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FACTORS AFFECTING THE REALISATION OF PRIOR EXPECTATIONS AMONGST BRITISH MIGRANTS COMING TO AUSTRALIA

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"As many more individuals of each species are born than can possibly survive; and as, consequently, there is a frequently recurring struggle for existence, it follows that any being, if it vary however slightly in any manner profitable to itself, under the complex and sometimes varying conditions of life, will have a better chance of surviving, and thus be naturally selected"

Charles Darwin
The Origin of Species

PREFACE

The purpose of this study is twofold. Firstly, it attempts to identify and trace the fate of expectations held by a particular set of migrants coming to live at the isolated city of Whyalla, in South Australia. The people in the study are men recruited from Britain to work for the Broken Hill Proprietary Company, together with their wives and families. Germane to the abstract psychological concepts involved is the more practical problem of examining the reasons why many of these people do not stay in Whyalla.

The plan of this report is to examine first of all the underlying constructs of the problem. This will then be followed by details of the physical and sociological structure of Whyalla itself, followed by a detailed description of the families involved. The remainder of the report is devoted to an analysis of the study results, followed by the respective conclusions. The report is completed by a résumé of the overall conclusions that have arisen as a result of the total impact of the study.

Although the study comprises the research undertaken by one individual, the work entailed would not have been possible without the aid and assistance of a large number of other people.

In the first instance, I would like to express my thanks to

the University of Adelaide in general and the Department of Psychology in particular for allowing me the time, and financial aid, to be able to undertake the programme. Of those directly involved, I would like to thank Dr JM Brebner for his advice in the initial and the final stages, and who helped to formulate a project title sufficiently concise to facilitate the ideas, but at the same time sufficiently loose to allow a great deal of lattitude in the interpretation of the terms. Most particularly I must thank Professor AT Welford, who acted as my supervisor throughout the project. There must have been times when he wondered just what, if anything, he was supervising, and whether it would ever bear fruit. In the end, I hope his patience has been justified.

Nothing of this study could have been achieved without the cooperation of the appropriate staff at BHP. First and foremost I would like to thank Geoff Drummond who, as the new Superintendent of Personnel Administration in the BHP Steelworks at Whyalla, was mainly instrumental in getting the project off the ground. I am sure that at the time he and his new wife never imagined how much they were committing themselves when they first allowed me to stay with them in Whyalla. Before the advent of their twins, it was possible to sit and philosophise in their front room, whilst gazing at the very focal point of the Whyalla community - the Shipyards and the Steelworks there below.

Next I should like to thank Phil Richards, and to a lesser extent, Peter Storr, at the Adelaide office of BHP, who let me know when families were due in Adelaide by means of numerous

telephone calls. My sincere thanks must also go to the people in the Personnel Department at Whyalla who were always prepared to give me their time, no matter how busy they were. In particular I would like to thank the Manager Alan Garwood who gave me advance details of forthcoming arrivals whenever any information was available, and who ever since has kept me in the picture with the 'BHP News'. One of his assistants, Phil Edwards, was invaluable in letting me know the families' addresses, once they had left the hostel in Whyalla.

My thanks also go to the various Immigration Department personnel, both State and Federal, who allowed me facilities to interview the families, and on occasions went to endless trouble finding them for me. Here I would like to single out Mr Cooper, at the Woodville Hostel, who has for some years been a source of comfort and guidance for so many newly-arrived families, and who also offered me such sage advice. I also received a great deal of valuable information from Mr CA Greig of the South Australian Housing Trust.

My principal thanks must of course go to the families themselves, not one of whom refused my request to be able to interview them, even though some had to fight hard to stay awake at the time, and must have longed for me to go. Each one of them contributed an especial part in their own way. Rather than single them all out, I will say that, if ever one of them reads this, they will know that one part of my gratitude is expressed directly to them.

From the University of Adelaide Department of Psychology, I should like to thank Margaret Blaber for the way in which she

has painstakingly deciphered my writing and transformed the result into a far neater and more legible format. I would also like to thank Mrs Lomax and Judy Hill for their assistance with the figures and illustrations; and Jeanne Roberts, now of the South Australian Institute of Technology, for her help with the questionnaires. I also wish to express my appreciation to Ian Hutchinson for the assiduousness with which he read the manuscript.

Lastly I would like to again thank the Drummonds, the Balls and the Stebbings for accommodating me in Whyalla. Much more so were Michael and Noelle Cochran who fed, watered and accommodated me, and debated the various issues with me until they could stand it no longer, and left me the use of their home while they spent three months recovering their poise in South America. To their dismay, I still had not finished when they returned, so in the end they moved to Melbourne instead. Long-suffering at the Adelaide end of the trail was my wife Mary, who coaxed, cajoled, and generally kept the ball rolling, until she had finished reading the last paragraph. Her sacrifices reached their zenith when she was delivered of the other member of our family whilst I was en route from Whyalla back to Adelaide. To all I have named, and to those others unnamed, but especially to my wife, thank you.

Finally, I should like to dedicate this study to Shmuel Eisenstadt, who alone amongst the workers in the field of emigration appears to me to have developed the closest empathy

with the aims and motivations of potential migrants.

PE Hornsby

University of Adelaide

May 1978

Statement

To the best of my knowledge this thesis contains original material presented by the author, except where reference is made in the text to findings previously published or written by another person; no material is cited which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any University.

Peter E Hornsby

25 May 1978

FACTORS AFFECTING THE REALISATION OF PRIOR EXPECTATIONS AMONGST BRITISH MIGRANTS COMING TO AUSTRALIA

Summary

The aim of this project was to examine the fate of expectations amongst British migrants coming to Australia. The main subjects for the study were a number of families wherein the husband had been recruited in Britain to work for either the Shipyards or the Steelworks of the BHP Company in Whyalla, an isolated city in South Australia, nearly 400 km by road from the main conurbation at Adelaide. The practical problem of labour turnover at BHP in Whyalla was also examined.

Ultimately 62 such families were investigated. Where circumstances permitted, they were interviewed at three stages :-

(a) In Australia, but before reaching Whyalla

(b) Four weeks after arriving in Whyalla

(c) Six months after arriving in Whyalla.

Personality profiles were also examined, using the Cattell 16PF Personality Inventory, and these were compared with a selection of British families who had migrated to Adelaide (that is, without having a prearranged job and home to which to come), and with Australian families of British descent living in Adelaide. Few of the comparisons were statistically significant. The Adelaide families, and some of the earlier Whyalla migrant families were also compared on the Zuckerman

Sensation Seeking Scale. In this respect, the differences were so limited that the Scale was abandoned, and later Whyalla migrant families completed one or the other of two questionnaires directly related to Whyalla, designed to highlight features deemed important from interviews with earlier families.

From the initial interviews it was plain that few of the people concerned had developed clear ideas about what to expect. However, it also became increasingly evident that a definitive set of expectations did exist at a deep, almost subconscious, level; of which the individuals only really became aware if the expectations were substantially violated. Furthermore, emigration appears to take place against a background of avoiding the distasteful aspects of the prior country, rather than in terms of the positive attributes of the potential country - leading to a generalised expectation that the new country 'cannot be as bad' as the old one.

The report ends with an assessment of the future for Whyalla, based on conclusions developed during the course of the study.

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1 THE CHARACTERISTICS OF EXPECTATIONS AND OF WHYALLA

1.1 Introduction
1.2 Expectations
1.3 The social setting in Whyalla
1.4 The rationale of the study

1.1 Introduction

In this chapter an analysis will be made of the fundamental characteristics underlying the study. The study is primarily concerned with the fate of expectations of a group of migrants coming to Australia. Interwoven with the outcome is the analysis of why the population turnover in Whyalla is so high. The first factor is essentially a theoretical construct, whereas the problem of population turnover is of an inherently practical nature. Seemingly disparate in themselves, they are however interconnected in the present study in that there is a possibility that the turnover problem may be *caused* by the appropriateness or otherwise of the migrant's expectations. Putting such a proposition to one side until more of the relevant evidence has been demonstrated, the remainder of this chapter will be devoted to an independent examination of the two main constructs, with the initial consideration being given to the factor of expectations.

1.2 Expectations

This concept is one that has been investigated by sociologists, psychologists and philosophers of science, and a common difficulty occurring amongst them is coming to grips with just what is meant by expectations. Some measure of the problem may be seen in the introductory part of an essay by Weimer (1975): "the problems of inference and expectation are the problems of learning and knowledge; learning and knowledge (and thus epistemology) are problems for the psychological sciences". His assessment is centred on the core problem of the construct, namely the relationship between expectations in the abstract sense, and reality. Körner (1966) implies that the connection between such expectations and experience is not one within the hypothetico-deductive framework, but rather a question of identification of the empirical with the real which in no way constitutes a unitary correlation.[1]

At the other end of the scale, much of the behavioural science literature presupposes the existence of such a correlation, and any ensuing discussion is concerned with an examination of the apparent discordance between such expectations and the associated performances. For example,

[1] That is, one cannot see reality in the absolute and objective sense of possessing independent rules of its own, but rather in an egocentric idealised way. Hence the object is seen as being and acting within a conceptual rather than actual framework, and so expectations are associated with this idealised conceptualisation, which alone may be examined empirically, since we have no way of knowing the true parameters of this reality.

Aronson and Carlsmith (1962) hypothesised that an actor tries to perform in such a way as to confirm his self-expectations. They view expectations within the concept of cognitive consistency - a construct based on Festinger's theory of cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957). In their view, "If a person expects to perform poorly in a particular endeavour, a good performance will be inconsistent with his expectancy; and so he will attempt to reduce dissonance by denying this performance". In this instance, the causal link is between the actual performance and the prior expectations concerning that performance.

Foschi (1972) rejects such a connection. In her view, the testing of such an hypothesis is ambiguous, in that the main factor in the subject's behaviour is likely to be his motivation to succeed, not the motivation to bring his performances into line with his expectations. She mitigates this association between expectations and performance by the introduction of an 'other' performer, thereby creating two objects, *self* and *other* as objects of orientation[2] - an idea based on the previous conceptualisation by Berger *et al* (1966) but supplemented by the additional parameter concerned with the strength of the expectation.

This conception is extended by Terry (1971) into one of three 'independent' factors: "Situations involving the confirmation and disconfirmation of expectancies varying dichotomously in strength and value are theorised to involve three components: outcome (ie either consistent or discrepant),

[2]That is, the subject not only has expectations about his own performance in isolation, but also a relative expectation concerning his own performance compared with that of the 'other'.

strength, and value (either positive or negative)". In spite of the experimental outcome confirming his hypothesis, it still seems a tenuous argument as to whether the three may be regarded as all independent of one another, especially as there is a postulated ordering of the affective outcomes, thereby implying a cognitive unidimensionality of the concepts.

