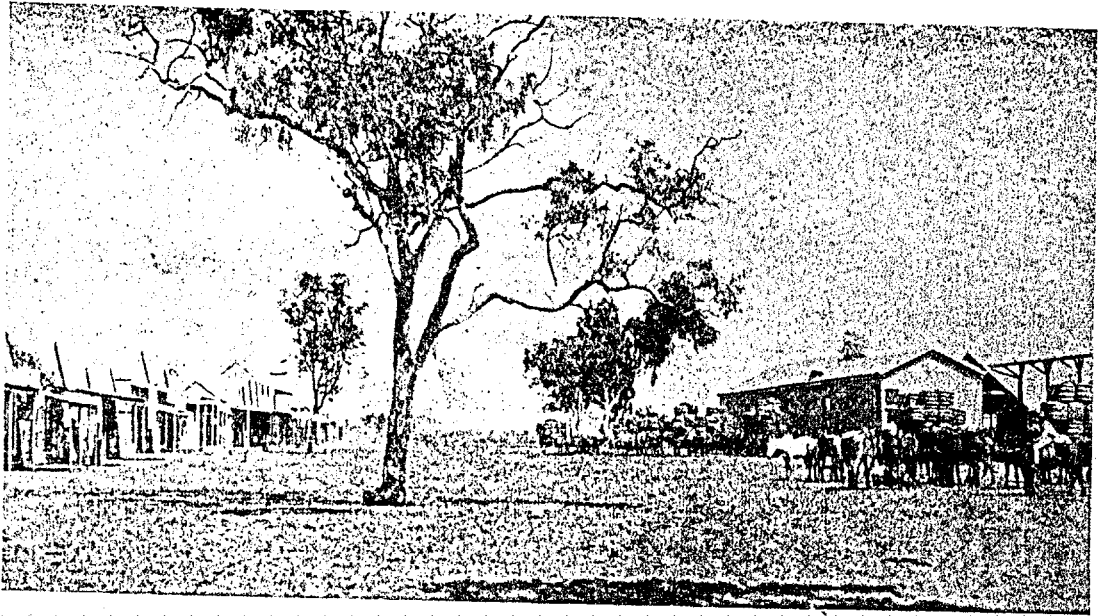
1. Cowen (1958:13).



The Original Shakespeare Hotel in Oak Street.



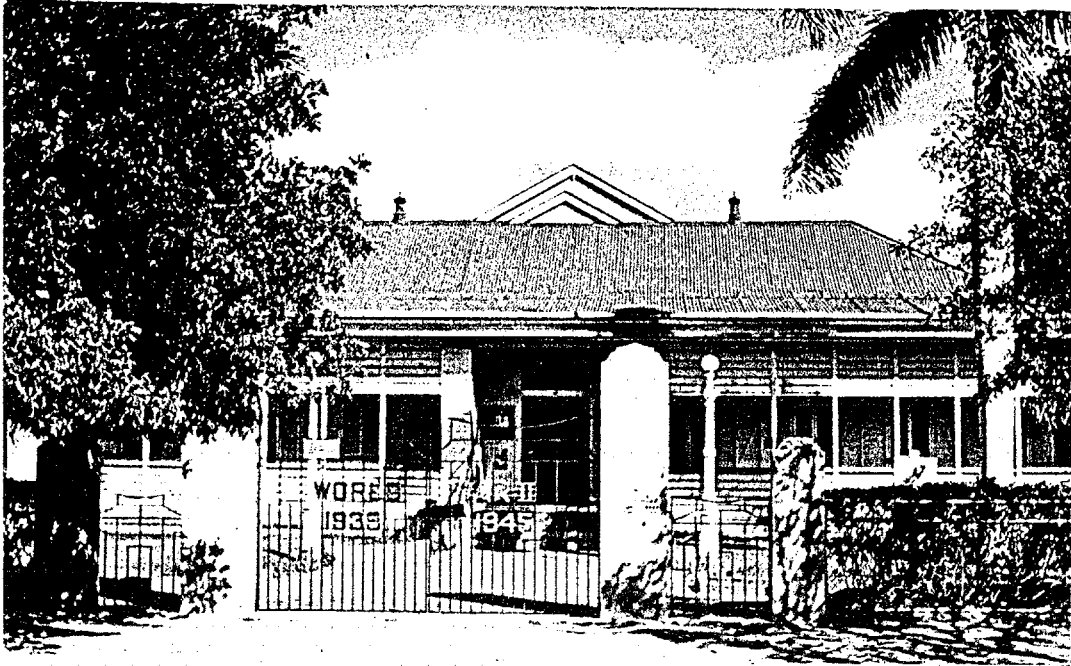
The Shakespeare Hotel Today.



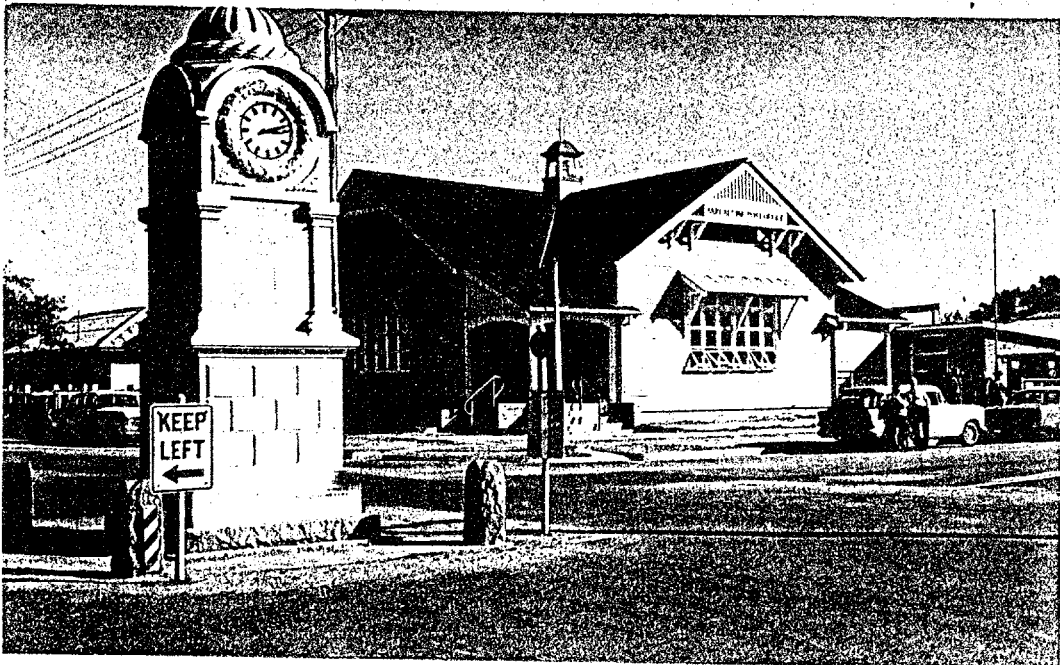
Oak Street in the 1880s.



Oak Street Today.



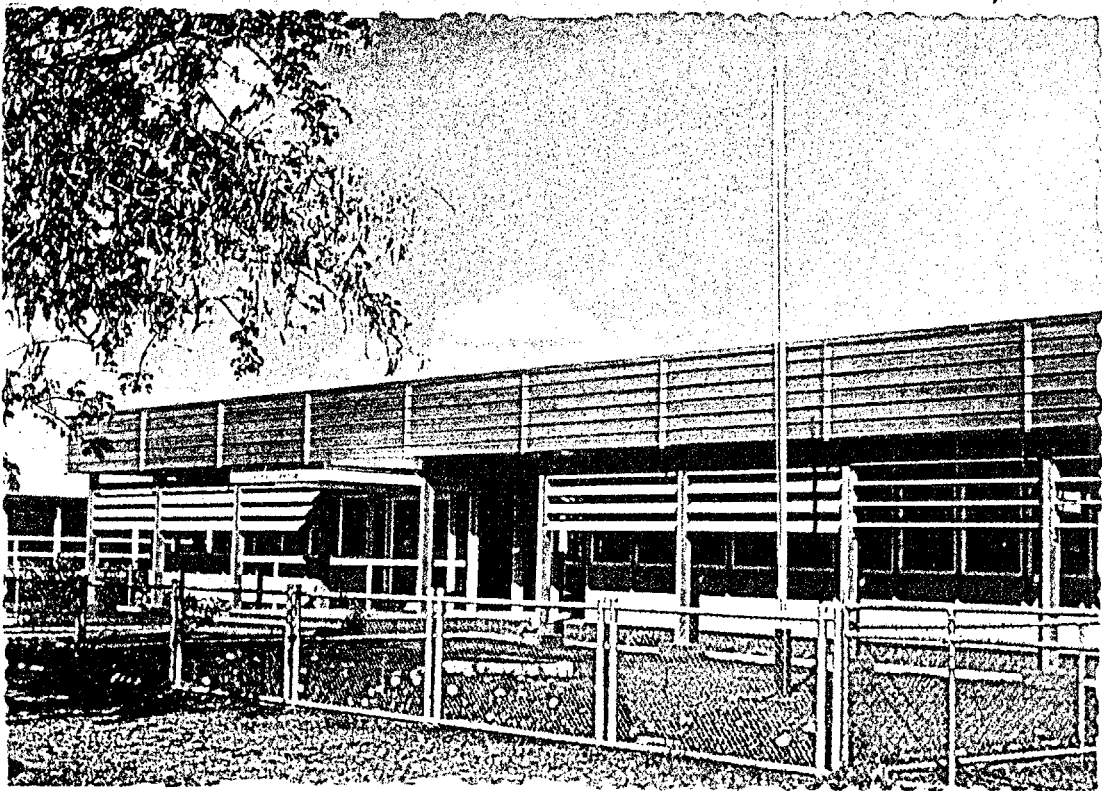
Shire Office Chambers in Ash Street, with Second
World War Memorial Gates.



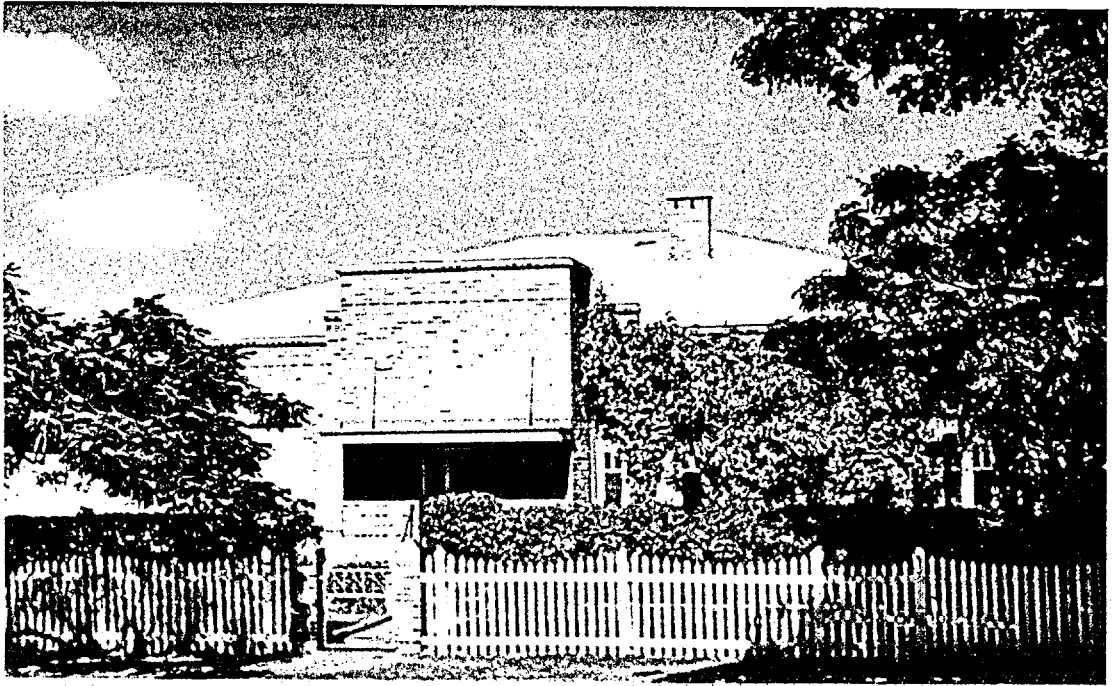
Post Office on corner of Beech and Ash Streets, and First
World War Memorial Gates.



Barcaldine General Hospital



Main Roads Department Office



The Barcaldine Club on the corner of
Beech and Yew Streets.



Gidyea Street-a section of unsealed town
street with wide verges and no kerbing.

street there is a small brick fire station manned by volunteers, in another an impressive wooden Freemasons Lodge which complements the other local bastion of male separatism, the discreetly hedged "Barcaldine Club", an exclusively male drinking and billiard playing club. For the women there is a Queensland Country Womens' Association (Q.C.W.A.) rest room and hostel in which the Maternal and Child Welfare Clinic is held weekly.

Sporting facilities are lavish for the relatively small population. There is a small but functional swimming pool, a sandy golf course, netball courts and cricket pitch and a showground which also serves as a football oval. A racecourse which doubles as a stock car and motor cycle racetrack is situated three or four kilometers west of the town. Also available are a clay pigeon shooting range, two sets of tennis courts and a grass bowling green, and international basketball courts are under construction in the town. The church halls and Shire Hall offer locations for indoor activities such as judo, ballet, keep fit classes and indoor bowls and for the more sedentary there is a picture theatre which shows aged and often obscure movies on four nights of the week.

Atmosphere

A description by Waterson of the atmosphere in Queensland country towns in the 1890's is equally applicable today to the immediate impact of Barcaldine, with only the substitution of the purr of motor car engines for the sound of horses hooves.

Except for market, show, church and race days, little human activity was observable in the dusty bungalow and cottage lined streets of these small towns. A buzz from the hotel bar and the general store, odd shouts from the school playground and the clip-clop of hooves at odd intervals alone indicated that the inhabitants were still alive.

Waterson (1968:94)

Friday is the busiest day in "Barcy" as the town is called locally. It is the day when graziers and their wives come to town to shop and often to attend the weekly barbecue at "the Club", Friday being the only day on which ladies are admitted. Associations of interest to country folk frequently meet on a Friday and various activities such as pottery, spinning and weaving are conducted at the Cultural Centre on Friday afternoons.

Apart from the bustle in the streets on Fridays and Saturday mornings and a brief flurry of cars in the morning and evening as 'commuters' drive to and from work, the streets of town give a distinctly somnolent impression during the day, and a mortuary like one after dark. This latter impression however is quite at variance with the intense amount of social activity and interaction to be found in various halls, sports grounds, pubs and homes.¹ Impressionistic articles on country town life such as O'Brien's (1971) usually ignore this point.

1. Appendix F contains a reproduction of the activities page from the local newsheet Rotabar for April, 1974 and gives an example of how much organised social activity there is in a typical month.

there are mornings ... when it seems to make such commonsense to live in a country town and to be able to walk to work and not have to grapple with the metropolitan madhouse. But the mornings end at midday and by then the day doesn't sparkle quite so attractively. What seemed pleasantly leisurely about the tempo in the main street now seems like ennui. Life is dwindling and the town has a lazy middle aged spread.

O'Brien (1971:38).

This concentration on the somnolence of the external appearance of the township emphasizes the dullness and inactivity assumed to exist throughout social life and relationships and ignores the intensity of social interaction obtaining at a less obvious level.

Communications

Communications with the outside world consist of a twin engine eight seater aeroplane which flies to and from Rockhampton twice a week, but which is prohibitively expensive for many. There is a daily bus which leaves every mid-day on a gruelling eighteen hour trip to Brisbane, and the Midlander train which comes in on Wednesday and Saturday mornings from Rockhampton after a painfully slow journey of approximately twelve hours. Alternatively those wishing to fly direct to Brisbane have to drive a hundred kilometers to Blackall or Longreach to catch a Fokker Friendship. There are a few private planes owned by graziers in the vicinity and by two of the local

companies, the C.W.R.E.B. and the local consulting engineering associates.

Road communications are reasonably good, there is a sealed highway to Brisbane but the route to the closer Rockhampton is made tortuous by a one hundred and fifty kilometer stretch of appalling dirt road over the Drummond Range. Barcaldine, like other western towns, is cut off regularly two or three times a year by flooded creeks and inadequate bridges. Early in 1974 television had not yet reached the Central West though a number of people had sets in anticipation, a choice of two radio stations is available, the ABC country network (the third) and a commercial station, both of which broadcast from Longreach. Newspapers arrive by bus one day after publication and mail is delivered two or three times a week from areas outside the Central West, though a letter from Brisbane can sometimes take up to ten days to reach its Barcaldine destination. Longreach, a hundred kilometers west, is the home of a weekly newspaper but little news of Barcaldine is published, recently the local branch of Rotary has brought out a roneoed monthly newsheet 'Rotabar' containing information of a purely local nature which is very much appreciated by Barcaldinites.

Local opinions are expressed vehemently and frequently on the subject of Barcaldine's isolation. On the one hand adverse comments are made on the way in which those in positions of political power and those resident in coastal urban areas appear to ignore the plight of Central Westerners. Residents in remote rural areas are seen as the last to receive any benefit of modern science such as television, as

having their contact with the outside environment wilfully abandoned to the vagaries of the weather and the whims of striking city dwellers, and as being penalised for living in the country. On the other hand there is an element of pride in the ability locals are presumed to have to survive without all the amenities and close contacts city dwellers seem to find essential. The mere fact of existence in the face of such isolation has become a matter of pride.

Population Growth and Decline¹

The total population of Barcaldine Shire has never exceeded three thousand persons and evidence from the figures available indicates that decline has been the most enduring feature of the population since the 1930's.

The statistics from the earliest census which gives details for Local Government Areas (1921) to the latest (1971) are tabulated below in Table 4:1 and show a decrease of one quarter of the total population over the fifty year period.

1. Unless otherwise stated, all figures in this section are derived from Australian Bureau of Statistics publications.

TABLE 4:1

THE POPULATION OF THE BARCOLDINE SHIRE

1921-1971

	Males	Females	Total
1921	1,372	1,138	2,510
1933	1,386	1,226	2,612
1947	1,115	1,036	2,147
1954	1,176	1,024	2,200
1961	1,289	1,095	2,384
1966	1,185	1,097	2,282
1971	983	885	1,868

If the decreases in population in the rural and urban sectors of the Shire are considered separately over the ten year period for which figures are available, 1961-1971, then it can be seen that the pattern of population change is quite different in each sector, Table 4:2.

TABLE 4:2

THE POPULATION OF THE RURAL AND URBAN SECTORS OF BARCOLDINE SHIRE

1961-1971

	Rural	Urban
1961	646	1,738
1966	503	1,779
1971	404	1,464
Net loss over the period	242	274
Percentage Loss	37.5%	15.5%

This table shows that the rural sector of the Shire has lost population steadily throughout the period, 22.2 per cent from 1961 to 1966 and 15.3 per cent from 1966 to 1971. The urban sector however, actually gained 2.3 per cent between 1961 and 1966 and then lost 17.8 per cent over the next five years. The rural sector of the Shire has thus been subject to twice as large a percentage decrease in population as the urban sector and the proportion of rural population to total Shire population has dropped from one third to one fifth.

In 1971 a question on migration was included for the first time in the Population Census. The question merely ascertained where the individual was resident five years previously, that is to say at the time of the 1966 census. Table 4:3 below gives a breakdown of the results for Barcaldine residents and indicates that over the 1966-1971 intercensal period some 57 per cent of the Shire population was residentially stable. Just over three hundred persons or 20 per cent of the total population made a short distance move into Barcaldine Shire from either a rural or urban district in the same Central Western Statistical Division and 332 persons or 21 per cent migrated into the district from further afield. The picture emerges then of a community with a core group of the non-mobile (in the short term) surrounded by a group of mobile persons.

TABLE 4:3
MOBILITY OF RESIDENTS OF BARCADDINE SHIRE*
1966-1971

	N	%
Never moved	884	57
Moved in same Statistical Division - urban in 1966	229	15
Moved in same Statistical Division - rural in 1966	79	5
Moved in same State - urban in 1966	205	13
Moved in same State - rural in 1966	83	5
Moved from another State - urban in 1966	36	2
Moved from another State - rural in 1966	8	1
Others and not stated	37	2
	1,561	

* Source: A.B.S. Computer Print out on Barcaldine Shire

Note: Total excludes those aged under 5 years in 1971.

A comparison of these mobility trends with those evident in the State of Queensland for the same period reveals that there are a number of similarities. Thus 57 per cent of Barcaldine and 54 per cent of Queensland residents did not move; 30 per cent of Barcaldine and 27.5 per cent of Queensland residents made intrastate urban directed moves and 8 per cent of Barcaldine and 6.5 per cent of

Queensland residents made intrastate rural directed moves. The major difference appears to be that where only 3 per cent of the 1971 Barcaldine population experienced an interstate change in residence since 1966 some 11 per cent of the State population had done so.

Data from the survey of Shire residents undertaken for this research provides some more detailed information on past migration history, but unfortunately comparable data for state and nation is not available. The categories of movement considered in the present study are derived from Shyrock and Larmon (1965) but the classification of areas of residence is my own and needs some clarification.

The term 'rural farm' is used to indicate a farm or property; 'rural non-farm' indicates a town or village of up to five thousand in population; a 'city' is any State or Territorial capital in Australia or any overseas urban area of over 200,000 population, and a 'town' is any urban area of between 5,000 and 200,000 population excluding Hobart, Darwin and Canberra which are classified as cities.

TABLE 4:4

PAST MIGRATION HISTORY OF PRESENT BARCADDINE RESIDENTS*

	N	%
Always resident in Barcaldine Shire	66	29
Always resident on rural farm	10	4.5
Always resident in rural non-farm	40	17.5
Circular movement from rural farm to rural farm	8	3.5
Circular movement from rural non-farm to rural non-farm	35	15
Net shift urbanwards, i.e. rural farm to rural non-farm	8	3.5
Net shift ruralwards, i.e. from city or town to rural non-farm, or from city, town or rural non- farm to rural farm	62	27
Total	229	

* Source: Survey of Barcaldine Residents

Again, as was evidenced by the census statistics, a picture emerges of a hard core of permanent immobile residents surrounded by a flow of mobiles. Table 4:4 indicates that these mobile persons have followed a variety of migratory paths. Twenty two per cent of residents have their origins in a small rural town and have, after a period of residence in a large urban centre or city, moved back to a similar rural environment. Five per cent of the mobiles have made a circular move from and back to a rural farm and a further five per cent have shifted from a farm to a country town. A further 38 per cent have,

despite one or more changes of residence, remained within the rural environment either on a farm or in a non-farm centre. Perhaps of greatest significance is the fact that some 38 per cent of these mobile persons have migrated in a rural direction and moved from a town or city to a small country town.

When all the past moves by current Barcaldine residents are analysed as in Table 4:5 then a number of these points are confirmed.

TABLE 4:5

CHARACTER OF TOTAL NUMBER OF MOVES BY SURVEYED RESIDENTS*

	N	%
From rural farm and non-farm to other rural farm and non-farm	223	46
From rural farm and non-farm to town or city	67	13
From town or city to rural farm or non-farm	122	25
From town or city to other town or city	77	16
Total Number of Moves	489	

* Source: Survey of Barcaldine Residents

This table indicates that a large proportion of lifetime moves (46 per cent) by those resident in rural areas - either farm or non-farm - do not necessarily result in the loss of the persons concerned to

the rural environment. Another point which is raised here is that rural areas do not simply experience loss of population to urban areas but also draw migrants (25 per cent) from large towns and cities. These issues shall be further considered in chapters seven and eight when the migration paths of those who have emigrated from Barcaldine are analysed.

Age and Sex Characteristics of Present Population

The age distribution of the Shire population shows some features which would seem to be consonant with a picture of general population decline. Research into patterns of rural depopulation has indicated that outmigration appears to be selective of the young.¹ A continuous pattern of decline through outmigration would therefore result in a residual population manifesting a depletion of young adults and an overpreponderance of the aged. Such a situation is beginning to emerge in Barcaldine as shown by the age distribution graph in figure one which presents a comparison of the age structure of the population of Barcaldine Shire, the State of Queensland and of Australia. Barcaldine Shire has a somewhat abnormal distribution of population in certain age ranges compared with the State and the nation. The Shire shows an over representation of the very young (under nine year olds) and the old (over fifty year olds), and a marked under representation of youths and young adults.

1. This aspect of internal migration will be examined in depth in Chapter 8 and a detailed exposition shall be left until then.

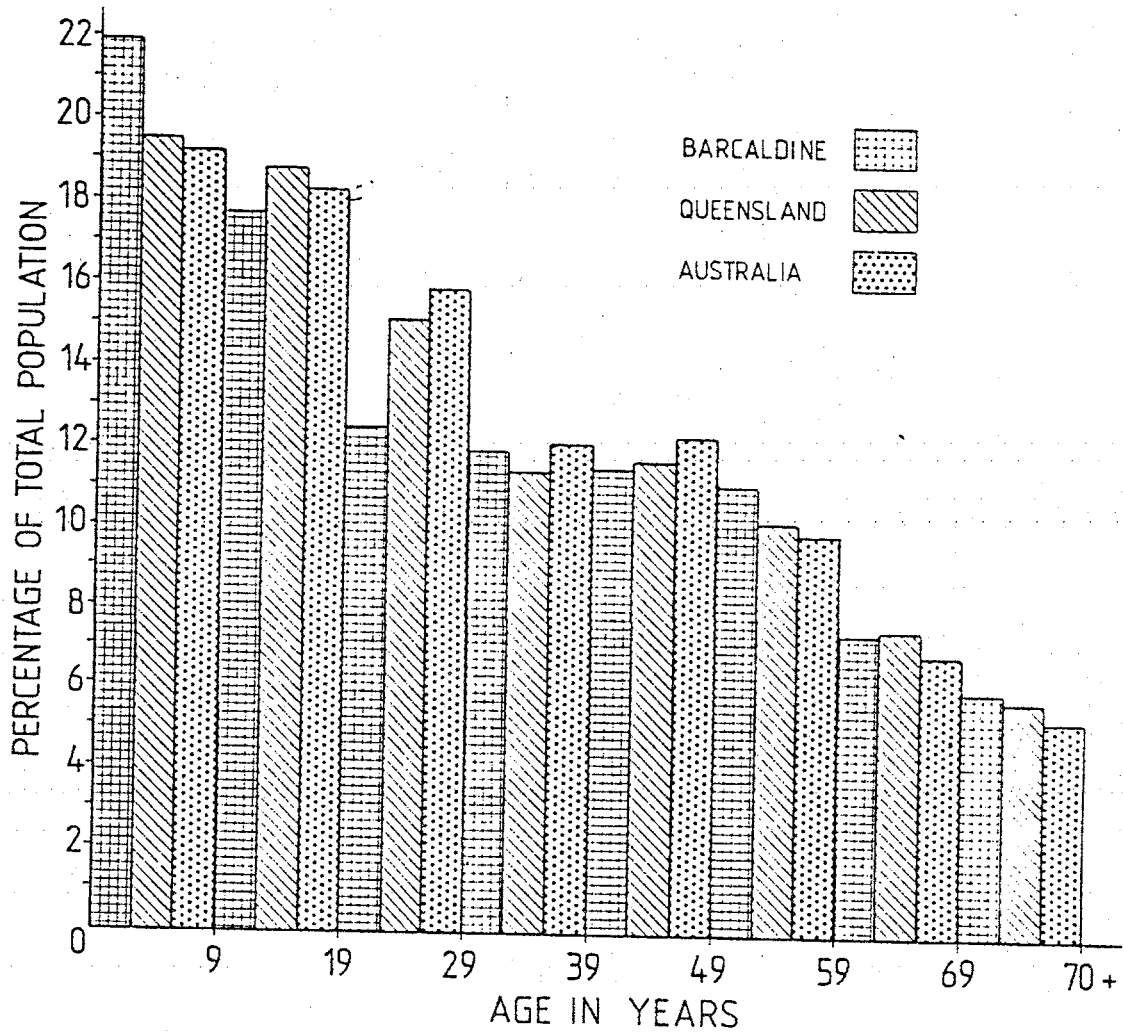


FIGURE 1. Age distribution graph comparing Barcaldine, Queensland and Australia.

Another feature of rural outmigration which has also been widely examined in the literature is that it appears to be selective of females.¹

TABLE 4:6

SEX COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION OF BARCOLDINE, QUEENSLAND AND AUSTRALIA*

1971

	Male %	Female %	Total Number
Urban Barcaldine	50	50	1464
Rural Barcaldine	63	37	404
Barcaldine Shire	53	47	1868
Queensland	51	49	1,827,065
Australia	50	50	12,755,638

* Source: A.B.S. census statistics

Table 4:6 indicates that Barcaldine Shire does have a slightly higher proportion of males to females than are present in state or country as a whole. This trend is particularly clear in the rural sector of the Shire where almost two thirds of the population are male compared to only half of the Queensland and Australian population. Taken together then Figure 1 and Table 4:6 indicate that the demographic structure of Barcaldine's population does show some features consonant with a trend towards decline through outmigration,

1. This aspect of internal migration will be examined in depth in Chapter 8 and a detailed exposition shall be left until then.

in particular a concentration of population at the extremes of the age range and an unbalanced sex ratio.

Occupational Structure of the Shire

The percentage of the Barcaldine population classified as being in the labour force (37 per cent) is slightly less than the percentage in Queensland (40 per cent) and in Australia (42 per cent).

TABLE 4:7

SEX COMPOSITION OF THE LABOUR FORCE IN BARCADDINE, QUEENSLAND AND AUSTRALIA

	Male %	Female %	Total Number
Urban Barcaldine	76	24	496
Rural Barcaldine	92	8	199
Barcaldine Shire	80	20	695
Queensland	70	30	723,922
Australia	68	32	5,330,488

This figure concurs with the picture presented in the age graph on page 125, thus in a population which is over-represented in the older and younger age groups the proportion of the population in the labour force is likely to be low. Another pertinent point which emerges from Tables 4:7 and 4:8 is the fact that the number of women in the work force is significantly low.

TABLE 4:8

PROPORTION OF WOMEN IN THE LABOUR FORCE IN BARCADDINE, QUEENSLAND
AND AUSTRALIA

	N. Women in Labour Force	% Women in Labour Force
Urban Barcaldine	121	16
Rural Barcaldine	16	11
Barcaldine Shire	137	15
Queensland	214,598	24
Australia	1,690,849	27

In the rural sector of the Shire the figures partly reflect the low proportion of women residents but overall they indicate a situation of a severe lack of employment opportunities for women. Country towns have few job openings for women and the work which is available for the non-professional tends to be either unskilled or clerical.

As far as the work force as a whole is concerned the majority is employed in either the primary or tertiary industry. Only 1.5 per cent or eleven individuals are classified as working in a manufacturing industry and the products thereof, soft drinks, small machinery and implements are consumed or used locally. Agriculture employs 26 per cent of the workforce with the remainder working in predominantly service areas such as construction (18.5 per cent), the wholesale and retail trade (13 per cent), community and recreation services (17 per cent) communication, transport and the supply of facilities (11.5 per cent) and finance and public administration (11

per cent).

Conclusion

This chapter has served to introduce Barcaldine Shire and to place it in some geographic, historic and demographic perspective. Originating as a carriers camp on the railway in the 1870's it grew into a bustling rural service town in the last years of the nineteenth and early years of the twentieth century. Since the 1920's gradual decline in overall population figures and in the number of local small businesses and such self support services as the brewery, dairy and market gardening has supplanted burgeoning growth.

An examination of the structure of the population and the patterns of demographic change revealed that firstly the rural sector of the Shire has consistently lost population more heavily than the urban sector; secondly there appears to be a core group of residentially stable members of the community consisting, in the short term (5 years) of over half and in the long term (since birth) of over a quarter of the total population. In addition to this core group of the non-mobile there is a floating or changing population of the mobile. A third point which emerged was that those comprising the migrant component of the population have experienced a variety of migration paths many of them having a consistent history of rural or small town residence and a significant number having made an urban to rural move. It was also noted that the age and sex structure of the population was indicative of a consistent pattern of decline leading

to an under-representation of young adults, an over-representation of the aged and, especially in the rural sector, a marked preponderance of males over females. Finally the sex distribution in the labour force reveals a similar pattern to that obtaining in the country as a whole though the percentage of females in the rural work force is lower than the national average. The labour force is employed predominantly in agriculture and in the service industries. In conclusion then this chapter has considered the physical and demographic environment which provides the context in which migration shall be viewed and has emphasized that the population consists of essentially two groups of persons, the mobile and the non-mobile.

CHAPTER FIVE

SOCIAL GROUPINGS IN BARCOLDINE

Introduction

In this chapter it is intended to examine the social organisation of Barcaldine in some depth. To this end a distinction is made between four groups or categories of persons resident in the community. Both the character of the interrelationships of these four groups are considered as well as the changes which have occurred in their interaction patterns as a result of changing trends in residential mobility. The first section of the chapter is devoted to a detailed exposition of the nature of the four categories and their interaction patterns. The second section then encompasses an analysis of how far and in what way the interrelationships of local and resident persons have been transformed or modified by the relatively recent inflow of a significant number of non-local but resident persons.

It must be remembered that here the purpose of using a categorization of the residents of the community in this way is not (as has been the case with recent Australian studies of small town society) to describe the class or status system operating in it, even though it would be possible to link the categories loosely to a stratified system of class and status groupings. The intention here is rather to use the four category model as an heuristic device or

analytical tool which will assist in the isolation of the crucial elements involved in the processes of residential mobility and immobility.