The commonality of the hypotheses of Foschi (1972) and Berger *et al* (1966), and also Terry (1971) is that expectations contain at least two features - the direction of the expectation and the loading, or weight, associated with the direction. In this sense, expectations are regarded in a similar fashion to the way in which Fishbein (Fishbein, 1967; Ajzen and Fishbein, 1973) regards attitudes, based on Dulany's theory of propositional control (Dulany, 1961, 1964, 1968). Fishbein's formula is :-

$$B \approx BI = \left(A_{act}\right)\omega_0 + \left[(NB)(M_C)\right]\omega_1$$

$$\text{Behaviour (Overt)} \approx \text{Behavioural Intention} = \left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{Attitude towards} \\ \text{performance of a} \\ \text{specific act}\end{array}\right\}\omega_0 + \left\{\text{Normative Belief}\left[\begin{array}{l}\text{Motivation} \\ \text{to comply} \\ \text{with these} \\ \text{norms}\end{array}\right]\right\}\omega_1$$

(ω_0, ω_1 are weights which may take any value)

In effect, the theory essentially leads to the prediction that an individual's intention to perform any behaviour (and his actual performance of that behaviour) is a function of (a) his attitude towards performing the behaviour in a given situation, and (b) the norms governing that behaviour in that situation together with his motivation to comply with those norms.

In a similar way, expectations can be viewed as comprising two independent parts. The first is a general expectation,

and the second is a situation-specific expectation. As with Fishbein's theory, both parts have independent weights associated with them.

Following on with this analogy; if the expectations are inappropriate, and the associated loadings are high then, assuming the importance of the earlier hypotheses concerning cognitive dissonance, there follows the prediction that the behaviour itself will change in such a way as to reduce the overall level of dissonance; or alternatively, the expectations themselves will be modified in some way. These two alternatives are not mutually exclusive; what may occur could be a measure of compromise between the two. In Zajonc's (1968) words: "The development of expectancies is in itself an interesting problem, for if the disconfirmed expectancies are a source of dissonance, and if the dissonance is a noxious state, then the individual should eventually learn to form realistic expectations. Most of us probably do".

The third alternative in the conceptualisation of expectations is to presuppose their existence without worrying about defining the terms used. This particular study is concerned with the fate of prior expectations amongst migrants coming to Australia, and it is within the more general field of moving and emigration that this present usage of the concept occurs. Michelson *et al* (1973) in their paper on 'The intentions and expectations of differential residential selection' continually refer to the extent to which the families in their study had expectations about to where they chose to move, without ever questioning the characteristics of these expectations. In effect, the moves the people make will

be consonant with their expectations, and hence the expectations may be inferred *a posteriori* from these moves. One specific feature they itemise is the extent of the expected changes in weekend life, in accordance with the different types of move made. For example, moving house-to-house, or apartment-to-apartment, in each instance, 41.1% of the respondents *expected no change at all* in their weekend life. Amongst changes to different types of accommodation, 25% expected no change in moving from a lowrise to a house, and 22% in moving from a lowrise to an apartment. The conclusion here must be not that the families concerned will experience no changes, but rather that they do not give consideration to the effects of such changes.

Brown (1961) investigated the expectations of British migrants going to New Zealand, and Appleyard (1966) considered migrants going to Australia. Brown claims that expectations tend to be highly stereotyped, "referring for example to the Good Prospects, Opportunities," and so forth. "These expectations are based on personal experience, conversation with others, written information available, and wish-fulfilment .... The extent to which expectations are fulfilled will be an important determinant of successful adjustment at the destination .... " He goes on to conclude that: "Further enquiry is needed to specify in detail the function of the migrants' expectations".

Brown sees expectations as part of a sequential process. He claims that the migrant selects a possible destination and then builds up his expectations about it. Appleyard (1966)

feels that what the migrant expects to achieve can hardly be separated from *why* he is emigrating, and this relationship is inherently connected with the migrant's personality.

Appleyard and Brown both found what Brown refers to as stereotyped expectations, but part of Appleyard's paper is concerned with work carried out by one of his colleagues, Anna Amesa, who interviewed single girls and single males in Greece just before they flew to Australia, and reinterviewed some of them twelve months later in Australia. She found negative expectations in the respect that, like Lot's wife, the orientation was couched in terms of the previous experience in Greece, rather than in terms of what the future held - the aim was more to escape from poverty, rather than adventure in a new land.

This latter point is in keeping with the view expressed earlier by Eisenstadt (1954) that emigration is characterised by a failure to realise expectations in the earlier social setting.

One can conclude from these that there is no really clear definition of what expectations might be, or even whether they do actually exist in some recognisable or discernable form. On the other hand there is a tacit acceptance that they are there. One of the aims of this present study is to throw a clearer light on the particular question of expectations amongst migrants, and possibly on the concept of expectations in the broader sense of a more general psychological phenomenon.

1.3 The social setting in Whyalla

That all is not well in Whyalla may be gauged from, for example, the title of the study by Munro (1968), 'The Whyalla Social Problems Report', and the Australian Frontier Consultation Report (Sarre, 1973), 'Factors Influencing the Stability of Whyalla'. The latter report includes the finding, from the 1971 Census, that: "43% of the total population (ie of Whyalla) were migrants, and another 10% were their Australian-born children".

In effect the City has an exceedingly strong migrant influence. However the problems of Whyalla are apparently not brought about by an unhappy interface between the resident population and racially disparate newcomers. The question of racism seemingly does not obtain in Whyalla. Instead the problem appears to be more fundamental in its nature, requiring the united efforts of all groups to overcome it. Whyalla is a predominantly single-employer community, with BHP dominating the employment scene. In such circumstances, clues as to the problems of Whyalla may be discerned in the official memoranda of the Company. Such is the case in the Managing Director's Review of Operations in the 1968 Annual Report: "The Company experienced little difficulty in obtaining unskilled labour, *but high turnover was a worrying aspect*. A shortage of tradesmen exists, especially at Kwinana[3] and Whyalla where housing accommodation is limited". Because of the extent to

[3] Kwinana is the site of another BHP steelworks, processing ore brought by rail from the mine at Koolyanobbing, or by sea from the Kimberleys. It is a coastal port, 35 km south of Perth, Western Australia.

which Whyalla is represented by BHP, the problem of turnover of employees in BHP equates to the problem of population turnover in Whyalla. In this respect, and in many others, the problems of BHP's Whyalla operations and those of Whyalla *per se* are one and the same.

While population turnover may be seen as a problem, it is an effect, rather than a cause, and it is these causal attributes that the various investigators have tried to identify. Munro (1968) went one stage further in that he also proposed certain courses of action to alleviate some of the problems. In his overview, the problems of Whyalla are :-

the somewhat inhospitable climate
the impersonalisation of the industrial bureaucracy
the geographic isolation.

However the main problem was seen as the absence of organic continuity, and this was exacerbated by officialdom being "backward looking, rather than creative and innovative". Whyalla's geographical isolation is probably irrelevant as the problems would in many respects be identical if Whyalla was geographically more favourably situated. As Munro claims; "Whyalla's economic decisions are, by and large, made in Melbourne (ie at the Head Office of BHP); and the governmental decisions for Whyalla are made in Adelaide". Furthermore; "Decisions regarding the integration of economic, governmental and social interests are not made at all". He sees South Australia as a classic case of undue centralisation of authority. That is, the executive decision-making power is vested in the State Government for many of the functions that are local in character.

Munro's detailed documentation of improvements reflect more of his own desires than those of the citizens themselves. In this respect, he has fallen into the social scientist's main trap of allowing his investigations to be interpreted in terms of his own value system, rather than in any objective sense. Suggesting a whole gamut of improved means of egress from Whyalla is hardly commensurate with improving Whyalla itself. Equally undue is his preoccupation with the condemnation of the widespread use of double units of housing. In this instance, he gives a picture of double units violating the approach-avoidance dichotomy in that the common walls are too proximal, and the lack of clustering around central open spaces makes them too distal. In fact, he sees the area as a "reasonably clean and well-constructed ghetto". However, his dislike for the housing system is also shared by Sarre (1973).

This latter study tends to be more down-to-earth in its construction and in its recommendations. It went to great lengths to justify its aim of being a "Community Self-Survey". Its summary of the "top ten priorities for improving the quality of life in Whyalla, as seen by the citizens themselves, but not necessarily in order, are as follows :-

1 diversification of industry to provide a wider range of employment, and in particular employment for women and school leavers

2 a complete reappraisal of the needs of youth and the provision of qualified youth leaders and facilities

3 a large department store

4 increased tertiary education facilities

5 more suitably placed parks, gardens and open playing fields

6 a resident medical officer at the Hospital, and more doctors prepared to make home visits

7 better housing and overall town planning

8 elimination of smell from the sewage works

9 full adult franchise

10 better films and family entertainment".

This study also makes the point that: "Decisions are made by BHP at their Head Office, by the State Government in Adelaide, and by the Federal Government in Canberra. These decisions are not integrated, and we cannot expect them to be integrated at that sort of level". The report also stresses the lack of cohesion within the community itself.

As can be seen, the two reports have much in common. The essential differences are that Munro (1968) gives the impression of trying to recreate Whyalla into a city where people will want to go, whereas Sarre (1973) is more concerned with making improvements for the people who are already there. The principal feature that both reports share, though neither of them says it in so many words, is that both are aimed at changing Whyalla, so as to fit the people. Neither of them tackles the problem a different way round by trying to change the people so as to make them fit better into Whyalla. The recommendations that come out of both studies are geared more to an utopian ideal than to a realistic solution. It is possibly for this reason that they have generated so much ire amongst the City Council. Councillor MJ Brown (also the local House of Assembly member in the South Australian State Parliament) is reported to have said (Spencer Gulf Pictorial, July 10th, 1974) that "Nobody knew the problems of Whyalla

better than its people". In this respect, Councillor Brown was living in Whyalla ten years ago, and is still there now, whereas Munro was back in New York before his report was published, and Sarre moved to Adelaide shortly after the publication of his report. On the other hand, moving away from Whyalla was never offered as a viable solution to the problems of the people there.

The aim of this present study is to probe more penetratingly into the views of the people coming to live in Whyalla, and to attempt to identify where the mismatch between the residents and the City really lies.

1.4 The rationale of the study

The two previous sections have outlined the two constructs that underlie this study. The aim of this section is to bring them together in the way in which they form the basis for the study as it was conducted.

The original idea for the project arose as a consequence of watching the documentary film 'This is the life' - a film depicting the City of Whyalla, stressing its potentialities as a venue for aspiring migrants. The dialogue was in English; the way in which supermarket lines were identified as the same as in British supermarkets, and comparisons with the National Health Scheme, all showed how clearly it was aimed at a British audience.

The film created an image of Whyalla more as a holiday resort than as somewhere one would go to live permanently. In this respect, it complied with the conventional image of

Australia as the Lucky Country of suntan, surf and golden sands. Anyone arriving in Whyalla with an implicit faith in the picture given would be somewhat dismayed at what they found.

Although it is unlikely that people would be completely misled, there is some evidence to suggest that the visual effects are likely to be more influential than other sources. Showing potential migrants a film is more likely to be absorbed than the various pamphlets that are put out by the Government (both Federal and State) agencies. If they attend a film show, there is a reasonable probability that the migrants will watch it, whereas there is no such certainty that they will read the literature handed out to them. On the whole, direct evidence on the relative impact of alternative media is sparce. Sampson (1971) for example quotes the report from Newsweek (May, 1969) purporting to show that ridicule directed at Youngtown, Ohio, on a popular comedy show on the television reportedly changed the citizens' vote on a school tax increase. In the political field, Campbell *et al* (1954) showed that television had become the main source of information for the American voter. Each of these studies gives some weight to the impression that the film would be of primary importance as a source of imformation.

Assuming therefore that a family arrives in Whyalla with a set of inappropriate expectations, then certain predictions may be made. These predictions are of changes that will bring about a reduction in the level of dissonance that has been generated. In behavioural terms this may be best achieved by the family leaving Whyalla. In this instance,

three alternatives are available, namely :-

(i) moving elsewhere in Australia

(ii) returning to Britain

(iii) moving to another country.

Returning to Britain effects a total diminution in the dissonance, whereas choosing another country will bring about a completely new set of experiences. The important alternative is in moving elsewhere in Australia since in this case it is predicted that settlement elsewhere will be facilitated, paradoxically, because the unreduced expectations will themselves have undergone an involuntary modification in the light of the true experiences of life in Australia. That is, the expectations themselves will have been changed in such a way as to be more appropriate to the Australian way of life than were the initial expectations held when the family concerned first set foot in Australia. (An anticipated methodological problem that in this instance proved to be a very real one was being able to interview the families who left Whyalla. In fact, of the seven known to have left, only two moved to places less than 1,000 km from Adelaide. Hence the brunt of the task of furnishing evidence regarding this part of the predictions has to be borne by these two families).

The alternative way in which dissonance may be reduced is for the behaviour to remain the same, but for the expectations themselves to be changed so as to bring them closer into line with reality. This raises an inherent difficulty. For example, a family may arrive with an appropriate set of

expectations and behave accordingly. On the other hand, another family may arrive with an inappropriate set of expectations that they change so as to match the behaviour of the previous family. Thus in *behavioural* terms, the two families are judged the same. Differentiating between them remained an ineradicable difficulty in the study as it was conducted.

2 THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STUDY

2.1 Introduction
2.2 The subjects in the study
2.3 The timing of the study
2.4 The methodology of the study

2.1 Introduction

In the past, other investigators have looked at the question of why migrants do not stay in Australia. Such studies are comprehensively examined by Richardson (1974). In particular, Richardson's (1968) shipboard study of returning British migrants was primarily concerned with why British migrants returned to the United Kingdom. Typical of such studies, it examined the criteria for the decision to return *after* the decision had been made. Festinger's (1957) theory of cognitive dissonance predicts that in such circumstances the rationale given by the subjects would be heavily biassed in favour of the characteristics of the decision they had already made.

It was partly as a means of examining such decision processes that this present study was undertaken. Measuring attitudes *before* such decisions regarding the future are made provides a much more unbiassed picture of the values placed on the characteristics upon which these decisions are based. Thus it was decided to interview the subjects in the study at

three stages. Stage I was at the earliest opportunity. Ideally, this would have been at some point in time before arrival in Australia. Since this was not possible, for Stage I the subjects were interviewed shortly after their arrival in Australia, but before arrival at their final destination of Whyalla.

Whilst the aim of the Stage I interview was to gain some measure of the preconceptions of Whyalla, the aim of the Stage II interview was to gauge the initial reactions to life there. Hence the Stage II interview was nominally timed for a date four weeks after arrival in Whyalla.

The third and final interview, Stage III, was planned to take place six months after arrival in Whyalla. It was anticipated that after a period of time, it would be possible to obtain some measure of the *behaviour* of the subjects, in the light of how the new life had measured up, in terms of the expectancy framework. In practice, things turned out to be not quite so straightforward. Migrants arrive in Australia either by sea or air. In the former case, disembarkation for the subjects in this study generally took place in Melbourne. They then travelled overnight to Adelaide by rail on the 'Overland', a journey of some 780km, and lasting about twelve and a half hours. Since they usually had some hours to spare in Melbourne before the train left, they were often given a guided tour of the City by the (then) Department of Immigration. In addition, they may also have experienced a trip ashore at Fremantle (and possibly visited Perth). Thus by the time they were interviewed in Adelaide, they had had the opportunity to see something of up to three of Australia's capital cities.

On the other hand, arrivals by air generally reach Sydney or Melbourne in the early hours of the morning, and then get shuttled to Adelaide on the next available flight. In other words, the best they achieve is an aerial view of Sydney, and possibly Melbourne. Furthermore, they reach Sydney after 26 hours of more or less continuous flight, and so arrive there in no real state to do any sight-seeing. However, some allowance is made for them to achieve some 'recovery' time in Adelaide. In general, most such subjects had had a chance to look around Adelaide before being interviewed.

Whatever the mode of travel, this meant that the Stage I interview took place after the subjects had seen something of Australia. However, the interviews were so scheduled that they took place *before* the subjects had been able to see their ultimate destination. In spite of this, the criticisms of the Richardson (1968) shipboard study are also partially applicable here since, although the subjects had not experienced Whyalla, they had been able to construct some sort of basic *Australian* reference frame against which to judge Whyalla. In a few cases, this Stage I interview could not be made because subjects arrived in Adelaide whilst the interviewer was in Whyalla. In these instances, a single combined Stage I and Stage II interview was administered instead, and this normally occurred shortly after the family had arrived in Whyalla, frequently taking place in Milpara, the BHP hostel at Whyalla. Under normal circumstances the Stage II interview occurred shortly after the family had moved into their permanent accommodation.

As already mentioned, some subjects did not stay in Whyalla

long enough for the specified six months to elapse before the Stage III interview was due to take place. Thus in some instances the Stage III interviews, and possibly the Stage II interviews, were omitted.

2.2 The subjects in the study

Labour, in the case of the BHP operations in Whyalla, is divided initially into two functions, line and staff. The staff represent the professional, executive and clerical personnel - the 'white collar' workers, and the remainder, the skilled and semi-skilled tradesmen, and the unskilled workers, on the shop floor - the 'blue collar' workers fulfil the line function. In other words, the *line* activities are primarily active or operational components, whereas the *staff* functions operate as support roles. As far as BHP was concerned, staff turnover was not a problem area, and so staff were classed as outside the direct scope of the investigation. However, certain features of staff turnover are extremely relevant to the investigation, and so reference will be made to them in the later stages of the report. The remaining line function may be divided into the classes indicated, namely skilled workers or tradesmen, semi-skilled workers and unskilled workers.

This last class includes both men and women, and the Company's attitude towards women in the workforce underwent some considerable change during the course of the study. The result was that the proportion of women employed in traditional male roles on the shop floor increased during the

period. However, this is a change that was not anticipated at the outset and for this reason no attempt was made to record the exact proportion involved. Nevertheless, the change was an interesting and significant one, and worthy of investigation in its own right, since the employment of women poses a new set of problems, such as the provision of dual accommodation, shift-working, and so forth.

Omitting women from the classification, there remain the three groups mentioned. For the purposes of this study, these were reduced to two by uniting the skilled and semi-skilled groups into one class (henceforth referred to as skilled workers) as opposed to the other category, unskilled workers.

The BHP operations are also divided into two parts; the Steelworks, and the Shipyards (formerly known as the Whyalla Shipbuilding and Engineering Works). They function as independent and autonomous units, to the extent that it is not possible to 'transfer' from one unit to the other. In effect, moving from one to the other is synonymous with leaving one employer and joining a new one.

The two divisions employ a number of different trade skills, some of which are common to the two, and others apply to only one. Thus for example a welder can be employed by either the Steelworks or the Shipyards. His assignment in the Company is a random process, based on the requirements of the divisions at the time when he is first notified of his acceptance by the Company at his former British home. Alternatively, a shipwright will only be recruited to work for the Shipyards. In a similar fashion, the unskilled workers are also randomly

assigned according to the labour requirements of the two divisions.

The alternative way of classifying the labour force is in accordance with nationality. Theoretically, such a classification is independent of the differentiation between skilled and unskilled workers. In practice, this is not the case. Non-English speaking migrants are predominantly employed in an unskilled capacity where, in the steel industry as a whole, turnover is traditionally high. This is partially compensated by the greater flexibility in filling unskilled vacancies. That is, the unskilled recruit is suitable to work in any unskilled vacancy that may occur, whereas the skilled recruit can only be employed where there is a vacancy for his particular trade.

In the event, non-English speaking migrants were omitted from the study. As a consequence, the group remaining in the study consisted entirely of subjects of either British or Irish nationality. This had a two-fold advantage since it meant that the interviewer, being English and reasonably well-travelled in Britain, had an appropriate mental image of the background and culture from which the migrants came, as well as an unrestricted ability to converse with them in their native language - two features that could not be applied to any of the other nationalities who came to Whyalla in any numbers, such as the Spanish or the Yugoslavs.

A further group of migrants to be omitted from the study were those English-speakers who had come to Whyalla from other parts of Australia. There were two related reasons for this; in the first place, it was felt that their other Australian

experiences would probably have dulled the recall of the expectations they held prior to coming to Australia. It was also fairly safe to assume that going to Whyalla was prompted by some feelings of dissatisfaction with the other parts of Australia, and so their inclusion could have introduced this as an additional variable in the study.

Additional to these constraints was a further one imposed by the Company, namely that at the particular time when the study was carried out, BHP were not recruiting single (ie unmarried) men from Britain or Ireland.

Excluding single men had another advantage in that it precluded the itinerant worker from the study. Itineracy is naturally easier for the single man with no commitments and staying in a hostel than it is for a married man with a home, a wife, and perhaps a family, to consider. In part, it is this aspect that caused BHP to concentrate on employing married men, particularly from overseas. (A further justification, for BHP, for recruiting from overseas stemmed from the Company's inability to attract shop floor personnel from within Australia).

In summary, the study was concerned with the fate of prior expectations amongst a group of married British male migrants, coming to work for the Broken Hill Proprietary Company's operations at Whyalla. Since all the men were married, the views of their wives were also included, and any characteristics that were measured, such as personality and attitudes, were assessed for both the husbands and their wives. This meant an assessment could be made of the extent to which features were similar or complementary within the marriage

partnership, as well as permitting single or united comparisons to be made with other groups. In some instances, the families included children who were old enough to have, and to express, views of their own. On occasions when this happened, the views were listened to, and note taken of any relevant points, but these were included as an adjunct to the study, rather than as an integral part of it. In no instances did the children complete any of the questionnaires.

Ultimately, the subjects in the study fell into four groups, according to the husband's trade classification and to where he went to work, namely :-

1 Shipyards : (a) Skilled
(b) Unskilled

2 Steelworks : (a) Skilled
(b) Unskilled.

The initial aim of the study was to include about one hundred subjects. For a variety of reasons, this was eventually reduced to 60. In fact ultimately, because at the end three families arrived together, 62 families were included in the main study. Hence the main study includes data for 62 families, or 124 individuals (the 62 husbands who came to work for BHP and their wives). The main reason for the reduction in the number of families was the need to fit the study into a reasonable time scale. The vicissitudes of this are detailed in the following section on the timing on the study.

2.3 The timing of the study

The time scale for the study was as follows :-

Stage I interviews took place between 14.6.72 and 4.3.74
Stage III interviews took place between 14.12.72 and 27.9.74.