The Categories

The way in which the categories were developed derives partly from observations in the field and partly through more indirect analyses of data from the interview schedules. It became obvious from the first days in the Shire that there were a number of cleavages or divisions between various members of the community. There was the distinction between graziers and non-graziers, between town dwellers and country dwellers, between permanent and impermanent residents, between employers and the self employed and employees.

After a period it became clear that there were numerous other dissimilarities which were related to these more overt differences in occupational and residential status. Thus it became evident that in areas such as educational background, religious and political beliefs, socio-economic status, level of participation in local politics and local organisations, attitudinal bias towards a rural or an urban way of life, aspirations for children, and degree of interest and involvement in affairs external to the Shire, members of certain groups shared similar experiences and ideas. Confirmation and refinement of the various congruencies and cleavages which were observationally defined was made possible by the analysis of the quantitative data from questionnaires and interview schedules. In this

way a four category model of Barcaldine society was developed.

The basis on which the four categories are founded is thus primarily an occupational one. A distinction is made between graziers, burgesses, townsmen and spirialists. Graziers are the owners and operators of grazing properties in the Shire, burgesses are the owners and operators of small businesses in the township, townsmen are the permanent residents of the Shire who are either retired employees or current employees of graziers, burgesses or any of the external agencies operating in the Shire. Townsmen range in occupational status from being unskilled manual labourers to skilled and clerical or white collar workers. The fourth category consists of the spirialists. They are the impermanent residents who have professional, administrative or white collar status and are employed by the external agencies both public and private which have offices in the Shire.

A final point should be made before embarking on a detailed analysis and description of the four categories. It has to be remembered that in the development of any analytical model there are always elements which in reality do not fit into the ideal structure. Thus there are individuals who do not wholly belong to one category or whose characteristics may qualify them for membership of more than one. This lack of a perfect fit does not however discount the basic usefulness of the category model as an analytical tool.

The Graziers

As the term implies persons who fall into this category are

either managers or owners of a grazing property. There are approximately one hundred and fifty grazier adults, both male and female living in the Shire and forty four or thirty per cent were surveyed for this study, all but one of these being owner occupiers of their property. On the whole graziers tend to be long term residents of the Shire; forty three per cent of those surveyed have spent all their lives in the area and only seven per cent have been resident for less than ten years.

For many a life of relative isolation is the rule, with one or perhaps two trips into the township each week from properties of up to sixty five kilometers distance. When graziers do come into town they make an effort to dress up, the men wear smart twill trousers, shirts with breast pockets, often with a tie, an article of apparel noticeably rare in Barcaldine, lace up shoes or elastic sided boots and a broad brimmed 'cockies' hat. A woman coming to town usually wears a smart dress, court type shoes, often with stockings - almost as unusual in summer as the tie their husband sports - carries a handbag and, if an older lady, is not infrequently crowned with a hat.

A typical grazier belongs to the Barcaldine Club, an all male preserve, which, prior to the drought and depression of the rural industry of the nineteen sixties, was an exclusively grazier club. It is still however primarily the haunt of the landed locals, for over fifty per cent of the members, a total of ninety six individuals, are graziers. In the Club a grazier can drink, dine and play billiards and yarn in all male and principally fellow grazier company. Graziers rarely socialize in any of the six local hotels. Survey

data indicate that only the Shakespeare Hotel is patronised by graziers and this is the largest and smartest establishment in town where most public dinners or receptions are held.

On the whole graziers do not take a very large part in local recreational or service organisations. Two associations which are primarily concerned with matters of interest to graziers and which are fairly heavily patronised by them are the Graziers Association - a local branch of a state-wide organisation - which has fifty two members, all of whom are graziers and the Pastoral, Agricultural and Horticultural Society (P.A.&H. Society) Committee, the organising force behind the annual Barcaldine Show, which has a membership of twenty graziers. If he is a sportsman, a grazier might join the Gun Club (eighty five per cent or twenty five members), perhaps in summer play cricket for the "Country and Agents" team (twenty members or fifty per cent are graziers), or in winter he might support the Barcaldine team as a spectator at matches of the Central Western Rugby League. He may even join one or more of the three Race Clubs of which forty five individuals or sixty per cent of members are graziers. It is unlikely that he would join any of the towns service clubs except possibly the Returned Servicemen's League (R.S.L.). Local Shire Council affairs attract considerable attention from graziers, one quarter of those surveyed claimed either to be or to have been councillors or to have stood and been defeated in an election, and five of the present eight councillors are graziers.¹

1. For the purposes of Shire Council Elections, the Shire is divided into three areas. There are two predominantly rural sectors which have five representatives, almost automatically graziers, and one sector covering the urban area which is at present represented by one townsman, and two burgesses. A Shire Chairman is elected by the whole Shire.

This high level of participation in an area seen as crucial to graziers' interests compares significantly with the seven per cent of burgesses (category two), eight per cent of townsmen (category three) and not one spiralist (category four) who similarly indicated past or present activity or interest in local politics.

A grazier's wife also takes part in a limited sphere of social activities in town, she might attend the regular Friday night barbeques at the Club, perhaps belong to the Red Cross League, that is the associate and relatively inactive section of the Red Cross. A few purely female and principally service associations may attract her membership such as the Country Women's Association, Forum, the Anglican Church Ladies Guild or the Women's Auxiliary of the P.A. and H. Society Committee.

Many grazier families send their children away to boarding school in Rockhampton or Brisbane but those children who do remain in Barcaldine take little part in extra curricular activities in town. For all members of a grazier's family activity in local organisations is often severely limited by the fact of their residence at some distance from town, and this largely accounts for the manifest disparity between the number of graziers' names which appear on the membership lists of various clubs and the actual number who regularly attend meetings. On the whole the level of participation of graziers in local organisations is low except in those in which they overwhelmingly predominate, such as the Barcaldine Club, The Gun Club, the Race Clubs, the Show Committee. As a result interaction between graziers and members of other categories is limited in terms of joint

interest in associational activities.

As a category the graziers have had relatively restricted educational experiences; ninety one percent of those surveyed had received some secondary schooling but a mere seven per cent had continued their education up to a tertiary level and these three individuals were all women and trained nurses. Bell found a similar situation among the politically dominant but relatively undereducated farmers in Suffolk (Seminar 1976).

Politically graziers are conservative, eighty four per cent of those surveyed claimed to vote for the National Party, around two and a half per cent for the Democratic Labor Party, around four and a half per cent for the Liberal Party and there were no Australian Labor Party supporters.¹ The majority of graziers are adherents of the Anglican Church and as was seen earlier the women take some part in church affairs. It appears that endogamy is practised within the grazier category in the local Barcaldine sphere. On the whole marriages are contracted either between the children of graziers in the local area or between these children and individuals external to the Barcaldine system.

The exact economic position of the graziers is extremely difficult to ascertain. There are two prevailing myths or local views on this subject. The first is that graziers are wealthy. This is the general view of non-graziers who instance the purchase of new cars and light aircraft, regular trips to Brisbane, six week holidays on the coast

1. Nine per cent declined to state their political allegiance.

and \$500 parties as evidence of the graziers wealth. The second opinion expressed is by the graziers themselves who claim that they are poverty stricken, in debt, mortgaged to the hilt, and only just managing to live. Direct questions as to net income elicited such a variety of response, or rather non-response, that exact quantification was impossible. A non-typical but significant reply was "we are subsistence farmers, just like the Africans" from a gentleman who had recently purchased an imported car costing \$11,500.¹ The real position probably lies somewhere between these two extremes, but it is certainly true that the average grazier's idea of a comfortable standard of living and income is higher than that conceived of by most non-grazier locals.

In sum then, the graziers comprise a small but highly visible and discrete category. This grazier category forms a subsystem within the wider system of Barcaldine Shire. Interaction between system and subsystem is limited on the social plane but is more widespread on the economic. The final section of this chapter will deal with this interactive aspect in greater detail.

The Burgesses

The second category of Barcaldine residents has been named "burgesses" following Watson (1964:149) and Oxley (1974:114). Those in this category are the local businessmen whose economic advancement requires that they remain in the locality, and include shopkeepers, garage and cinema owners, the local cordial factory owner and the

1. This is of course a pre-inflation figure quoted for 1974 and would be considerably higher today.

chemist. Members of this category comprise a total of around one hundred to a hundred and fifty adults or eight per cent of the total population.

In Barcaldine, the burgess category does not have the same degree of homogeneity or exclusivity as does the grazier category, and as such individual burgesses are not so readily identifiable on a superficial face to face basis. A burgess can not immediately be identified as a member of a particular category by his personal appearance or place of residence. There is no section of town exclusive to burgess dwellings though survey data indicate that a burgess is more likely to own his house than is a townsman (a member of the third category and also an indigenous Barcaldinite).

In dress and general appearance most burgesses do not differ markedly from townsmen and indeed members of the two categories are frequently linked by ties of kinship and a degree of social interaction. This fact is in agreement with Watson's finding that burgesses are in general "tied to a local community and often share the same local culture as members of the working class", Watson (1964:149). It is seen as relevant to distinguish burgesses here as a separate category for in various ways their economic and social position in Barcaldine is one with a character of its own.

Burgesses, like graziers, are long term residents of Barcaldine. Over half were born or have spent over forty five years in the area and only three individuals have lived in Barcaldine for less than twenty five years. There is no exclusive burgess organisation such

as a Chamber of Commerce to compare with the Grazier Association, but burgesses in general and their women in particular are staunch joiners and supporters of local organisations. In almost every field of local activity they can be relied on to lend support, act as patrons, provide facilities or prizes, carry advertisements in their stores and generally offer practical assistance. McIntyre and McIntyre (1944: 99) found a similar situation in Victorian country towns and wrote of local traders: "they are also frequently well represented in sporting and other organisations ... anything which helps publicise the town and hence possibly increases its trade."

In Barcaldine also the associations in which they play a prominent part tend to be those which will advance and promote the prosperity of the town, and thus indirectly enhance their own economic position. Thirty per cent of the members of the P.A. & H. Society committee are burgesses and the annual show draws large numbers of people to Barcaldine from the surrounding country and from neighbouring shires, all eager and willing to spend money. Burgesses also figure as members of the Arts Council where they form thirty per cent of the membership, the Cultural Association, eighteen per cent and the Historical Society, twenty two per cent, all organisations dedicated to the promotion of cultural activity and hence attractiveness of the area. In the sporting field burgesses, despite their fairly small overall numbers, participate quite actively; one quarter of the golfers and race club supporters are burgesses as are thirteen and fifteen per cent respectively of cricketers and outdoor bowlers.

Burgesses, on the whole, do not have a wide experience of life

outside Barcaldine; over one third claim that they make a visit away from the area on average less than once a year. As a rule members of this category attended the local school as their children do today, and survey data indicate that the level of education attained by burgesses is somewhat lower than that of graziers but somewhat higher than that of townsmen. Table 5:1 below summarises the relative educational experiences of these three 'local' or indigenous categories.

TABLE 5:1
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF GRAZIERS, BURGESSES AND TOWNSMEN
Row Percentages

	Primary %	Secondary %	Post-Secondary %
Graziers (N=44)	2	91	7
Burgesses (N=29)	38	48	14
Townsmen* (N=133)	52	45	2

* One individual had no schooling

Burgesses, like townsmen, are predominantly Catholics but their political allegiances are widely spread. One quarter of the burgesses surveyed refused to state their political preferences, fearing perhaps to alienate either their conservative or non-conservative customers by stating a definite view either way. Of those who did reply, forty per cent vote for the Australian Labor Party, forty five per cent for the National Party, and fourteen per cent for the Liberal Party. As

far as local politics are concerned burgesses do take some small part; of the three non-grazier councillors, two are burgesses and the Shire Chairman who has been elected unopposed for the last twenty five years is the owner of the local drapery and clothing store.

Economically, burgesses depend on customers who are drawn from a limited area and whose absolute numbers have been shrinking over the years. The rural business man's market has been declining as the population decreases. Various other factors have contributed to the general decline in demand for local services such as improved roads, public transport and the more general availability of the motor car. Rose (1967:105) has suggested that those who have studied the possible existence of a hierarchy of towns and cities in Australia, such as Daly and Brown (1964), Williams (1965, 1966), have concluded that intermediate sized centres tend to be bypassed by the consumer who seeks to satisfy his demands by dealing directly with the large, though distant, city. This pattern of purchasing direct from the city is particularly prevalent among graziers and has tended to have the effect of creating a vicious circle of low demand, leading to high prices and a limited choice of consumer items which leads to decreasing patronage by those locals able to go elsewhere. Details of burgess incomes are given in Table 5:2 and indicate that though not wealthy burgesses are better off than their fellow townsmen, for only one quarter of burgesses have an income of less than \$5000 per annum compared with three quarters of townsmen.

TABLE 5:2

ANNUAL INCOME OF BURGESSES AND TOWNSMEN
Row Percentages

	\$1000-\$3000* per annum %	\$3000-\$5000 per annum %	\$5000-\$7000 per annum %	\$7000-\$10,000 per annum %
Burgesses (N=29)	14	14	41	17
Townsmen (N=133)	29	46	18	4
		over \$10,000 per annum %	No Reply %	
Burgesses		11	3	
Townsmen		00	3	

* Figures for 1974.

In sum then the burgesses form a category which has its roots firmly embedded in the local system. They can be seen as good solid citizens vitally concerned with the prosperity and stability of the local area in which they have much invested, fully aware that in the well being of the area lies their own.

The Townsmen

The third and by far the largest category consists of what are here termed townsmen. These are the skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled and white collar employees or ex-employees who have lived all or most of their lives in the area. They comprise the third and last category of

indigenous Barcaldinites, however they differ from the other two indigenous categories in a number of ways not least of which is that they are not tied to the area as burgesses are by virtue of a business investment, nor as graziers are by a property investment.¹

Included in this category are a number of rural labourers most of whom now live in town and travel out to work on the properties on a weekly or daily basis. During the rural depression of the sixties jobs in the industry became virtually non-existent, many shearers, wool classers, rouseabouts, fencers and rural labourers of all kinds were unable to find work and either left the area or were employed locally as relief workers on the railway or the roads. As the depression receded those who had moved out of the rural industry did not always move back. In fact a frequently voiced complaint by graziers is that they cannot find anyone to come and work on the land. The reasons for this present lack of rural labour are threefold. Firstly, many rural labourers shifted to the city during the depression, found work that was less taxing and more remunerative, they began to appreciate the amenities available in the city and never returned to Barcaldine. Another reason is that rural labourers who remained in the area working on the railway or the roads found such work more congenial. The wages were higher, the hours more reasonable and predictable, the relationship with the boss less subject to the master-servant aura characteristic of a grazier's relationship with his labourer, and the very existence of the job more certain. Hence many chose to stay off the land even though work there subsequently became available. Finally there is the fact that the rural industry holds little appeal for the young, horizons are broader than in their

1. This point shall be developed in greater detail in Chapter Six.

parents' day and with an increasingly higher standard of education many school leavers aspire to white collar jobs rather than to labouring on the land.

Apart from those working on the railway and the roads, members of the townsmen category include those employed as electricians, fitters and turners and linesmen by Telecom Australia, engine drivers with the Central Western Regional Electricity Board, storemen and packers and shop assistants in various stores, secretaries, clerks and receptionists in offices, and a significant number of retired persons and pensioners.

There is a small number of families living in Barcaldine comprising persons of mixed race. It is claimed locally that they are of South Sea island rather than aboriginal origin but this is, almost certainly a local rationalisation of the fact that they do not conform to the white Australians' preconception of aborigines. They live and work in Barcaldine in the same manner as do the white townsmen and most are long term Barcaldine residents. It is claimed locally that there is little or no discrimination against them and intermarriage does occur, though of course there are whites who will speak out against it if prompted. These families of mixed race cannot be said to form a separate category or even subcategory on the grounds of life style, social behaviour, level of participation in local organisations and affairs, economic standing or any basis other than their colour which is in no way pertinent to this research so they are automatically included in the townsmen category.

As shown in the previous section the townsmen category has the lowest economic standing of all categories in the Shire. Table 5:2 compared the annual income of burgesses and townsmen, the two indigenous urban dwelling categories. The table indicates that the majority of burgesses have an income of more than and the majority of townsmen an income of less than a yearly figure of \$5,000.

Commensurate with this lower economic standing it was found that fewer townsmen than burgesses owned their own home. Over three quarters of burgesses fully own their own home in Barcaldine while only just over half the townsmen do so. Many townsmen have horizons broadly limited to the Barcaldine scene or at the most to that of the Central West. Survey data indicate that approximately two fifths of townsmen travel away from Barcaldine on fewer than one occasion each year. Only one third of townsmen regularly read a newspaper printed outside the Central West (compared to half the graziers and burgesses and three quarters of the spiralists)¹. Only two percent of townsmen surveyed had experienced any form of tertiary level education² and it is rare for a townsman to have been educated outside the area.

Townsmen appear to have a dense web of kinship in Barcaldine itself, over one quarter have six or more close relatives in the immediate vicinity. Table 5:3 below compares the number of relatives of each of the indigenous categories resident in the area and shows that although fewer townsmen than graziers and burgesses have from one to six relatives locally resident, a significantly greater number have more than six in the vicinity.

1. See Table 5:4 on page 152.

2. See Table 5:1 on page 141.

TABLE 5:3

NUMBER OF CLOSE RELATIVES* OF GRAZIERS, BURGESSES AND TOWNSMEN
RESIDENT IN BARCALDINE
Row Percentages

	No Relatives %	One to Six Relatives %	Over Six Relatives %
Graziers (N=44)	9	84	7
Burgesses (N=29)	7	90	3
Townsmen (N=133)	9	65	26

* Close relatives = grandparents, parents, siblings and offspring.

Townsmen vary considerably in their propensity to take part in local affairs. At one extreme is the retired women who said:

I'm never at a loss for something to do, on Monday I go to euchre in the Church of England Hall, on Tuesday hoy at the convent, Wednesday euchre again, Thursday it's indoor bowls and Friday I go to hoy at the C.W.A. On Saturday I write my letters and on Sunday I read the papers. There's no need for anyone to be lonely here.

At the other extreme are those who have the occasional drink in the pub, or watch the football when the Barcaldine team plays at home. Survey data indicate that over one third of townsmen belong to no local organisations (compared with twenty three per cent of graziers and fourteen per cent of burgesses). Just over half are members of

up to three organisations and only ten per cent belong to four or more. There are certain social activities which are wholly or predominantly the province of townsmen. The regular hoy and euchre evenings, and the weekly indoor bowls session seem to appeal particularly to the middle aged. Cricket and football excite a deal of interest in young and old, golf and outdoor bowls attract the active older townsmen, and netball, tennis and judo draw large numbers of young townsmen. Townsmen children take a lively part in the activities of the Scout and Guide Association where they form over half the membership. A number of dedicated middle aged women put a great deal of time and effort into the C.W.A., the Red Cross, the Mothers Union of the Parents and Citizens Association and the Church Ladies Guilds. The various service clubs are generally eschewed by townsmen except the R.S.L. of whose membership they comprise almost half the total.

On a general level, however, the degree of participation of townsmen in local organised social activities is not commensurate with their total numbers in the Shire population. There appears to be operating here a phenomenon noted by Gans (1967:408-409) in Levittown, that the involvement of "Settlers" i.e. indigenes, in the local society principally takes the form of informal visiting in contrast to the "Mobiles" or "Transients" whose involvement is likely to be in the form of participation in formal organisations. It shall be shown in the next section that the transient or impermanent population of Barcaldine play a disproportionately large part in local organisations.

As was mentioned in the previous Chapter Barcaldine has the reputation of being a diehard Labor town and it is the townsmen who

uphold this tradition, indeed ninety per cent of those surveyed claimed to be A.L.P. supporters. The majority of townsmen are Catholic and this combination of left wing adherence and Catholicism would seem to echo back to the Irish ancestry of many of the original settlers in the area.

In summary then this large category of townsmen consists of the bulk of Barcaldine's population, they are long term residents closely tied to the immediate locality by social, kinship and psychological bonds. They have few economic investments in the area, except perhaps the ownership of a home, but nothing to compare with that of the members of the other two indigenous local categories.

The Spiralists

This fourth category is also borrowed terminologically and conceptually from Watson (1964:147). He defined spiralists as the "socially, economically and geographically mobile national category who move upward through bureaucratic hierarchies and outwards through the communities to which their organisations send them". Spiralists contrast with burgesses and graziers in that their promotion is necessarily associated with moving on to other towns while the economic advancement of the other two categories requires that they remain in a particular town or rural area.

Barcaldine is well endowed with spiralists having around a

hundred and fifty adults in this category. These include engineers and draughtsmen employed by the Main Roads Department, and the Central Western Regional Electricity Board, bank managers and bank clerks, Post Office, Telecom and Railway Department employees, teachers, nurses, the doctor, the dentist, the Shire clerk and his assistant, Department of Primary Industries', Department of Works', Court of Petty Sessions' employees, the health inspector, stipendiary magistrate, clergymen and representatives of various State or national agencies and companies.¹

In Barcaldine spiralists tend to be either young, unmarried persons, as almost half of those interviewed were, or young married couples with or without children. Over ninety per cent of those surveyed were below forty years of age. The fact that spiralists in Barcaldine fall within this relatively restricted age range is a function of the transfer and promotion systems operating in the organisations through which these individuals are spiralling. Barcaldine, a small and remote centre, is at such a level in the hierarchy of employment centres that individuals at the outset or in the initial stages of their spiralling career are transferred or posted there. And individuals at such a stage in their career cycle tend also to be at a common point in their life cycle or family development.

Owing to the nature of their residence in the area (from one to

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1. Not all employees of State or Federal Departments are spiralists, many are townsmen, particularly those who work in a clerical or labouring capacity. There are also a percentage who are townsmen but will become transients on promotion to another town in the same organisation.

about ten years) the spiralists either rent private accommodation or the more senior live in company or public service owned houses. These latter are of a higher quality than the general run of local houses, some are new and built of brick, others though older have well equipped kitchens, fly screening and occasionally airconditioning. Spiralists often find fault with local accommodation, not only is it scarce, they complain, but when found of poor quality compared with that available in larger towns, and it is certainly unsuitable for the climate. With a recent basis for comparison elsewhere spiralists are voluble in making known their feelings of discontent.

Throughout their period of residence and employment in Barcaldine be it one year or ten, the majority of spiralists feel themselves to be outsiders. Spiralists are isolated and united as a category in their non-attachment to the area and in the knowledge that it is a temporary home and that they will be moving on. To some, particularly doctors, dentists and teachers, Barcaldine is a necessary and only just bearable evil, their sojourn there consists of a number of compulsory years of rural service. Many of them feel a lasting resentment against Barcaldine and cannot wait to shake its dust from their heels, an attitude which is sensed and resented by members of the indigenous categories. Others however make the most of their experience of rural residence, participate with enthusiasm in any and every activity, enjoy their stay and regret their departure.

In whatever way they react to life in Barcaldine spiralists as a rule have their aspirations and social horizons firmly fixed beyond the local area. Family ties and future economic opportunities are seen

as being centred elsewhere. Almost three quarters of spiralists have no close relatives resident in the area and no spiralist has more than three. The table below indicates that spiralists are less concerned with local regional news and more with affairs of State or Australia-wide interest than are any of the indigenous categories.

TABLE 5:4

LOCAL AND NON-LOCAL NEWSPAPERS
READ BY THE FOUR CATEGORIES

	<u>LOCAL</u>				<u>NON-LOCAL</u>	
	Longreach Leader %	Rotabur %	Country Life %	Barcoo Independent %	Courier Mail %	The Australian %
Graziers N=44	77	91	57	21	52	7
Burgesses N=29	72	97	17	17	43	9
Townsmen N=133	63	85	3	5	33	6
Spiralists N=23	43	74	0	4	75	35

Similarly a comparison of the relative frequency of trips away from Barcaldine reveals that spiralists make a considerably greater number of external visits than do members of any other category. Seventy five per cent of the spiralists make more than one trip a year compared with forty eight per cent of graziers, twenty eight per cent of burgesses and a mere nineteen per cent of townsmen.

From a number of other viewpoints spiralists feel themselves to be

apart from the indigenes. Economically speaking spiralists are in a unique position in Barcaldine, they depend, as indigenes do not, on a non-fluctuating external source for a regular income¹. Graziers are dependent on the prices they can get for products on a constantly changing world market, burgesses and townsmen in large part depend on local prosperity and conditions. The annual income of a spiralist is noticeably higher than that of townsmen, three quarters of the former receive more than \$5,000 a year compared with three quarters of the latter who receive less than that figure. On average spiralist and burgess incomes are not too different but as was pointed out, a burgess's income may fluctuate from year to year while a spiralist's will not.

Not surprisingly, as many spiralists are professionals, the majority have attained a high level of education. Some sixty five per cent have undertaken tertiary level training compared with five per cent of the total local indigenous population². Spiralists often feel themselves to be superior, deriding the prejudices, conservatism and occasional naivety of rural dwellers. They delight in pricking the self importance of the graziers - calling them "farmers", a term very much disliked by graziers who see themselves as superior to mere "grubbers in the soil". Friction is common between graziers and spiralists, the latter do not respect the former's traditionally

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1. Strictly comparable data in terms of dollars per annum is not available for graziers, many of whom were reluctant or unable to provide detailed information. Those who did give any figures tended to mention amounts received from a beef sale or wool clip and made no calculations as to the net amount after running costs etc. had been taken into account.
 2. That is graziers, burgesses and townsmen combined.

superior status in the area, and graziers resent the spiralists' easy assumption of equality or superiority and ready penetration into fields of activity which were, in the past, exclusively their own, such as membership of the Club and even the Club Committee and the Gun Club. During the rural depression in the late sixties the graziers felt very bitter that while they were in dire economic straits the spiralists continued to receive regular pay cheques and were as well off as ever.

A fairly typical example of the friction apparent in this relationship is given below. At the Club one night, two young engineers, the recently qualified doctor and three graziers of about the same age were seated, drinking, at a table together. The three spiralists conversed about the University, which all had attended, reminiscing about lectures, the idiosyncracies of various individuals, mutual friends etc. Gradually the young graziers got bored, uncomfortable, then antagonistic and proceeded to complain that the M.R.D. had built a bridge in the wrong place and to criticise their work methods. At this the engineers, who worked for the M.R.D., became annoyed and accused the graziers of trying to tell them how to do their job. Angry words were exchanged and the group broke up.

Spiralists as frequently complain about townsmen as they do about graziers, they say they are dull, uneducated, think about nothing but the football and going to the pub, they are apathetic, entirely inward looking. They cite a couple of families of ten and thirteen children as evidence of the ignorance and stupidity of those born and bred in Barcaldine. In turn local Barcaldinites express a variety of views about

spiralists, by some they are described as "cliquey", "those public service people, they just stick together and don't mix with the locals" but by others they are accused of being "pushy", "just coming in and taking over", "pushing themselves into everything". Spiralists are seen as essentially urbanites who probably despise things rural and are thus despised in turn. Despite this undercurrent of resentment against spiralists, many locals realise that without their presence Barcaldine would have declined to a much greater extent than it did during the recent rural depression.

In Barcaldine, spiralists are in a position which places a variety of strains and tensions on them as individuals. Most spiralists are urban rooted and conditions in Barcaldine are very different from those to which they are accustomed. They find themselves living in a community where almost everyone knows everyone else, they are the subject of much gossip by people who know who they are and whom initially they do not know. Local assessment of competence in their work is coloured by views on their private life. For many the manner in which they work is under constant scrutiny from the community and criticism is not slow in being given. Engineers are criticised for their road building, and teachers are a frequent subject of gossip and comment - a particularly onerous burden to bear for the many young teachers in their first year of teaching. The doctor and dentist, also newly qualified, not only suffer from professional isolation and the absence of any means of obtaining a rapid second opinion in a crisis, but often have to bear the brunt of a great deal of particularly malicious gossip. In short spiralists have to cope with a situation, not commonly met with in our increasingly complex and large scale communities, where the work and social spheres of their lives are in no

way separate.

As shall be developed in the next section spiralists play an intermediary role in a community formerly divided between town and country dwellers. This combination of factors which results in members of the spiralist category being a part of and yet apart from local community life has a number of consequences, one of which is to place spiralists in a position which has a degree of tension and strain inherent in it. One of the means by which this tension is resolved or expelled in a non-violent and hence non-threatening manner is through the medium of sport. A great deal of the social activity in Barcaldine revolves around sport in which spiralists take a particularly active part. Two of the cricket teams consist largely of spiralists and interest in their success is keen: tennis, golf, netball and stock car racing are all widely patronised and the swimming club is largely run by spiralist parents for their children. There is also a great deal of informal challenging between spiralists. For example when a MRD employee is transferred, before his departure he is challenged by a fellow employee to compete in five different sports, bets being placed by others on the probable outcome. An annual swimming competition is organised by spiralists, a challenge cricket match is played by public service personnel versus the locals, and on innumerable occasions individuals wager with others on an infinite variety of issues, a billiard game, a tennis match, or a drinking bout.

As far as participation in other local organisations is concerned spiralists take a prominent part in the more prestigious service clubs,

They form eighty per cent of the membership of Apex, sixty five per cent of Rotary and fifty five per cent of Forum. Those organisations with a cultural orientation also draw many spiralists such as the Cultural Association, the Arts Council, the Historical Society and the Barcaldine Amateur Theatrical Society. Spiralists form a disproportionately large number of the office holders in local organisations. This is a feature noted as long ago as 1944 by McIntyre and McIntyre, who commented that "the impermanent population ... nearly always hold the executive positions in most organisations." McIntyre and McIntyre (1944:197). It might be appropriate to utilise Frankenberg's concept of "the stranger" here. Leadership of a group or association of any kind is a position fraught with the potentiality of friction or conflict, but for the association to remain viable a certain degree of unity must be maintained. Thus by having someone in the leadership position who "is to some extent removed from the conflict and social pressures" Frankenberg (1957:44), the blame for implementing controversial decisions can be placed on them without threatening the unity of the whole. Thus resentment or discontent can be focussed on a spiralist as chairman or president of an association and because he or she is to a degree external to the local scene and probably moving away within a short time the possibility of conflict is deflected onto this outsider or stranger and does not threaten the on-going viability of the locally based organisation itself.

The political and religious affiliations of the spiralists show no very clear cut trend. The majority, sixty five per cent, vote for the A.L.P., twenty nine per cent for the Liberal Party and only six per cent for the National Party. Twenty two per cent claim no

religious affiliation, thirty three per cent belong to the Catholic church, and also to the Anglican Church, while only ten per cent belong to the Methodist/Presbyterian combined churches.

Finally to summarise this fairly long section on spiralists it can be said that the spiralist category operates in two seemingly conflicting ways in the Barcaldine system. Firstly it forms an isolated category, cut off from the indigenous categories in a number of ways, the most important of which are their orientation to the external environment rather than to the internal and local scene, their economic independence from seasonal fluctuations, their educational backgrounds, their residence pattern and their career prospects. Secondly, the spiralist category forms an integrating or mediating category which interacts with the indigenous categories in such a way as to modify the internal relationships of these local categories.

The Mediatory Role of the Spiralist Category

The prime reason for the initial establishment and continued growth of Barcaldine, as of many Western towns, was to provide a service centre for those engaged in the rural industry of the area. No alternative economic bases have been established there and the rationale for Barcaldine's existence still lies in this servicing role

Prior to the post-war expansion of Government provided services there were few public service employees posted to the township and

the local population can be seen as having consisted of two mutually exclusive and frequently hostile groups - the town dwellers and the country dwellers. These two groups were divided along economic, social, religious and political lines having little contact with one another except in the area of work. In this area the town dweller was in the inferior and dependent position of employee or person rendering service and the country dweller was in the superior and independent position of employer and demander of service. Owing to the pre-eminent standing of the rural industry in the economic life of the community, the dependence of town on country was almost total. Any fluctuation in the prosperity of the country dweller was inevitably reflected in that of the town dweller. Thus when the season was poor and prices low, a grazier had little money to spend, the garage or store that relied on the grazier's patronage would find its turnover radically reduced. The local businessman, in response to falling demand for goods and services would dismiss a number of employees who would be unable to find alternative work as all areas of employment would be similarly affected. The unemployed man would find himself in straightened financial circumstances and hence make fewer demands for local goods and services. Thus the vicious circle of falling demand and declining employment is set in motion, the prime instigator being the grazier on whose prosperity depended that of all local residents.

However, this situation of dependence was not totally one sided. Owing to the isolation of the area and the relative lack of alternative labour or service the country dweller had a degree of reliance on the town dweller for the continuing operation of his property. Overlaying

this mutual dependence was a degree of hostility and resentment. Flowing down the years from the early days of the shearers' strike of 1891 and the undoubted exploitation of the rural labourer by the grazier comes a tradition of bitter resentment by the landless working man for the landed grazier. A few quotations will serve to illustrate the type of attitude that still exists today; a retired shearer vehemently expressed his feelings: "they're a lot of bastards, think they own you just because they've got you out on their property". A local garage hand remarked: "this place is completely divided, there's the cockies and us, they think we're dirt under their feet and treat us like that too." A storekeeper claimed: "they whinge like hell to the Government and get all sorts of grants and reconstruction and whatnot. We businessmen don't get any of that and then when the cockies are in the money again they don't bother to come and pay all their debts. I've got a bill of \$300 here, not paid for two years and the man who owes it bought a new car a while back. Makes me sick".