The commencement of the study was considerably delayed because a reduction in orders caused BHP to suspend its migrant intake before the project had started but after plans had been made. With the resumption of full production, the programme was eventually started, following a meeting in Whyalla on June 14, 1972 - the day upon which two families arrived in Whyalla from Adelaide. Thus the first two interviews took place at a sub-optimum time - that is, *after* the families had had time to form at least some first impressions of Whyalla.

The aim from then onwards was for all the incoming families to be included in the study. After some initial teething troubles in the liaison system with the Adelaide office of BHP, all families were included. However, these difficulties did mean that twelve families were omitted.

Subject to the constraints detailed earlier, the aim was to include a representative sample of subjects in the study. The rate at which the families arrived was such that in order to include a reasonable number, the study would have to continue over an extensive period of time. For this reason, and because there was no reason to believe that any particular bias would be introduced into the system, it was decided that the minimum time for the study would be achieved by including as many as possible of the families that arrived in the period shown, subject to the omissions caused by the initial communication problems with BHP, and the logistic problems caused by being elsewhere when the families arrived.

During the period leading up to the Australian Federal

elections in December 1972, the Australian Labor Party (ALP) made it clear that they would be taking a close look at the country's immigration policies, particularly the so-called 'White Australia' policy, if they were returned to power. At the time, it seemed quite likely that they would be forming the new government, after some 23 years in opposition. Because of this likelihood, and the consequent uncertainty of the future policy, the London office of the Department of Immigration 'slowed down' its intake of migrants over the critical pre-election and immediate post-election period. Whilst this may appear to be a case of taking the law into its own hands, it was nevertheless a shrewd anticipation of events, aimed at minimising the potential problems. The Federal Government in Canberra has a tendency to take decisions, and expect them to be immediately implemented. This means that any major changes in policy could affect the families in the middle of their pre-departure schedules.

Typically, the most important consideration for the departing migrant is to sell his home. From long experience, the Immigration Department's policy has been to advise migrants to sell their homes first, and let them know once the sale has been successfully negotiated. An overnight decision by the Federal Government to curtail the intake of migrants could result in a family, who had just sold their home, finding that their immigration had been stopped. Since the officials at the London office have to solve such problems directly with the irate family, but at a distance of some 19,000 km from the decision-makers, they adopt the self-preserving strategy of anticipating such changes as far as

possible, and bending the rules when they get caught unawares.

In the event, their anticipation was fortunate since at the election on December 2nd, the ALP were elected. Then on December 27th, the 'Australian' carried the headline: "Labor cuts migrant intake 21 per cent: New rules to apply to the British". This was quite a mild change, and one that the former Coalition government may well have taken themselves, had they been returned to power instead of the ALP.

As it happened, this was merely a forerunner of the ALP's review of the country's immigration policy. The 'Australian' for April 4th, 1973 stated that: "Under the employee nomination scheme, BHP has had almost continual applications lodged with the Government for overseas workers. Until now, its applications have been successful". The Department of Labor report (Minister Mr CR Cameron, ALP, South Australian electorate of Hindmarsh, and no lover of BHP) to the Department of Immigration (a portfolio that was later combined to form the Department of Labor and Immigration, under Mr Cameron, though at the time the Minister was Mr Al Grassby, ALP, Riverina electorate of New South Wales) asked for BHP's application for "300 workers to man the Whyalla plant" to be rejected, mainly on the grounds that the Company was "simply not doing enough to attract Australian workers on the job". This was followed by the report ('Australian', June 16th, 1973) that the Federal Government had "refused to allow BHP to recruit its own migrant workers ... A spokesman for the Department of Immigration said yesterday; "Recruitment directly from overseas in the employer nomination procedure has been temporarily suspended"".

From this point onwards, direct recruitment from overseas was totally suspended. The ban remained in force until an announcement by the Minister for Immigration, Mr Grassby, on the radio during the week ending August 31st, 1973. The 'Whyalla News' for Friday, August 31st, reported that BHP had been given approval for "bringing out another 550 migrant workers to be employed at Whyalla".

The frequent reference here to press reports is important, since the first information the various officials receive are via press announcements from the minister concerned. These announcements precede official departmental communiqués to the personnel concerned, and the communiqués function mainly to add detail to the nuclear statement included in the press announcements. Not surprisingly, this procedure causes problems and difficulties, and results in the local officials adopting some adroit manoevres to 'bend' the rules. In terms of the study itself, the effect has been that the basic system for the BHP-recruited families at times underwent some rather unorthodox *ad hoc* changes that did not always result in the smooth processing of the families concerned. The consequences for the study are that the flow of families was irregular, and in turn the attitudes of the families themselves towards the Australian bureaucratic machine were correspondingly soured.

All in all, during the period of the Stage I interviews, some 75 families arrived in Whyalla from the United Kingdom and Ireland. In addition, an unknown number of nationals from other European countries, particularly Spain, were also recruited. Of the 75 families, 62 were, as previously noted, ultimately included in the study.

2.4 The methodology of the study

As mentioned in Section 2.1, the families were interviewed at three stages, namely :-

Stage I interview - in Adelaide, *before* arrival in Whyalla
Stage II interview - in Whyalla, four weeks after arrival there
Stage III interview - in Whyalla, six months after arrival there.

The aim was to use, as far as possible, a standardised approach towards all the subjects in the study. With this in mind, the Stage I interview was based on a prescribed set of fourteen questions. These contained a mixture of factual matters -for example, asking the whereabouts of the families' parents and siblings - together with subjective questions, such as asking why the families had decided to come to Australia. Over and above these questions, it was also ascertained how the families had come to Australia (by sea or by air) and where the husband was destined to work in Whyalla (the Steelworks or the Shipyards).

The set of 14 basic questions is given in Appendix I. In addition to these standard points, the interviews were allowed to develop in a free manner. On the whole, the interviews were developed by the choice of the families themselves, and the fixed questions used as interjections if the conversation wandered too far from the point.

The Stage II interview was aimed mainly at following up the relevant leads from the Stage I interview, together with two

set questions :-

"Are you going to stay in Whyalla?"
"How do you like Whyalla now?"

The answers to these questions largely determined the ensuing course of the interviews.

The final, or Stage III interview was also loosely structured, but contained the following set questions :-

"How are you getting on?"
"Are you going to stay?"
"Are you going to buy a house?"
"Where have you been?" (ie have you visited any other places since arriving in Whyalla).

The study was also aimed at finding whether or not the families stayed in Whyalla and in relation to this it seemed fair to assume that valuable information could be obtained from establishing the type of people involved in the study; did they have any recognisable distinguishing characteristics such as personality? With this in mind, it was decided, before the commencement of the study, to use two personality questionnaires, the Cattell Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire (the 16PF test) and the Zuckerman Sensation Seeking Scale.

The Cattell 16PF was chosen mainly because it had already been extensively used in the Psychology Department from which this study was being conducted, and there seemed no good reason to change to a different test. Of the available forms, Form C was chosen because of its shorter length (105 questions, as opposed to 187 questions in Forms A and B), and so requiring less time for completion.

The Zuckerman test was selected because it was anticipated that such an attribute as sensation-seeking could well characterise people who were migrating to a new country that was about as far removed from where they came from as they could get. The basic format used was that supplied by Professor Zuckerman (as detailed in Zuckerman, 1972). The published test made use of the more innocuous title suggested by Zuckerman himself, namely the Interest and Preference Test Form IV (SSS). In addition, since the test was primarily for use with American subjects, minor alterations were incorporated to anglicise some of the phraseology used. The full details of the Questionnaire as it was administered here are shown in Appendix II.

The use of the two tests implies that they are independent of one another, though this is not strictly so. Zuckerman (1974), commenting on earlier studies using undergraduates as subjects, makes the point that: "The variables from the 16PF showing the outstanding pattern of correlations with the SSS were largely measures of impulsive extraversion (Dominance, Surgency, Adventurousness, Uncontrolled) and non-conformity (Weak, Super-Ego, Bohemian, Radicalism). The SSS did not correlate with the sociability aspect of extraversion as represented by the Cyclothymia factor in the 16PF test".

In effect, the Zuckerman test was being used as a more sensitive measure of the particular personality characteristics deemed to be important in this study. However, during the course of the investigation, it was found that the Zuckerman test was failing to produce the clear-cut results that had been anticipated so its use was discontinued,

On the other hand, at that stage the study was sufficiently well developed to indicate other areas where quantitative information could be obtained that would be more useful.

From that point onwards, other types of data were obtained by the use of questionnaires, designed to examine different aspects of a common problem. The first questionnaire, given the title of the 'Whyalla Questionnaire', aimed at producing an objective picture of Whyalla, with the emphasis on those aspects that appeared to recur amongst interviews with earlier subjects. Some questions related directly to Whyalla itself; others, like: "Do you have definite plans for the future?", were of a more general nature. (The full questionnaire is given in Appendix III).

The second questionnaire, entitled the 'Item Value Questionnaire' (IVQ), contained questions which directly corresponded to the content of the Whyalla Questionnaire, but this time the aim was to get an idea of the subjective value that was attributable to the factors contained in the questions. All the questions on the IVQ contained a statement such as, using the Whyalla Questionnaire example above: "Having definite plans for the future". The subjects then had to rate the importance to them of such an attribute, ranging from 10 (very important) to 0 (of no importance); that is, on an eleven point scale. The full questionnaire is given in Appendix IV.

The question also arose as to when to give the various questionnaires. Before the commencement of the study, it was decided that the Cattell 16 [illegible]st and the Zuckerman test should be given to the fami[illegible]ter they had been in Whyalla

for six months; in other words, coincident with the Stage III interviews. By this time, it was hoped that the families would have recovered from the mental upheaval associated with the changes they had experienced through coming to Australia, and that the answers would therefore be more stable and reliable indicators of personality. At the same time, it was realised that this would mean the loss of the data pertaining to any family who left Whyalla before this period of time. In some instances, it may still have been possible to have the questionnaires completed before the families left Whyalla, but it was felt that the attempt would not be justified because of the potential unreliability of the results. Throughout the whole study, the Cattell 16PF test was given to the subjects at the Stage III interview. Both it, and the Zuckerman test, while in use, were left with the families for them to complete in their own time. Ultimately, the results were such that, except for one family, it is reasonable to assume that the questionnaires were completed independently by husband and wife.

Those families who answered the IVQ did so on two occasions, firstly at the Stage I interview, and secondly in their own time when the questionnaire was left with them at the Stage III interview. Being a short questionnaire, it only required at the most five minutes for completion, so it was administered in the interviewer's presence during the Stage I interview. Lastly, the Whyalla Questionnaire was also left with the subjects during the Stage III interview.

Overall, this meant that the families were asked to

complete *one* of the following combinations :-

(a) Cattell 16PF test and the Zuckerman test } given at the
(b) Cattell 16PF test and the Whyalla Questionnaire } Stage III interview

(c) Cattell 16PF test, and the IVQ twice { the first IVQ at the Stage I interview, and the other two at the Stage III interview

In addition to the families who have been mentioned so far which represent the core of the study, there is also a further selection of families who supplied comparative data for the results of the Cattell 16PF test and the Zuckerman test. These particular families were interviewed by various members of the 1973 Social Work Course at the South Australian Institute of Technology, as part of an exercise in interviewing and testing. From their results were chosen families who fell into two distinct categories; either they were classed as 'Australian' families - families where both the husband and wife were born in Australia, but of parents of British descent. These families were therefore *at least* first generation Australians. The second category were classed as 'Adelaide Migrant' families, and included families where both husband and wife were British, born in Britian, and married *before* coming to live in Australia. In effect, they were similar to the Whyalla Migrant families but with the difference of coming to Adelaide instead of Whyalla. This is a particularly salient difference in that it means that they came to Australia 'on spec' - that is, without having a job and a house arranged beforehand. Both of these classes were chosen as coming from the same socio-economic stratum as the Whyalla Migrant families. They also, like the Whyalla

families, completed the questionnaires in their own time.

3 THE FAMILIES THEMSELVES

3.1 From where the families came
3.2 Mode of travel to Australia
3.3 Age distribution of the families
3.4 Fecundity
3.5 Other relations; (a) siblings, (b) parents
3.6 A comparative analysis with earlier migrants and their families

3.1 From where the families came

Deciding from where the families came is not an easy judgement to make, since firm criteria for place of origin are difficult to lay down. For instance, a family can quite easily be living in a town where neither the husband nor the wife was born. On the other hand, where they were born may not be a good indicator of their psychological attachments. In the end, it was decided to use the latter feature as an albeit rather arbitrary place of origin. Thus, one family who lived in North Wales for the two years immediately prior to coming to Australia, but who spoke mainly in terms of where they had previously lived in Outer London, was classed as coming from Outer London, rather than North Wales, or South-East London where they were born. Furthermore, some of the subjects were children of parents serving in the regular armed forces, and had led a rather nomadic existence. Such subjects show the value of using the psychological base as their place

of origin, since generally they will identify only with one place.

Using this psychological attachment focus as the place of origin for the families concerned, the dispersion so formed was compared with the population residential characteristics from Great Britain, according to the 1971 census data. Since this is based on what are termed Standard Regions of Great Britain, the families have been allocated according to the same regions.

It was suggested in the previous chapter that allocation to either the Steelworks or the Shipyards appeared to be random, in the case for instance where the trades were common. To examine this closer, the families were further assigned to their standard regions according to whether the husbands were destined to work for the Steelworks or the Shipyards. In the former case, the intake also included unskilled labour, so these families were further subdivided according to whether the husbands were tradesmen or unskilled. The overall data are shown in Table 1. As can be seen, in the case of the skilled migrants the dispersion of the families closely resembles the population distribution in Britain, regardless of to which division, Steelworks or Shipyards, the husbands were assigned. The resemblance is less so in the case of the unskilled class assigned to the Steelworks. However, the total number of families involved, namely eight, is too small to justify much reliability being placed on the data. The general level of concordance is such as to justify the contention that the study sample is a random selection from the British population, as opposed to one biassed in favour of any particular region. In other words, the families are not

Table 1. Origins of families included in the study (using United Kingdom Standard Regions*).

Standard Region	Working for Steelworks				Working for Shipyards		Total		Population at 1971 census*
	Skilled		Unskilled		Skilled				
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	%
North	5	14.7	-	-	1	5.3	6	9.8	6.11
Yorkshire/Humberside	4	11.8	1	12.5	1	5.3	6	9.8	8.89
East Midlands	1	2.9	-	-	2	10.5	3	4.9	6.30
East Anglia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.15
South East	7	20.6	4	50.0	5	26.3	16	26.2	32.04
South West	1	2.9	-	-	4	21.1	5	8.2	7.04
West Midlands	3	8.8	2	25.0	1	5.3	6	9.8	9.44
North West	6	17.6	-	-	2	10.5	8	13.1	12.41
Wales	3	8.8	-	-	-	-	3	4.9	5.00
Scotland	4	11.8	1	12.5	3	15.8	8	13.1	9.63
Total	34	100	8	100	19	100	61#	100	100

#One family came from Northern Ireland, and is not included in this table

*From M Nissen (ed) *Social Trends No 2, 1971*. London: HMSO, 1971

emigrating as a result of specific initiating factors, such as high unemployment or redundancy in one region provoking movement away from the area. Put another way, it indicates that those people who are leaving the United Kingdom are doing so for some reason more basic than just location.

Appleyard (1964) also found, in his 1958 survey of migrants, that: "The distribution of population and emigration between the conurbations, with the exception of the West Midlands, is remarkably similar". This applied specifically to England and Wales, since he found that the population of emigrants in the Clydeside conurbation (38.6% of the total for Scotland) was higher than the proportion of the population there. Direct comparisons with Appleyard's findings are not easy, since he used different regional boundaries. In this present study, the whole of Scotland is lumped together into one Standard Region, so any similar variance in the proportion from Clydeside is lost in the overall figure. However, the results from both studies generally lead to similar conclusions. In itself this shows that what happens in Whyalla, in this particular respect, could well be representative of the general migration pattern amongst Britons coming to Australia. The inverse would also be true. What is far more significant is that the families leaving Britain represent a *general* phenomenon. Movement away from Britain is not a response to specific pressures in a localised area; instead it appears that these pressures are equally distributed throughout Britain or, since this and Appleyard's study took place some 14 years apart, a certain proportion of the population is continually 'drifting off' from the main population block.

3.2 Mode of travel to Australia

One feature over which the families exercise a certain amount of control themselves is the means whereby they travel to Australia. In the case of those families who came as assisted migrants, the relative costs associated with coming by sea or air do not concern them, and hence the choice is essentially based on criteria set by the families themselves. In a few instances, the incidence of for example ear infections means that the families cannot travel by air, and so for them it becomes a forced choice. Otherwise the choice is a free one, influenced largely by the time the family feels it is prepared to take over the journey.

In the case of those families who paid their own fares to come to Australia, cost is a major factor, and the (then) cheapest means of travel to Australia was by air to Singapore, and by sea from Singapore to Australia. Of the four unassisted families in the study, three travelled by this means, and a fourth flew direct to Australia.

The travel arrangements of the migrants, in terms of the divisions to which they were assigned, are shown in Table 2.

Table 2 Mode of travel by assisted families

Assigned to:	Travel by: sea	air	Total
Steelworks	20	20	40
Shipyards	6	12	18
Total	26	32	58

From Table 2 it can be seen that there is a slight preference in travelling by air with, overall, 55% choosing to travel that way. The difference in the proportions is solely attributable to the families coming to the Shipyards, where 67% preferred to fly - possibly because it afforded them a change from their 'professional' connection with the sea by virtue of working for the Shipyards.

3.3 Age distribution of the families

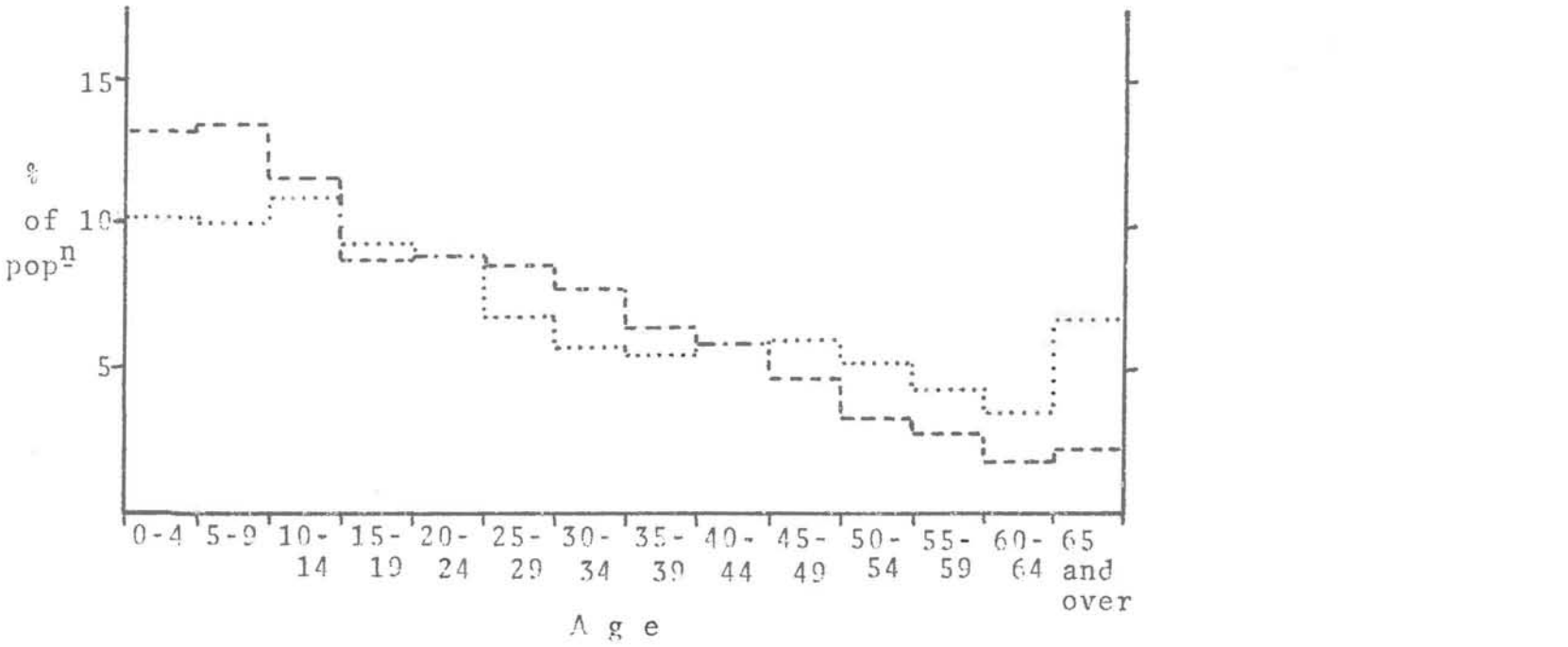
In one respect, there is a bias in this sample of families. It occurs in the age range for the families concerned. This bias is also reflected in the overall demographic data for Whyalla when compared with elsewhere. Figure 1 shows the age distribution for the population of Whyalla compared with a more typical population such as is found in Mount Gambier, the next largest (after Whyalla as the first) centre of population in South Australia outside the main metropolitan area in and around Adelaide.

In colloquial terms, this is a comparison between a 'new' town (Whyalla) and an old-established town (Mount Gambier). The overall impression is of a much younger population in Whyalla. Sarre (1973) makes the point that in Whyalla at the June 30, 1971 census, there were 4,242 children in the 5 - 9 age group (13.44% of the population there), compared with 2,755 children in the 15 - 19 age group (8.73% of the population there). The respective percentages for Mount Gambier are 10.11% and 9.49%.