And parallel to feelings of this sort runs a current of distrust from the grazier towards his employees. One grazier commenting on his reasons for not drinking in any of the local pubs said: "I wouldn't want to go and stand up at the bar next to any of the type of people who drink in those pubs, I'd be afraid one would start abusing me or even begin a fight". Thus there was a situation where the community was essentially divided into two groups which despite their mutual dependence in the economic sense also shared a considerable degree of mutual distrust and hostility.

Into this situation gradually came personnel from outside the

community, transients, mobile public service employees or as they are termed here, spiralists. The principal offices of the M.R.D. and the C.W.R.E.B. for the region were opened in Barcaldine, a senior top was added to the State High School, D.P.I. and Department of Works offices were opened, Telecom Australia provided an expanded range of services, and into Barcaldine came an influx of individuals who could not be linked immediately to either town or country dwellers. They could be seen as independent of both groups in many senses though dependent in that their presence would not be required without the presence of some indigenous population.

These spiralists form a body of persons whose prosperity is not linked directly to the condition of the rural industry, their salary or wage is paid by a State body on a regular and predictable basis come drought or flood, come low wool or high beef prices. The organisations which employ them provide work for a number of town dwellers who thus gain a measure of independence from the country dweller. Economically the advent of the spiralists has created a situation where the mutual dependence of town and country is diluted, a member of the townsmen category need no longer rely directly or indirectly on the grazier for a job, the burgess has a source of custom not subject to sudden fluctuations in its spending power, the spiralist fulfills a mediating role between the extremes of town and country. The contribution of persons in spiralist-like positions to the economic stability or at least to the diffusion of economic dependence was noted in the nineteen forties by McIntyre and McIntyre:

most persons engaged in government and professional

positions are either in receipt of a regular income or if in private practice receive a fairly high income, so that towns depending on them to any extent are usually comparatively economically stable.

McIntyre and McIntyre (1944:67)

In the work sphere spiralists have in some cases replaced the grazier as the employer of town dwellers. However, graziers have not merely been replaced in mirror fashion by spiralists, the relationship existent between spiralists and town dwellers is of quite a different character to that which prevailed between graziers and town dwellers. Firstly, the spiralist is not the ultimate authority, he himself has an employer, a M.R.D. director, a Minister of Telecommunications or Education, a board of bank or company directors, a police commissioner. And below these ultimate authorities the spiralist also has a whole range of individuals in gradations of seniority over him in the ramifications of state wide departments or organisations. Secondly, the spiralist who is in a position of authority over a town dweller rarely treats his subordinates with that mixture of superiority and condescension which is so common among graziers. Not all graziers of course behave in this fashion but sufficient of them do so and have done so for such a popular stereotype of a grazier to have arisen. Similarly in their dealings with burgesses, spiralists do not appear to demand service as of right and do not treat the provider of that service in an aloof and superior fashion.

On the simple level of day to day familiarity and social interaction spiralists again form a bridge and have an intermediate

position between town and country. Spiralists live in town, constantly meet townsmen and burgesses in the street, in the shops, and the pubs. Graziers, if they go to a hotel in town and few of them do, go to the Shakespeare, but spiralists patronize all the local pubs. Their children attend school and play out of school hours with local kids, they work with locals, they attend meetings and functions missed by out-of-town dwelling graziers, and share a number of interests with townsmen which are not widely patronised by graziers, for example stock car racing, judo, netball, golf, tennis, keep fit classes, jazz ballet, the school Parents and Citizens Association meetings, carpentry classes and childrens' activities such as swimming, scouts and guides and classical ballet classes.

Graziers on the other hand are not encountered so frequently in town, and when they are, they are dressed up and on their best going-out behaviour. Few now employ any rural labour and hence it is rare for the town dweller to see his country counterpart in scruffy clothes, engaged in some hard manual task, he merely sees him in smart town clothes apparently at leisure and at times of the day when the employed man would have to be at work..

As previously mentioned, graziers usually drink at the Club, which few town dwellers ever enter, graziers miss many evening meetings, rarely attend the same public or private functions as their town counterparts. Grazier children, if attending the Barcaldine school, leave town as soon as school is over on one of the school buses and have no opportunity to socialise with town kids out of school hours. Adults too share few recreational interests with town

dwellers except football, which is keenly supported by many town and country folk but is usually watched from the seclusion of a motor car surrounded by the cars of friends, i.e. graziers by graziers and townsfolk by townsfolk, and therefore any interaction between town and country is minimal and consists mainly of cheering and cursing the same teams. The second possible exception is cricket and here the interaction has been increased by the mediating role of the spiralists. There have been a number of cricket teams for many years, each one originally representing a particular hotel. With the influx of spiralists who took to cricket with enthusiasm, the regular Sunday matches have become more popular and more hotly contested drawing in some of the younger graziers.

As well as maintaining constant social contact with townsfolk, spiralists also have a degree of social interaction with graziers, they mix at private parties and dinners in one another's homes, twenty five per cent of members of the Club are spiralists, they drink there regularly and take their wives to the Friday barbeques and occasional dances, and have even penetrated the inner sanctum of the Club Committee. There are a few organizations which formerly had a predominantly or exclusively grazier membership which spiralists have now joined, such as the Gun Club, Forum, the Arts Council and the Cultural Association where women in particular meet and mix while engaging in such activities as pottery and painting.

From various other standpoints graziers and spiralists can be seen to stand together and apart from town dwellers. For both categories their idea of a suitable standard of living is higher,

their ability to fulfil this ideal is greater than that aspired to or attained by many townsfolk. Many of their children are sent away for their secondary education elsewhere, and their expectations for these children are high. Indeed the average educational level reached by graziers themselves is much higher than that of town dwellers and nearer to that of spiralists¹.

Graziers and spiralists are also united in that their horizons are not so bounded by the Barcaldine scene. They take a greater interest in non local news than town dwellers², graziers and spiralists travel away from Barcaldine with greater frequency than do town dwellers. Conversations between graziers and spiralists can range over the relative merit of restaurants in Brisbane, the quality of the highway going south, the appeal of recently released movies seen on the coast or in Brisbane, even the best hotels to stay in while visiting Sydney. The equivalent conversations of town dwellers consist of comments on the road to Longreach (100 km west) or Blackall (100 km south), the film showing in Jericho (150 km east), or the exploits of so and so in Aramac (70 km north).

Spiralists do not have the same degree of homogeneity of political and religious beliefs as do town or country dwellers, they break down the congruence of the town/country division with such affiliations. They are neither predominantly non-Catholic and National Party voting like countrymen, nor are they Catholic and

1. See Table 5:1 on page 141.

2. See Table 5:4 on page 152.

A.L.P. voting like townsmen. This mediatory role of a section of the community does not appear to be unique to Barcaldine. Wild (1974) noted in his study of Bradstow that town professionals as he calls them, form a bridge between the upper status groups and the townspeople, "they alone can cross the social gap ... they are the only ones who act as a bridge" (Wild 1974:48).

Finally to recap and summarize this section it has been shown that the factors dividing the town and country dweller were in the past typically consistent - a town dweller was an employee or a giver of services to the countryman, he mixed on the social level exclusively with other town dwellers, he was a Catholic, saw himself as a working class man and supported the Labor Party; a country dweller however was an employer and a demander of services, socialized in his own exclusive club with other country men, was not a Catholic and believed in free enterprise and his own superiority to the town dweller and voted for the National Party.

Into this situation came a third party for whom the consistency of the divisions does not hold good. He is a giver as well as a demander of services, he may be Catholic or non Catholic, vote A.L.P. or National Party, be an employer at the same time as being an employee, may be wealthy like a country dweller but live in town, may not respect the dominant and superior stance of the country dweller but will join his club and socialize with him, may shoot clay pigeons with the country dweller and race stock cars with the town dweller, and at the same time as living and working in Barcaldine has few allegiances to the place and will move on in a few years time.

Thus these individuals bridge the gulf between town and country, by interacting with both sides on the social level they have created an interlocking continuum of relationships, and by the fact of their presence have diffused the economic dependence of country dweller on town dweller for labour and service, and that of town dweller on country dweller for work and custom, and have thus to an extent broken or weakened the dependence of both town and country dwellers on the primary industry. This in turn has resulted in a lessening of the impact of the adverse effects of a depression in the primary industry, on both the population and the economic well being of the Shire. Although the Barcaldine Shire did suffer an eighteen per cent decline in population between the 1966 and 1971 censuses, other Shires in the region of similar size and function though lacking such a large body of resident spirialists lost population much more heavily over this period. The population of Blackall Shire, one hundred kilometers south, declined by twenty five per cent; Aramac Shire, fifty kilometers north by thirty per cent, Ilfracombe Shire, one hundred and fifty kilometers west by forty one per cent and Isisford Shire, one hundred and fifty kilometers south west by forty per cent. In contrast, Longreach Shire, one hundred kilometers west lost only fourteen per cent of its population during this period and it too is a town of transients having as well as a number of banks and government offices, a large high school, a busy airport, the base hospital for the flying surgeon and a Pastoral College.

Conclusion

In this chapter a four category model has been developed as a means of describing and analysing the social environment of the study area. Members of each category have been shown to share a certain configuration of characteristics and to have a certain degree of interaction in certain areas with members of other categories. The relatively recent inflow of large numbers of the impermanent or residentially mobile category has been considered as the means by which a realignment has occurred in the interaction patterns of the three permanent and residentially immobile categories. In the next chapter greater attention shall be given to those characteristics which contribute to the differing outmigration proclivities of each category.

PART THREE

MOBILITY AND IMMOBILITY

CHAPTER SIX

THE IMMOBILITY OF BARCALDINE RESIDENTS

Introduction

The four category model which was developed in the previous chapter is used in this chapter to examine the question of non-migration. The residents of the community at the time of the study are considered as non-migrants or at least as only potential migrants, and their level of migration aspiration is seen to vary according to their category membership. An attempt is made to explain this variation in the aspiration level of each category by means of an hypothesis which takes into account each category's different social and economic characteristics.

One of the few students of migration who has considered the phenomenon of non-migration in any detail is Uhlenberg who focussed his attention on the low rate of migration among three groups who would be expected to show a high rate; Negro movement from the Southern United States during 1860 to 1920; Japanese-American migration from internment camps during World War II and the exodus from Southern Appalachia between 1930 and 1960. He concentrated on the non-economic factors which influenced the low level of outmigration and came to the following conclusions:

The extent of integration into and dependence upon the

local community is one social constraint on migration; the potential for assimilation into a new community is another. This leads to the hypothesis that the stronger a person's tie with the local community and the more involved one is in a network of family ties, the greater the constraints upon potential migration. Also the less cosmopolitan and less able to adjust to new environments, the less likely that motivation for migration will reach actual migration.

Uhlenberg (1973:304).

It is here proposed to expand on this hypothesis postulated by Uhlenberg and to include within it economic as well as non-economic constraints and pressures. Thus tentatively it is postulated that the nature and extent of ties within the local or rural community and the nature and extent of ties with the wider and urban environment are directly related to the propensity of any individual to move from the one to the other.

It was shown in the previous chapter that members of different categories manifest differing degrees of attachment to and involvement in the community life of the Barcaldine Shire and also differing positions with regard to the extra-Barcaldine environment. Members of different categories also manifest differing rates of migration aspiration and planning. The development of this hypothesis is thus an attempt to relate these various features as a means of gaining insight into the mechanics of non-migration and consequently, though indirectly of migration.

The format of this chapter consists firstly of an explanation of the type of ties, internal and external, social and economic which are considered. Secondly an assessment is made of the existence and effectiveness of the ties relative to each category in turn. The final section of the chapter summarises the information previously presented and considers how far the hypothesis has been shown to be valid.

Nature of the Ties

The ties which members of each category have within the local environment of the rural community (internal ties) and with the wider urban environment (external ties) are seen as consisting of two significant types; the economic and the non-economic or social type. The first type are ties of an economic nature and emphasis is given to the presence or absence of capital investment, the incidence of home ownership in either environment and the existence of skills which could be transferred from one environment to the other.

Economic factors have long been acknowledged as being of vital importance in the migration process. Indeed an implicit assumption of much research on motivation has been that economic forces are the principal or only pressures operating. Petersen commented on this tendency thus:

In most of the supposedly general models of migration,
it is presumed that movement is generated mainly by

economic forces. This may not always be a reasonable postulate.

Petersen (1968:287).

Other authors have also been critical of the unquestioning adoption of economic models of migration. Diehl (1966), Sjaastad (1962) and Bodenhöfer (1967) have queried the credibility of the widely used cost-benefit migration model which relies on the premise that man is solely a maximiser of economic advantage, as Speare wrote:

there may be a significant proportion of the population under scrutiny which makes no cost-benefit type calculations at all with respect to differential incomes at alternative places of residence.

Speare (1971:119).

Similarly Shaw found after a survey of farm households in rural Saskatchewan:

the data tends to support the inference that the decision making process of 'stayers' with respect to migration is not related to calculations of negative overall pecuniary costs and returns of migration.

Shaw (1974:168).

In Australia, Salmon and Weston (1974:58) found that their results were consistent with those of Parr (1966), who suggested that in spite of the seeming economic rationality of migration from depressed areas, many studies have shown that people manifest a pronounced

reluctance to move.

In the light of these sort of conclusions various authors began to search for other non-economic factors which could account for the degree of reluctance or eagerness to move in the face of seemingly contradictory economic pressures. Parr (1966:154) showed that social attachments to the area in terms of participation in local organizations, strong family ties, distinctive local ways of life and problems of adjustment to a metropolitan environment, all tend to reduce or inhibit potential outmigration. Another author, Goldscheider (1971:325) suggested that research should be directed towards examining "the relationship between social cohesion and integration and social ties on the one hand and migration propensities on the other". Such systematic attempts have rarely been undertaken but a number of preliminary efforts have been made to assess the effects of various non-economic constraining and encouraging forces on migration decisions. For example, research which considered the influence of kin group and information channels includes Nelson (1959), MacDonald and MacDonald (1964), Hubert (1965), Brown et al. (1963), Greenwood (1973), Levy and Wadycki (1973), and Johnston (1971a).

In Britain, Taylor (1969) concluded that those most likely to migrate were "less indigenous" than those least likely to migrate and he attempted to determine the degree to which an individual can be described as indigenous by means of such variables as location of relatives, length of residence and experience of non-local environments. Similarly in Australia, Davidson et al. (1973), found that location preferences seemed to be influenced by a bundle of variables. They

wrote that on examination of the urbanward migration of aborigines a pattern emerged which suggested that:

living and workplace preferences are frequently related to geographical isolation (time in the community, visits to State capital, relatives outside the community), to psychological isolation in the form of exposure to circular migration patterns, and job aspirations and to social isolation.

Davidson et al. (1973:248).

It appears from the work of these authors that there is a fairly consistent cluster of non-economic factors which may operate in any situation to inhibit or encourage migration. These then are the second type of ties which will be considered here. The particular areas which will be focussed upon are the presence or absence of kinship networks, whether prolonged residence has been experienced, the degree of attitudinal commitment or psychological orientation to the way of life prevalent in the two different environments, the existence of information channels between the local or internal and the external environments and the extent of participation in the local political affairs of the rural community.

A third area which might in some circumstances be of concern is that of politico-legal ties. However, Australia is largely free of legal constraints on migration, the institutions of slavery, serfdom and bondmanship are absent, and in Queensland, for whites at least, any move can be undertaken without reference to the formal authorities

of government. We shall therefore confine ourselves to a consideration of the economic and the social ties of members of the four categories.

Graziers: Economic Ties

Members of this category tend to have extensive economic ties within the Barcaldine community. They have a large amount of financial capital invested in a commodity, their land, which in itself cannot be removed from the locality. When the profitability of this investment is at a high level few graziers are motivated to dispose of their land. However, when profitability is low, and disposal of the investment is sought, then buyers of grazing land tend to be few and the price offered low. Thus at the very time when a grazier might wish to realise his capital and invest it elsewhere his ability to do so may be radically reduced. The important inhibiting effect of capital investment of this nature was highlighted by Buchanan (1973:-24), who examined the reactions of tobacco farmers in Southern Queensland to the economic problems of declining profitability. She found that those who moved to a different area "were mainly share farmers who had little or no capital invested in the tobacco enterprise" and those who stayed in the area tended to be those who "had long connections with the area and large financial interests in tobacco enterprises".

Graziers' economic investment in the extra-Barcaldine environment is limited, two graziers own land elsewhere in the

Central Western Region and three have small holiday homes on the coast at Yeppoon, but financial ties of any importance are otherwise absent.

Another constraining factor which operates in conjunction with the localised nature of capital investment is the general lack of skills held by the grazier in any field of economic activity other than agriculture. Salmon and his colleagues also noted the existence of this constraint in their national survey of farmers.

An established farmer ... can seldom earn wages comparable to those of his age and ability if he leaves the farm.

The skills he learns in farming are not highly valued in other sectors of the economy so that the wage incentive to leave farming is weak.

Salmon et al. (1973:50).

Table 5:1 on page 141 indicated that a mere seven per cent of graziers interviewed had received any formal post-secondary education. These three individuals were all women and qualified nurses so it would appear that male graziers, or put another way the traditional breadwinner in a grazier family, would have little to offer an employer in any field of economic activity other than the pastoral industry.

Broadly speaking then graziers have extensive economic ties within the rural community and negligible ties with the non-rural environment where their migration destination may lie.

Graziers: Social Ties

Graziers have widespread ties with the Barcaldine community on all four social levels deemed relevant here. Firstly, the majority of graziers have a large body of kin in close proximity. As was noted in Table 5:3 on page 147 over half the graziers have four or more close relatives - parents, grandparents, siblings or offspring - in the immediate area and only nine per cent have none.

On the second level confirmation is found in the work of Bell and Nalson (1974) of the relevance of prolonged residence in and familiarity with an area as factors inhibiting the migration of members of a farming community. These authors noted that:

Locality and kinship have interacted to constitute a barrier to many respondents leaving dairying or other farming and the North Coast when economically at least it might be in their best interests to do so.

Bell and Nalson (1974:168).

In Barcaldine too extended residence in the local area is the rule for graziers, nearly half were born in the Shire and only seven per cent of those surveyed have been resident for less than ten years.

Thirdly the attitudinal commitment of graziers to both the locality and to their way of life creates a psychological orientation not conducive to the formulation of an outmigration decision.

It has been noted in many works on farming and rural communities that residents manifest a general suspicion of urban attitudes and social habits and a prejudice in favour of rural life and mores. Salmon et al. (1973); Salmon and Weston (1974); Nalson (1968); Bell and Nalson (1973); and Hill (1962). Graziers in Barcaldine are no exception, and a few quotations will indicate the general tenor of their views:

We have a freedom of action and degree of independence out here not possible in the city. There the numbers of people, houses, traffic etc. gives me such claustrophobia I feel stifled.

Living out West forces you to become virtually self-sufficient, we create our own amusements, manage our own affairs, we can even survive quite long periods of complete isolation from the rest of Queensland. City dwellers have everything laid on, they sit back and are entertained by others, have all the services like phones and electricity laid on for them and then get in a panic because the milk isn't delivered on time!

People who live in Brisbane seem to be naturally suspicious of one another, well rightly so I suppose with the crime and violence that seems so common now. We don't have to worry about crime out here so we tend to be naturally friendly to other people.

Finally as was noted in Chapter 5 graziers take a keen interest

in the formal local government of the area (page 135) the Shire Council is dominated by graziers and one quarter of those surveyed were at one time elected as councillors or stood as candidates.

Internal social ties of graziers tend therefore to be strong. On the other hand, with one exception external social ties tend to be weak. Thus few graziers have extensive networks of kin in the external environment, few have experienced very prolonged residence elsewhere and most have an attitudinal aversion to urban ways of life. Graziers do however maintain a certain amount of information exchange with the extra-Barcaldine environment; many were educated elsewhere and may have formed and subsequently maintained friendships with non-Barcaldinites. It was noted in Chapter 5 that many graziers make frequent trips away from the area, interest is keen in extra-local affairs and over half the graziers regularly read state and nation-wide newspapers. One of the reasons for their continued scrutiny of external affairs is linked to the fact that decisions are made externally by national and State governments and on the world market which can and do vitally affect decisions made by graziers on their own properties. Therefore they not only maintain close attention to such matters but also attempt to influence various external agencies by means of their own institutionalised political pressure group the United Graziers Association and that political party dedicated to them, the National Party. Through such organisations a number of graziers like Wild's (1974) upper status groups in Bradstow, are in the position of filling some social roles outside the immediate Barcaldine environment and thus having channels of information and influence with that environment available to them.

In conclusion then grazier social ties are principally though not exclusively confined to the local, rural environment. And the existence of various information channels with the areas of potential destination creates for many a situation where possible assimilation to a new environment is shorn of some of its problems.

Burgesses: Economic Ties

Like graziers, burgesses have a large financial investment in a locally based and immovable commodity, in their case a business and they are also faced with the unsaleability of their investment for a sum sufficient to establish a similar enterprise outside the rural area. They too have an array of skills limited to one sector of the economy and a lack of formal education in other areas (See Table 5:1, page 141). It is possible however that their experience in business management does have greater transferability than a grazier's knowledge of things agricultural and pastoral. A quotation from the wife of a storekeeper illustrates the burgesses' dilemma well:

We would have liked to move to Brisbane ten years ago because of my boy's schooling, but how could we leave - it's hard enough to find someone to buy a shop in a town like this and we wouldn't have had a chance of getting another in Brisbane with the money and my husband couldn't have borne to go and work for someone else after all these years of being his own boss. So we just resigned ourselves to letting the children go and

staying here.

Burgesses also have little if any financial investment outside the area to balance or counteract that held inside the area. Only two surveyed individuals own property elsewhere, both holiday houses on the coast, not one has any business investment outside Barcaldine.

Burgesses: Social Ties

Judged on the basis of length of residence, extensiveness of kinship network and degree of attitudinal commitment, burgesses appear to be firmly tied to the area. Over half of those surveyed had lived in Barcaldine for more than forty five years or for their entire life and a mere three per cent had been resident for fewer than ten years. One third of burgesses have four or more close relatives locally based and finally, like graziers, they are warmly attached to a working life where they have much freedom and independence of decision making and they are attitudinally committed to a rural as opposed to an urban environment. Typical comments from burgesses include remarks such as the following:

You can trust people out here, if they need a bit of credit you can give it to them because you know you'll see them again and get it back eventually.

I can maintain more than a shopkeeper-customer relationship here with people who come in my store. I

know all my customers by name, the number and ages of their kids, what their husband does and so on. Not like the city where you may not see the same face twice let alone know the names of your customers.

I really love living here - I don't make as much money as I could if my store were in a larger place but the warmth and kindness of small town people cannot be equalled anywhere.

Burgesses tend also to be extensively involved in local politics; they form the majority of council representatives from the urban section of the Shire (Chapter 5 page 135) and one fifth of surveyed burgesses had been or are currently councillors.

Intra-local social ties are therefore relatively strong, but the converse, extra-local ties are not. Most burgesses were educated in Barcaldine, few kin or friendship links exist or are closely maintained externally, regular trips away are rare and non-local newspapers infrequently read (Table 5:4 page 152). Although ultimately affected by decisions made on a state or national level burgesses belong to no organised political group, even within the local community, which is expressly designed to further their own particular interests.

In conclusion then, although it was found that social and economic ties of an intra-local nature are of similar multiplexity for both graziers and burgesses the nature and extent of their extra-

local ties varies considerably and this variability is reflected in the differing level of migration intention of the two categories as shall be seen in the summary of this chapter.

Townsmen: Economic Ties

The townsmen category has, compared with the other two indigenous categories, very few firm economic ties within Barcaldine. Few townsmen have any great financial investment in the area, they merely have their own skills and expertise - or lack of them - invested in local ventures. For some, especially the skilled such as the carpenter, plumber, mechanic, electrician and the white collar clerical workers, this expertise is transferable to another geographical locality, urban or rural, with no great economic cost. For others, the unskilled labourer or semi-skilled rural worker, the transfer is not so easy if only because of the abundance of unskilled men and the general dearth of employment opportunities. Around two thirds of townsmen own or are in the process of buying their homes and this fact does present some economic barrier to migration. There is so great a disparity between the value of houses in rural and urban areas that the sale of a house in Barcaldine, providing a purchaser could be found, barely raises a sum sufficient for a deposit on a house in Brisbane. Economic ties to the external environment are virtually non-existent. None of those interviewed had any financial investment nor owned any property in the wider society.

A townsman thus tends to have weak economic ties with both Barcaldine and the wider environment and consequently is in a slightly different position from that of the majority of his fellow indigenes for although burgess and grazier external ties are also weak their internal economic commitments are by contrast relatively strong.

Townsmen: Social Ties

Townsmen have strong social links within Barcaldine on three of the four counts considered here. The great majority have spent most of their lives in the locality, two thirds have four or more near relatives in close proximity and most, particularly the older townsmen, have a strong rural orientation, and distrust and fear of urban life. Comments such as those quoted below are common:

When I go for my holidays after a couple of days I'm really longing to get back to Barcy. It seems all rush and scurry and don't care and blow you in places bigger than here.

Best place in the world, those people who live in cities think we're mad to live in small country towns like this but I reckon they're the mad ones. Of course we don't have television and cinemas and clubs like they do but we have real neighbourliness and community spirit.

I couldn't live anywhere else, you can't beat country people and small town life.

On the level of participation in local political affairs only a small minority of townsmen demonstrate or express any great interest; one out of six councillors is a townsman and of the one hundred and thirty three individuals surveyed only one showed any degree of involvement in local government affairs.

On the other hand, townsmen have very weak external social ties; on the whole they are educated locally, they infrequently undertake the expensive trip away, they focus principally on news of a local nature (Table 5:4) and have little experience of the way of life prevalent in the wider society and few channels by which to learn.

Summarising then the townsman appears to have his strongest links in the form of internal social ties. His external ties both of a social and economic nature and most of his internal economic ties are weak.

Spiralists: Economic Ties

Like townsmen, members of this fourth category have no capital investment in Barcaldine. However the personal skills and expertise they have as it were temporarily plugged into the local community have greater transferability than those of townsmen. Indeed most of the agencies, companies or departments employing spiralists have an

expectation that their employees will move on and transfer their skills elsewhere in due course. Many spiralists are educated professionals and as Ladinsky (1967a) has pointed out the combination of highly marketable skills, blunted occupational advancement in a small locality and decentralised or far flung employment opportunities reduces the strength of ties to a restricted area. Membership in the occupational force of statewide government departments or private agencies also provides an avenue through which information about employment opportunities in the wider environment can flow. Few spiralists have a financial investment in a house in Barcaldine, they tend to live in either rented or employer provided accommodation. However, nearly one third own a house or property outside Barcaldine, either on the coast or in Brisbane. Thus it appears that the economic ties of spiralists in the local area are negligible while their actual or potential ties with the wider environment are substantial.

Spiralists: Social Ties

On all four levels spiralists have weak social ties to Barcaldine, none have experienced residence there for more than ten years, none have more than three close relatives in the area and most have an attitudinal commitment to a more urban way of life and have little personal sentimental attachment to Barcaldine of more than a passing nature.

I don't consider Barcaldine my home really. I like it all right for a few years now but I couldn't live here

for always, it's too small, and too noseey, and although it's fun at first trying out all the new things you can do here like fishing, shooting and so on, I'd get bored stiff if I had to stay for years.

I prefer living in a larger place and on the coast too. It takes forever to get anywhere from here and so you're stuck with the same faces day in and day out, drives me mad sometimes.

The confines of small town living are not for me.

I like the greater anonymity of urban areas.

Spiralists take very little if any interest at all in local politics, none of those interviewed indicated any past or future desire to become involved and apart from those spiralists actually employed in the Shire Chambers few have any knowledge of the workings of the council.

External social ties however abound, all educational and most residential experience has been elsewhere and in most cases all kin and friends have been left behind on the move to Barcaldine. Mechanisms for "keeping in touch" with the wider environment are numerous. They include the regular reading of state and nationwide newspapers and journals, maintaining contact with kin and friends through telephone calls, letters and frequent visits, and membership of statewide organisations such as the Institute of Engineers, and the Teachers' Union leading to a continued involvement with fellow

professionals outside Barcaldine.

Spiralists, therefore present quite a contrast with the three local categories on the basis of both internal and external ties.¹ For members of this category all ties with Barcaldine are weak and of a transient nature and ties with the spectrum of potential destinations are myriad and are capable of extension through many information channels.

Summary and Discussion

A summary is given below in tabulated form of the nature and extent of internal and external social and economic ties for each category of Barcaldine residents. On the basis of the information contained in Table 6:1 and utilising Uhlenberg's (1973) basic premise we can make a number of broad speculations. To recap, Uhlenberg postulated that migration potential can be linked to the degree of integration into the local community (here measured by the presence or absence of various social and economic internal ties) and to the capacity for assimilation elsewhere (here measured by the presence or absence of various social and economic external ties).

1. It is acknowledged that spiralists participate actively in locally organised social activities but as is mentioned on page 193, this does not necessarily indicate a high degree of commitment.

TABLE 6:1

NATURE AND EXTENT OF INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL TIES AND CATEGORY STATUS*

Internal Ties		Graziers Burgesses Townsman Spiralists			
Economic	Capital Investment	x	x	-	-
	Home Ownership	x	x	x	-
Social	Prolonged Residence	x	x	x	-
	Kinship Network	x	x	x	-
	Attitudinal Commitment	x	x	x	-
	Local Political Involvement	x	x	-	-
TOTAL INTERNAL TIES		6	6	4	0
(* x = presence of - = absence of)					
External Ties					
Economic	Capital Investment	-	-	-	-
	Home Ownership	-	-	-	x
	Transferable skills	-	-	x	x
Social	Prolonged Residence	-	-	-	x
	Kinship Network	-	-	-	x
	Attitudinal Commitment	-	-	-	x
	Information Channels	x	-	-	x
TOTAL EXTERNAL TIES		1	0	1	6

* x = presence of - = absence of

On the basis of internal ties alone it can be hypothesized that spiralists will demonstrate the greatest migration potential for they manifest the lowest level of local integration, that is they have the least extensive internal ties. Similarly it can be postulated that graziers and burgesses will indicate the lowest migration potential as both these categories manifest a high level of local integration, that is they have the most extensive internal ties. Finally townsmen would appear to hold an intermediate position both with regard to migration potential and degree of local integration.

Secondly on the basis of external ties alone it can be supposed that spiralists will again demonstrate high migration potential as their capacity for assimilation elsewhere is the greatest, that is they have the most extensive external ties. In this regard burgesses can again be seen as having a low migration potential for their capacity to assimilate elsewhere is limited. Finally graziers and townsmen could be expected to manifest a level of migration potential somewhere between the high level of spiralists and the low level of burgesses, though nearer to the latter, commensurate with their correspondingly intermediate capacity for external assimilation.

If both external and internal ties are considered together the following general picture emerges. It can be expected that spiralists will exhibit the greatest and burgesses the least propensity to migrate. And townsmen and graziers could be predicted as likely to display a migration potential slightly higher than that of burgesses and considerably lower than that of spiralists.

Turning now to the stated migration intentions of the four categories it would be expected, if the hypothesis has any basis, that the above picture will be reflected in the level of aspiration of each category.

TABLE 6:2
MIGRATION INTENTIONS AND CATEGORY STATUS OF CURRENT RESIDENTS

Category	Intention					
	Plan to Migrate		Plan to Remain		Undecided	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Graziers (N=44)	9	21	35	79	-	-
Burgesses (N=29)	4	14	24	83	1	3
Townsmen (N=133)	31	23	94	71	8	6
Spiralists (N=23)	19	83	4	17	-	-

Indeed Table 6:2 does give a picture remarkably similar to that predicted, spiralists have a high level of migration planning, burgesses a low level and townsmen and graziers indicate a similar level slightly higher than burgesses and considerably lower than spiralists.

Returning now to the original hypothesis that the nature and extent of ties within the local origin community and the nature and extent of ties with the potential destination environment are related to the propensity of the individual to move from the one to the other, it would appear to be broadly confirmed within the limitations

of this chapter. This relationship can be seen as a continuum, at one extreme there are those with no ties to the local community or source area and myriad ties to the wider environment or destination area who will have ceteris paribus a very high propensity to migrate. At the other extreme are those with many local ties and no non-local ties who will have a low propensity to migrate.

A number of caveats, however, will have to be made. Firstly statements of migration intention cannot be taken as conclusive evidence of migration propensity. This point will be taken up in our next chapter when the migration actions of ex-residents of Barcaldine are to be considered. Secondly there may be both in the Barcaldine and in other communities of origin various types of internal and external ties not considered here which may be relevant. One obvious tie might be thought to be the degree of involvement in local organised social activities but as Mann (1973) has pointed out:

though the level of community participation of spiralists and locals alike may be high, their psychological dependence upon it is not.

During the course of this research no suitable measure of psychological dependence was developed and therefore no attempt was made to assess the existence of such a tie.

A third point worth noting is that for the young of any category both the existence and the force of internal and external ties are likely to be reduced. Beshers and Nishiura noted that of rural

dwellers young persons tend to demonstrate the least localised mode of orientation.

Young adults may have organized their lives in terms of long range goals based upon a technical skill or knowledge ... They have little time to experience the kind of intense involvement with the norms of the groups for which they work which comes after years spent on the job - a situation which would tend to anchor the persons to a particular territorial location, such as, in plant retirement benefits or seniority privileges, will not be as attractive to the youth as to the older man.

Beshers and Nishiura (1960:216).

For this reason this chapter has not considered young adults in the development of the hypothesis. The migration aspirations and actions of Barcaldine youth are the subject of a subsequent chapter.