Regarding the sample of families in the study; the

Figure 1 Comparisons of population proportions per age group in Whyalla and Mount Gambier*

*Data from "Divisional Statistics, South Australia", Comm. Bur. Census and Statistics, 1973.



distribution of the husbands' ages is shown in Figure 2, but full comparisons cannot be made as the wives' ages are unknown. Nevertheless, consideration of the families involved gives some approximate indications of where they fit into the age distribution. Of the 62 families, only one has married children. In this instance, the family came as a consequence of sponsorship by the married son, who had earlier come to Whyalla as a result of his own sponsorship by BHP. This puts the remaining 61 families in a somewhat arbitrarily defined 'middle' age group - that is, old enough to be married, yet not old enough to have married children. Thus it follows that the sample is also of an age where its own parental group is still alive.

In demographic terms, this family just mentioned represents the only net family increase in this 'previous' generation. (In this instance, the husband was 55 years old on arrival in Whyalla). One other family brought a father with them when they came; and in the case of a third family, the father was already living in Whyalla when they arrived.

Overall then, the 'middle' age echelon was supplemented by 61 families (122 people) and the 'upper' age group by one family and one parent (3 people). That this is the recognised pattern is reflected in the demographic data for Whyalla, as shown in Figure 1, where the percentage of the population in all age groups over the age of 44 is smaller for Whyalla than for Mount Gambier. In demographic terms, this older generation is what is missing in Whyalla.

Figure 2 Age distribution amongst husbands in the study

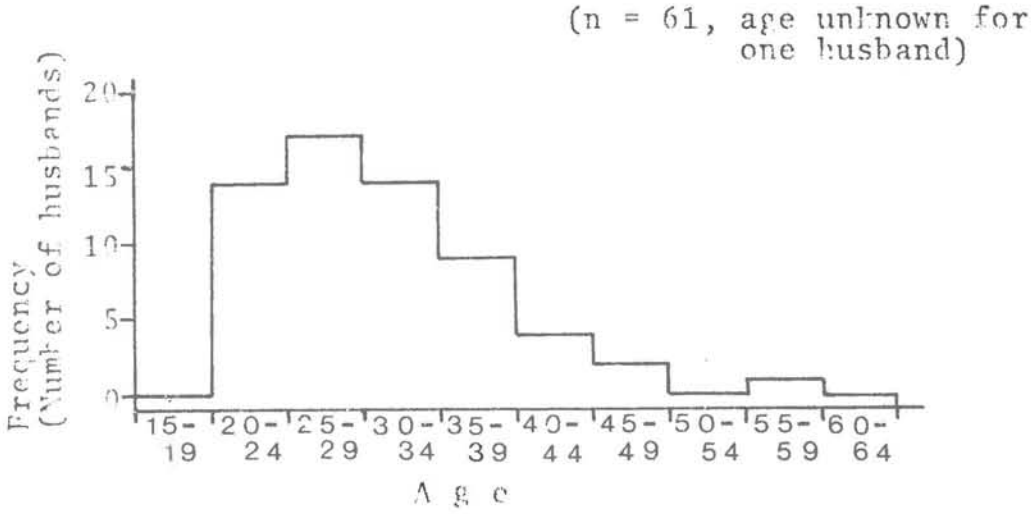
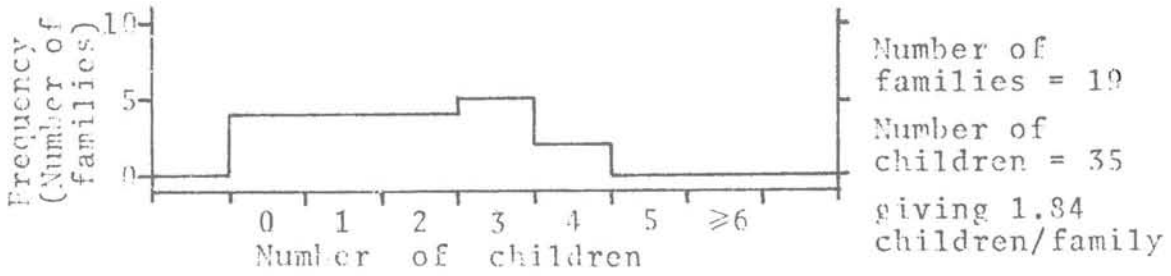
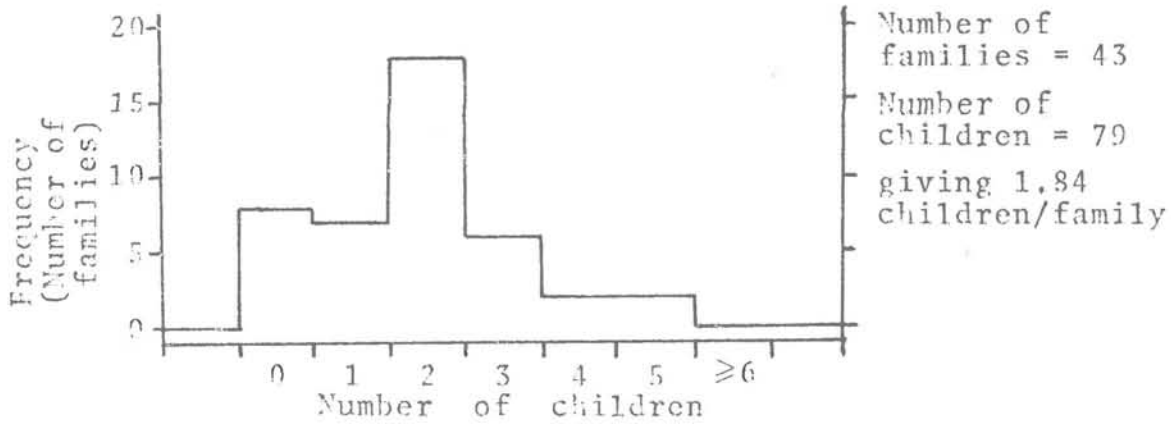


Figure 3 Numbers of children per family

(a) Shipyards



(b) Steelworks



3.4 Fecundity

At the other end of the scale, it is easier to get an accurate assessment of the distribution of the numbers of children in each family in the study. The distributions of family sizes for the Shipyards sample and for the Steelworks sample are shown in Figure 3. Each group has an average of 1.84 children per family. These data may be matched against the census data, shown in Figure 1, if all the children are classed as being less than 20 years of age. The subsequent comparisons are shown in Table 3. The significant feature of

Table 3 Percentage of the population less than 20 years of age

Source	Percentage
Mount Gambier*	40.73
Whyalla*	46.87
Migrant sample	47.70

* Data from *Divisional Statistics, South Australia, 1973* C'wealth Bur Census & Stats: Adelaide, 1973

Table 3 is the extent to which the sample data faithfully reflect the characteristics of the Whyalla data, and that both are noticeably at variance with the data for Mount Gambier. In this respect, the incoming migrant intake closely resembles the established age distribution in Whyalla, thereby helping to perpetuate the discrepancy between the age distribution in Whyalla, compared with elsewhere.

A measured comparison may also be made between these data and those of Appleyard (1964). Appleyard's data are from his own (1959) survey of 579 families emigrating from Britain to Australia, and compared with the Department of Immigration data for all British migrants over the period 1955 - 1960. These comparisons are shown in Table 4. The most noticeable

Table 4 Family size comparisons

Number of children	Sample data		Appleyard (1959) data*	British migrant data*
	n	%	%	%
0	12	19.36	23.3	25.5
1	11	17.74	21.1	22.6
2	22	35.48	26.3	27.4
3	11	17,74	18.1	14.7
4	4	6.45	7.3	6.5
5	2	3.23	2.6	2.3
6	-	-	1.4	1.1
Total	62	100	100	100

* Data from RT Appleyard (1964)

discrepancy lies between the data in the Whyalla sample when compared with the other two. At 37.10%, the Whyalla sample contains a smaller number of small families (families with less than two children) compared with 44.4% in Appleyard's study and 48.1% overall. One possible reason for this is that the circumstances offered at Whyalla to potential migrants are more important for larger families. That is, the security of

a guaranteed home and work is a premium requirement for larger families - a feature reflected in the comments of the families themselves when asked if they would have emigrated 'on spec' as most families do. Typical responses are: "That's all right if you haven't got responsibilities (ie children)".

Before embarking, the families also have it pointed out to them that there are few opportunities for the wives to work in Whyalla, so this in turn acts as an active deterrent to childless families. This might also serve to reduce the percentage of childless families in the Whyalla sample (19.36%), compared with Appleyard's sample (23.3%) and the overall figure of 25.5%.

In psychological terms, it can be said that Whyalla was attracting more 'conservative' families, though the prospect of uprooting a family and moving 19,000 km or so to an unknown country must also indicate some measure of risk-taking and adventurousness. If the assumption is made that family size and risk-taking are less related than is usually assumed, then it is possible to look and see if there are systematic differences in the behaviour of large versus small families *subsequent* to the arrival in Whyalla. Here, it is to be expected that the larger families would show greater conservatism by means of a lower incidence of mobility from the original 'base' of BHP and Whyalla. The details of such movements, either in leaving BHP and Whyalla, or in leaving BHP but staying in Whyalla are shown, related to the number of children in the family, in Table 5. Of the 17 families with more than two children, two (11.8%) left BHP, including one family who also left Whyalla. This family left after three

Table 5 Employee movements among sample families, according to family size*

	2 children	3 children	Total
Left BHP and left Whyalla	9 (20.00%)	1 (5.88%)	10
Left BHP but stayed in Whyalla	4 (8.89%)	1 (5.88%)	5
Total who left BHP	13 (28.89%)	2 (11.76%)	15
Total who stayed with BHP	32 (71.11%)	15 (88.24%)	47
Overall total	45 (100%)	17 (100%)	62

*These data were collated at the termination of the study, and so included families of differing duration in Australia. It has been assumed that there are no systematic duration differentials for different family sizes.

weeks and moved to stay with a sister in Elizabeth (on the outskirts of Adelaide). The other family, of four children, left BHP but remained in Whyalla.

On the other hand, of the 23 families with less than the modal family size of two children, six (26.1%) left BHP, including four who left Whyalla altogether. These data are shown in Figure 4. From Table 5 and Figure 4, it can be seen that there is greater itineracy among the smaller families - a feature which acts to compound the extent to which the proportion by which the younger population in Whyalla exceeds that of Mount Gambier and other longer established towns and cities.