In conclusion then despite the above reservations it can be asserted that the postulated hypothesis does have some degree of validity and that if nothing else it points the way forward to some potentially interesting and valuable areas of research.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE MOBILITY OF BARCALTINE RESIDENTS

Introduction

In Chapter Six the focus was on Barcaldine residents who were described as non-migrants by virtue of the fact of their residence in the town at the time of the survey. In contrast we now turn to those who, having once been residents, had moved away before the survey and can therefore be regarded as migrants. The method by which these persons were traced and contacted was described in detail in Chapter Three. These efforts resulted in detailed information being gathered from some two hundred and fifty migrant families, or around half of the total number of families known to have left the area in the seven years preceeding the study, that is from 1967 to 1973.

This chapter is divided into four sections each covering a different area of interest. The first section deals with the question of how far the actions of the migrants relate to the hypothesis developed in the previous chapter. The hypothesis postulated that an individual's propensity to migrate is intimately connected with the extent to which he has various ties with his community of residence and with the wider environment surrounding it. The second section examines the migrants to determine their principal social characteristics and focuses particularly on their life cycle stage

and category status. The next two sections concentrate in turn on the motives given by these migrants for leaving Barcaldine, and on the direction of their migration. The term 'migrating unit' is one which shall be used throughout this chapter and refers to those individuals, usually related, who have moved from Barcaldine to a new place of residence as a group. For example consider a situation in which the son of a family moved to Rockhampton and the parents retired to Brisbane, this family would be considered as two migrating units. On the other hand a nuclear family with a maternal grandmother who left Barcaldine together and moved to Townsville together would comprise a single migrating unit.

Significance of Social and Economic Ties

In this section the hypothesis developed in the last chapter to account for the differential rates of migration aspiration of members of the four categories will be tested by examining the category status of actual migrants. We are immediately faced with a problem. Data is available from slightly less than half the known migrants and to use such data to test the hypothesis it would have to be assumed that with respect to category membership those traced and surveyed are representative of the total group. This assumption can be neither proved nor disproved but various comments can be made upon it. Initially it might be expected that of the four categories spiralists would be the most difficult to trace as they tend to move regularly every two to three years. They might therefore be under-represented. However, at the same time as being regular movers spiralists also tend

to remain employees of the same department or agency, and can as a consequence be traced through their employers. Thus possible bias due to frequency of migration is likely to be cancelled out by continuity of employment. On the basis of presently available information it seems that in the short term members of any one of the three indigenous categories neither move more nor less frequently, after their initial move from Barcaldine, than members of any other of the indigenous categories. In effect this means that no one category would be more easily traceable than any other. It nevertheless proved impossible to ascertain whether the response rates of members of different categories varied, so the question of the representativeness of the sample cannot be conclusively answered. Despite these acknowledged limitations an attempt will be made to test the hypothesis.

TABLE 7:1

ACTUAL MIGRATION AND CATEGORY STATUS

Category Status	Migrating Units		Individuals	
	N	%	N	%
Graziers	14	6	25	4
Burgesses	19	8	49	7
Townsmen	101	40	255	36
Spiralists	116	46	373	53
Total	250		702	

In order to have a migration rate to compare with the aspiration rate of each category a device was used whereby the number of surveyed migrant individuals in a category is considered as a proportion of the resident population in that category. Thus surveyed migrating spiralists (373) form around 149 per cent of resident population spiralists (250), surveyed townsmen (255) are approximately 26 per cent of resident townsmen (1,000), surveyed burgesses (49) comprise 16 per cent of resident burgesses (300) and surveyed graziers (25) are a low 8 per cent of the 300 resident graziers. In terms of propensity to migrate spiralists lead by a wide margin, townsmen are a trailing second, followed by burgesses with graziers having the lowest propensity of all categories. In the previous chapter, Table 6:2 indicated that in terms of migration aspiration spiralists have the highest level, followed by townsmen, graziers and burgesses. The relative positions of surveyed and aspiring spiralists and townsmen is identical but the relative positions of the two property owning categories are reversed. Surveyed graziers demonstrate the least propensity to migrate but it was the resident burgesses who had the lowest level of migration aspiration. Initially then the results from the survey of migrants appears to cast some doubt on the validity of the hypothesis.

A number of points may be relevant here. Firstly, not only are the numbers of surveyed grazier and burgess migrants small but it is possible that some unexpected differences in our ability to trace and to elicit a response from members of the two categories may have produced a degree of skewing. Secondly, returning to the hypothesis it can be seen (Table 6:1 page 191) that the principal difference in

the ties that exist for graziers and burgesses lies in the fact that graziers have various means by which they can and do establish a means of communicating with and gaining information about the wider environment while burgesses do not. It is possible that the importance of this external tie for graziers is much less than was anticipated. On the other hand there may be an internal tie in existence for graziers which was not considered previously. This is the existence of youthful aspiration to take on the family business. Research has shown that by far the largest proportion of farmers are farmers' sons; (Gasson (1969), Salmon and Weston (1974), Watkinson (1976), Bell and Nalson (1974)). Little research of a similar nature has been conducted on rural businessmen and their offspring but from observations in the field I would conclude that few burgess youth have a similarly strong desire to follow in the parental occupational footsteps. Taking these two points together graziers can be seen to have one less external tie and one more internal tie than was at first assumed. This feature could have the effect of reversing the relative positions of graziers and burgesses as regards propensity to migrate. Burgesses would therefore be likely to move at a greater rate than graziers, as indeed was found to be the case for surveyed migrants.

In conclusion, then, it is apparent that the available data from surveyed migrants does not give the hypothesis unqualified support, and although it remains clear that the existence of internal and external ties has an effect on the propensity of an individual to migrate greater refinement is needed in identifying which are the crucial ties.

Migrant Characteristics

It has long been noted in migration literature that individuals with certain characteristics appear systematically predisposed to move. However, early attempts to discover universal migration differentials have given way to the recognition that differentials vary in pattern and intensity with time and place. As Bogue has noted:

If migration arises from basic change and the need for adjustment and readjustment, then the streams of migration at any moment of history must be composed of persons who are actually executing the social changes that are taking place and who are, so to speak, "victims of circumstance". Migrants must be expected to reflect, in their characteristics the social and economic changes that are taking place. Because these changes vary from place to place and from time to time, it is to be expected that the characteristics of migrants cannot remain fixed.

Bogue (1959:505)

Mobility rates vary along several key dimensions one of the most important of which is the life cycle stage of the migrant. The tendency for there to be a high mobility rate among the young will be considered in detail in the next chapter on young adult migration from Barcaldine. But a detailed examination here of the four categories will seek to ascertain whether the characteristics of the migrants vary, not just from time to time and place to place as Bogue has noted but also from one section or in this case category of a society to

TABLE 7:2
LIFE CYCLE STAGE OF MIGRATING UNITS BY CATEGORY STATUS
Row Percentages (Numbers in Parentheses)

	Single Adults under 30	Couple under 39 with dependent children or no children	Couple 40-59 with dependent children	Couple under 59 with dependent and independent children	Couple over 59 with independent or no children	Single adult over 60
Graziers N=14	58(8)	-	14(2)	-	21(3)	7(1)
Burgesses N=19	53(10)	26(5)	10.5(2)	-	10.5(2)	-
Townsmen N=101	46.5(57)	25.5(26)	9(9)	4(4)	8(8)	7(7)
Spiralists N=116	30(35)	52(61)	12(14)	2(2)	4(4)	-
TOTAL N=250	40(100)	37(92)	11(27)	2(6)	7(17)	3(8)

Notes: Dependent children are those prior to or engaged in full time education.
Independent children are those no longer engaged in full time education.

another. Table 7:2 summarises the life cycle stage of outmigrants in each category.

Despite the small numbers in some of the categories, noticeably the graziers and burgesses, a few general statements can be made on the basis of this data. In each of the indigenous categories around 50 per cent of the migrating units consist of young single adults under thirty years of age (graziers = 58 per cent; burgesses = 53 per cent; townsmen = 46.5 per cent). This feature emphasises the point which will be made at greater length in the next chapter that young adults are at a transitional stage in their life cycle when many social and economic changes are taking place such as leaving school, entering the workforce, getting married or embarking on tertiary education. It is also the time in an individual's life when internal ties are not as firm as they will become later on. As Beshers and Nishiura (1960) have noted young persons do not have a localised mode of orientation. These authors see the young as more likely to have an extended future orientation or a short run hedonistic one, both being orientations which are conducive to or at least do not hinder migration.

Spiralist moves differ from indigene moves in that a mere 30 per cent are by single adults under forty years. This is of course not because fewer young spiralist than young indigenes move but because there actually are fewer spiralist at this particular life cycle stage. This situation is a function of the type of qualifications and experience required of those in a spiralist job. Moves by young spiralist can be seen less as steps taken at a particular point in a

life cycle (as are those of indigenes) and more as a step on a career ladder. Of course life and career cycles are intimately connected but here the emphasis is on the latter.

The emphasis on career stage change rather than life stage change in spiralist moves is also highlighted by the data presented in Table 7:3. Over half the migrating indigenous young adults are female compared with only a quarter of spiralist young adults. Again this is not because fewer young female spiralists than young female indigenes move but because there actually are fewer young female spiralists. This is because women tend to be under-represented in typical spiralist occupations, and few and far between are the female engineers, bank managers, station masters, dentists and postmasters. With the exception of the teaching profession young single women tend not to be transferred automatically as are young men, but only on request. Again spiralist moves are in response to career changes and not simply to life changes.

TABLE 7:3

SEX OF YOUNG SINGLE ADULT MIGRATING UNITS BY CATEGORY STATUS

	Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%
Graziers				
N = 8	3	38	5	62
Burgesses				
N = 10	5	50	5	50
Townsmen				
N = 47	21	45	26	55
Total Indigenes				
N = 65	29	45	36	55
Spiralists				
N = 35	26	74	9	26

Although the numbers are really too small to make a definitive statement it would appear that single women in the grazier category tend to migrate at a greater rate than those in the burgess or townsmen category. This feature is perhaps related to the dearth of female employment on the pastoral properties now that unmarried women demand more in the way of an occupation than domestic duties.

A number of other general observations can be made concerning the differences in the composition or life cycle stage of the migrating units in each category.

In line with the point already made that spiralist migration is inextricably linked to the career cycle and less directly to the life cycle, it can be noted that over half the spiralist migrating units consist of nuclear families with fully dependent children and the majority of these have household heads under forty years of age. In Chapter Five we saw that the average age of spiralists resident in Barcaldine falls within a fairly restricted range (between 20 and 40) and this situation is a result of the transfer and promotion systems operating in the organisations within which they are spiralling. Typically an upwardly mobile spiralist moves to centres with a larger population as he moves to positions of greater responsibility. Barcaldine is small and remote and contains relatively small branch offices of the various agencies and departments represented there. Consequently individuals of a relatively low level of occupational seniority are transferred to positions in the town and these individuals tend also to be at an early stage of their family development. As a result both resident and migrant spiralists have a

degree of homogeneity with regard to age and family formation stage. Occasionally individuals are retarded in their mobility pattern and move at later ages than their fellow spiralists. This situation can arise because the level of an individual's competence holds him or her in a junior position and slows the outward geographic and upward career movement. It can also occur because an individual may enter the ranks of the spiralists at a more advanced age than is usual, for example, the woman who qualifies as a teacher in her thirties and only then commences her spiralling career. Or alternatively a spiralist may have a personal preference for small town residence and have actively resisted the pressures to move up the career ladder to larger and larger towns.

The most obvious feature about grazier movement patterns is the small proportion (in so far as can be judged given the numbers involved) who migrate in the early stages of family formation. It appears that when young and unencumbered by a family the likelihood of graziers moving is great but should the pressures to migrate be withstood at that time then the grazier enters a phase of low mobility potential when married and raising a family. Eventually as he passes into middle age and his children mature and leave home and possibly the area as well then the likelihood of migrating increases again.

In contrast burgesses and townsmen reveal a pattern of some emigration at all stages of the life cycle with young single adults and the developing family being the most likely to move. Thus the majority leave when still involved in the labour market and at a point in their lives when they have sufficient years and energies to

establish and adapt to another life elsewhere. This pattern contrasts with that presented by the graziers one in four of whom migrate when no longer competing economically.

The characteristics of migrants can therefore be viewed from two different foci or levels. Firstly if the focus is placed on migrants as members of particular categories then each category reveals different life cycle stages at the point or points of peak emigration. Broadly speaking spiralists leave when in the early stages of family formation; graziers depart when young and single and when elderly; burgesses and townsmen migrate at all stages with the emphasis on the young and single and the developing family. On the other hand if the focus is directed at the migrants as a group then two peak stages emerge: large numbers migrate when at the young adult stage prior to marriage, and many leave during the years of family establishment prior to family dispersal. The consequences of this continual depletion will be explored in Chapter Nine.

The Motivation for Migration

Few systematic attempts have been made to gather statistics on motivation at the national level either here in Australia or overseas. In the United States Lansing and Mueller (1967) conducted a survey of some four thousand males who moved between 1962 and 1963 and produced the following distribution of motivations for intercounty moves shown in Table 7:4.

TABLE 7:4

REASONS FOR INTERCOUNTY MOVES OF UNITED STATES MALES 1962-1963

n = 4000

<u>Reason Given</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
To take a job	29.5
To look for work	11.9
job transfer	8.1
Marriage and family	14.6
Other	35.3
Not available	0.6

Source: Lansing and Mueller (1967:37).

Overall, these figures indicated that some 50 per cent of the sample moved for work related reasons. In contrast Rossi's (1956) study of the migration decisions of households in urban areas concluded that migration was primarily a response to housing considerations which are intimately linked with changing family size, i.e. life cycle changes. Such considerations however are likely to be paramount in intra-urban mobility but of minor importance in internal migration.

In Australia information collected for the 1970 Bureau of Statistics internal migration survey and the 1972 and 1976 labour mobility surveys indicated a similar pattern. The internal migration survey showed that 57 per cent of intra-capital city moves were inspired by changing housing needs but the majority of moves from

capital cities to other areas (56 per cent) and from other areas to capital cities (59 per cent) were a result of employment considerations¹. Table 7:5 gives details of intra state mobility patterns and motivations of members of the labour force.

1. The publications concerning the 1972, 1973 and 1974 internal migration surveys of the A.B.S. do not include information on motivation.

TABLE 7:5

INTRA STATE MOVES & MOTIVATION OF AUSTRALIAN LABOUR FORCE 1972 and 1976.

Row Percentages

From Capital City*

	To Take up New Job	To Look for Work	Other Reasons	Total Number
To Capital City				
1972	27	3	70	62,500
1976	36	1	63	67,200

To Other Areas**

1972	63	5	32	33,700
1976	64	6	30	25,000

From Other Areas

	To Take up New Job	To Look for Work	Other Reasons	Total Number
To Capital City				
1972	50	22	28	28,900
1976	56	12	32	22,100

To Other Areas

1972	59	8	33	84,000
1976	62	5	33	52,900

Note: * Metropolitan Statistical Divisions

** All areas other than the above

Source: A.B.S. Labour Mobility (1972:9,1976:31).

Again the majority of moves from other areas to capital cities and from capital cities to other areas are economically motivated while the majority of moves within capital cities are prompted by 'other' considerations. A number of other points of interest emerge from this table. It would appear that the majority of those who move in order "to look for work" migrate from other areas to capital cities. This may be in part a reflection of the greater number of job openings available in state capitals but may also be an indication of an attitude which holds that employment opportunities are more varied and numerous in the large city. It is also significant that the proportion of those who moved from other areas to capital cities in search of employment decreased by half between 1972 and 1976. This is an indication that over this period the availability of work in the capital city actually declined or was seen to decline.

Other analyses of migration patterns in Australia have produced some conclusions of interest. The report by the Cities Commission (1975) concentrated primarily on the volume and direction of migration but also commented on causation as follows:

The Statistical Division Model provides evidence suggesting that much outmigration from rural areas results from attempts to find more interesting jobs than are locally available.

Cities Commission (1975:62).

Widdows (1976) examined the statistics of population movement in Queensland and suggested two general conclusions which support the view that migration is intimately connected with economic factors. He

concluded:

- a) the degree of industrial specialisation at various locations within Queensland has influenced migration significantly, people preferring more diversified (economically) regions; and
- b) rural migration patterns were influenced significantly by variations in the fortunes of dairy, sheep production and mining.

Widdows (1976:74).

On a more regional basis a survey completed by Rowland among residents in six Victorian towns revealed that "employment accounted for between 73 and 80 per cent of all life time internal migrations by parent respondents" (Rowland 1975:332).

Presently available data therefore would seem to indicate that economic motives predominate as reasons for internal moves. The results of the Barcaldine survey give further confirmation to this conclusion. Of the two hundred and fifty migrating units 64 per cent or two out of every three mention economic reasons as their prime motivating force (Table 7:6).

TABLE 7:6
MOTIVATION OF BARCADDINE MIGRANTS

	N	%
Economic reasons	160	64
Educational reasons	35	14
Personal reasons	24	10
Improvement in Quality of Life	10	4
Retirement	10	4
Health reasons	11	4
Total	250	100

If however the motives of Barcaldine migrants as members of particular categories are considered (Table 7:7) the percentage influenced by economic factors varies from as low as 30 per cent to as high as 74 per cent. Economic motives predominate for the spiralists, a logical enough orientation for a category whose members generally perceive their residence in Barcaldine as a necessary step in an upward career spiral. Many spiralists accept a transfer as an integral part of their employment pattern while others actively pursue a transfer, such as the spiralist couple in their thirties with five dependent children who wrote:

The move was made because I had reached the peak of advancement in my particular field in Barcaldine. The cost of living was very high and I could see no chance of further salary advancement.

TABLE 7:7

MIGRATION MOTIVATION AND CATEGORY STATUS

(Row percentages)

	Economic Reason		Educational Reason		To Improve the Quality of Life		Retirement		Health Reason		Personal Reason	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Graziers n=14	4	30	1	7	1	7	3	21	2	14	3	21
Burgesses n=19	10	54	5	26	2	10	-	-	-	-	2	10
Townsmen n=101	60	60	18	18	4	4	5	5	3	3	11	10
Spiralists n=116	86	74	11	10	3	2	2	2	6	5	8	7

Townsmen also indicate a relatively high level of economic motivation, a situation which reflects the poor employment opportunities and lack of rural based economic ties of the property-less employee in the small country town. A frequently heard comment was the unsatisfactory nature of employment dependent on fluctuations in the seasons, climate and general economic situation:

As there was only seasonal work to be had in the shearing sheds or part-time work I moved to get more fixed permanent work.

Many of the younger townsmen felt that their talents and skills were being under-utilised in the limited job market in the rural area:

I moved because I felt I was wasting my education in a telephonist's position when I had received such a good pass in commercial subjects and I wanted to take up a secretarial position but at that time no such position was available in Barcaldine.

Although the numbers are small the majority of burgesses were influenced by falling business profits and lack of alternative employment in the area. A store owner wrote, "drought and bad debts ruined our business, we finally lost everything we ever had"; a publican sold up his license because, "population decreases mostly of young people, made business very slow"; and a butcher found that "the depressed wool and cattle prices and the enormous cost of bringing the butchering business up to Government requirements forced

me to sell up and leave".

Finally less than a third of the graziers gave economic reasons for migration but they too were concerned by the low profitability of their businesses. A young grazier previously working with his father wrote: "the income from the family property was not sufficient to support all the family. So I moved away to support myself until the economic situation should improve".

Educational reasons hold next place of importance for migrants as a whole though they appear to be of more significance for indigenous town dwellers (townsmen and burgesses) than for spirialists or graziers. Many parents regretted the poor quality of education at the local school and the expense involved in sending children away to boarding school. For example a shearers' cook moved his family away in order "to give my children a better education and a chance to be something other than a shed hand or a station worker". And another family left because:

we could forsee a time when our children would want to go on to tertiary education and we thought we would neither want them to leave home at such an early age nor would we be able to afford it so the obvious alternative was to move somewhere where they could go to college or University and live at home.

Lack of remedial or special education in the area also prompted some parents to migrate: "We departed from Barcaldine because our son had

to attend an opportunity school and rather than board him at such a young age we felt it was our place as parents to be with our son to help him". A number of young adults left to further their own education: "I left to go to Brisbane to complete a commerce degree I had been struggling unsuccessfully to complete externally for a number of years". And a young doctor explained: "I wanted to work in a large hospital with all that it can offer in broad experience and also to continue with postgraduate study at the University". Personal reasons affected around one in ten migrating units; some left in order to care for elderly relatives or to marry a person resident elsewhere, others because of personal feelings of dislocation from small town life; "as non graziers we were regarded as second class citizens by graziers and had very little in common with most townspeople because we were much better educated"; "because of the impossible attitude of the townspeople towards people not born there making life miserable for the children at school and parents in general"; others moved in order to make a fresh start in life like the young townsman couple who wrote, "we left because we were just married and wanted to start our lives together away from both our parents".

The remaining three reasons affected less than 15 per cent of all migrants. A few of the migrating units sought to improve their quality of life by moving to an area with a more congenial social and physical environment. The remarks made by a dissatisfied spiralist encapsulate the attitudes of many:

Heat, dust, flies, small choice of goods available in shops, lack of facilities for recreation on weekends,

e.g. one small unfiltered swimming pool for town, long distances to travel if specialist medical treatment needed, long distances to travel for holiday, low standard housing, inadequate mail and newspaper deliveries.

The urge to retire to the coast or at least to a less harsh environment strongly influenced a fifth of graziers and a few townsmen and spirialists in their decision to migrate. Health reasons account for the remainder of the moves and refer principally to the fact that either the physical environment of Barcaldine was detrimental to the health of a member of the migrating group or that certain essential medical facilities were unavailable locally: "Our youngest suffered asthma almost continuously and we were advised to move to a coastal area away from the heat and dust of the Central West"; "After an accident which eventually resulted in the amputation of my husband's leg, he needed specialist care in fitting and adjusting to the artificial limb and also some disability training to fit him for alternative employment". Similarly the distraught parents who wrote, "because of a desperately ill child which could have been managed easily and inexpensively in a major town but at a cost of \$12,000 and three months separation in Barcaldine".

The main differences in the type of motivation of the various categories can be more clearly seen in Table 7:8 where the reaosns for migration have been compressed into two major groups.

TABLE 7:8
MIGRATION MOTIVATION AND CATEGORY STATUS (compressed)
Row Percentages

	Economic and Educational Reasons		Other Reasons	
	N	%	N	%
Graziers	5	37	9	63
Burgesses	15	80	4	20
Townsmen	78	77	23	23
Spiralists	97	84	19	16

Over three quarters of burgesses, townsmen and spiralists explicitly gave educational or economic reasons for their migration. In contrast only one third of graziers did so. It is here suggested that this variation in grazier motivation is linked to the composition of grazier migrating units. Somewhat fewer grazier units than other category units are at an early stage of family formation or are young single adults (Table 7:9).

TABLE 7:9

COMPOSITION OF MIGRATION UNITS AND CATEGORY STATUS

Row Percentages

	Young Single Adults ¹ and Young Couples		Older Couples ² and Old Single Adults	
	N	%	N	%
Graziers	10	71	4	29
Burgesses	17	89	2	11
Townsmen	82	81	19	18
Spiralists	110	96	6	4

1. pre child bearing or with all children fully dependent
2. post child bearing or with some or all children independent.

And the data indicate that those units which consist of either young single adults or families in the early stages of formation (that is prior to the birth of any children or when all children are fully dependent) tend to give economic and educational reasons for their migration far more frequently than the older single adults and families whose adult children are leaving or have left home (Table 7:10)

TABLE 7:10

MIGRATION MOTIVATION AND COMPOSITION OF MIGRATION UNIT

Column Percentages

Reasons	Young Single Adults ¹ and Young Couples		Older Couples ² and Old Single Adults	
	N	%	N	%
Economic and Educational	133	61	7	23
Other Reasons	86	39	24	77

1. pre child bearing or with all children fully dependent.
2. post child bearing or with some or all children independent.

Two questions remain then to be confronted; why do the young tend to be motivated by economic and educational factors and why are there fewer young graziers among the ranks of the outmigrants than there are young burgesses, young townsmen and young spiralists. The answer to the first question was given implicitly in the previous section. The majority of internal migrants tend to be the young. This marks a time in an individual's life when he or she may be leaving school, embarking on a career or a tertiary education, taking the first important steps in that career, starting a family, feeling the financial burden of establishing a home and rearing children, considering the educational and employment opportunities of offspring etc. and not surprisingly the young adult finds the decision to

migrate is strongly influenced by economic and educational factors. On the other hand the middle aged to elderly individual is less concerned with job prospects as his career is often static or on the wane, the family is shrinking as children mature and leave home, the financial burden eases, and considerations such as proximity to relatives and residence in a congenial environment come to the fore.

On the second question as to why comparatively few young graziers migrate, the apparent imbalance may not in fact be due to any intrinsically different behaviour by youthful graziers but simply to the fact that a proportion of graziers' children are educated away from Bārcaldine and by failing to return after schooling and before migrating have remained undetected by this researcher.

Destinations

Data on the origins and destinations of Australian internal migrants has been systematically collected at a national level only in the last decade. The Bureau of Statistics has conducted surveys of labour mobility and internal migration and also initiated the insertion of a question in the 1971 and 1976 censuses asking respondents to name their place of residence at the time of the previous census, 1966 and 1971 respectively. The following tables give a brief summary of the information collected by these various means.

Table 7:11 shows that the majority of moves by members of the labour force are within the state of residence and the major

proportion of these moves are either within the capital city or between other areas.

TABLE 7:11

TYPE OF MOVES BY MOBILE MEMBERS OF AUSTRALIAN LABOUR FORCE^a

1972 and 1976

(Column Percentages)

Type of Move	1972 %	1976 %
Intra State:		
Within Capital City ^b	23	32
Capital City to Other Area ^c	13	12
Other Area to Capital City	11	10
Other Area to Other Area	32	25
Inter State:		
Between Capital Cities	8	7
Capital City to Other Area	5	5
Other Area to Capital City	4	4
Other Area to Other Area	4	5
Total N.	263,400	211,500

a. Civilians aged 15 years and over who changed their place of residence and job in previous twelve months

b. Capital City includes the Metropolitan Statistical Division

c. Other Area comprises all areas other than b.

Source: A.B.S. Labour Mobility (1974, 1976).

The table also demonstrated that between 1972 and 1976 intra capital city moves increased by ten per cent and moves within other areas of the same state decreased by a similar amount. The next table which presents data collected in the annual internal migration survey indicates similar trends. There has been a small overall increase in intra capital city moves and a very small decrease in other area to capital city moves. The majority of moves are also intra capital city changes of residence and moves between other areas.

TABLE 7:12
TYPE OF MOVES BY INTERNAL MIGRANTS^a FOR YEARS ENDED 30th APRIL
1970 to 1974

(Column Percentages)

Type of Move	1970 %	1971 %	1972 %	1973 %	1974 %
Intra Capital City Moves	48	48	51	51.5	51
Inter Capital City Moves	4	4	4	4	4
Moves from Capital City to Other Area both Inter & Intra State	8	8	7	8	8
Moves from Other Area to Capital City both Inter & Intra State	9	9	8	7.5	7
Moves from Other Area to Other Area both Inter & Intra State	31	31	30	29	30
Total N (000)	1320.1	1371.1	1393.2	1584.3	1592.6

a. Civilians aged 15 years and over who changed their address in the year prior to survey.

Source: A.B.S. Internal Migration (1974, 1976).

If moves originating in other areas alone are considered then the labour mobility and internal migration surveys each present a slightly different picture (Table 7:13).

TABLE 7:13
INTER AND INTRASTATE MOVES FROM OTHER AREAS OF MOBILE LABOUR FORCE
MEMBERS AND INTERNAL MIGRANTS

(Row Percentages)

	Other Area to Other Area %	Other Area to Capital City %	Total N(000)
LABOUR FORCE			
1972	71	29	133.7
1976	68	32	94.8
INTERNAL MIGRANTS			
1970	78	22	530.7
1971	78	22	539.1
1972	78	22	521.1
1973	80	20	582.1
1974	80	20	591.5

Source: A.B.S. Labour Mobility (1974, 1976).

A.B.S. Internal Migration (1975, 1976).

This table demonstrates that the proportion of moves by members of the labour force to capital cities seems to have increased slightly between 1972 and 1976 while the proportion of moves to capital cities by internal migrants has slightly decreased. This slight difference

is probably due to the fact that the labour mobility survey gives data for those who changed their job in the previous twelve months, that is largely for household heads or single adults, while the internal migration survey takes account of all members of the household over 15 years of age whether in employment or not.

The direction of the moves of surveyed Barcaldine residents closely parallels those of the mobile labour force; seventy per cent of the migrating units moved to other areas and thirty per cent to capital cities. Both the labour mobility surveys and the Barcaldine survey are here in effect recording the moves of household heads and single adults.

The question on residence mobility which was inserted in the census of 1971 can provide more detailed information on residence shifts. Table 7:14 gives details of the type of overall moves made between 1966 and 1971 by mobile Queensland and Barcaldine residents.

TABLE 7:14

TYPES OF MOVE BETWEEN 1966 AND 1971 OF QUEENSLAND AND BARCADDINE
RESIDENTS

(Column Percentages)

Type of Move	Queensland Residents	Barcaldine Shire Residents
	%	%
Within same Statistical Division	50	46
Within same State	24	42
From Another State	13	6
Other & Not Stated	13	6
Total N	703,444	677

Source: A.B.S. publications

Two points of interest emerge from this table, firstly that Barcaldine is receiving relatively few interstate or international migrants as compared with the whole of Queensland and is experiencing an inflow of proportionally higher numbers of intrastate migrants. The second point this table highlights is one noted by a number of researchers in this area (Cordey-Hayes and Gleave (1974), Keown (1971) McKay and Whitelaw (1976a, 1976b)) that in many areas, particularly small and rural ones, an overall decline in population is accompanied not simply by outmigration flows but also by relatively large inflows. In short, concentration on net population changes masks or disguises

gross population exchange and leads to an incomplete understanding of the process of population change and decline.

Keown (1971), in an attempt to clarify the mechanics of a situation of overall decline despite population inflow, distinguished between three types of migrants:

1. Career transients who move within the structure of a regionally or nationally based firm or service. Such migrants frequently move from one small country town to another¹.
2. Young people and families who move away from small rural centres to larger urban ones in search of various educational and social opportunities.
3. Migrants who remain part of the rural economy and move within it from one small country centre to another usually over fairly short distances in search of better employment or living conditions.

A similar set of distinctions can be made on the basis of survey data from Barcaldine migrants by the examination of detailed information on destinations. Table 7:15 indicates that three basic trends can be seen to emerge in the choice of destinations by these ex-Barcaldine migrants. Firstly, migrants move over a long distance directly to the state capital; secondly migrants move to the nearest large urban centre and to similar centres close to it; and finally migrants stay within the general region and move to similar small country centres.

1. This type of migrant is clearly similar to the spiralists described in this thesis.

TABLE 7:15

DESTINATIONS OF BARCOLDINE MIGRANTS
(Column Percentages)

Destination	N	%
1. State Capital		
a) Brisbane	71	28
2. Nearest Large Urban Centre(s)		
a) Rockhampton	34	14
b) Townsville, Mackay, Cairns, Gladstone	37	15
3. Within Same General Region		
a) Central Western Area	41	16
b) Northern Inland Area	4	2
4. Other Areas		
a) Coast South of Brisbane	3	1
b) South Western Inland	5	2
c) Darling Downs	22	9
d) Central Coast	18	7
e) Interstate	12	5
f) Overseas	3	1
TOTAL	250	100

Because the numbers in some of the categories of migrants are small it has proved difficult to make any definitive statements about whether members of any one category follow particular migration paths. By amalgamating the graziers, burgesses and townsmen into one large indigenous category (i.e. long term Barcaldine residents, many of whom were born and spent their lives in the area) their

migration patterns can be contrasted with those of the non indigenous category of spiralists. Table 7:16 reveals that over one third of indigenes move directly to Brisbane while less than twenty per cent go to a destination outside the three principal areas. In contrast almost a third of spiralists move to a destination in an "other area" and less than twenty per cent move directly to the State capital.

TABLE 7:16

AREA OF DESTINATION OF INDIGENOUS AND SPIRALIST MIGRANTS

(Column Percentages)

Area of Destination	Indigenes		Spiralists	
	N	%	N	%
1. State Capital	49	37	22	19
2. Nearest Large Urban Centre(s)	33	25	38	33
3. Same General Region	26	19	19	16
4. Other Areas	26	19	37	32
TOTAL N	134		116	

This table gives some idea of what type of migrant it is that is involved in the gross flows of population into and out of country centres. Over half the indigenous residents of this rural area who undertook a move migrated completely away from the rural area and the rural economy moving directly to large urban centres at between 500 and 1500 kilometers distance. However around one third of these indigenes remained either within the local rural area and economy or

moved to other areas some of which were also rural in character. These individuals then combined with a similar number of spiralists who also move to other rural areas to form part of the body of migrants moving into smaller rural centres. A brief look at the age and family composition of the migrants will assist in ascertaining whether the "urban bound" migrant has similar or dissimilar characteristics to the "remaining rural" migrant.

TABLE 7:17

AREA OF DESTINATION OF MIGRANTS BY FAMILY STATUS

(Column Percentages)

Family Status	Area of Destination			
	Capital City	Nearest Large Urban Centre(s)	Same General Region	Other Areas
	%	%	%	%
Young Single Adult	51	37	42	27
Couple prior to child-bearing or with dependent children	37	50	51	63
Couple post childbearing or with only independent children, and old single adults	12	9	7	10
TOTAL N	71	70	41	68

This table (7:17) indicates that half the migrants who go to the capital city are young single adults, while the nearby urban centres

and the rural areas, either local or non local, tend to attract young couples and young families. Table 7:18 points up this contrast, it indicates that the majority of young single adults are "urban bound" (move to the nearest large urban centres and to the capital city) while the majority of young couples and families tend to "remain rural" (move within the same general region or to other rural areas).

TABLE 7:18

AREA OF DESTINATION OF MIGRANTS BY FAMILY STATUS

(Column Percentages)

Area of Destination	Family Status		
	Young Single Adult	Couple prior to or with dependent children	Couple post children or with only independent children or old single adults
	%	%	%
1. Capital City	37	21	32
2. Nearest Large Urban Centre(s)	27	28	32
3. Same General Region	18	17	11
4. Other Areas	18	34	25
TOTAL N	97	125	28

The elderly migrants also tend to be attracted to urban rather than

to rural areas.

A final Table 7:19 which breaks down the destinations of the migrants according to population size rather than area broadly confirms these points. The larger the place of destination in terms of population the greater the proportion of migrants who are young single adults, similarly the smaller the place of destination the larger is the proportion of migrants who are young couples or young families.

TABLE 7:19

SIZE OF DESTINATION OF MIGRANTS BY FAMILY STATUS

(Column Percentages)

Family Status	Size of Destination			
	Under 10,000 population %	Over 10,000 population %	Australian State Capital Cities %	Overseas %
Young Single Adult	31	37	51	66
Couple prior to child bearing or with dependent children	60	47	39	34
Couple post child bearing with only independent children, or old single adult	9	16	10	-
TOTAL N	101	75	71	3

Tables 7:16, 7:17, 7:18 and 7:19 provide some information which can be used to elaborate on and confirm Keown's basic premise. Thus his

career transients (or spiralists as they are known here) move largely between rural areas, or within the same rural area and the majority of them are young couples or families¹. The second type of migrant moving to large regional or capital city urban centres consists principally of young single adults and also of many young families most of whom have been long term residents in the rural areas and are now leaving in search of a broader range of opportunities. This type of migrant also includes a number of more elderly long term rural residents who are moving to urban centres for retirement or more personal reasons. The third type of migrant who moves within the local rural area comprises both indigenes and spiralists, most of whom are young and single or young couples and families.

Table 7:19 indicates that one hundred and one migrating units or forty per cent of the total move to small centres under 10,000 in population and can be considered to be remaining largely within the rural environment. In this case four out of ten of the migrating units from Barcaldine are not contributing to overall rural or small town population loss in the short term. Of these migrating units which remain residents of small country centres under ten thousand in population, exactly half are members of the spiralist category and half are indigenes. McKay and Whitelaw (1976a, 1976c) make the point that much migration occurs within a constrained environment. By this they do not mean the constraints imposed by the physical environment, but rather the social or career constraints which influence the individual in his/her decision to migrate and where to migrate. The

1. It has already been noted that the majority of spiralists are young couples or young families - see Table 7:2.

data from the Barcaldine survey illustrate this point, as forty six per cent (N=116) of all migrating units are also spiralists, i.e. a significant number of the migrants are moving within a constrained environment "as a result of career-oriented promotions or transfers within large public and private organisations," McKay and Whitelaw (1976c:68). Migration of this type can be seen to reflect "the existing pattern of organisational structure and may have little connection with growth or decline in a regional economy," McKay and Whitelaw (1976a:14). A number of the indigenous 'remaining rural' migrants may be in fact joining the ranks of the spiralists as for example the young man who joins a bank in his home town, and then becomes liable to transfer joining the spiralist category in the context of his new place of residence.

This view that much of the intra rural and rurally directed migration occurs under various constraints has implications for the planning of growth or rather non growth of small rural centres. If the majority of those migrating into such areas do so at the behest or under the influence of some private or public organisation it will be decisions made by these agencies which will influence the pattern of development. Thus the inflow of migrants to a centre could be cut down and the overall decline of the centre consequently accelerated if for example a bank decided to close a branch office. Similarly a decision by the Education Department to expand a rural high school to include grades 11 and 12 would result in a larger inflow of personnel and a consequent deceleration of decline.

Conclusion

In this chapter migrants have been viewed as members of particular categories, as members of certain family structures, and as persons motivated or constrained to move by a number of factors. From such viewpoints migrants can broadly speaking be described as young (either single or the heads of developing families) as constrained or influenced by the exigencies of their occupation and/or economic position and as predominantly "urban bound" though an appreciable proportion do "remain rural". Spiralists have been shown both proportionally and absolutely to form the bulk of the migrants, a fact in accordance with the hypothesis of migration potentiality developed in the last chapter. A slightly smaller proportion of the migrants are townsmen and only small numbers are members of the burgess and grazier categories.

Unfortunately this study can have few pretensions to being of a longitudinal nature and thus is precluded from making any statements about the long term mobility patterns of these migrants. The survey was conducted during 1974 and 1975 and covered migrants who left the area between 1967 and 1973, therefore statements can only be made about the migration patterns which emerged at the very most over seven to eight years. Within these limitations it was found that of those initially "remaining rural" some twenty migrating units subsequently became "urban bound"; and of those initially 'urban bound' nineteen units later returned to a more rural environment. This indicates that the net population interchange which occurs between country districts and urban areas disguises a considerable degree of gross movement. To

establish whether the patterns indicated here are maintained over a longer period would require a research project of equal duration but the result would amply repay the effort involved in terms of knowledge about the mobility patterns of the rural^{ly} born and bred and also of the career spiralist in the Australian context.

CHAPTER EIGHT

MIGRATION CHOICES OF BARCADDINE YOUTH

Introduction

Adult residents and ex-residents of Barcaldine have been at the focus of the two previous chapters, here however the emphasis changes and more youthful members of the community come under consideration. Those working in the field of internal migration have long noted that one of the most significant migrating groups from rural areas consists of young people; Thomas (1938), Bogue (1959), Saville (1957), Sjaastad (1960), Beshers and Nishiura (1960), McInnis (1971) and others have all argued significantly to this effect.

Research undertaken in Australia appears to confirm that this trend is prevalent here too. Daly (1968) produced some evidence that unmarried school leavers form one of the critical groups of migrants in New South Wales; Doddridge and Holland (1970:6) concluded that "each year rural centres lose about 25 per cent to 30 per cent of the potential increment of young and educated persons". In South Australia Hugo (1971a) claimed that net migration losses from rural areas are highly selective of the school leaving age groups. He also noted that outmovement from the South Australian rural township of Renmark:

was particularly selective of the 15-19 year old age

group who comprised half of the outmigrants whereas only 10.5 per cent of the resident population falls within that age category.

Hugo (1971b:6).

Livermore (1970:147) confirmed the existence of a similar pattern around Albury-Wodonga and Wagga-Wagga where he found that the numbers of both males and females in the 15-24 age group were low in areas of migration loss and high in areas of migration gain. Similarly Lee's (1970) examination of post school behaviour of adolescents in the Goulburn Valley and Wimmera-Mallee region of Victoria emphasised their role as "a crucial and selective group of migrants". He revealed that 43 per cent of the students who left school in 1968 migrated from their home area.

In Queensland Widdows et al. (1974) found that inland and predominantly rural districts experienced large scale outmigration of those in the 15 to 19 year age bracket. And of the Huon Valley, a rural area in Tasmania, Cuthbertson et al. wrote:

Survey results indicate that over 1000 people with families remaining in the Huon Valley left between 1966 and 1973. The majority of these were aged between 15 and 20.

Cuthbertson et al. (1974:89).

Finally Victorian rural school leavers have been shown to be no exception to this general rule. Rowland (1975:28) found that migration

streams from non-metropolitan Victoria to Melbourne were dominated by adolescents. Law (1972:67-69) analysed the structure of rural Victorian male and female age cohorts and concluded that there were peaks of net loss in the late teenage and early adult years.

Census figures for Barcaldine also indicate a picture of accelerating loss of persons in the school leaving age bracket. In 1961 there were 95 males and 81 females aged 15-19 in Barcaldine Shire, but by 1966 the cohort was reduced to 79 males and 75 females (aged 20-24 in 1966) representing a total decline of 12.5 per cent most of which was due to net outward migration. The same statistics for 1966 to 1971 reveal that the 101 males and 80 females (aged 15-19 in 1966) were reduced to 61 males and 52 females (aged 20-24 in 1971) a cohort reduction of 37.6 per cent.

1971 census statistics also reveal that 13.7 per cent of the base population in Barcaldine falls into the age bracket 15-24 years. Comparing this figure with its equivalent for Queensland (17 per cent) and for Australia (17.3 per cent) it becomes clear that there has been in the past and there is continuing to be a considerable outmovement of young adults from the Shire without a commensurate inflow¹.

In this chapter it is intended to look in detail at the processes which have led to the depletion of young people in this small country community. This shall be accomplished by considering the attitudes, aspirations and actions of two groups of young persons. The first

1. The age graph on page 125 highlights this distortion of the age structure.

group are those who were in the process of being educated at the Barcaldine State High School at the time of this research in 1974. The second group are those who completed their secondary education in Barcaldine in the five years from 1969 to 1973. The attitudes or aspirations of the school pupils to migration are considered first and are then compared to the attitudes and migration actions of the school leavers. These young people can be looked at from two points of view: as rurally educated youth and members of the local community, or as rurally educated youth and members of a particular section or category of the local community. Both points of view shall be combined here where it is deemed appropriate.

Migration Aspirations of School Pupils

Early in 1974 all pupils in Grades 10, 11 and 12 of the State High School were asked to complete a short questionnaire about what they hoped to do on completion of their school education. Clearly, the stated aspirations of these young students cannot be taken as a guarantee of subsequent action but they remain interesting as indicators of the tenor of opinion among the young about their future in or away from Barcaldine, and provide a basis for evaluating the predictive powers of student aspiration when compared with subsequent action.

Little work has been undertaken concerning the relationship between migration intentions and migration actualities of school children. A study was conducted on this topic some twenty five years

ago in the United States and there Bohlen and Wakeley (1950) found that in the nine rural townships studied over half the pupils intended to leave their home area on graduation and only 1 in 10 were determined to remain. One year after graduation from high school it was found that around four fifths of those who had stated a definite intention to stay or to leave had actually fulfilled their aspiration. In Australia Salmon and Weston (1974) surveyed intending school leavers in nine Victorian country towns 46 per cent of whom said that they intended to seek work away from their home town. Conducting a second survey of these same young persons five months later they found that 47 per cent of those who had left school (82 per cent of the total respondents) had also left the area. Clearly a significantly high proportion of those who aspire to leave when at school actually do so when they have graduated.

Some research has also been completed simply on the aspirations of school pupils without ascertaining whether their hopes or plans were appropriately fulfilled. A survey of six thousand rural high school students in New South Wales found that 57 per cent "felt that they would have to move". Sydney Morning Herald (1977). In New Zealand Vellekoop (1968) considered the intentions of high school students in the rural township of Westport. A comparison of her data with the Bohlen and Wakeley data for the United States and the data from the survey of Barcaldine school pupils is made below in Table 8:1.

TABLE 8:1

COMPARISON OF SCHOOL PUPIL MIGRATION ASPIRATIONS
IN THE UNITED STATES, NEW ZEALAND AND BARCALTINE

(Percentages)

	<u>Vellekoop</u> New Zealand	<u>Bohlen & Wakeley</u> United States	<u>Barcaldine</u> Queensland
Intend to stay	33	12	6
Intend to leave	47	52	60
Undecided	20	36	18
Intend to leave and then return	-	-	16

Sources: New Zealand, Vellekoop (1968)

United States, Bohlen and Wakeley (1950)

Barcaldine school pupil survey 1974.

In all three countries a high level of outmigration aspiration is evident, Barcaldine has the highest proportion of pupils who intend to leave and the lowest proportion who intend to stay. It is interesting to speculate that the rate of outmigration aspiration may be related to the size and to the level of employment opportunity but sufficient data is not available either to prove or disprove this point.

Characteristics of School Pupils

Ex-rural migration has tended to be selective of females - a

point which will be covered in greater detail in section two of this chapter. Vellekoop noted that 56 per cent of girls intended to leave Westport compared with 50 per cent of boys. Bohlen and Wakeley recorded two thirds of the girls and only one third of the boys as having definite migration plans. The Barcaldine survey shows (Table 8:2) that although 82 per cent of girls intend to migrate initially compared with 70 per cent of boys, a larger proportion of the girls plan to return after a period.

TABLE 8:2

MIGRATION INTENTIONS OF BARCALTINE SCHOOL PUPILS BY SEX

(Row Percentages)

		Not to migrate	To migrate	To migrate and return	Undecided
Male	(N=30)	13	60	10	17
Female	(N=37)	-	60	22	18

If Barcaldine school pupils are considered as members of particular categories, as in Table 8:3, then it appears that there is some variation in intention from one category to another. Pupils are assigned membership of a particular category on the basis of their parents' status and although the numbers involved are small Table 8:3 shows that all grazier and burgess pupils have a firm intention to migrate, no spiralist pupil plans to stay though one does indicate a desire to return after a period of absence, and the table also

indicates that although the majority of townsmen pupils plan initially to migrate, a considerable proportion hope to return in the long term and a similar number were undecided at the time of the survey. Census data indicate that grazier children who are in Grades 10, 11 and 12 in schools outside the area number five. The survey of school pupils contained five grazier children also. We can therefore only make very tentative statements about the migration intentions of grazier offspring. Unfortunately it was not realised that it would have been appropriate to contact and interview young local people being educated elsewhere until it was too late to do so.

TABLE 8:3

MIGRATION INTENTIONS OF SCHOOL PUPILS BY CATEGORY STATUS
(Row Percentages)

Category	Not to migrate		To migrate		To migrate and return		Undecided	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Graziers (N=5)	-	-	5	100	-	-	-	-
Burgesses (N=6)	-	-	6	100	-	-	-	-
Townsmen (N=46)	4	9	21	46	10	21	11	24
Spiralists (N=10)	-	-	8	80	10	10	10	10

It will be seen later in the chapter that burgess and grazier school leavers do not actually migrate to the extent that their pupil counterparts would seem to indicate. But it is possible however that their high level of migration intention is related to the problems perceived as associated with remaining at home where there may be a strong parental expectation that the

son or daughter should assist with the family business. The intentions of the spiralist pupils would seem to be consonant with the generally low level of attachment members of this category have for Barcaldine. This is a point more fully discussed in Chapter Six. Most spiralist pupils have spent many years of their childhood in other areas and are fully aware that their parents will be moving elsewhere in due course so it is no surprise to find that not one intends to remain in Barcaldine on completing his or her secondary education.

Looking at some other social characteristics of pupils it seems that the older the pupil and the higher the grade he or she is in when questioned the greater the desire to migrate and the lesser the degree of uncertainty. These conclusions can only be stated relatively loosely because the small absolute numbers involved preclude a more definite statement.

TABLE 8:4

MIGRATION INTENTIONS OF SCHOOL PUPILS BY CURRENT GRADE
(Row Percentages)

Grade	Not to migrate		To migrate		To migrate and return		Undecided	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Grade 10 (N=33)	3	9	15	46	7	21	8	24
Grade 11 (N=19)	1	5	10	53	4	21	4	21
Grade 12 (N=15)	-	-	15	100	-	-	-	-

TABLE 8:5
MIGRATION INTENTIONS OF SCHOOL PUPILS BY CURRENT AGE
(ROW Percentages)

Age	Not to migrate		To migrate		To migrate and return		Undecided	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Under 16 Yrs (N=42)	3	7	20	48	7	17	12	28
16 years (N=19)	1	5	14	74	4	21	-	-
Over 16 Yrs (N=6)	-	-	6	100	-	-	-	-

Tables 8:4 and 8:5 indicate a situation which shall be found to be confirmed by the actions of the school leavers - the older and the more highly educated the young person the more likely he or she is to depart from the home area on leaving school.

Motivation of School Pupils

The school children were requested to indicate their reasons for wishing to leave Barcaldine and their replies fall into three broad categories. The most frequently mentioned reason was the perceived lack of job opportunities in the area or a desire for employment of a type not available locally. Just under half of those desirous of migrating gave this as their principal reason. Some ten

per cent indicated that it was the desire for a tertiary education which necessitated and therefore motivated a move away. The remaining forty per cent cited aspirations of a personal and individualistic nature which they sought to satisfy by migrating. Mention was frequently made of a desire to travel and to see the world, to get away from parents and the confines of small town life, to experience a measure of personal independence, and to meet a greater variety of future partners and of persons generally.

If school pupils are considered as members of particular categories then their motivation patterns do not reveal any features of great significance. About half the aspiring migrants in the burgess, townsmen and spiralist categories gave economic reasons but only twenty per cent of grazier pupils mentioned economic motives and eighty per cent gave more personal reasons. Tentatively, for the numbers are small, it is postulated that this feature is related to the economic background of this category. Thus although it may be economically feasible for a grazier youth to remain on the family property few want to for personal reasons. They may anticipate family tensions, limited extra-familial contacts, or an undesirable degree of dependence on parents or elder siblings and hence seek to escape the confines of home and thus necessarily of Barcaldine.

Destinations of School Pupils

Two scholars have conducted research into residential preferences of young persons in this part of the world. In New Zealand, Johnston

(1970) administered a questionnaire to imminent school leavers from sixteen schools, some in large cities, Christchurch and Canterbury, and others in country towns. Some thirty towns were listed and the students were asked to give a desirability ranking to each one.

Johnston concluded:

in most cases the size of a town is significantly related to its residential desirability for a group of school leavers, while the economic restraint on movement to it, as indicated by its distance away, is usually a minor and statistically insignificant influence.

Johnston (1970:395).

In a second paper Johnston (1971b) reported on a wider survey carried out in forty two schools throughout New Zealand where both junior and senior pupils were asked to respond. Here the students were asked to rank some twenty three regions according to their desirability as living areas. The author came to a number of tentative conclusions, tentative because there was a relatively small degree of consensus amongst the respondents. He identified several tendencies:

- a) intense local preference for the home 'region' and usually, neighbouring areas;
- b) a general preference for certain parts of the North Island ...;
- c) low preferences for inland areas.

The localism, however, is less obvious among the senior

students (despite their greater amount of consensus)
than the juniors.

Johnston (1971b:23).

The results of these two papers appear to produce conclusions of a somewhat contradictory nature. In the first, Johnston (1970) implied that students prefer a larger place regardless of its distance from home and in the second (Johnston 1971b) that the home or neighbouring region tends to be preferred. However as Johnston himself pointed out (1971b:23) "such findings have no immediate relevance for any study of actual migrations", there may be a degree of disparity between where a pupil *plans* to live on leaving school and where he would *prefer* to live.

Morris (1974) conducted a similar space preference study in Australia. She surveyed leaving-age students in six Victorian towns ranging in size from one thousand to a hundred thousand. Students were asked to rank Victoria's twenty five most populous urban areas according to the respondents own individual notions of residential desirability. The author identified three classes of residential preference:

Class 1 - "Big Cityites" comprising 30.4 per cent of the
total sample who have a marked preference for
Melbourne.

Class 2 - "Northernites" encompassing the majority of
students, 59.2 per cent, who opted for large
towns or small cities as preferred places of

residence.

Class 3 - "Localites", these respondents, 10.4 per cent of the total who exhibit a high degree of parochialism and an aversion for extremely large cities.

Morris (1974:20).

Data from the Barcaldine leaving age students reveal a similar picture of three classes of preference with an additional and large class of those who were undecided as to where they intended to live or who gave a vague, general description such as 'on the coast' or 'in the city'.

TABLE 8:6

INTENDED MIGRATION DESTINATIONS OF BARCOLDINE SCHOOL PUPILS

	N	%
Brisbane	16	24
North coast city, e.g. Rockhampton, Townsville, Mackay	15	22.5
Central Western region	3	4.5
Barcaldine	4	6
Undecided or vague	29	43
Total	67	100

Of the named destinations Brisbane on the one hand and the

northern coastal cities on the other seem to be of almost equal attraction to the school pupils, the attractions of size and of proximity seem to operate with equal force. A minority, but a significant one, plan to remain in Barcaldine itself or in its immediate region. A breakdown of destinations and category status shown no significant features except that the three individuals who state a preference for small Central Western towns and thus indicate a firm commitment to a rural way of life are all grazier offspring.

Summary of Pupil Mobility Patterns

From this brief survey we can make a few general comments about school pupil migration aspirations. Firstly, the longer the individual pupil remains at school and concomitantly the older and more highly educated he or she becomes, the higher the level of mobility aspiration. Secondly, those who aspire to migrate desire to fulfill various economic and educational hopes and to attain certain personal and individualistic goals through their mobility. Finally the desired destinations appear to be in three discrete areas; the immediate local region, small but relatively close cities and the distant but large metropolis. In the second section of the chapter the actions of the young people who have already completed their secondary education in Barcaldine are examined. Their actions shall be compared with the aspirations of their pupil counterparts to give an estimation of how far such predictions are validated by future action.

Migration Actualities of School Leavers

A survey of those students who completed their secondary education at the Barcaldine State High School in the years from 1969 to 1973 was conducted as described in Chapter Three. Of the ninety-six complete replies to the questionnaires some eighteen proved to be from students who left the school to continue their secondary education elsewhere. These continuing school pupils were excluded from the analysis leaving a total of seventy eight individuals.

As in the previous section on school pupils the discussion of school leavers loosely encompasses three broad areas. The first covers the social characteristics of the migrant and non-migrant leavers, the second the motivational context of the migration or non-migration decision and the final area is concerned with the directional flow of this young adult exodus. By way of introduction a brief comparison is first made of the migration actions of these school leavers and the migration aspirations of the school pupils.

Table 8:7 reveals a situation which shall be repeated in its essentials each time aspirations of pupils are compared with actions of leavers: the migration rate aspired to is higher than that which actually occurs and the non-migration rate aspired to is lower than that which occurs. In other words fewer young people leave Barcaldine than say they are going to.

TABLE 8:7

A COMPARISON OF MIGRATION ASPIRATIONS OF SCHOOL PUPILS
AND MIGRATION ACTIONS OF SCHOOL LEAVERS¹

(Column Percentages)

	Aspirations of School Pupils		Actions of School Leavers	
	N	%	N	%
Migrate	40	60	35	45
Not migrate	4	6	36	46
Migrate and Return	11	16	7	9
Undecided	12	18	-	-
Total	67	100	78	100

Characteristics of School Leavers

An attempt is made here to isolate any selective features associated with the migration of these young adults. This will be accomplished by comparing those individuals who migrated and those who chose to remain in the immediate locality of home, school and Barcaldine. Five possible areas of selectivity suggested both by the data itself and by current literature shall be considered. These comprise the category status of migrating and non-migrating leavers,

1. Data given in Appendix H indicate that the disparity between aspirations and actions is not a function of the incomparability of the two groups of school pupils and school leavers.

sex and residential status, age and educational level on leaving school and post school career aspirations.

Table 8:8 indicates tentatively, for the absolute numbers in each category are small, that the sons and daughters of spiralists have the highest outmigration rate.

TABLE 8:8
SCHOOL LEAVER MIGRATION AND CATEGORY STATUS
(Row Percentages)

Category	Migrated		Did not Migrate		Migrated and Returned	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Graziers (N=7)	2	29	3	42	2	29
Burgesses (N=20)	7	35	12	60	1	5
Townsmen (N=42)	19	45	19	45	4	10
Spiralists (N=9)	7	78	2	22	-	-

A substantial proportion of townsmen leave also, while grazier and burgess youth indicate the least tendency to migrate.

Essentially this is the same pattern which was found to occur with the adult members of the four categories and would seem to indicate that some of the same pressures operate on young and older members alike. The actions of both spiralist and townsman leavers seem to reflect fairly accurately the aspirations of their pupil counterparts. Thus 46 per cent of townsmen students aspired to migrate and 45 per cent did so; and 80 per cent of spiralist students planned to leave and 78 per cent did so. Neither burgess nor grazier pupil aspirations were so appropriately fulfilled. All the grazier and burgess pupils intended to migrate but only 33 per cent of leavers did so.

Moving from the factor of category status (which may be Barcaldine specific) to another of more general nature - the sex of the migrant - it was found that there is abundant comparative data available in the literature. The idea that females are more prone to move than males was first promulgated by Ravenstein in 1885 and has since been affirmed by numerous¹ authors not least of whom is Thomas who wrote:

The available data suggest that the 'rural exodus' has been sex selective of females particularly in the younger adult ages.

Thomas (1938:68).

and:

-
1. For example Maudlin (1940), Bohlen and Wakeley (1950), Hamilton (1951), Saville (1957), Walz (1960), Beshers and Nishiura (1960), Tarver (1963), and Macisco and Pryor (1963).

Female migrants tend to be more concentrated at somewhat younger ages than males.

Thomas (1958:322).

On the Australian scene researchers have reached somewhat similar conclusions. Young (1974) working in Melbourne found that overall daughters leave home approximately two years younger than sons. Lee (1970) reported that 53 per cent of female school leavers left his research area compared with only 37 per cent of males. However he also noted that if the school leavers going on to tertiary education were excluded then there were no significant differences between the migration proclivities of males and females entering the workforce.

Rowland (1975:318) made a more tentative comment to the effect that "the figures show some tendency for females to have higher departure rates than males at younger ages". Hugo (1971a) remarked that total net losses in rural areas are greater for females than males. Law (1972:70) found that when changes in age cohorts of males and females in Victorian rural areas were compared then losses for females were more pronounced at an earlier age.

In contrast to this seeming consensus, Doddridge and Holland (1970:27) report that in rural New South Wales "single males of rural centres do not appear to be much more geographically mobile than single young females". The Barcaldine survey also seems to controvert the accepted axiom of female selectivity.

TABLE 8:9
MIGRATION OF MALE AND FEMALE SCHOOL LEAVERS
(Row Percentages)

		Migrated		Did not Migrate		Migrated and Returned	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Male	(N=39)	17	44	17	44	5	12
Female	(N=39)	18	46	19	49	2	5

Males and females appear to leave at very similar rates, however there may be a degree of hidden or delayed migration present here particularly of young females. Comments made by a number of school leavers who did not migrate give an indication that some young girls are intent on leaving as soon as circumstances are favourable.

I was too young, at 15, to leave home when I left school but I'm going in a year's time when I'm 18.

My parents wouldn't let me leave when I finished school, they said I was too young to go away by myself.

I'm going to be an air hostess but they won't take you on until you're eighteen so I'm staying home until then.

If a comparison is made here of pupil aspiration (Table 8:2) and leaver action it emerges that males and females aspired to and experienced similar outmigration rates though the intended rate was slightly higher than the actual rate.

Returning to the main burden of our argument, it happens that some other researchers here in Australia have differentiated between rural-rural migrants and rural-urban migrants and found that female sex selection only operates for those leaving rural farms and not for those leaving rural non-farms. Widdows et al. (1974) commented that the census statistics for Queensland:

highlight a dominant tendency in school leaver¹ migration, that is, for male and female migration patterns to differ sharply. Rural experience shows that not only did females leave the rural districts, but that in all cases where males migrated females migrated to a greater extent. Conversely, in general female school leavers left urban² districts to a lesser extent than did males.

Widdows et al. (1974:33).

However, the figures for the Barcaldine Local Government Area would seem to indicate a diametrically opposed situation of male/female, rural/urban outmigration.

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1. that is those in the 15-19 years age bracket.
 2. These authors use the A.B.S. definition of an urban centre as a place of more than 1,000 population or 350 dwellings.

TABLE 8:10

INTERCENSAL CHANGE IN NUMBERS OF SCHOOL LEAVERS
BETWEEN THE AGES OF 15 AND 24 YEARS
IN BARCALTINE 1961-1971

	Rural		Urban	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	N	N	N	N
Aged 15-19 in 1961	31	19	64	62
Aged 20-24 in 1966	25	18	54	57
Percentage Change in Cohort Size	-19.4%	-5.3%	-15.6%	-8.1%
Aged 15-19 in 1966	26	7	75	73
Aged 20-24 in 1971	15	9	46	43
Percentage Change in Cohort Size	-42.3%	+28.6%	-38.7%	-41.1%

Source: Statistics compiled from computer printout obtained from A.B.S.

Table 8:10 indicates that young females migrated to a much lesser extent from rural areas than did young males, in fact between 1966 and 1971 there was an overall gain of two young women. This apparently anomalous position probably stems from the fact that rural children, that is grazier offspring, are frequently sent away to school at fourteen years of age or younger and hence would not be recorded as residents in the 15 to 19 year age cohort. Young females in particular may never return home to live nor move to other rural districts as employment opportunities are extremely limited for women

in rural areas. Thus their outmigration would not be recorded in the statistics by looking simply at the changes in size of the 15-19 and 20-24 age cohorts. Young males, on the other hand, might well return to their home rural area or seek employment in other rural localities on leaving school and would thus be recorded in the 15-19 age bracket. They could subsequently be recorded as having undertaken an outmigration.

In Table 8:11 the figures are considered which reveal changes in the age cohorts 10-14 years and 15-19 years in the rural area over the same intercensal period; the position is reversed and the statement by Widdows and his colleagues is confirmed, i.e. females migrated to a greater extent than males from the rural area.

TABLE 8:11

INTERCENSAL CHANGES IN NUMBERS OF SCHOOL LEAVERS
BETWEEN THE AGES OF 10 AND 19 YEARS
IN RURAL BARCALDINE 1961-1971

	Rural Area	
	Male N	Female N
Aged 10-14 years in 1961	30	15
Aged 15-19 years in 1966	26	7
Percentage change in cohort size	-13.3%	-53.3%
Aged 10-14 years in 1966	27	18
Aged 15-19 years in 1971	19	5
Percentage change in cohort size	-29.61%	-72.27%

Source: Statistics compiled from computer printout obtained from A.B.S.

It remains necessary however, to explain why Widdows and his colleagues found a pattern of change in the rural 15-19 year age group in Queensland which contrasts with the pattern which seems to prevail in Barcaldine. Possibly their aggregation of figures to produce statistics for an area no smaller than a Statistical Division has resulted in some form of skewing; or it may be the case that for some reason children in the Barcaldine rural area are more frequently sent away to school and at a younger age than they are in other rural areas, or that the employment opportunities for boys are more limited in Barcaldine resulting in a small inflow and greater outflow of male adolescents.

The census figures for Barcaldine urban dwelling leavers as presented in Table 8:10 confirms the data of Widdows et al. for one intercensal period, 1961-1966, when males migrated at a greater rate than females. But between 1966 and 1971 it would seem that this differential disappeared and males and females migrated at very much the same rate.

Returning now to the survey data after this fairly lengthy digression it becomes clear that surveyed school leavers' migration follows the same general pattern as evinced by the census statistics; females migrate at a greater rate than males from the rural part of the shire, while males and females migrate at very similar rates from the township itself.

TABLE 8:12

MIGRATION OF MALE AND FEMALE SCHOOL LEAVERS
BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE

(Row Percentages)

Sex	Residence	Migrated		Did not Migrate		Migrated and Returned	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Male	Rural	1	20	2	40	2	40
	Urban	16	47	15	44	3	9
Female	Rural	3	100	-	-	-	-
	Urban	15	42	19	53	2	5

TABLE 8:13

MIGRATION OF SCHOOL LEAVERS AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE

(Row Percentages)

Residence		Migrated		Did not Migrate		Migrated and Returned	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Rural	(N=8)	4	50	2	25	2	25
Urban	(N=70)	31	44	34	49	5	7

Although absolute numbers are small particularly for rural dwellers, Tables 8:9, 8:12 and 8:13 lead to several general conclusions regarding the selective impact of sex and residence on migration

potential.

1. Of the total school leavers in the Shire males and females leave at similar rates.
2. Of the total school leavers in the Shire, rural dwellers were found to leave initially at a greater rate than urban dwellers but they also return at a greater rate, resulting in a similar short term effective outmigration rate.
3. Of rural dwelling school leavers females migrate to a greater extent than males.
4. Of urban dwelling school leavers males and females migrate at similar rates.
5. Of all male school leavers, more rural males migrate initially. The relative positions of the two groups however are reversed after a period when two thirds of the initial rural migrants return.
6. Of all female school leavers the rurally resident are more likely to leave than the urban resident.

Here we seem to have a situation where those most likely to leave are rural females and those least likely to leave are rural males. These two extremes are a result of the range of employment options open and of interest to these rurally resident young people. Rural based employment opportunities open to young single females are few and those that exist are primarily in domestic service, a type of work generally considered unattractive by young women today. In order to find a congenial occupation these girls must leave their

homes. In contrast there are some jobs available for young males in the rural area given that research both here in Australia and overseas, (Haller (1969), Fardy (1976)) has shown that farm boys tend to see themselves as farmers from an early age.

The sex of the young person has been clearly shown to be a major factor in influencing migration propensity. However there are a number of other factors revealed in the literature which have a strong impact on the career and residence choices of young adults. A great deal of effort has been expended on the task of relating intelligence¹ to migration tendencies and subsequently, and more fruitfully, on attempts to establish a link between educational levels and migration. In 1938 Thomas reported rather hesitantly after an extensive review of the literature current at that time, that:

the findings of most of these investigations suggest that the better educated are selected in outward migration

Thomas (1938).