The data so far have referred only to the children who

Figure 4 Size of family related to leaving BHP

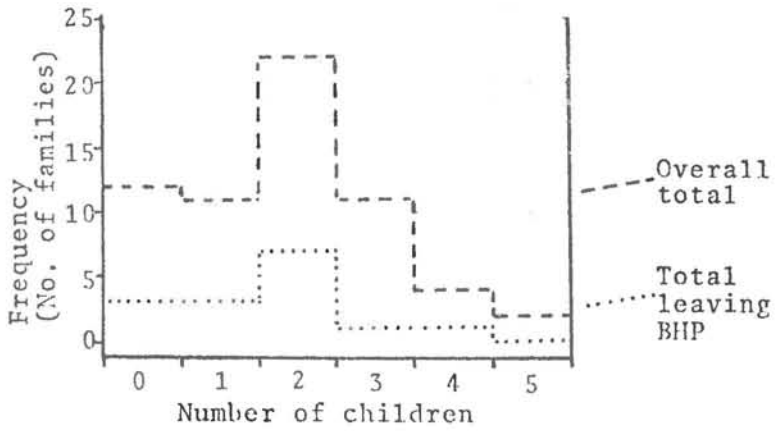
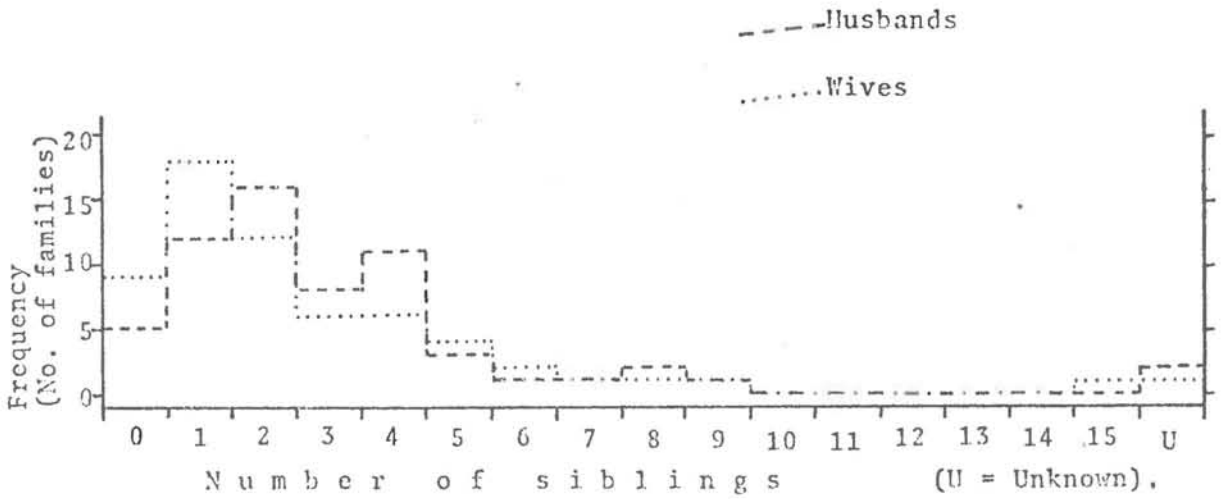


Figure 5 Sibling data



actually accompanied their parents at the time of migration. In addition to these, there is one instance where the children did not migrate. This is a case where the parents had separated and divorced, and the one in question subsequently remarried. This new partnership came to Australia, but three children from the parents' previous marriages opted to remain in Britain. Of these three, one child decided to remain on the grounds of her forthcoming marriage. Appleyard (1964) also found examples of cases where teenage children preferred to remain in the United Kingdom "particularly if they were engaged to be married". The Department of Immigration bar to sponsorship at the age of 45 does however tend to minimise the incidence of such families. This upper age limit also means that many families are still in the process of child-bearing, and so no analysis can be made of the distribution of *ultimate* family size.

3.5 Other relations ((a) siblings and (b) parents)

(a) Siblings

It follows from the last statement that in many cases the families are themselves children of families who have reached the end of child-bearing, and so it is possible to look at the sizes of the families from which they come. Again in a few instances their parents have remarried, with resultant step-siblings among the families in the study. Since in some cases the people concerned are reluctant to discuss these details, or may even be unaware of the true nature of them, the data given relate only to full-blood relationships. The number of

living siblings, for both the husbands and the wives included in the study, are shown in Figure 5. From the details, it can be seen that husbands come from roughly the same size families as do their wives. Husbands have an average of 2.87 siblings, and wives have an average of 2.54, for the respective 61 husbands or wives for whom the data are known.

(b) Parents

It also follows from what has been said so far that the people included in this sample are of an age group where it is possible for their own parents still to be alive. The extent to which the parents of the families were still alive at the time when the families arrived in Whyalla is shown in Table 6. (In this sense, parents are taken to be 'natural' parents, as opposed to those 'adopted' by the remarriage of one or other of the natural parents. There are, in addition, some instances where the parents have remarried when the study respondents were still quite young, so in some instances the psychological affinity may be weaker towards the natural parent than towards the adopted parent. If this is the case, it could partially confound the rationale that follows, and so conclusions drawn may not be strictly true or relevant. This will however only apply to a very small number of people, and since it was deemed beyond the scope of this immediate study to dwell sufficiently deeply into such background issues, the question of which parents the respondents considered more appropriate for their affinities was not pursued).

From Table 6 it can be seen that 36 (62.1%) of the husbands, out of the 58 for whom the answer is known, have both parents

Table 6 Parental data

		Husbands		Wives	
Steelworks (43 families)					
Parents:	Both alive	27		33	
	One alive	12		6	
	None alive	2		0	
	Unknown	2		4	
	Parents :-	Father	Mother	Father	Mother
	Alive	29	36	35	37
	Dead	12	5	4	3
	Unknown	2	2	4	3
Shipyards (19 families)					
Parents:	Both alive	9		10	
	One alive	6		2	
	None alive	2		6	
	Unknown	2		1	
	Parents :-	Father	Mother	Father	Mother
	Alive	12	13	10	13
	Dead	5	5	8	6
	Unknown	2	1	1	0

still living, and a further 18 (31.0%) have at least one parent living. Similarly, for the wives, 43 (75.4%), out of the 57 for whom the answer is known, have both parents living, and a further 8 (14.0%) have at least one parent living.

3.6 A comparative analysis with earlier migrants and their families

Putting together the various features of the families that have been mentioned in the preceding sections, it can be seen that the migrating 'unit' that forms the basis of this study is only one part of a complex group of family interrelationships. One of the most important questions to be answered concerns the effects caused by this partition within the family networks. What, for instance, are the consequences of the psychological stresses that arise through the separation, and how do they affect subsequent behaviour?

Carrying out such a study as this is necessarily rather one-sided in that the answers to such questions are only from the part of the family represented by the migrating nuclear unit. The opinions of the remainder of the extended family who stayed behind are a matter for conjecture. The attitudes and opinions can only be surmised, but some measure of the *behaviour* may be obtained from the consideration of movements of other members of the family. For instance, do migrants come from families with backgrounds of itineracy? The fairest answer to this question comes from a retrospective consideration of the families from whom the migrants have come - made preferably at a time when the families themselves are past the stage when such movements are made. Naturally this cannot be done in any conclusive sense with the families in this study, but it is possible to get some indication of the likely patterns by examining 'units' who came some years ago.

In the early 1920's, the Adelaide Stock and Journal ran a series of articles that were subsequently published under the

collective title of 'Pastoral Pioneers of South Australia'. In this context, Pioneers are defined as: "Those people who arrived in South Australia prior to December 28th, 1846, being the tenth anniversary of the proclamation of South Australia".

Where possible, these records were analysed to obtain data which could be construed as relevant to this present study. The results are shown in Table 7. From a total of 116 'units' upon which the analysis was made, 44 (37.9%) also had other siblings who came to South Australia. (In this example, the units concerned are either single or married men, and the data does not refer to the movements of any of the wives' siblings). Of the remaining 72 (62.1%) who were the sole representatives of their generation to come to South Australia, the figure also includes instances where the siblings migrated to other parts of Australia, or for that matter to other countries outside Australia. Deeper research into the biographical details would be necessary before precise results could be given, but as it stands the picture is one where, in the event of one member of the family migrating, there is a fair chance that other members will do the same. This gives the impression of what the ultimate picture *might* be like, but it remains to be seen what the final pattern will be for the families in this study.

Of the 101 Pioneer units for whom the answer is known, 47 were married when they came to South Australia. Of these 47, only 11 (23.4%) had other siblings who also came to South Australia. Ultimately, the data of Table 7 show that from these 101 units, only 29 (28.7%) - this figure including one of the widowers - came alone in the strictest sense of the

Table 7. Marital status and movements of other members of Pioneer Families

	Came alone	Siblings also came				Total
	72	44				116
		Came accompanied by:		other siblings came later		
		1 sibling	>1 sibling	1 sibling	>1 sibling	
Married	36	4	1	6	–	47
Widower	2	–	–	1	–	3
Single	28	3	2	12	6	51
Total	66	7	3	19	6	101
Unknown	6	2	–	4	3	15
Overall Total	72[1]	9[2]	3[3]	23[4]	9[5]	116

From: R. Cockburn: Pastoral Pioneers of South Australia, Vols I & II. Adelaide: Publishers Ltd. 1925.

Notes: (a) In nearly every case, movements of other members of the family refer to movements of the male candidates' relatives, since in the original volumes little or no account was taken of the wives. Thus it is not feasible to trace the movements of the wives' families, except in a few isolated instances.

(b) The data show the number of units for whom the information applies - eg. in the first line, 44 candidates had other siblings come to South Australia.

(c) [1] 72 includes: 1 instance where the candidate went first with his brother to their uncle in N.S.W., but only the candidate came to S.A.
1 instance of a candidate whose wife had two brothers who came earlier to S.A.
1 instance where the candidate went first with his parents and siblings to Tasmania, at the age of 13. He returned alone to the U.K. aged 20, then migrated alone to S.A.

[2] 9 includes: 2 instances where a further sibling arrived later.

[3] 3 includes: 1 instance where the third sibling was the wife of another candidate. Furthermore, the parents of these three siblings also came out later.

[4] 23 includes: 1 instance where candidate was living in Germany when his wife died, so he applied to come to S.A. as his brother was already in Tasmania. This brother then also came to S.A.
1 instance where the sibling was the wife of another candidate.

[5] 9 includes: 4 instances where two siblings came out together.

word. That is, most of the people who came were accompanied in one sense or another; they were either accompanied by spouses or siblings, and the relatively low incidence of both of these classes coming leads to the conclusion that in general these are mutually exclusive alternatives.

The data are better known for the present families, and the details for both husbands and wives are shown in Table 8. Data are available for 61 husbands and 61 wives. The 61 husbands include 11 (18.0%) who had relatives outside Britain, and of the 61 wives, 16 (26.2%) had relatives outside Britain. In other words, making the appropriate comparison between the two sets of data; amongst the married Pioneers, 23.4% of the families (effectively 23.4% of the husbands) had siblings who also came to South Australia, whereas for the migrant families 7 (11.5%) husbands have siblings in South Australia, and a further two have siblings elsewhere in Australia. (Here it should be remembered that for the Pioneers the *only* communications with other parts of Australia, including postal communications, were by sea - meaning that siblings in other parts of Australia were psychologically much more remote than is the case for the present families).

The comparisons show that the figure for the present migrant families is only about half of that for the Pioneer families. However, the Pioneer families show a 'final' picture whereas it is only an interim situation for the migrant families in the study.

Having other members of the family come to Australia is one means of overcoming the effects of family division; the alternative is for the migrating unit to return to Britain.