Since that time much research² on this topic has confirmed the

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1. Klineberg (1935), Gist and Clark (1938), Bohlen and Wakeley (1950), Philblad and Gregory (1954, 1956 and 1957), Strauss (1956), Lijfering (1958).
 2. for example, Hamilton (1959), Shyrock and Nam (1965), Beals et al. (1967), Sahota (1968), Jansen (1968), Bogue (1969), Caldwell (1969), Lee (1966), Greenwood (1969a, 1970), McInnis (1971), Long (1973), Byerlee (1974), Levy and Wadycki (1974), Speare (1974) and others.

existence of a relationship between education levels and migration.

E.S. Lee wrote in 1970:

It is well known that there is a close and positive relationship between the rate of migration and the number of years of school completed. This relationship is nearly as invariable as that between age and migration and it holds for every country for which I have been able to find data.

E.S. Lee (1970:44).

Data from Australian sources provide us with some general statements on the educational selectivity of migrating school leavers. Rowland (1975:349) found that on average the least well educated had the most stayers and the most highly educated the least stayers. Lee's (1970) data indicated a consistent increase in the percentage of migrants with the increase in the number of years of secondary schooling. Doddridge and Holland (1970) found that over 70 per cent of their migrant school leavers were occupied with tertiary education or semi-or full professional training - all areas where a high level of secondary schooling is a prerequisite. The Barcaldine school leaver survey highlights a similar situation.

TABLE 8:14
SCHOOL LEAVER MIGRATION AND LEAVING GRADE
(Row Percentages)

Grade	Migrated		Did Not Migrate	
	N	%	N	%
Grades 9 & 10 (N=40)	19	47.5	21	52.5
Grades 11 & 12 (N=38)	23	60	15	40

Concurrent with higher level of schooling is age and as Lee (1970) also found, the older the individual is on leaving school the higher are the chances that he will migrate. Again survey data indicate that this principle is operating in Barcaldine as well.

TABLE 8:15
SCHOOL LEAVER MIGRATION AND LEAVING AGE
(Row Percentages)

Age	Migrated		Did Not Migrate	
	N	%	N	%
Under 16 years (N=32)	13	41	19	59
Aged 16 years (N=22)	11	50	11	50
Over 16 years (N=24)	18	75	7	25

Post school career aspirations of these young people is also likely to have an influence on their residential choice. Clearly

those seeking to embark on full time tertiary education will be forced to leave their home area as the only tertiary institution within daily reach is the Pastoral College sixty miles away in Longreach. Table 8:16 indicates that all those who undertook full time study and the majority of those who studied part time left the area while over half of those who took on full time work stayed in Barcaldine.

TABLE 8:16

SCHOOL LEAVER MIGRATION AND POST SCHOOL OCCUPATION
(Row Percentages)

		Migrated		Did Not Migrate	
		N	%	N	%
Full time Work	(N=52)	22	42	30	58
Work & Study Part time	(N=16)	10	62	6	38
Full time Study	(N=10)	10	100	-	-

The Barcaldine data also provide evidence of an association between type of occupation the school-leaver enters and his or her migration propensity (Table 8:17). In rural Victoria Rowland (1975:322) found that tertiary students and professional workers were the two occupational groups with the highest proportions of internal migrants. The Barcaldine survey completely confirms this point with 100 and 80 per cent respectively of these two groups departing on school graduation.

TABLE 8:17

SCHOOL LEAVER MIGRATION AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS
ON LEAVING SCHOOL

(Row Percentages)

Occupation* on Leaving School		Migrated		Did Not Migrate	
		N	%	N	%
Tertiary students	(N=10)	10	100	-	-
Professionals	(N=5)	4	80	1	20
Clerical & Sales	(N=27)	7	26	20	74
Farmers	(N=2)	2	100	-	-
Skilled	(N=15)	10	67	5	33
Semi & Unskilled	(N=19)	9	47	10	53

* Occupational groupings based on the classification of Broom et al. (1965).

Rowland found that as a group administrative and clerical workers were quite likely to stay in their home area while skilled tradesmen and semi and unskilled workers were the least likely to leave home. Here Barcaldine students differ in that a high proportion or two out of three skilled workers migrate. The reason for this is not obscure and lies in the scarcity of skilled apprenticeships in Barcaldine or any other country town of comparable size. Rowland suggested:

among young people ... occupational choice is more
important in influencing the timing of the move

rather than who moves in the long run.

Rowland (1975:323).

Thus his Victorian school leavers may have found apprenticeships without difficulty in their home area but once qualified be forced to migrate owing to a scarcity of jobs for fully skilled tradesmen. In Barcaldine an apprenticeship itself may be unobtainable locally so the young person will leave as soon as schooling is completed.

The Barcaldine survey also reveals that those entering semi or unskilled jobs have a greater tendency to move than those embarking on a clerical or sales career and this again reflects the type of job market open in the area. Owing to the number of government agencies, particularly the Main Roads Department and the Electricity Board clerical positions are relatively numerous. Unskilled work, however, is not so readily procurable except on the grazing properties and rural labouring is seen as an undesirable career avenue by many adolescents, hence the fact that almost half of the semi and unskilled workers left the area. After the passage of a few years it would be interesting to review the pattern which has emerged here. It is possible that over time the mover/stayer patterns may change; for example professionals may move back to Barcaldine and clerks leave it as spirallists, or qualified tradesmen may return to set up a business in their home town. A longitudinal study over the years could yield much useful information about such possible trends.

In sum then it does appear that there are certain selective mechanisms operating in the process of outmigration of school leavers

from Barcaldine. The category status, educational level and post-school career choice of the student seem to have the most crucial influence on his migration tendencies; place of residence is also important and the sex factor seems only to operate for those resident on rural farms.

Motivation of School Leaver

In this second section on school leavers the emphasis will be on the motivational context of the migration decision. The current literature on motivation for internal moves in Australia was scrutinized in Chapter Seven but authors who have concentrated on school leaver migration will be examined here.

Radford has had the following to say about school leavers who migrate from non-metropolitan areas:

For the boys the principal attractions are tertiary education, the skilled trades and openings in semi-professional and executive occupations. For the girls, nursing, the paramedical occupations, tertiary education, particularly preparation for teaching, business colleges, clerical occupations and government employment.

Radford (1962:84).

Doddridge and Holland concluded that:

the major reason for the shift from the country to the city is the desire for further education or career training ... next in order of frequency as the principal reason for migration were work, money or promotion opportunities and lastly, family move. The figures reveal present or future economic opportunity as the major reason for school leaver migration in New South Wales.

Doddridge and Holland (1970:29)

And Rowland (1975:321) estimated that of school leavers from his study area in Victoria "it is likely that 40 to 60 per cent of internal migration departures were prompted by employment considerations". The school leavers surveyed by Salmon and Weston were also strongly influenced by present or future economic opportunities:

47 per cent had moved to higher education, 39 per cent left because of the lack of local employment, and the remaining 14 per cent left either with families, or expressed a preference to live elsewhere.

Salmon and Weston (1974:63):

Clearly all these writers and others have found that economic factors were by far the single most important expressed motivating force behind the rural exodus of youth. Indeed Barcaldine school leavers prove no exception, some two out of every three giving reasons such as those quoted below:

The most important and only reason for leaving was to find a secure job which was not available in Barcaldine.

I didn't want to be stuck in a dead end job in a small town.

At the time I left there were no opportunities for the particular trade I am now in.

The employment service stated I was no longer eligible for social service and as my parents couldn't afford to keep me any longer I shifted to another town to find work.

Contrary to what might have been expected few school leavers, admitted to being drawn to the city by the superior social and recreational facilities available there. Here the leavers contrast with the school pupils, some 40 per cent of whom gave reasons which indicated a desire to experience the material benefits of city living and only 60 per cent of whom saw their intended migration as motivated by economic and educational factors. It is also significant to note, Table 8:18 below, that the motives of the non-migrating school leavers present a contrasting picture to the motives of those migrating: the majority of non migrants cited reasons unconnected with present or future employment prospects.

TABLE 8:18

SCHOOL LEAVER MIGRATION AND THE MOTIVATIONAL CONTEXT

(Column Percentages)

	Reason for Migrating		Reason for not Migrating	
	N	%	N	%
Economic	28	67	10	28
Educational	12	28.5	-	-
Other*	2	4.5	26	72
Total	42		36	

* See text for explanation.

Non-migrants differed between those who indicated a desire to leave at some future date but who were prevented from doing so immediately by parental or other extraneous pressures¹ and those who appear to have made a conscious decision to make their life a rural one. The following quotations illustrate this latter point and emphasise the fact that some of these school leavers perceive the secure and familiar environment of Barcaldine as preferable to any possible advantage economic or otherwise to be gained elsewhere:

-
1. The quotations on page 257 of this chapter illustrate this point that individuals may stay temporarily in the area as a result of being too young either to leave home or enter particular employment.

Mostly it's because it's where I was born and brought up and I know everyone here.

All my friends are here and also I like living in Barcaldine because I like the life of the country.

The people are friendly and you know everybody, i.e. you can go up the street and have a talk to anybody, go to a bar and have a drink with anyone.

The feeling of being secure with my work and family and friends, the knowledge of knowing all the people I have dealings with.

In conclusion then it is no surprise to find that the motives of young school leavers migrating from Barcaldine differ little from those of their contemporaries leaving other rural areas in Australia. The lack of tertiary education institutions and a diverse employment market in rural areas are the two principal factors responsible for the large scale outmigration of the young from country centres. The motives of those who do not migrate are equally significant and indicate that social rather than economic reasons keep the young adult in the rural area.

Destinations of School Leavers

This final section now concentrates on the question of where

these migrant adolescents go to in order to satisfy their various needs and desires. Research into this question in Australia has almost unanimously concluded that the most prevalent migration streams of the young from rural areas are in the direction of the state capital and large regional centres. Doddridge and Holland (1970:27) found that three quarters of migrant school leavers from Bathurst, Nowra and Wagga were resident in Sydney one year after leaving school. Livermore wrote:

The evidence is reasonably convincing, even if circumstantial, that there is a marked tendency for young people in rural localities and small towns to migrate directly to the metropolitan capital cities after leaving school.

Livermore (1970:227)

Survey material used by Rowland (1975) in his thesis indicated that the destination of internal migrants between the ages of 15 and 24 exhibited three principal features:

1. A tendency to move to the nearest metropolitan city or regional centre.
2. A preference for towns larger than the place of origin.
3. A lack of intra-urban migration in small towns, internal migration to larger centres being the usual practice.

Rowland (1975:184).

Lee (1970) found that large numbers of Victorian school leavers from the Goulburn Valley and Wimmera-Mallee regions moved directly to Melbourne though the city did tend to draw the better educated and hence older migrants.

Survey data from this research indicate that Barcaldine school leavers are again no exception to this general trend. Table 8:19 shows that 40 per cent made their way directly to Brisbane when they left home and over a quarter proceeded to northern coastal cities. There is however a surprisingly large percentage of 24 per cent who migrated to other rural centres within a one hundred and fifty kilometer radius of Barcaldine.

TABLE 8:19
SCHOOL LEAVER MIGRATION AND DESTINATION

	N	%
Brisbane Metropolitan Area	17	40
South Eastern Region - small urban centres, Warwick, Caloundra, Gold Coast	3	7
North Coast urban centres - Rockhampton, Townsville, Cairns, Mackay	12	29
Central Inland small urban centres - Blackall, Longreach, Emerald, Alpha, Charleville, Hughenden	10	24
Total	42	100

Thus there is a third major stream of school leaver migration from Barcaldine paralleling those commonly identified to the capital city and to regional centres. This stream consists of short distance moves in the immediate region. It is possible that these local moves could eventually become long distance city-ward ones but this point cannot be confirmed without a longitudinal study.

School pupil intended destinations also manifested a tripartite division of preferred places and their aspirations appear to give a reasonably accurate preview of the leavers actions.

Conclusion

This chapter has covered considerable ground touching on, the characteristics, motivations and destinations of the aspiring and the actually migrant young person. On a general level the predictions of pupils appear to be upheld or fulfilled by the leavers. Pupils slightly overestimate the proportion who will migrate from the area never to return and, although they largely underestimate the proportion who will remain it may well be that over the passage of time delayed migration of leavers will bring about a greater correspondence between prediction and actuality.

Barcaldine loses around half of its total school leavers each year and particularly those that are older, best educated and set on an upward career pattern. These migrants are heading principally for urban areas to seek the wider educational and economic opportunities

available there. The community which fosters these youngsters is thus continually deprived of its most able, educated and potentially innovative youth as soon as they reach their economically active years. A continuation of such a pattern lays the foundation for an accelerating downward spiral of decline. On the other hand the community retains the younger, less well educated and underskilled youth who respond to social pressures to remain but who may move at a later date. The consequences of such patterns of loss and retention are examined in the next chapter.

PART FOUR

OVERVIEW AND REVIEW

CHAPTER NINE

THE CONSEQUENCES OF OUTMIGRATION

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to examine the consequences of a continuous pattern of outmigration from declining country centres. The chapter is general in tone and will involve a discussion of the type of consequences which have been noted by researchers in the field. Data from Barcaldine shall be brought in where applicable and available but owing to the short term nature of the research project it has not been possible to observe or to measure many of the long term consequences of decline or non-growth.

Initially a scrutiny is made of the effects of population decline on the community which experiences it, i.e. the community of origin. The focus then shifts to the individual migrant and the benefits and costs involved for him as a result of the move. It is here that data from the Barcaldine survey can contribute most to the discussion. Thirdly consideration is given to the consequences that a pattern of migration may have for the communities which receive the influx of migrants, i.e. the communities of destination. The implications of such a trend for the society as a whole is then examined. The final section focusses attention on the action or actions that are appropriate to maximise the benefits and to minimise the costs for individuals and groups at each of the three levels.

Communities of Origin

Contemporary journalistic observations in Australia have projected a picture of the stagnant or dying country town:

The countryside is slowly dying. As farms become uneconomic, their owners leave them and move to the cities. With fewer people to sell to, the small country storekeeper finds the struggle unequal and he, too, moves away. Then with fewer children, the small rural school loses a teacher or closes down and more people are lost. With fewer people the pressure is again on the shopkeeper and the service industries, and so the vicious cycle is started. This trend to the city which has long been apparent, has recently become accelerated and is in danger of becoming a landslide.

Grimwade (1971) in The Melbourne Herald.

The rural depression has given sharp impetus to this movement which, unchecked, could leave the inland as bare of inhabitants as it was 100 years ago.

O'Hara (1971) in the Sydney Morning Herald.

Under the headline "Western Town Facing Ruin", an unnamed correspondent wrote in a Queensland newspaper:

One business man said conditions in the town had never been worse - not even during the depression ... Business

turnover has dropped at least 60 per cent in the last two years.

Courier Mail (1966).

It is only recently however that the phenomenon of depopulation has attracted the attention of serious researchers and most published work still remains mainly qualitative rather than quantitative in nature:

The effects of emigration and depopulation are in general little known. The places that people leave, the social groups that diminish attract little attention.

Lowenthal and Comitas (1962:196).

The reason for the concentration on the migrants themselves and the general neglect of the places they leave was summed up by Beale when he wrote:

The demography and sociology of decline are not attractive subjects for most researchers. The power and the glory and the action are in the megalopolis.

Beale (1964:265).

On the basis of the research that has been done some fairly general statements can be made about the impact an outflow of population has on a small rural centre.

It has been shown that outmigration streams from rural areas tend

to be selective of the young. A continuous pattern of this type will result in a degree of skewing of the age distribution of the residual population. Figure one on page 125 indicates that this is already happening in Barcaldine. As the young move out the residual population will consist of a larger and larger proportion of the dependent - the very young and the old. Bultena (1969)¹ has pointed out that the rural aged tend to have less interaction with relatives and family members than the urban aged, a situation due primarily to the differential outmigration rates of children from rural and urban areas. With a lack of family support for the aged it is important that the community provide the assistance many old people need such as prepared meals, hospital beds, transport, recreational and social centres, supportive housing and so forth (Cowen (1976), Tarver (1971), Doerflinger and Robinson (1963)). A declining community then, with a relatively high ratio of old to economically active may find the financial burden of providing home and institutional care increasingly onerous and either renege on its obligations in this area or be forced to seek funds from the wider society.

It has also been suggested that "this disproportionate number of older people can create problems in terms of the conservative attitudes towards change in general" Beal (1965:161). As the young, the educated and the energetic move out a vicious circle of stagnation may begin.

1. There has been some controversy about his finding, Hynson (1975) claims to have found the exact reverse situation and Sauer et al (1976) throw doubt on Hynson's findings in turn and support Bultena.

The selectivity process tends to leave people in positions of power in declining communities who do not have the change orientation, the larger society value orientation and the leadership and organizational abilities that will enable the declining community to make satisfactory adjustments from a societal point of view.

Beal (1965:153).

Simon and Gagnon (1967) described three small towns all suffering from economic and population decline and noted that one of the features they had in common was a deep seated resistance to social change of any real significance. They remarked that community leaders tended to assume that their children would leave and seek an education and a future elsewhere and thus:

Since community leaders are not fully committed to the future of the towns except in the most abstract way - there is little incentive to undertake community renewal that might rock their boat; and any genuine community renewal would have to rock it.

Simon and Gagnon (1967:45).

Other researchers have pointed out that there may be a dearth of competent persons to take on leadership responsibilities, such as Lowenthal and Comitas (1962) who concluded that many positions are filled by the incompetent who have to be tolerated for the common good. Various recreational activities which make the social life of

the community attractive may cease for lack of numbers, enthusiasm and organisers, thus adding to local dissatisfaction and ultimately to decline. Lowenthal and Comitas also remarked on the fact that public and private business may be crippled through the loss of trained personnel and potential leaders.

In the previous chapter it was noted that the more highly skilled, educated and ambitious youth tend to leave Barcaldine on completion of their secondary schooling leaving the less well educated and lower skilled behind, a situation with obvious implications for the future innovative powers and leadership capacity of the resident population.

A declining population often results in a depreciation of both the quality and quantity of local services. Raup (1960) wrote that it is in the private sector that inadequacies are most obvious particularly in the areas of banking and credit facilities, machinery maintenance and repair and medical care. Research undertaken for the Australian Department of Social Security has demonstrated this latter point dramatically. Brown (1976) found that in Central Queensland "no resident welfare services, with the exception of an experiment with a local authority hiring a part-time community social worker, are available away from the coast". In isolated and declining Australian country centres it is becoming increasingly difficult to attract medical or para-medical professionals and recourse has been taken to Government pressures to ensure a continuing service. Thus young, newly qualified doctors and dentists complete a requisite number of years rural service in return for certain employment

conditions or scholarship awards. It has been pointed out elsewhere Montague (1976) that access to helping profession specialists is extremely limited in Barcaldine and other country centres. Declining communities can neither attract nor afford such personnel and State and Federal governments do not seem eager to fund regionally based or peripatetic social workers, psychologists, psychiatrists, occupational and speech therapists etc. Indeed, they appear to draw the line at child welfare nurses. Assistance for any number of problems, family planning, marriage counselling, alcoholism, physical and mental disability, is thus difficult if not impossible to obtain.

Not only are professional agencies largely absent but local business enterprises also tend to be on the decline both in number and variety. Bauder (1963) mentioned the deterioration of private trading firms in shrinking centres. A vicious circle sets up where local markets are declining in size so stock carrying capacity is curtailed. Thus the remaining potential customers travel to larger centres in search of greater variety and lower prices. Inevitably this results in the gradual retirement or consolidation of local firms and often in the disappearance of formal associations of local business people such as the Chamber of Commerce. Any innovation in local business affairs becomes less likely as apathy sets in and the average age of businessmen advances.

As population numbers decrease, the tax base is impaired leaving the local authority with shrinking funds to provide various public services. Raup (1960) pointed out that the per capita cost of public utilities may rise for such amenities as the water supply,

sewerage disposal, garbage collection, street and road maintenance. Rural depopulation has also contributed to the collapse of rural non-farm land values so the extraordinary situation may arise of decreasing property values and increasing rates. Alternatively the increased rates burden may be passed to the rural property owner whose land values may not have fallen to such an extent but who already cavils at what is seen as an unfair distribution. The local authority may also find it necessary to make increased appeals for State and Federal financial assistance.

Education is another public area which feels the pinch as the numbers needing educational facilities decline. Pre-school facilities may be limited or non-existent as it is often considered that the expense involved in providing trained teachers and capital equipment is not warranted by the number of children served. At a higher level existing schools are often consolidated which can mean long journeys to school or expensive boarding arrangements for many children. Distance from school is not simply an inconvenience but may hamper the educational attainment of rural children. An Australian Union of Student's study by Bertrand (1962) demonstrated that a significant relationship exists between distance from school and both high school drop out rate and low parental participation in school matters.

Those educated and teaching in rural schools find themselves increasingly disadvantaged. Extra curriculum stimuli such as libraries, theatres and exhibitions are absent for teacher and pupil alike. Small senior classes have been shown to deprive children of the beneficial stimulation that larger peer groups would produce (Klietsch (1962), Roper

(1970:44). Problems of attracting staff are solved by most Australian State Governments by the practice of bonding teachers. This system, while it ensures a preponderance of young and well qualified teachers, also results in constant, almost yearly changes of inexperienced teachers who are still finding their feet. (Queensland Teachers Union (1974), Roper (1970), Fyfield (1970)). Governments also find that it is uneconomical to fund remedial or special teachers in small and shrinking country schools. Any help for the intellectually or physically handicapped child and any careers advice has to be fitted in to an already crowded timetable by a teacher with no specific training in the area. Country school buildings especially in Australia tend to be old fashioned and out of date and have been accused of "reducing performance because of climatic extremes" (Queensland Teachers Union 1974:2). And Raup (1960) pointed out the financial costs and negligible returns involved in educating youth who will migrate as soon as or soon after they leave school:

The cost of educating children who will not remain in the community to add to its labour force and income flow is a form of capital export.

Raup (1960:30).

Population and job opportunity decline are inclined to go hand in hand the one reinforcing the other. Despite this, Beal (1965) suggested that many families remain in the face of declining job opportunities because of kinship or primary group ties, community identity, occupational identity or the perception that they have little in the way of skills to offer on the wider job market. They

therefore have to accept lower than average wages and may place strain on existing welfare services or call for new types of welfare services. A degree of under-employment may become evident with married women in particular accepting jobs at low wages and depriving young single girls of job opportunities. Not only does this encourage the emigration of young jobless women but also the type of work which is available to women often poorly utilises their potential and fails to maximise any need for self fulfilment (Beal 1965). It was shown in Chapter Four that the proportion of women in the Barcaldine workforce is significantly lower than the proportion in the State and National workforce, an indication of the paucity of female employment openings in the area.

Shrinking job opportunities tend to result in family members working outside the community while living in it. This in turn means that various interaction patterns are disrupted. For example, participation in local social and political affairs diminishes and shopping patterns are interrupted resulting in reduced support for and involvement in local activities and businesses.

Parr (1966) and Morrison (1972a, 1972b) highlighted the decline in quality of the labour force that occurs with the overall decline of population. They noted that the selective nature of outmigration tends to remove the more valuable and productive members of the workforce, the young, the skilled and the educated and these losses tend to dampen local economic opportunity. The cumulative effect of selective departure leaves behind a labour force that is declining in quality - undereducated, underskilled and overaged - with few

attributes that will attract new employers, assure employability or predispose them to move away. Again this is a feature which has been seen to be characteristic of the outmigration trends of young people from Barcaldine.

A number of authors have suggested that severe psychological strain has been detected in members of the remaining population of declining communities. Lowenthal and Comitas (1962) commented that people in depopulating areas react to their own situation with suspicion of one another and of the outside world:

a sense of being 'agin' all outsiders replaced the old feeling of mutual responsibility. It is above all the outsider - the doctor, government servant, teacher or technician, who comes in to supply essential services - who is resented and distrusted.

Lowenthal and Comitas (1962:201).

It was noted in Chapter Five that many indigenous Barcaldine residents have ambivalent attitudes towards spiralists and expressions of resentment and hostility are not uncommon. It was also suggested that the tensions associated with the role of spiralist are played out through involvement in competitive activities. Other researchers have detected an almost overcompensatory defence of local mores and values and an offensive denigration of other life styles. Simon and Gagnon observed:

whether as rationalisation or compensation or because

those who might think otherwise have already gone, a strongly anti-urban system of values has emerged.

Simon and Gagnon (1967:49).

Another American author noted the inner tension experienced by members of declining communities:

deep seated frustrations could arise from the recognition on the one hand, that many adjustments should be made, and the realisation, on the other hand, that many of them cannot be undertaken because of the limitations of human resources to carry them out.

Beal (1965:159).

In Australia, Salmon and Weston (1974) in their survey of five Victorian country towns highlighted a situation characterised by:

the young who are leaving although unwillingly, the aged who have decided to stay and the middle aged whose stress is more immediately apparent. The results demonstrated a widespread negative attitude to both the city and its residents.

Salmon and Weston (1974:50).

Certainly an element of hostility is displayed by many Barcaldine residents against 'the government' and 'city folk'. They can often be heard to vent some of their frustrations at the difficulties inherent in rural residence in diatribes against these far off,

uncontrollable and essentially urban sources and to eulogise country ways and the rural life style.

On the whole then a considerable number of negative consequences have been suggested in the literature though little systematic research has been done to quantify them. The evidence that has emerged from this research serves only to confirm that Barcaldine is not only declining but is showing some of the stresses and strains which tend to accompany this process.

Turning now to those consequences which can be assessed as essentially beneficial for the community of origin; they appear few relative to the numerous adverse effects already mentioned. In the Australian context a decline in the members of the farming community has been advocated by a few authors as being likely to improve, conditions for those who remain.

Migration has not been detrimental to farming, because it has stimulated rational management, as well as mechanisation. At the same time, it has generated further activity in the large urban centres so that industrially and commercially they have gained momentum and increased their self-containment, consuming much of what they produce.

Robinson (1962:48).

And Bell and Nalson (1974) recommended that dairy farmers be encouraged to leave the flagging dairy industry of the northern New

South Wales coast as a means of resolving their problems on inefficient low income farms and improving the lot of those farmers who would remain.

The literature from overseas suggests a number of other beneficial aspects of population decline. Fuguitt (1971) cited the demise of the one teacher school and consolidation and improvement of educational facilities in rural areas as one possible advantage to be gained from a population decline. Taves (1961:21) suggested that the outmigration of school graduates reduces the community's financial and social burden which results from the welfare costs that they require in the long term. He also speculated that the departure of older migrants might "reduce the conservatism that may hold back community improvement and the demand for services for the aged". And finally he postulated that the contact migrants maintain with friends and relatives in their community of origin can lead to "better understanding and more common interests and in turn, greater unity among the nation's citizens". Another American author, Morrison (1972a) suggested that outmigration plays a beneficial role in that it acts as a mechanism of economic adjustment, reducing labour surpluses and lessening competition for scarce employment in depressed and declining areas.

Summary

The consequences then of a declining population for the small country centre seem to be predominantly negative in character. There also seems to be a degree of circularity inherent in the situation in

the sense that population decline leads to certain consequences and these negative consequences lead to further population decline. The questions of how this vicious circle can be broken and of whether such a task should be attempted will be examined in the final section of this chapter.

The Migrant

Of all aspects of migration, the consequences for the migrant in terms of his integration into his community of destination has probably been given most attention by sociologists. However the majority of studies of integration have focussed on international migrations. The work that has been done on internal migrants has tended to concentrate on a few specific areas; on participation in urban structures, on the role played by friends and relatives in the adjustment process, on the effect the move has on kinship ties, on the degree of personal dislocation in terms of physical or mental health experienced by the migrant and his immediate family, and finally on the question of whether geographic mobility is accompanied by social, economic and occupational mobility.

On the question of participation in the formal and voluntary organisations in urban areas various studies have shown that migrants from rural areas have a lower level of participation than either those migrating from urban areas or the native urbanites at their destination, Zimmer (1955, 1956), Freedman and Freedman (1956), Reiss (1959). It has also been found, Butler et al (1973) that although

migration decreases formal organizational participation it has little effect upon informal social relations either within or outside the neighbourhood of residence. These authors however made no distinction between migrants from varying places of origin, all considered the participation of migrants relative to their urban counterparts at their destination, and none explored the question of how far the migrant's degree of involvement in the organisational life of his community of residence changed as a result of moving. This tendency to study migrants at a point in time and so to lose sight of the fact that migration is a process is a continuing theme in all research on the topic.

In 1960 Litwak suggested, contrary to the popular and Parsonian view that geographic and occupational mobility is antithetical to extended family relations, that such mobility may affect the types of interaction patterns but will not lessen the ideological and emotional commitment to kin. Osterreich (1965) tested this formulation and concluded that her respondents "whether geographically mobile or non-mobile reported essentially the same kinds of relationships with kin".

Litwak and Szelenyi (1969) reiterated this point and suggested that modern society has developed numerous mechanisms to maintain various kin and primary group contacts despite geographical dispersion. Whyte (1967) reviewed the various findings in this area concluding that perhaps traditional family integration does break down under the impact of geographic mobility but that extended modified family ties are maintained.

The part played by kin groups in the adaptation or adjustment of the migrant in his new venue has also been the subject of some research and some dispute. Rose and Warshay (1958) suggested that the presence of primary group contacts at the destination has a deleterious effect on the level and speed of adjustment of migrants; that migrants with friends and relatives in the new community tend to remain isolated from the rest of the community, more likely to be disheartened or pessimistic about life accomplishments and chances, are often frustrated in secondary contacts and are prone to distrust non-primary contacts. Subsequently Tilly and Brown (1967) supported this argument that those who have kinfolk and friends available to them in the city may adjust more slowly than those who are alone.

On the other hand some authors have postulated that the presence of kin speeds up and aids the process of adjustment. Thus Omari (1957) and the series of publications on the Beech Creek study provided evidence that extended family relationships help to cushion the shock of migration and aid in the process of psychological adjustment as well as providing a haven of safety should the migrant fail to adjust (Schwarzweiler and Seggar (1967), Brown et al. (1969), Schwarzweiler and Crowe (1970), Schwarzweiler and Brown (1969), Schwarzweiler et al. (1971)). For these migrants from the Appalachian Mountains extended kin relationships remained operable and were not severed nor severely disrupted as a consequence of a move to the city.

More recently another scholar, Choldin expressed a degree of uncertainty as to whether the presence of kinship networks helped or hindered adjustment:

In chain migration, migrants are aided materially and with information from the inception of the process at the community of origin. Many migrants travel within a family unit and may join kinfolk in the community of settlement. Those they join assist the migrants in confronting the problems of settlement and adjustment in providing material necessities, in establishing new social connections and in maintaining morale. However, the effects of kinship affiliation and support are not simple. Migrants without kinship affiliation and support find jobs more quickly and maintain higher morale than do migrants who join kinfolk or others.

Choldin (1973:175).

He also indicated that far from causing the destruction of kinship networks, the migration process may re-establish them in a new community.

Another area that has received considerable attention is the degree of personal dislocation suffered by the migrant. Struening et al. (1969) reviewed the work done on the relationship between migration and mental illness and concluded that:

almost all studies show higher rates of mental illness as measured by hospitalization rates for migrant or immigrant groups than for the non-migrant native born.

Struening et al. (1969:65).

They also suggested that the development of mental illness among migrants is due not so much to inherent qualities of the migrants but rather to the interaction between the migrants and the societies that receive them. The degree of stress seems to be related to the degree of difference between the community of origin and of destination. Jones (1973) presented a less negative picture, she concentrated on the wife and mother in the migration process and her data revealed that most women are able to make a positive adjustment eventually even though there is evidence of severe strain at specific stages of the moving process.

Similarly Butler et al. (1973) suggested that although moving seems to have little effect on the extent of alienation, unhappiness, suspected mental disturbances and poor physical health, women do tend to be adversely affected mentally by recent residential mobility experiences. The data on the consequences of migration for children and adolescents also suggests that overall moves are beneficial or at least neutral rather than negative. Barret and Noble (1973) found that children suffered no long term negative emotional effects despite a certain degree of disturbance immediately after the move. Earlier research by Burchinal and Jacobson (1963) suggested that migrating adolescents accommodated themselves readily to new social and school environments. Nor do young migrants appear to suffer academically, Munzer (1961) claimed to have found no relationship between mobility and mean academic achievement and that this remained true within intelligence and sex groups. Finally, what little work has been done on the relationships between crime and migration has indicated that migrants are less likely than the general population to be apprehended.

for violations of the law or involved in 'deviant' behaviour. (See Savitz (1960) on delinquency and migration, Kinman and Lee (1966) and Crain and Weisman (1972) on adult crime, and Caplan and Paige (1968) on participation in the riots in black ghetto areas.) The results of these various studies do not show that migrants to cities have no adjustment problems but rather that they seem to be less socially disorganised and less prone to deviant behaviour than natives of the cities to which they move.

The final area which has elicited some interest has been the whole vexed question of whether geographic mobility is accompanied by social, economic and occupational mobility. The position of the migrant in the urban occupational and class structure has been the subject of some dispute. Some have claimed that migrants tend to be at the bottom end of the economic and prestige hierarchy (Crockett (1962), Freedman and Freedman (1956), Benewitz (1956) Folkman and Cowhig (1963)). Others found that the larger the person's community of orientation, i.e. where he spent his teens, the more likely he is to be upwardly mobile, thus those migrating from small rural centres are likely to find themselves on a low occupational rung in the large urban area and to stay there, (Lipset (1955), Lipset and Bendix (1959) in the United States and Musgrove (1963:83) in the United Kingdom.)

On the other hand a number of writers have found that migrants achieve occupational and social positions quite comparable with those of the established residents at their destination. This, they claim, is because those who move tend to come from the ranks of the most

highly educated and upwardly occupationally mobile in their community and as such can compete effectively at their destination. Whyte (1960), wrote in "The Organization Man" that "the educational level is higher among the migrants than the non-migrants and the higher the educational level the more intensive the migration". Data from the Barcaldine surveys would seem to confirm this point. According to census statistics only 48 per cent of adult residents in Barcaldine have any educational experience beyond the primary level. However 76 per cent of Barcaldine residents who indicated a desire to move had continued their education beyond the primary level, and 70 per cent of actual migrants had some secondary or post-secondary educational experience.

Jansen (1969:71) reported on a number of studies which have shown that in industrial societies "it is generally believed that migrants tend to be of higher social class than the general population". For example Friedlander and Roshier (1966a, 1966b) who found that only 18.5 per cent of those in top professional, managerial and executive positions had lived in the same local authority area all their lives as against 47.8 per cent of the unskilled manual workers. And Jansen (1968) revealed in his Bristol study where migrants were matched with residents by age, sex, marital and employment status that some 69 per cent of migrants were in career type occupations as opposed to 44 per cent of residents.

Musgrove (1963) was of the opinion that:

the average quality of internal migrants has risen sharply

over the last century. Today people who move at least beyond the boundaries of their local government areas tend to be of superior occupational and social standing.

Musgrove (1963:44).

Again the data from Barcaldine is consistent with this viewpoint. Some 31 per cent of the Shire population in the labour force can be classified as white collar workers, that is professionals, managers and administrative officers and clerical and sales workers. However 43 per cent of potential migrants (those residents who indicated a desire to leave) can be so classified as can 60 per cent of actual migrants.

It would appear then that a significant proportion of migrants and potential migrants are drawn from the ranks of those with the highest educational and occupational status in the community of origin. The totality of migrants from Barcaldine can also be seen as being of significantly high educational and occupational standing relative to the population of the areas to which they move. Thus 70 per cent of migrants from Barcaldine have progressed beyond the primary level of education compared with the 69 per cent and 71 per cent of the total population of Queensland and Australia respectively with some secondary schooling. Also 60 per cent of employed migrants have jobs of white collar status compared with 42 per cent of employed Queenslanders and 44 per cent of Australians.

However if members of the spiralist category are excluded from

the ranks of the migrants then the position of migrating indigenous rural residents alone can be assessed relative to the probable population at their destination. Thus 59 per cent of indigenous migrants have some post-primary educational experience compared with the 69 per cent of the Queensland and 71 per cent of the Australian population: and 37 per cent of indigenous migrants have white collar jobs compared with 42 per cent of Queenslanders and 44 per cent of Australians. It appears therefore that although migrants of indigenous rural background are drawn from the upper ranks of their home community in terms of educational and occupational status they find themselves at a lower level at their destination.

Wherever the bulk of migrants may be placed socially and economically in the receiving community it still has to be ascertained whether they actually benefit from the move. Scudder and Anderson (1954) compared migrants with their non-migrating fellows in their community of origin and concluded:

sons who migrate out of small or moderate sized communities are more likely to rise above their parent's occupational status than sons who remain in the home town.

Scudder and Anderson (1954:334).

Beijer (1963) noted that the migration literature of twelve European countries indicated that "a close connection exists between geographic, occupational and social mobility" Beijer (1963:20). In Bristol Jansen (1968) found that slightly more migrants than residents had moved to

a higher status occupation than that held by their father. However, Bell's (1968) survey of two middle class Swansea housing estates resulted in some rather more equivocal generalisations:

The socially mobile group have not really been more geographically mobile than the socially immobile but geographically mobile group ... Although geographical mobility seems to be necessary for social mobility, together with formal educational qualifications, many households seem to have to be geographically mobile to maintain their position.

Bell (1968:52).

It must be remembered that here, as in so many studies of mobility the author concentrated on middle class persons, many of whom fall into the category of career spiralists. Results from the Barcaldine survey which will be given demonstrate that of all categories spiralists seem to achieve the least occupational mobility in terms of moving from one socio-economic status grouping to another and can be viewed in this sense as being geographically mobile but socially immobile. However the broad nature of the status groupings may disguise a degree of career advancement or promotion (see page 306)

A broad analysis of the American occupational structure has concluded that in whatever way migration is viewed:

migrants tend to attain higher occupational levels and to experience more upward mobility than non-migrants

with only a few exceptions.

Blau and Duncan (1967:272).

In financial terms the American evidence (Price (1951), Hamilton (1970)) showed that those moving from rural to urban areas experienced a real increase in their standard of living. The Lansing and Mueller (1967) research indicated that according to people's own reports their move tends to be accompanied by increased earnings. Using data from the 1970 United States census Long (1973) found that black migrants moving to large cities may initially experience fairly high rates of poverty and welfare dependence but after a few years the Southern migrants are more successful in escaping from poverty and welfare dependence than blacks native to large cities in the north. Similarly Wertheimer (1970) concluded that in terms of earnings levels migration, particularly rural to urban and Southern to Northern United States movement, does bring some advantage - at least in the long run.

In an article attempting to ascertain the effect of geographical mobility on income levels, Lansing and Morgan (1967) indicated that mobility can raise the income of those who move from rural depressed areas; but for workers as a whole, the annual earnings of the geographically mobile are not generally higher than those of the non-mobile. Moreover the earnings of mobile workers remain below the earnings of the permanent residents of the higher income areas to which migration takes place. These authors blame educational disadvantages for the inability of migrants to reach higher income levels.

Morrison (1972b) cited a number of United States studies which demonstrated fairly conclusively that compared with non-migrants those who move experience lower levels of poverty and of unemployment. And in another paper he concluded that:

from the individual's standpoint, migration tends to be both economically rewarding and personally satisfying. Judged by objective measures migrants often improve their earnings and occupational status, particularly where the move is rural-to-urban.

Morrison (1973:14).

Evidence in Australia on most of these points is virtually non-existent as neither small scale studies nor large scale analyses have been done. Any broad analysis based on national or state figures has been largely impossible due to the nature of the statistics which are available. Data on geographical mobility has only recently been collected on the national level but as yet there is no access to data on geographic mobility combined with occupational, income and house tenure changes.

The survey of Barcaldine migrants does provide some data in this area. Unfortunately details of income, expenditure and life style changes are not available although information on occupational changes and attitudes to the move were collected. These attitudes can provide some indication of the satisfactory or otherwise nature of the changes which accompanied the move in default of a more detailed analysis of

actual changes in socio-economic status.

Using the occupational classification developed by Broom et al. (1965) an assessment can be made of the degree to which residence change was accompanied by job and occupational change of the head of the migrating unit. Table 9:1 and its accompanying notes indicate the nature of occupational status change of Barcaldine migrants.

TABLE 9:1

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS CHANGES OF PRINCIPAL WAGE EARNERS
OF MIGRATING UNITS

	N	%
Job change same occupational status ¹	37	14
Same job same status ²	104	42
Upward occupational status change ³	28	11
Downward occupational status change ⁴	6	2.5
Not in workforce either before or after move ⁵	25	10
Moved into employment ⁶	31	13
Moved out of employment ⁷	19	7.5
Total	250	100

1. Examples of this type of job change without status change include the shearer who became a slaughterman in an abattoir, the station hand who took on truck driving for the council, the railway ganger now truck driver, the Main Roads Department clerk now a clerk in another government department and the shop assistant who became an army driver.
2. Many spirallists fall into this category of no job or occupational status change. It also includes numerous townsmen who can be seen as entering the spirallist category on leaving Barcaldine, for example nurses, bank and post office clerks, and technicians. It should be remembered however that there may be a certain amount of upward mobility concealed here such as a move to a

more senior position within the same job specification and status classification.

3. Examples of this type of upward occupational status change include the station hand who was appointed a station manager and another who became an owner grazier, the bank manager promoted to bank administrator, the club steward now club manager, the police constable now detective inspector, the butcher who became an instructor at a Pastoral College and the man who advanced from being a company sales representative to being area manager of that same company.
 4. Some of those who experienced a downward shift in occupational status include a teacher who took on work as a clerk, a shoe store proprietor who became a shoe repairer employed by a large company, another storekeeper who became a shop assistant, two station managers who turned to rural labouring and a self employed contractor who became an employee of a large company.
 5. This category includes those who were either retired or engaged in domestic duties or full time study both before and after the move.
 6. Individuals in this category are represented by those who were studying, were in receipt of a pension or engaged in domestic duties or were unemployed prior to the move but who found employment after migrating.
 7. Those who moved out of employment were principally those who retired on leaving Barcaldine but also include some individuals who became housewives, full time students or unemployed at their destination.
-

Table 9:1 indicates that four out of ten migrant household heads experienced neither a job nor an occupational status change as a result of the move and in addition another one in ten remained out of the workforce both before and after the move. Of the thirty four individuals who did experience a status change some 80 per cent attained a higher occupational status at their destination. This method of measuring occupational change may mask upward or downward shifts in income but does give some indication that although the consequences of outmigration from Barcaldine were not universally

beneficial in the socio-economic sense they were on the other hand rarely of a negative character.

It is interesting to note here the destinies of those directly involved in the primary industry before the move.

TABLE 9:2

OCCUPATIONAL CHANGE OF WAGE EARNERS IN RURAL WORKFORCE
BY CATEGORY STATUS
(Numbers)

	Graziers	Burgesses	Townsmen	Spiralists	Total	Percentage of Total
Remained in rural workforce	5	-	7	10	22	49
Left rural workforce	-	-	12	4	16	36
Moved out of the workforce	4	-	2	-	6	13
Became unemployed	-	-	1	-	1	2
Total	9	-	22	14	45	

Table 9:2 compares the occupational changes of those involved in the rural workforce and indicates that members of each category followed different patterns. Graziers either took up properties elsewhere or moved out of the workforce into retirement. No burgesses were directly engaged in primary production and twice as many townsmen left the rural sector as remained. A breakdown of the type of non-rural

occupations entered into by these townsmen reveals that only one individual (who became a car salesman) found a job that was of a status other than unskilled or semi-skilled. It would seem then that few migrating rural labourers have either the capital or the skills to effect an upward career move in terms of occupational status change. In contrast, over two thirds of spiracists remained directly concerned with rural affairs in such capacities as stock and station agents, wool advisers, Department of Primary Industries officers or meat buyers. Those spiracists who left the rural sector tended to become clerical or administrative officers.

Another area for which information is available is the degree to which married women entered or left the workforce after the move. It is a little difficult to know just what such a measure signifies. It could be for instance that while resident in Barcaldine married women wanted to but could not join the workforce due to the scarcity of female employment. On migrating to an area with better job prospects these women then seized the opportunity and joined the labour force. Thus the extent to which married women enter the workforce could reflect the poor female employment prospects in Barcaldine. Alternatively the extent to which married women joined or left the workforce could indicate a change in the cost of living and an alteration in the family's demand for a wife's income.

In overall terms table 9:3 below indicates that there was a 13 per cent increase in the number of married women in the workforce with some 9 women withdrawing from and 18 entering into employment. The rise from 11 to 24 per cent of married women in the workforce

brings the figure for Barcaldine migrants closer to the State figure of 27 per cent though still a long way from the national one of 33 per cent.

TABLE 9:3

MARRIED WOMEN IN THE WORKFORCE BY CATEGORY STATUS

	Graziers	Burgesses	Townsmen	Spiralists	Total Migrating Units
% Married Women in Workdorce before Move	-	-	23%	17%	11%
% Married Women in Workforce after Move	-	22%	28%	24%	24%
Number Married Women Joined Workforce on Move	-	2	8	8	18
Number Married Women left Workforce on Move	-	-	6	3	9
Total N of married women in each category	5	9	47	81	142

This table also indicates that the pattern of married woman participation in the workforce varies from one category to another. No grazier women were in paid employment either before or after the move and only two out of nine married burgess women joined the work-

force after migrating. Women in both these categories undoubtedly assisted in an informal way in the running of the family property and family business respectively prior to the move but they rarely seem to have sought paid employment at their destination. Townsman and spiralist married women on the other hand participated fairly heavily in the workforce both before and after the move.

The absolute numbers in this table are small and although they cannot elucidate the motives for female participation in the labour force they do indicate that outmigration from a small country centre tends to be associated with an increase (perhaps to the extent of a doubling) in the number of married women in full time paid employment.

As a conclusion to this section on the consequences of the move for the Barcaldine migrants, the feelings of the migrants themselves towards the move shall be examined. On the whole migrants indicated a generally high level of positive endorsement of their migration decision. Over three quarters of migrants claimed to be 'very satisfied' with the move, nearly two thirds indicated that if faced with the decision again they would again choose to leave, and over two thirds claimed to have no desire to return.

TABLE 9:4
MIGRANTS ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE MOVE
(Row Percentages)

Question Asked	Attitude to Move Indicated by Reply		
	Positive	Negative	Indifferent
If you had to make the decision again would you decide to move or stay?	62	8	30
Would you like to return to live in Barcaldine?	70.5	24.5	5
How satisfied are you with your move from Barcaldine:	77.5	5	17.5

When the 25 per cent of migrants who expressed some desire to return to Barcaldine were asked the reason why they did not do so some 60 per cent indicated that they were deriving certain economic and educational benefits at their destination which they had not experienced in Barcaldine and which they would have to forgo should they return to live there.

Taken together then, what evidence there is available demonstrates that migrants from Barcaldine not only derived some socio-economic benefit as a consequence of their migration but also felt that they were in a better social, economic and educational position at their place of destination.

Summary

This section on the consequences of migration for the individual migrant has covered firstly the relevant literature and secondly the limited data from the Barcaldine survey which touches on this area. The literature shows despite some disagreement in detail, that the migrants tend to better or at least not worsen their economic position by moving. The data on Barcaldine migrants confirm this finding. However this positive consequence of migration is often accompanied by more negative results particularly by the loss of a degree of social and psychological stability. Unfortunately data are not available on this point for Barcaldine migrants nor for any group of internal migrants in Australia. This whole area of internal migrant adjustment has been largely neglected by scholars in this country and some systematic research is sorely needed.

Communities of Destination and the Wider Society

The consequences of a continuous pattern of outmigration for both the communities of destination and for the wider society are here considered simultaneously. This is done because in a sense the two affected areas are synonymous and because they are frequently treated as such by the few researchers who have considered the question at all. This section concentrates on the coverage the topic has been given in the literature and does not draw on data from the Barcaldine survey. The sort of statements that have been made concerning the role that migration can play in society gives an inkling of the general nature of peoples thinking about this whole

question. In 1940 Taeuber wrote "a mobile population is essential to the maintenance of an effective balance between population and resources". Kuznets and Thomas (1958) noted "internal migration provides the main mechanism of adjustment to the differential impact of economic growth". Okun and Richardson dogmatically stated:

From what has been said it is clear that population migration must be the predominant force making for redistribution of human resources in response to changing relative opportunities among regions.

Okun and Richardson (1961:130).

Another example of this type of statement comes from the report of the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future (1972:28):

for the nation as a whole, migration helps to achieve a balance between social and economic activities on the one hand and population numbers on the other.

Yet another way of looking at migration is that proposed by Zelinsky (1971). He postulated that:

there are definite patterned regularities in the growth of personal mobility through space-time during recent history, and these regularities comprise an essential component of the modernization process.

Zelinsky (1971:222).

As was touched on in Chapter One, Zelinsky hypothesized that societies pass through a five stage mobility transition each stage being characterised by different patterns of mobility and different levels of modernization. Whether he considered migration as cause or effect of modernization or merely a concomitant process is not clear. Rowland (1975) however saw it as both cause and effect:

As well as being a possible indicator of the level of modernisation attained by a society, internal migration is one of the mechanisms of modernisation. The main role which internal migration fulfils here (i.e. in Australia) is to foster urbanisation.

Rowland (1975:5).

Goldscheider put this dilemma in perspective when he wrote that:

Migration may be viewed as an integral part and a necessary condition for economic developmental processes ... its particular cause-effect relationship may be impossible to isolate empirically and unrealistic to predict theoretically.

Goldscheider (1971:73).

If it is accepted that modernisation, industrialisation and urbanisation are desirable or beneficial then the statements quoted above all imply that migration is a functional mechanism with long term beneficial effects. The implication is also there that in allocating the labour force between various regions and localities

migration actually does relieve depressed areas of surplus population and does provide a labour force in areas of economic expansion.

Morrison (1972b,1973) took up this point, and questioned the symmetrical nature of migration as an adjustment mechanism. He agreed that all studies indicated that migrants find their way to destination areas where labour is in demand but noted that it is not clear whether their departure is stimulated by depressed conditions at origin. However he does admit that the evidence on depressed economic conditions as stimulants to outmigration is inconclusive and at times contradictory. There are many authors who have been reasonably successful in demonstrating that migration flows tend to be from regions of lower to higher income levels and from regions of higher to lower unemployment levels. (inter alia Okun and Richardson (1961), Raimon (1962), Price (1951), Tachi (1964), Oliver (1964)).

As a number of factors other than straight economic consideration come into play when an individual decides whether and whither to move, it is not surprising that migration does not produce a perfect state of equilibrium between population and economic opportunity. And indeed the very persistence of rural communities which have been economically depressed for a considerable time would seem to belie the total efficiency (which few claim anyway) of migration as an adjustment mechanism. On this point Fuguitt aptly commented:

As one who has studied small towns and villages for a number of years, I am struck by the fact that they prevail despite most people's efforts to write them off.

They may not perform the same functions as previously; they may in fact serve as little more than population nodes; they may even lose considerable population, but somehow they stay in there for census after census. This was poignantly expressed by the headline of a recent newspaper: "Small Town, Dies, But Life Goes On ..."

Fuguitt (1971:465).

Despite this developmental role which is generally considered to bestow beneficial effects, a pattern of continuous migration does involve various costs for the receiving communities and the parent society. A few of these costs have been mentioned in passing already and include the greater financial burden which has to be borne by members of urban communities in order to provide a range of services for shrinking numbers of rural residents. Roads, railways, schools, telecommunications and so forth are still required in rural areas although the local tax base may have been whittled away as the population declines. Allen (1971) demonstrated that the taxable income per head produced in the western interior of Queensland is close to the State average and is "quite inadequate to balance the additional cost of the services".

Similarly the changing demographic structure of declining areas places greater demands on the wider society for various forms of welfare, support, helping agencies and institutional care. Costs are involved at the receiving as well as the departure end of the migration stream. Morrison (1972b) touched on this point:

At the destination the population flowing into cities tends to be - relative to the host population - under-educated, less skilled and more impoverished. To be sure in-migrants soon become indistinguishable in economic terms from the comparable urban residents they join. Yet many of the costs of their improvement are borne by the institutions at destination areas.

Morrison (1972b:351).

Morrison was writing specifically of the American rural to urban migration experience which has a number of racial and poverty overtones not present in the Australian context. This does not however deny the general significance of his statement. Research into the costs of assimilating internal migrants is noticeable by its absence in this country. However research mentioned in the previous section indicated that in western developed nations some migrants experience various social, educational and psychological problems of adjustment on migration. The resolution or at least the process of coping with these problems often calls for a range of services provided at the host community's expense.

Summary

The three sections above have shown that the effects of outmigration vary considerably for those involved in the process. For the declining communities of origin the consequences are very largely negative. For the migrant himself the consensus seems to be that apart from initial problems of adjustment he tends to benefit from

the move. Finally, for the receiving destination communities and the society at large there may be some financial costs involved but they tend to be outweighed by the developmental benefits which accrue.

Future Trends

How then, given these varying levels of beneficial and adverse consequences can the positive aspects of migration be maximised and the negative minimised? Inevitably this raises the place vs. person issue, that is should the community be preserved at all costs to the detriment of the individuals concerned and at great cost to society in general. Fuguitt approached this problem:

developing rural areas by opening up opportunities for people so that they will not migrate may not be in the best interests of the individuals involved because they could probably obtain better jobs by moving to different and more urban locations.

Fuguitt (1971:464).

And if the receiving areas and wider society are included in the equation then it may be that the cost involved in providing employment and services in all rural centres in order to discourage migration may outweigh or negate the savings made in assimilation costs.

Some authors have considered that certain places should be

allowed to decline and die. Lowenthal and Comitas (1962) and Saville (1957) suggested that in the United States and in Britain respectively it often happens that decrepit rural communities retain an influence that is out of proportion to the numbers of people who live in them and that to attempt to provide them with elementary amenities is a misuse of scarce resources. Of Australia Ryan (1964) and Logan (1965) both wrote that the future lies in the direction of a more highly urbanised industrial society and that the decline and death of a number of small rural centres would promote not only the development of the industrial but also the rural economy.

Many other sociologists however, point out that the place versus persons issue may be a false dichotomy, because small declining rural centres are full of people too and are not merely geographic locations. The residents of these communities may prefer to live in the rural area but be forced out through economic or other pressures. How then can the best be made of such a situation?

It seems generally agreed that the development of regionally based or decentralised growth centres combined with some form of relocation programme would produce the best balance. As early as 1940 Taeuber advocated some stimulation of ex-rural migration in order to bring about the optimum relation of population to resources. Thirty years later Hansen (1971, 1972) and Morrison (1972a, 1973) both suggested that it would be more "efficient" from a national point of view to provide relocation assistance to migrants than to attempt to promote economic development in lagging areas. Our final example is from the report of the Commission into Population Growth

and the American Future (1972:222) which recommended in its final report that "Programs be developed to provide worker relocation counseling and assistance to enable an individual to relocate with the minimum of risk and disruption". It also claimed that to improve the ill-directed nature of migration "A superior approach may be to create new jobs nearer to or within the declining rural areas in regional growth centres".

An efficient relocation and retraining programme is badly needed in Australia. In 1973 Core undertook an examination of the then vocational retraining scheme operating in rural areas of Australia and concluded that it had failed. Governments could do well to consider the reasons he gave for the failure of the scheme. Firstly he claimed that the then level of federal expenditure could not provide many of the unemployed persons with the skills necessary for the available employment opportunities. Secondly that there was a marked lack of information available about the scheme and thirdly that the definition of those who could avail themselves of the scheme - the unemployed, those made redundant by technological change and farmers defined as non-viable by the Rural Reconstruction Board - was likely to suggest to people that retraining is the result of social failure. Bell and Nalson (1974:iii) also advocated the establishment of greater incentives and opportunities for retraining for those found to be unemployed or underemployed in rural areas.

Since the early 1960's many experts who have written on the problem of declining country centres and rural population have advocated a policy of selective decentralisation or regionalisation.

in Australia, inter alia Logan (1965), Development Corporation of New South Wales (1969), Decentralisation Advisory Committee (1967), Harris (1971), O'Hara (1971), Dempsey (1971) Commonwealth of Australia (1972), Bell and Nalson (1974), Pryor (1976), Salmon and Weston (1974), Allen (1971) and the National Population Inquiry (1975) which commented:

The 'ideal' size of a city is related to its function. With current and expected future technology most towns serving rural areas in Australia have little reason or incentive to become large cities. On the other hand, technology has brought increased mobility and the need to concentrate technical service functions in relatively large units. Both trends favour the 'substantial country towns' at forty or fifty mile intervals rather than a scatter of small urban units.

National Population Inquiry (1975:420).

Clearly economies of scale can be achieved by providing services and promoting employment and education opportunities on a regional basis. It has also been suggested Hein (1960) that local government areas in sparsely populated regions could consolidate to encompass a larger area and population. Personal mobility is such today with motorised transport and improved roads that development on a regional basis would remove the necessity for many to migrate. Evidence has already been given (in Chapters Seven and Eight) which indicates that many rural migrants move short distances to the nearest location where their social and economic wants can be satisfied. With suitable

relocation and retraining schemes and developed regional centres, large numbers of persons who tend to become lost to inland rural areas would not only find it feasible to remain in the area and satisfy their various wants but would actually be encouraged and assisted to do so. What is sorely needed in Australia is research designed to provide the theoretical and practical underpinnings of such a population policy. Rowland (1975) summed this need up when he wrote:

One prerequisite for an informed policy on population distribution is a better understanding of the demographic process of urbanisation - natural increase and net migration - of which the latter is the most variable and the least understood.

Rowland (1975:5).

CHAPTER TEN

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Introduction

This thesis has considered migration from the vantage point as it were of a rural community. By examining non-movers as well as movers and the character of the environment as well as the character of the migrants it has provided insight into two areas; namely the social structure and organization of rural communities and the process of geographic mobility. This final chapter summarises the major findings in these two areas and surveys their implications for future theoretical, policy and research developments.

Rural Community Structure and Organisation

A brief review of the historic, geographic and demographic background of the study area served to place it in some social and physical context. The broad picture in terms of population seemed characterised by gradual decline, but an overemphasis on gross trends was shown to mask the existence of considerable in and outflows of individuals. The community consisted of a hard core of residentially stable indigenous persons which was gradually being depleted or at least losing its natural increase through outmigration. Around this permanent core floated a body of impermanent transient

residents who came and went, moved in and then out of the area in the relative short term.

The permanent but declining core consisted of three indigenous categories, graziers, local businessmen, and local townsfolk. The floating impermanent population comprised the professional career transients. Members of each group or category shared a certain configuration of characteristics, the most crucial differentiating features being occupational and residential status. These fundamental differences were related to many less overt disparities including educational background, religious and political beliefs, socio-economic status, the degree of involvement in the local and non-local environment, attitudinal orientation and aspirations for the future.

The relatively recent inflow of a category of transient outsiders disturbed and modified the traditional alignment of the three indigenous groups. As a result of the presence of this spiralist group the consistency of the divisions between town and country, employee and employer, Catholic and non-Catholic, Labor Party supporter and non-supporter, and lower and upper socio-economic status was broken down. Spiralists now mediate between those two extremes and provide a bridge across the traditional gulf between town and country. By interacting with all groups on both the social and economic level spiralists have created an interlocking continuum of relationships, and diffused to some extent the economic dependence of each indigenous group on the other.

Thus the presence of this body of transient, impermanent residents has had a significant effect on long established patterns of interaction. However in another sense the constant exchange of personnel in this category through in- and outmigration has had a relatively small impact on the community experiencing it. Because spiralists tend to fall within a narrow range in terms of education, occupation, age, sex and family structure, their movement into and out of the community has had a negligible impact on its demographic structure. Also, owing to the fact that the departure of one spiralist is immediately compensated for by the arrival of another, their movement contributes directly neither to an overall decline nor to an overall increase in population.

The four category model developed in the course of the research serves to confirm some of the findings of previous researchers, who have been concerned with the structure of small Australian communities. There seems unanimous agreement that residents of these communities are differentiated into groups. The six University of Sydney theses¹, and the work by McIntyre and McIntyre (1944), Oeser and Hammond (1954), Oxley (1974) and Wild (1974) all describe communities divided into a number of fairly clearly defined status groups, classes, categories or strata. The exact number of groups identified varies but it commonly emerged that a distinction could be made between members of the farming or grazing population, the local businessmen and tradespeople and the local working population. White collar professionals,

1. Baker (1943), Craig (1945), Lusher (1945), Kelly (1945), Hole (1947), and Bell (1954).

who are usually outsiders were seen by some authors¹ as members of a separate group but by others they were noted merely as recognisable members of a wider middle stratum group.

Whether members of this transient population were placed in a separate category or not it has been largely agreed that they hold a unique position in the community. Transients tend to be ardent participators in and frequently organisers of certain local social sporting and service organisations but tend to abstain from involvement in local politics. They appear to maintain at one and the same time a degree of aloofness and detachedness from local affairs and a degree of active involvement in local activities. They interact with members of all or nearly all other local groups but remain separate and apart.

The bulk of previous work on small community structure and organisation has either provided a description of the social groupings² or has concentrated on the hierarchical relationships of the various groups³. Little attention has been paid to the interrelationships of these groups in the light of the residence patterns and socio-economic and geographic mobility of the constituent individuals. The findings of this thesis show that an investigation of these interrelationships can be fruitful in terms of understanding the unique position of spiralists in a small community. It needs to

1. McIntyre and McIntyre (1944), Oeser and Hammond (1954) and Oxley (1974).

2. The six University of Sydney theses, the McIntyres' work (1944) and that by Oeser and Hammond (1954).

3. Wild (1974) and Oxely (1974).

be emphasised however that this is an area about which relatively little is known. Considerably more research is required particularly concerning the impact a spiralist life pattern has on the individuals who experience it and the communities which contain them.

Our concern with mobility trends led to an examination of the likely consequences for the structure of a small community of a continuous pattern of population decline. Overall the results of such a pattern were seen to be negative in character. Outmigration tends to draw away from the indigenous population the youngest, the most skilled, the best educated, the most ambitious and innovative and those most likely to pursue and to attain higher social, economic and occupational status. This in effect means that the community is deprived of those who are potentially its best leaders and organisers and retains the older, less skilled, less educated, less enterprising and innovative. This has a detrimental effect on the social, political and economic life of the community and leads to a decline in the quality of local leadership. Under these circumstances members of the spiralist category tend to take over local associational leadership and organisational roles, a trend which although it ensures the continuance of many activities and maintains some semblance of a lively social and recreational life, has a number of more negative results as well. Locals tend to become less ready to take on leadership roles in the face of the organising tendencies of spiralists and become more resentful of members of this group and estranged from those activities organised by them. The degree of tension in local community life increases and divisions between local groups become emphasised. Comparative and longitudinal research is

required to confirm these findings in the Australian context.

Two general conclusions can therefore be drawn in this area. Firstly community structure was shown to be affected by the residential or mobility patterns of the residents, both in and outflows having an influence on the internal organisation of community life. Secondly it was found that consideration of the mobility patterns of residents contributed to a description and analysis of community structure.

The Process of Geographic Mobility

As well as assisting in the analysis of interaction patterns operating within the community the four category model was also linked to the identification and analysis of the migration patterns of residents. In this thesis geographic mobility has been seen as significantly related to socio-economic mobility. This is a conclusion implicitly reached by a number of the Australian researchers mentioned in chapter two such as Logan (1965), Lee (1970), Fisher (1969, 1971), Williams and MacAulay (1970, 1971), Hugo (1971a), Law (1972), Paterson (1975), Cities Commission (1975) and Widdows (1976). All indicated that migration from rural communities in Australia seems related to the relative dearth of economic opportunities available in such areas. In effect the more limited the range of economic activities the lower the chances of career mobility in the community and the higher the level of outmigration from the community.

Thus for many communities the greater the dependence on primary industry the fewer and less varied are the sources of employment and the greater the likelihood of population decline. It was shown in chapter five that should the economic base be diffused in even so small a way as by the presence of a few government and private agencies, then this slight broadening of opportunities for careers and career advancement will have a depreciating effect on the outmigration rate of indigenes.

The small and isolated rural community which forms the focus of this study has still, despite the limited diffusionary effects of these agencies, severely limited opportunities in terms of job openings, variety of employment and promotion possibilities. This in effect means that for spiracists and indigenes alike upwards or even sideways career mobility implies or even demands a move to another environment.

Thus those individuals who by dint of a certain configuration of factors aspire to and have reasonable expectations of upward socio-economic mobility are the ones who have the highest potentiality for migration. Similarly those whose characteristics and life circumstances contribute to a generally low level of desire for and expectation of upward career change have a low potentiality for migration. Once again it is necessary to emphasise that we are referring to tendencies and loosely based relationships only. The nature of the data employed here precludes any more definitive statements. The value of this research is seen less in terms of the pronouncement of dogmatic statements and more in terms of highlighting

what appear to be significant relationships.

The configuration of factors which provides the conditions under which aspirations for socio-economic mobility can arise with some degree of viability are a combination of the age and sex of the individual, his or her marital, family, educational and occupational status and the degree to which the person is embedded in the local social and economic structure.

An attempt was made to systematise the concept of "degree of embeddedness" in the local social and economic structure by the use of various indicators. These included the amount of capital invested in the local and non-local area, the incidence of home ownership, the existence of kinship networks and political involvement, the degree of attitudinal commitment, the transferability of skills from one environment to another and the ability to use information channels between the home and possible destination areas.

It is possible to take this configuration of factors, the socio-demographic and economic, and to see them as forming a loose measure of the potential of any individual for socio-economic and geographic mobility. In the context of the area studied here many of these factors, particularly educational and occupational status and the level of involvement in the local and non-local community can be seen as related to category status. This is most notably the case with adult residents.

Studies of a comparative nature are sorely needed; firstly to

refine the indicators of "embeddedness"; secondly to inquire into the general applicability and relevance of the four category model to Australian rural communities and thirdly to validate and explore the predicted relationship between category status and migration potential. Current literature on the international scene has suggested that migration is beneficial for migrants especially those from rural areas, but confirmatory data of this trend are required in the Australian context. In further studies a distinction should be maintained between those for whom the rural community is a starting point in their migration path and those for whom it is a staging post or stepping stone on a path begun elsewhere, between those who have been termed here indigenes and those called spiralists. A fourth area requiring attention is thus the problem of the degree of change in the social and economic circumstances of these various groups of migrants over the long term.

Our explorations into this question of geographic mobility and immobility in a small rural shire have highlighted the degree to which a scrutiny of community structure and organisation can provide insight into the question of which individuals make what sort of migration decisions and why.

Future Implications

There are three major areas for which this thesis can be seen to have implications: the development of theory, the formation of policy and the direction of future research.

In chapter one it was noted that those authors, namely Lee (1966), Mangalam (1968) and Mabogunje (1970), who made some attempt to develop a broad theoretical framework for the study of migration all advocated, to a lesser (Lee) or greater (Mangalam and Mabogunje) extent that the phenomenon be considered as occurring within a social context and not in isolation or divorced from the environment within which migration decisions are made. This is what has been attempted here and the approach has been shown to have considerable utility for the understanding of how, why, and by whom decisions are made on whether to move or not. This study does not claim to provide all the answers but it does enable us to make some general though tentative statements which are sufficiently removed from the descriptive to be amenable to comparison with other micro-level data. Macro-level studies also have a place in migration research but analysis of the behavioural parameters of the process in particular require work to be done on the small scale first.

As is always claimed in work such as this pointers to further research are to be found everywhere, especially in the area of crystallising and refining the relationship between ex-rural movement and socio-economic mobility. A number of areas of further study have already been mentioned in this chapter and throughout the thesis particularly in chapters six, seven, eight and nine, but one needs re-emphasising. This is an area which the present study has few pretenses to examine in depth; namely the question of the long term consequences of migration for the individual, and of continuous population decline for the small rural community.

In Australia where the attention of policy makers has turned increasingly to the question of internal population distribution, this study can contribute to that body of knowledge on the basis of which policy may be decided. If ex-rural migration is viewed as essentially the pursuit of socio-economic mobility then the implications are clear. Attempts to control or direct such geographic mobility must of necessity take into consideration the potential for socio-economic mobility. In effect then, though rather simplistically stated, if a decrease in population movement out of particular areas or centres is seen as desirable then opportunities for socio-economic mobility must be improved, and if an increase in population movement to certain places is required then socio-economic opportunities will also have to be increased in those places.

This study has identified some of the areas where changes can be made so as to influence patterns of population movement. The provision of educational and training facilities and opportunities for skilled apprenticeships are clearly of importance if retention or attraction of the young in particular are desired. Other areas of improvement include an increase in employment opportunities for women, an expansion of job openings for skilled and apprentice tradesmen, provision of a variety of unskilled and semiskilled jobs and of a hierarchy of white collar and professional jobs so that in the latter case promotion or alternative work at a similar level does not automatically necessitate a move. In addition to these changes it must be ensured that the economic base is sufficiently diffused so that fluctuations in one area of the local economy do not threaten the whole.

Reappraisal of Method and Aims

One final question remains. How far did the approach adopted in this thesis succeed in terms of the stated aims. Firstly did the data collected justify the methodological techniques which were used? Secondly did the orientation which was adopted succeed in providing the projected linkage between the main areas of concern in internal migration research on the one hand, and between the literature on internal migration and on rural community life in Australia on the other?

The answer seems to be in the first case "moderately". The combination of participant observation and surveys was successful in so far as the analysis of community structure and migration potentiality was concerned. However, on reflection, the use of mailed questionnaires in attempting to elicit detailed information from those who had already migrated not only limited the amount of data which could be collected but also limited its quality particularly in the behavioural sense. If the study were to be begun again, the time, effort and financial input required to hold personal interviews with all migrants as well as all potential or non-migrants would be considered an essential element in the research.

The answer to the second question of how far the thesis has achieved its theoretical aims has to be "adequately". It has been demonstrated that the adoption of an approach which considers migration as a dynamic process occurring within a social context can provide insights into both migration and community structure. In

addition it draws the study of migration away from the particular and by linking geographic mobility to socio-economic mobility brings it into the mainstream of the study of social change in general.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

ADULT RESIDENTS INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

I am conducting a survey in this area on the problems of small country towns and why people live in them. I would very much like you to assist me. All the information you give me will be treated confidentially and shall merely be used in statistical form.

1. When did you come to live in Barcaldine (or the Barcaldine district)?

If respondent always lived in the area go direct to Q 9.

2. And why did you come to live here?

3. Did anyone try to dissuade you from coming?

4. Did anyone try to persuade you to come here?

5. If respondent was transferred by employer -
Did you have any say in where you were sent?

If yes: Where did you request to be sent?

6. Would you rather have gone somewhere else?

If yes: Where, and why would you rather have gone there?

7. And could you tell me all the places you have lived since you were born, and how long you lived in each place, beginning with when you were born?

Place	State	Farm/Non Farm	Length of Residence
-------	-------	---------------	---------------------

8. If respondent moved away from Barcaldine and then moved back, ask:
Why did you leave Barcaldine in the first place?

Why did you then return here?

Go to Q 13.

9. For those born and always resident in Barcaldine:

Have you ever left Barcaldine for any long period such as war service, national service, extended period working away, a trip overseas, education elsewhere?

Place	Length of Time	Reason
-------	----------------	--------

10. Did you want to return to Barcaldine?

11. Why did you feel that way?

12. If respondent did not want to return, ask:

Why did you then come back if you didn't want to?

13. Could you please tell me where your parents were born?

Mother _____ Farm/Non Farm in _____ State

Father _____ Farm/Non Farm in _____ State

14. And could you tell me where the following relatives are living at the present time?

Mother _____ Farm/Non Farm in _____ State

Father _____ Farm/Non Farm in _____ State

Father's Father _____ Farm/Non Farm in _____ State

Father's Mother _____ Farm/Non Farm in _____ State

Mother's Father _____ Farm/Non Farm in _____ State

Mother's Mother _____ Farm/Non Farm in _____ State

Brothers _____ Farm/Non Farm in _____ State

Sisters _____ Farm/Non Farm in _____ State

Sons _____ Farm/Non Farm in _____ State

Daughters _____ Farm/Non Farm in _____ State

15. Do you have any other relatives living in Barcaldine?

16. How do you feel about living in Barcaldine?

Do you

like it very much 1

quite like it 2

no strong feelings about it 3

don't like it much 4

really dislike it 5

17. What do you think are the main advantages of living here?

18. What do you think are the main disadvantages of living here?

19. Are you planning to leave Barcaldine?

20. If yes: When are you going?

21. Where are you going?
22. Why do you want to leave?
23. Why do you want to go there in particular?
24. If no: In the past have you ever considered leaving Barcaldine?
25. When did you think of it?
26. Why were you considering it?
27. Where did you think about going?
28. Why there in particular?
29. Why did you not leave?
30. Also, if no: The way you feel now would you like to leave Barcaldine?
31. If yes: What prevents you from doing so?

Now could you please give me some personal details about yourself and your family.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 32. Male | 1 |
| Female | 2 |
| 33. Are you married or | 1 |
| single | 2 |
| separated or divorced | 3 |
| widowed | 4 |
| 34. Could you tell me what age you are? | |
| 15 - 19 | 1 |
| 20 - 29 | 2 |
| 30 - 39 | 3 |
| 40 - 49 | 4 |
| 50 - 59 | 5 |
| 60 - 69 | 6 |
| 70 - 79 | 7 |
| 80 and over | 8 |

35. What is your occupation? (Get a detailed description, not just a vague term like clerk or public servant.)

36. Are you:

Self employed	1
Public service employee	2
Private employee	3
Retired	4
Unemployed	5
Housewife	6

37. If the respondent is a married woman (or single adult living at home) ask:

What is your husband's (or father's) occupation? (Please get detailed description, not simply clerk or public servant.)

38. If, as above, respondent is a married woman (or single adult living at home) ask:

Is your husband (father)

Self employed	1
Public service employee	2
Private employee	3
Retired	4
Unemployed	5

39. Is the house you live in:

Owned by you	1
Being bought by you	2
Rented	3
Provided at a rent or rent free with your job	4
Other (please specify)	

40. Can you tell me who lives in the house with you and makes up a household?

Single adult living on your own	1
A group of single adults	2
Husband and wife	3
Husband and wife and child or children	4
Single adult and child or children	5
Husband and wife and single adult	6
Husband and wife and single adult or adults and child or children	7

41. Could you give me details of your education? Did you have a
- | | |
|----------------------------|---|
| primary school education | 1 |
| secondary school education | 2 |
| post secondary education | 3 |
| other (please specify) | |
42. Could you tell me what your (or your husband's) average wage is?
(Show respondent the wage card and explain it to them if necessary)
If a respondent is a married woman and working, add her income to
her husband's and note final total.

No reply	0
\$1 - \$1000	1
\$1,001 - \$3000	2
\$3001 - \$5000	3
\$5001 - \$7000	4
\$7000 - \$10,000	5
Over \$10,000	6

Now I should like to ask you some questions about your spare time activities.

43. Do you go to the pictures?

More than once a week	1
About once a week	2
About once a month	3
Very infrequently	4
Never	5

44. Do you play for one of the cricket clubs?

Shakespeare	1
Lagoon Creek	2
Country & Agents	3
High School	4
Federals	5
None	6

Do you play

Regularly	1
Only occasionally	2

45. If *None* ask:

Do you support one of the cricket clubs?

Shakespeare	1
Lagoon Creek	2
Country & Agents	3
High School	4
Federals	5
None	6

Do you go and watch

Regularly	1
occasionally	2
never	3

46. Why do you play for or support that particular team?

47. Do you support or play for the Barcaldine football teams?

Play for regularly	1
occasionally	2
Actively support	1
Neither	2

48. Do you play or take part in any other sport?

Tennis	1
Bowls	2
Judo	3
Swimming	4
Rifle shooting	5
Fishing	6
Basket Ball	7
Clay Pigeon Shooting	8
Horse Racing	9
Pony Clubs	10
Riding generally	11
Golf	12
None	13
Other (please specify)	14

49. Do you go to any particular hotel?

Shakespeare	1
Union	2
Lennons Railway	3
Globe	4
Commercial	5
Royal	6
None	7

50. Why do you go to that one?

51. Do you belong to any religious group?

None	1
Catholic	2
Anglican	3
Methodist/Presbyterian	4

52. Do you go to church?

Regularly	1
Occasionally	2
Hardly ever	3
Never	4

53. How do you spend the rest of your time?

	No time	A little time	Some time	A lot of time
Gardening				
Hobby (specify)				
Visiting friends				
Entertaining friends				
Other (specify)				

54. Whom do you spend most of your leisure time with?

Relatives	1
Workmates	2
Public Service People	3
Graziers	4
Local townspeople	5
Other (specify)	6

55. Do you belong to any political party?

A.L.P.	1
Country Party	2
D.L.P.	3
Liberals	4
None	5

56. Would you mind telling me which way you voted in the last state election?

Refuse	1
A.L.P.	2
Country Party	3
D.L.P.	4
Liberals	5

57. Why did you vote that way?

58. Which way did you vote in the last federal election?

A.L.P.	1
Country Party	2
D.L.P.	3
Liberals	4
Refuse	5

59. Why did you vote that way?

60. Have you ever taken an active interest in local shire affairs?

No	1
Yes (specify)	2

61. Do you belong to a trade union or business association?

None	1
A.W.U.	2
Graziers' Association	3
Institute of Engineers	4
Aust. Bank Officials Union	5
Other (specify)	6

62. How often would you say you leave Barcaldine each year - I mean go further than the local towns around, like Longreach, Blackall, Aramac, etc.?

Frequently	1
Quite Often	2
Fairly infrequently	3
Rarely	4
Never	5

63. Where do you do most of your shopping?

Barcaldine	1
Longreach	2
Rockhampton	3
Brisbane	4
Mail Order	5
Other (specify)	6

64. Do you usually go away for a holiday each year?

Usually	1
Occasionally	2
Rarely	3
Never	4

If other than never, where do you usually go?

If never, what do you usually do at holiday time?

65. *To be asked of respondents living out of Barcaldine:*

How often do you go into Barcaldine?

Less than once a week	1
More than once a week	2
Never	3

66. For what reasons do you go into Barcaldine?

Shopping	1
Social evening at club	2
Entertainment generally	3
Clubs or association meetings	4
Other (specify)	5

67. Which newspapers do you usually read?

Courier Mail	1
The Australian	2
Sunday Mail	3
Barcoo Independent	5
Central Queensland News	6
Rotabar	7
Other (specify)	8

68. Please could you tell me which clubs, associations or organisations you belong to?

Locally:

Non/Locally:

69. Some people say there are distinct social divisions in Barcaldine.
Would you agree?

If yes:

. How much do you see these social divisions, i.e. what are they,
do people mix much, etc.?

70. Finally I am trying to trace as many people as possible who have
left Barcaldine in the last few years - if you know of anyone
please would you give me their address?

Thank you very much for your co-operation and let me again assure you
of the confidentiality of all that you have told me.

APPENDIX B

HIGH SCHOOL PUPIL QUESTIONNAIRE

Please read the instructions carefully and answer the questions as best you can. Remember this is not a test. There are no right answers. All the answers will be treated as completely confidential.

1. How old are you? _____ years _____ months
2. What is your sex? (tick one) Male _____
 Female _____
3. What grade are you in? Or what grade were you in when you left school? (tick one) -

10th _____

11th _____

12th _____

4. Do you live in the town or the country? (tick one)

Town - Barcaldine _____

Town - Other

(Specify) _____

Country (specify) _____

5. How long have you lived there? Indicate the number of years.

Years _____

6. Please could you list all the places you have lived in since you were born and indicate about how long you have lived there?

Born in _____ Length of Residence _____

If there is not enough space here, please use and attach another piece of paper.

- 6(b) What is your father's occupation? Please give an accurate description, not a vague general description.

7. When will you be leaving school? Month _____ Year _____

8. How old will you be then? _____ Years

9. What qualifications do you hope to have when you leave school?
(tick one)

Junior

Senior

Neither _____

Don't know

10. What do you hope to do when you leave school?

Go on to further education _____

Begin working _____

Other - please specify _____

11. If you answered 'go on to further education', what do you want to study and what work do you want to do when you have finished studying?

Study _____

Work _____

12. If you answered 'begin working', what work do you want to do?

13. How do you feel about living in the Barcaldine area, do you want to stay here, or do you want to go somewhere else, or would you like to go away for awhile and then probably come back and live here permanently? (tick one)

Stay here _____

Go somewhere else _____

Go away for awhile
and then come back _____

Don't know/
undecided _____

14. If you answered 'stay here', please could you give me your most important reasons for wanting to stay.

15. If you answered 'go somewhere else', could you give me your most important reasons for wanting to leave?

16. If you answered 'go away for awhile and then come back', could you give me your reasons for this answer?

17. If you want to leave the Barcaldine area, where do you want to go?

18. Why do you want to go to that place in particular?

Thank you very much for your help.

APPENDIX C

SCHOOL LEAVER QUESTIONNAIRE
AND COVERING LETTER

University of Queensland
St Lucia, Brisbane, Australia 4067
Department of Anthropology and Sociology

25 October, 1974

Dear

You may or may not have heard of the study which I have been doing in the Barcaldine area. I am working on the problems of small country towns in Queensland; what it is like to live there, why people live there and more importantly why they leave the country towns to live elsewhere? The Queensland State Government is financing the study and I am working through the University of Queensland.

I do hope you will not mind taking part in this study - I obtained your name and address from the headmaster of the Barcaldine State High School, Mr St. Pierre, and your co-operation will go a long way to making my work a success and hopefully to improving the conditions in the rural areas of Queensland.

Yours sincerely,

Meg Montague
Research Officer

RURAL DEPOPULATION STUDY

1974 BARCALDINE

This questionnaire is being sent to students who attended the Barcaldine State High School and who left within the last five years. The questions are mainly about what you did and where you lived when you left school.

You will find that many of the questions can be answered by circling the number next to one of the answers written below the question. In some questions, however, there is a space left under the question for you to write in your reply.

This questionnaire is completely confidential, no names will be used in the reporting of the findings, the information you give will be used only in the form of figures and statistics.

Obviously the success of the project depends mainly on your co-operation so hoping for your help.

Yours sincerely,

Meg Montague
Research Officer

INSTRUCTIONS

Please read each question carefully and circle the number next to the reply which is closest to your answer or supply the details requested.

For Example

In question 4 "What grade were you in when you left school?" If you left in 11th grade you would answer the question like this:

Grade 8	-----	1
Grade 9	-----	2
Grade 10	-----	3
Grade 11	-----	④
Grade 12	-----	5

i.e. place a circle around 4, the number opposite grade 11.

1. When did you leave the Barcaldine State High School?

1969	-----	1
1970	-----	2
1971	-----	3
1972	-----	4
1973	-----	5
1974	-----	6

2. How old were you when you left the Barcaldine State School?

Under 14 years	-----	1
14 years	-----	2
15 years	-----	3
16 years	-----	4
17 years	-----	5
18 years	-----	6

3. What is your sex?

Male	-----	1
Female	-----	2

4. What grade were you in when you left the Barcaldine State School?

Grade 8	-----	1
Grade 9	-----	2
Grade 10	-----	3
Grade 11	-----	4
Grade 12	-----	5

5. When you were at school in Barcaldine what was your home address, that is, where your parents lived? Was it in...

Barcaldine	-----	1
Blackall	-----	2
Alpha	-----	3
Jericho	-----	4
Tambo	-----	5
In the country	-----	6
Elsewhere	- please give details	

6. Please describe the present or last main occupation of your father (or male guardian). Please be as precise and accurate as possible, stating both the grade and nature of the occupation, eg. senior clerk in bank, head teacher in primary school, motor mechanic employed in a garage. Please do not use vague terms such as civil servant, clerk, rural worker.

7. When you left school in Barcaldine did you:

Go on to further full time
education ----- 1

Work and study at the same
time ----- 2

Begin a full time job ----- 3

Other - please give details

8. If you continued studying when you left the Barcaldine State School did you go to:

Another school elsewhere ----- 1

University - full time ----- 2

University - part time ----- 3

Teacher Training College ----- 4

Institute of Technology or
College of Advanced Education,
full time ----- 5

Institute of Technology or
College of Advanced Education
part time ----- 6

Technical college full time ---- 7

Technical college part time ---- 8

Business School ----- 9

Agricultural College -----10

Other, please give details

9. If you began working when you left the Barcaldine State School, please give a detailed description of your job (for example, helping your father on his property, general station hand on employer's property, clerk in a bank, railway porter - do not give a vague term such as clerk or rural worker).

10. Could you please write down details of all the places you have lived since you were born until the present day and the length of time you lived in each place.

Place

Length of time lived there

11. Since you left the Barcaldine State School have you...

Continued living in the
Barcaldine District ----- 1

Moved from the Barcaldine
District to another town or
city ----- 2

Moved from the Barcaldine
District to another town or
city and then returned to the
Barcaldine District ----- 3

12. If you continued living in the Barcaldine District could you please
tell me your most important reason(s) for deciding to do so?

13. If you moved from the Barcaldine District to another town or
city, we are very interested in finding out your reasons for
moving. Could you please describe as carefully as possible
your most important reason(s) for moving from the district?

14. If you left the Barcaldine district and then returned, we are
very interested in your reason(s) for returning. Please could
you describe as carefully as possible your most important
reason(s) for returning?

15. If you are not living in the Barcaldine District at the present
would you like to return there to live?

Yes ----- 1
No ----- 2

15b. If YES to 15a, why have you not returned?

16. At the present time are you...

Studying full time ----- 1

Working and studying at the
same time ----- 2

Working full time ----- 3

Other, please give details

17. If you are studying are you attending...

Another school ----- 1

University - full time ----- 2

University - part time ----- 3

Teacher Training College ----- 4

Institute of Technology or College of
Advanced Education - full time ----- 5

Institute of Technology or College of
Advanced Education - part time ----- 6

2. When did you and the other members of your family listed above leave Barcaldine?
3. How long had you been living in the Barcaldine District? Please indicate for each member of the family listed above.

<u>Person</u>	<u>Length of time</u>
---------------	-----------------------

4. Did you live on...

a property	----- 1
the town	----- 2

5. Could you please indicate the level of education reached by each member of the family listed above. Here are two examples of how to do this:

Example I

<u>Person</u>	<u>Education</u>
Husband	finished primary school
Wife	2 years of secondary school
Daughter	still at school
Son	still at school

OR

Example II

Husband	University degree
Wife	Nursing certificate
Son	Completed secondary school

<u>Person</u>	<u>Education</u>
---------------	------------------

6. At the time you left Barcaldine what was the main occupation of each member of your family listed above? Please be as precise and accurate as possible, stating both grade and nature of the occupation. For example, Husband - clerk in bank; wife - part time telephonist. Please do not use vague terms such as public servant, clerk, post office worker.

<u>Person</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
---------------	-------------------

7. At the time you moved from Barcaldine was the place where you were living...

Owned by you	----- 1
Being bought by you	----- 2
Rented by you	----- 3
Provided with your job	-- 4

8. I am very interested in finding out the reasons people have for moving. Could you please describe as carefully as possible the most important reasons for leaving in your or your family's case? If you moved on your own, I am interested in your reasons; if you moved as a member of a family I am interested in the family's reasons.
9. When you left Barcaldine where did you move to?
10. I am also interested in why people choose a particular place to move to. Could you please describe the most important reasons in your or your family's case for choosing that place?
11. If you have moved more than once since you left Barcaldine, please could you list each place and the length of time you lived there?

Place

Length of time

12. At the present time what is the main occupation of each member of your family? Again please give as accurate and precise a description as possible, not a vague general term.

Person

Occupation

13. At the present time is the place where you are living:

Owned by you ----- 1
Being bought by you ----- 2
Rented by you ----- 3
Provided with your job ----- 4

- 13a. Would you like to return to live in Barcaldine?

Yes ----- 1
No ----- 2

- 13b. If you answered YES to question 13a, why have you not returned?

14. How satisfied are you with your move from Barcaldine?

Very satisfied ----- 1
Quite satisfied ----- 2
Not satisfied ----- 3

15. If you had the decision to make again would you decide to move or stay?

Decide to move ----- 1
Decide to stay ----- 2
Don't know ----- 3

If you have any additional comments you would like to make regarding your feelings about moving, your reasons for not wanting to return, etc., please do so.

Thank you for your co-operation. Please place this in the pre-paid envelope provided and return it to me.

APPENDIX E

FOLLOW UP LETTERS TO
SCHOOL LEAVERS AND ADULT EX RESIDENTS

FOLLOW UP LETTER No 1

University of Queensland
St Lucia, Brisbane, Australia 4067
Department of Anthropology & Sociology

RURAL DEPOPULATION STUDY - Barcaldine

January 1975

Dear

A few weeks ago I sent you a questionnaire concerning my study of rural depopulation in Queensland.

I am now appealing to you to complete and return the questionnaire. Your co-operation will be much appreciated in that I realise I am asking for quite a bit of your time. I feel that for such surveys to be of real value they need to be comprehensive both in the information they seek and in the people they attempt to sample. To the latter end I am hoping for a high percentage response so that the results will be representative.

Owing to the delay between posting and receiving printed matter, it is quite possible that you have already sent back the questionnaire. If so, please accept my apologies for troubling you and my thanks for your assistance in this study.

Yours sincerely,

Meg Montague
Research Officer

FOLLOW UP LETTER No 2

University of Queensland
St Lucia, Brisbane, Australia 4067

Department of Anthropology & Sociology

RURAL DEPOPULATION STUDY - Barcaldine

February 1975

Dear

The response to my survey has been very good, however I am still concerned to include the opinions of as many ex-inhabitants as possible.

May I once again stress that answers given are entirely confidential- individual identities are not revealed to any person at any stage.

If you still feel unwilling to complete the questionnaire please return it blank and I shall not trouble you further. If you did not receive the original questionnaire or have mislaid it, please fill in the details below, return this letter to me and a further copy will be forwarded to you.

Yours sincerely,

Meg Montague
Research Officer

Name _____

Address _____

FOLLOW UP LETTER No 3

University of Queensland
St Lucia, Brisbane, Australia 4067
Department of Anthropology & Sociology

RURAL DEPOPULATION STUDY - Barcaldine

March 1975

Dear

I am about to commence the analysis of the answers given to the questionnaires I mailed some time ago. As I have not yet received a reply from you I am writing again in the hope that you will complete the questionnaire and return it to me as soon as possible. I would be most grateful if you could do this.

If you did not receive the original questionnaire, or have misplaced it, please fill in the details below and return this letter to me and a further copy will be forwarded to you.

Yours sincerely,

Meg Montague
Research Officer

Name _____

Address _____

APPENDIX F

ACTIVITIES SHEET IN ROTABAR,

APRIL 1974 AND MAY 1975

APRIL 1974

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
<u>March 31</u> Cricket Barcaldine VS Longreach at Longreach Football at Barcaldine Golf	<u>April 1</u> Euchre - CWA Basketball Fire Brigade Practice	2 Bingo - Shire Hall Hoy - Convent Judo Tennis -Social Band Practice	3 Forum CWA Meeting	4 Indoor Bowls Historical Society Ladies Auxiliary of Guides Assoc. Meeting Carpentry Class	5 Pottery Spinning & Weaving Club BBQ Mardi Gras - State High School	6 Karate - C of E Hall Tennis- Fixtures Painting- Classes Golf Swim Championships
7 Football Barcaldine VS Winton at Winton Golf	8 Euchre -CWA Basketball Fire Brigade Practice	9 RSL Women's Aux. Clothing Sale Bingo- Shire Hall Rotary Hoy - Convent Judo Tennis -Social Band Practice	10 Red Cross Meeting - Shire Hall Swim Club BBQ and Trophy Night	11 Convent Stall Apex Arts Council Meeting Carpentry Class	12 Good Friday Club BBQ	13 Karate - C of E Hall Racing - Barcaldine Painting-Classes Golf Kenzo Judo Club- Shire Hall
14 Easter Sunday Kenzo Judo Club-Shire Hall Golf	15 Euchre - CWA Racing - Barcaldine Basketball Fire Brigade Practice	16 Bingo - Shire Hall Rotary Hoy -Convent Judo Tennis - Social Band Practice	17 Forum State School Mothers Club Meet. RSL Women's Aux.Meet.	18 Indoor Bowls Carpentry Class	19 Pottery Spinning & Weaving Club BBQ	20 Karate - C of E Hall Tennis - Fixtures Painting - Classes Golf
21 Football C.W. Trials at Tambo Golf	22 Euchre - CWA Basketball Fire Brigade Practice	23 Bingo - Shire Hall Rotary Hoy - Convent Judo Tennis -Social Band Practice	24 C of E Guild Meeting High School Social	25 Apex Anzac Concert RSL Anzac Day Luncheon Carpentry Class	26 Pottery Club BBQ	27 C of E Stall Gun Club Karate - C of E Hall Tennis - Fixtures Painting - Classes Golf
28 Motor Club Meeting Golf	29 Euchre - CWA Basketball C of E Deb Ball Rehearsal Fire Brigade Practice	30 Rotary Hoy - Convent Judo Tennis -Social Band Practice State School P & C Meeting C of E Meeting Deb Rehearsal	May 1 C of E Deb Rehearsal	2 Indoor Bowls C of E Deb Ball Rehearsal Carpentry Class	3 Pottery C of E Deb Ball Club BBQ	4 Tennis - Fixtures Painting - Classes Golf

MAY 1975

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
				1 Judo Basketball	2 Pensioner's League Monthly Meeting - Cultural Centre Club BBQ	3 Tennis - Open Tournament
4 Tennis - Open Tournament Football - Blackall at Home Golf	5 Tennis - Open Tournament Netball Bowling Club - Bingo Fire Brigade Practice	6 Rotary Tennis Coaching Hoy - Convent Judo	7 CWA Monthly Meeting Tennis - Coaching Golf Assoc. Meeting	8 Tennis - Coaching Apex Judo	9 Barcaldine Show Cultural Centre	10 Barcaldine Show
11 Football Barcaldine VS Longreach at Longreach Golf	12 Hospital Aux. Meeting Bowling Club - Bingo Fire Brigade Practice	13 Rotary Hoy - Convent Judo	14 Red Cross Society Monthly Meeting	15 Judo	16 Cultural Centre Club BBQ	17 Tennis - Fixtures
18 Football - Longreach (Moscrip Cup) Golf	19 Bowling Club - Bingo Fire Brigade Practice	20 Rotary Hoy - Convent Basketball Judo	21 P & C Mothers Club Scouts Annual Meet. RSL Ladies Aux.	22 Apex Basketball Judo	23 Club BBQ Cultural Centre Meeting to form committee for ballet classes	24 C of E Street Stall Tennis - Fixtures Methodist Ladies Guild C'wealth Afternoon
25 Saloon Car Racing Football - Barcaldine VS Winton at Winton Golf	26 Tennis Club Monthly Meet. Bowling Club - Bingo Fire Brigade Practice	27 Rotary P & C Meeting Hoy - Convent Basketball Judo	28 C of E Guild Meeting Cultural Assoc Meeting	29 Basketball Judo	30 Cultural Centre Club BBQ	31 Tennis - Fixtures

APPENDIX G

ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIP OF BARCADDINE RESIDENTS

Recreational Associations

	<u>Graziers</u>	<u>Burgesses</u>	<u>Townsmen</u>	<u>Spiralists</u>
1. Arts Council	5	8	-	13
2. Anglican Sunday School	-	5	12	7
3. Anglican Euchre	-	2	34	2
4. Barcaldine Amateur Theatrical Society	1	2	2	10
5. Barcaldine Club	96	30	6	44
6. Barcladine Club Committee	8	2	-	3
7. Black & White Football Committee	-	-	12	1
8. Bowls Club	11	16	70	5
9. Carpentry Classes	-	3	3	14
10. Classical Ballet Classes	4	3	7	8
11. Cricket Clubs -				
Country & Agents	20	9	2	8
Federals	1	2	25	13
High School	1	5	10	12
Lagoon Creek	1	2	5	11
Shakespeare	3	5	10	15
12. Cultural Association	17	11	6	25
13. Golf Club	11	24	29	26
14. Gun Club	25	1	-	4
15. Historical Society	4	4	2	8
16. Hoy at Convent School	-	3	31	-
17. Hoy at QCWA Hall	-	-	20	2
18. Indoor Bowls	-	-	24	-
19. Judo Club	6	6	33	10
20. Keep Fit Classes	-	1	3	3
21. Main Roads Dept. Social Club	-	-	16	37
22. Methodist Sunday School	3	1	21	5
23. Methodist Tennis Club	-	3	5	11
24. Methodist Youth Club	-	-	8	3
25. Netball Association	2	5	51	13
26. Painting Group	-	5	5	15

	<u>Graziers</u>	<u>Burgesses</u>	<u>Townsmen</u>	<u>Spiralists</u>
27. Pensioners Club	6	15	58	-
28. Pony Club	5	3	5	3
29. Pottery Group	9	4	3	18
30. Race Clubs -				
Diggers Race Club	15	5	3	2
Amateur Race Club	13	4	2	1
Central Race Club	17	10	2	1
31. Rugby League Football Club Committee	1	6	5	3
32. Scouts & Guide Association	1	7	55	36
33. Spinning & Weaving Group	1	2	3	1
34. Stock Car Racing Club	3	3	31	11
35. Swimming Club Committee	-	4	2	10
36. Tennis Club Committee	-	3	4	6
37. Tennis Club	1 patron	9	26	30

Non Recreational Associations

	<u>Graziers</u>	<u>Burgesses</u>	<u>Townsmen</u>	<u>Spiralists</u>
1. Alcoholics Anonymous	-	2	1	1
2. Al Anon	-	2	3	-
3. Anglican Ladies Guild	16	4	8	6
4. Anglican Church Parochial Council	4	1	2	1
5. Apex	-	2	1	11
6. Australian Labour Party	-	-	5	-
7. Convent School Hoy Organisers	1	2	10	10
8. Convent School Parents & Friends	3	3	10	12
9. Convent School Parents & Friends Committee	1	2	-	7
10. Fire Board	1	3	2	1

	<u>Graziers</u>	<u>Burgesses</u>	<u>Townsmen</u>	<u>Spiralists</u>
11. Fire Brigade	-	3	13	-
12. Forum	6	4	-	12
13. Graziers Association	52	-	-	-
14. Hibernians of Australasia Catholic Benefits Society	2	5	29	-
15. High School Parents & Citizens Management Committee	1	1	2	5
16. Hospital Auxiliary	7	3	5	9
17. Institution of Engineers	-	-	-	14
18. Kindergarten Assoc. Committee	1	2	2	4
19. Meals on Wheels	5	7	4	8
20. Methodist Ladies Guild	1	3	12	1
21. Methodist & Presbyterian Parish Council	2	2	7	2
22. Mothers Club of State High School	3	2	3	5
23. National Party of Australia	9	3	-	-
24. Pastoral, Agricul- tural & Horticultural Society Committee	20	11	2	3
25. Pastoral, Agricul- tural & Horticultural Society Committee Women's Auxiliary	16	3	-	5
26. Queensland Country Women's Association	12	7	21	3
27. Red Cross	9	10	36	1
28. Red Cross League	40	15	11	1
29. Returned Servicemen's League	11	9	18	-
30. Returned Servicemen's League Women's Auxiliary	12	1	11	-
31. Rotary	1	3	-	8

APPENDIX H

COMPARISON OF SCHOOL LEAVERS AND SCHOOL PUPILS
IN TERMS OF SEX, HOME RESIDENCE AND FATHER'S OCCUPATION

Table H: 1

COMPARISON OF SCHOOL LEAVERS AND SCHOOL PUPILS: SEX

	School Leavers		School Pupils	
	N	%	N	%
Male	39	50	30	45
Female	39	50	37	55
Total	78		67	

Table H: 2

COMPARISON OF SCHOOL LEAVERS AND SCHOOL PUPILS: HOME RESIDENCE

	School Leavers		School Pupils	
	N	%	N	%
Rural	38	10	5	8
Urban	70	90	62	92
Total	78		67	

TABLE H: 3

COMPARISON OF SCHOOL LEAVERS AND SCHOOL PUPILS: FATHER'S OCCUPATION

	School Leavers		School Pupils	
	N	%	N	%
Professional	2	3	2	3
Manager	9	12	6	9
Clerical & Sales	4	5	5	7
Farmer	8	10	7	10
Skilled	10	13	13	19
Semi- Skilled	22	28	21	31
Unskilled	19	24	9	13
Miscellaneous	4	5	4	6
Total	78		67	

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