Table 8 Sibling movements amongst the migrant families

		Husband's family		Wife's family	
		No. of families	No. of siblings	No. of families	No. of siblings
Shipyards					
No siblings outside the UK		15	43	15	39
Some siblings outside the UK		4	19	3	22
Of these;	Sibs in UK		15		17
	Sibs in Aust.		2		4
	Sibs in Canada		2		1
Steelworks (skilled)					
No siblings outside the UK		29	71	23	46
Some siblings outside the UK		4	18	11	29
Of these;	Sibs in UK		12		16
	Sibs in Aust.		6		9
	Sibs in Canada				1
	Sibs in NZ				1
	Sibs in USA				1
	Sibs in Japan				1
Steelworks (unskilled)					
No siblings outside the UK		6	9	7	12
Some siblings outside the UK		3	15	2	7
Of these;	Sibs in UK		10		1
	Sibs in Aust.		4		6
	Sibs in Libya		1		
	Total	61	175	61	155

Both methods are rather more complex than they would seem, and are final in their outcomes. Other alternatives that are possible include making return visits to Britain. Looking at the extremes, a migrant unit can make a once-and-for-all return trip back to Britain, or the unit, or part of the unit, can develop a regular commutation between the two countries. As is to be expected, there are a whole range of options within these limits. The records for the Pastoral Pioneers suggest that this diversity is in fact reflected by their behaviour. One consequence of this is that it becomes virtually meaningless to examine a parenthetical question concerning 'returning' migrants. It can only be examined in terms of arbitrary criteria that are specified as a reference frame. One such criterion is to look at where the migrants died; did they die in South Australia, elsewhere in Australia, in the United Kingdom, or in some other part of the world? Even in asking this, one is overlooking the question of whether the person concerned died where he did from choice, or by force of circumstance. For example, one Pioneer was so disgusted by what he found here that he went to Adelaide to resign his appointment and return to Britain a few days after he arrived. En route to Adelaide he became ill and died, leaving a wife and four children, the eldest of whom was 13, on Kangaroo Island. In this instance, he is recorded as dying in South Australia, but it also means that his wife and family had no alternative but to stay in South Australia, at least until such time as they had accumulated sufficient capital to pay their way back. By contrast, there is also an example of a man paying a brief visit to Britain, leaving his wife in South Australia, and dying while in Britain. In other words,

the candidate died in Britain, but his intention, for want of a better word, had been to die in South Australia.

The full details of where the Pastoral Pioneers died are shown in Table 9. From Table 9 it can be seen that, for the

Table 9 Showing where the Pioneers died

	Died in S Aust	Died elsewhere in Aust	Died outside S Aust*	Died in another country	Total
Total	111	3	29	1	144
of which at least the following visited Britain at least once+	25 (22.5%)	1 (33.3%)	13 (44.8%)	-	39 (27.1%)

Data from R Cockburn (op cit)

* The majority of those who are shown as dying outside South Australia almost certainly died in Britain

\+ The figures in this row represent the *minimum* numbers, since in the original text it is not necessarily mentioned if the candidate made a return trip to Britain.

144 candidates for whom the data are shown, at least 39 (27.1%) made at least one visit back to the United Kingdom. In the case of the candidates who died outside South Australia (and this generally means in Britain), 13 of the 39 (44.8%) also visited Britain *in addition* to their return trip. As on previous occasions, these figures do not take into account the wives' movements, but it is not unknown for the wife to return alone to Britain, upon the demise of her husband. Overall then, there is a picture of at least a quarter of the husbands making a return visit (as opposed to a return trip) to Britain.

Of the 29 candidates who ultimately died outside South Australia, one made a total of 10 visits to South Australia, while at the other end of the scale, one candidate, who accompanied his brother to South Australia, took one look at the mangrove swamps in the Port River and went straight back to Britain. This behaviour is mirrored in the one migrant family in this study who took one look at Whyalla and decided to go back to Britain, even though such a move meant paying the return air fares for the family (of two parents and one child).

While the Pioneer data includes such an instance, it also contains the contrasting case of the candidate who was so satisfied with what he saw that he went straight back to Britain to settle up his affairs, before returning to settle permanently in South Australia.

Not only did the Pioneers make varying numbers of visits back, but the visits themselves also varied in duration. One can only surmise that in some cases the visits were genuine holidays, whereas in other instances, sufficient capital was available in the first place to make only the trip back. Once in Britain, it became necessary to accumulate funds again in order to come back to South Australia. This is certainly true of families to-day. In these cases, the second trip to South Australia arises from such alternatives as the United Kingdom being not quite as good as the candidate thought it was, ranging to the visit being made because of some family crisis, but in the full knowledge that the family would come back to South Australia if it could raise sufficient funds in Britain. In pure commercial terms, the crisis can be the impending death of a close relative, coupled with the expectation of a

sufficient inheritance to pay for the trip back to South Australia.

Whatever the attendant circumstances, and irrespective of whether the candidate goes back to Britain or other relatives come to South Australia, the family reunion must go some way towards alleviating the psychological tension caused by the original partition in the family. The significance of this may be deduced from the finding of only one instance among the Pioneer data where the only overseas trip from South Australia by the candidate did not include a visit to Britain.

The implication has been made that the psychological ties determining a return trip must necessarily be familial. This may not be the case; it could also be that the affinities are situational. The migrant families in this study were just as likely to bemoan the loss of places they liked to visit, or of things they liked to do, as to mention the stress brought about by the absence of relatives.

4 INTRODUCING WHYALLA

4.1 Introduction
4.2 Comparative effects of the different modes of travel to Australia
4.3 In Adelaide
4.2 Travelling to Whyalla
4.5 Milpara
4.6 Moving into the new home
4.7 Aspects of Whyalla

4.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to go through the steps leading to the arrival in Whyalla, together with a description of Whyalla itself. This latter is not meant to be an encyclopaedic resume of Whyalla, but rather a means of highlighting those features that have the greatest impact on the new arrivals. Thus for example a great deal of attention is given to the BHP hostel in Whyalla, but very little to the history of the City.

4.2 Comparative effects of the different modes of travel to Australia

As was mentioned in the previous chapter, the migrant families travelled to Australia either by sea or by air. The mode of travel was in effect one of the first major decisions the families had to make, once they had confirmed that they

wished to come to Australia. The decision, in retrospect, appears to have been largely one of to travel, or not to travel, by sea. In other words, the *decision* referred to sea travel, rather than a straight choice between the two. Thus if the choice was against travel by sea, then flying obtained by default rather than design. Ultimately, the choice becomes one of the desire for a sea-voyage holiday versus whether the family can afford some six weeks or so without income. As some of the families remarked: "It would have been better if we had been paid from the time we left England". In the end, it appeared that neither mode really measured up to expectations.

The reason why the mode of travel is receiving this attention is because of the differential *consequences* afforded, especially as it is quite certain that these consequences were not anticipated by the families when they made their decisions about which way they would travel.

For air travellers; they either came westwards, with an initial touch-down in Sydney, or eastwards calling first at Darwin, then on to Sydney or Melbourne. With few exceptions, they then travelled on to Adelaide on the next available flight. Since they had been travelling more or less continuously for the preceding 24 hours, with the attendant time distortion, they were in no fit state to appreciate their Australian surroundings when they first arrived. All this means that when they eventually arrived in Whyalla, they had only experienced one other Australian city, namely Adelaide.

Passengers by sea have a very different type of experience. One alternative destination for intending British migrants is

South Africa, and since this study relates to migrants who are coming to Australia, it is reasonable to assume that, for those people for whom South Africa had been considered, they had taken the decision to go to Australia instead. This being the case, they are still left with a latent curiosity as to what it is like in South Africa. Travelling to Australia by sea provides them with the additional opportunity to visit at least one of the major cities there.

In addition, Fremantle is always the first port of call in Australia, and this generally means the opportunity for a quick visit to Perth. Then although Adelaide is an international port, few of the ships call there, so most of the Whyalla migrants disembarked at Melbourne. From there they travelled back to Adelaide by the 'Overland' overnight train. For some this meant a day-long stay in Melbourne, with the possibility of a tour of the City by the Commonwealth Department of Immigration.

Thus, sea travellers had a threefold advantage over air travellers: they had the opportunity to compare Australia with South Africa; they saw at least two other Australian capitals, Perth and Melbourne; and thirdly, the sedateness of their travel was such that they visited each of these places sufficiently free from exhaustion to be able to view them critically. In summary, they benefitted from a much greater set of *comparative* experiences than did their fellow travellers who came by air. Sea travellers also had opportunities to meet Immigration officials on the ship, who gave them details of alternative locations in Australia, *at a time when they were spacially and mentally oriented* to

thinking seriously about their future lives in Australia. This propaganda allows for a situation where, if BHP does not measure up to the migrants' expectations, they are able to follow up one of the alternatives suggested by the Immigration officials, leading ultimately to working for a non-BHP organisation. This represents a direct loss to BHP, in terms of its planned manpower. It also represents an indirect loss in the respect that BHP has carried all the costs of the initial interviewing and vetting of the candidates. A related consequence of this is that the alternative employer also knows that the candidate has met all BHP's requirements, in terms of reliability, trade qualifications, and so forth. Hence the candidate represents a lowered 'risk' to the new employer.

From the point of view of the Commonwealth of Australia, the country stands to gain whatever the outcome. In fact, one of the contentions of this project is that the family who has made such a move represents a lowered risk in terms of overall dissatisfaction with Australia.

This 'alternative location' strategy was used by at least one of the families in the study. The family arrived at Whyalla and, on the third working day, the husband was laid off, as a consequence of a strike at the Shipyards. (BHP is a primarily unionised organisation, but it takes a while for a newcomer to the country to join a union). Thus a newcomer who is a strong union man may still, under the circumstances, find himself in a position where everyone else is on strike, but that he, at that stage a non-union man, stays on the job. Furthermore, since one man on his own, especially a newcomer, cannot do much, he finds himself laid off. In this specific

instance, the strike was a protracted one, and the person concerned found he "could not afford to be out of work, especially after six weeks without pay", prior to arriving in Australia.

Such issues represent a marked though unanticipated differentiation according to the initial mode of travel.

4.3 In Adelaide

Once the families have reached Adelaide, the South Australian State Government Migrant hostel represents the point of convergence for the two alternative modes of travel to Australia. All other things being equal, all the families in this study would have passed through this hostel at Woodville, one of the suburbs of Adelaide. However, since the study transcended a change in the Federal Government, with the associated vacillations on policy towards direct recruitment of personnel from overseas (for details, see Section 2.3 in the previous chapter), some of the families were accommodated instead at the semi-Federal Government hostel at Pennington, another of the Adelaide suburbs. This also meant that they received visits by the Department of Labour officials, and representatives of various South Australian organisations and interests. In other words, they were treated just like any other migrant family who had arrived in Adelaide without definite employment prospects. As these families had all gone through the BHP mill in Britain, they were actively shielded from these alternative overtures. Although in theory they received the same sort of propaganda as was mentioned earlier

specifically for ship travellers, on this occasion the approaches were considerably more fragmented, and presumably correspondingly less effective.

The families remain in the Adelaide hostel for a couple of days while they go through the necessary immigration formalities, such as a chest X-ray, getting the husband's trade qualifications ratified, and then registration as a tradesman in South Australia, et cetera.

Depending on the day of the week they arrive, they also have a certain amount of 'free' time, when they are left to their own devices. This time is primarily occupied by looking at the shops in Adelaide and, very much as a secondary consideration, exploring Adelaide's recreational activities. At the same time, the families are also making a largely subconscious assessment of the comparative differences between Adelaide and wherever they came from in Britain. Invariably, the weather is an important parameter of their new experience, since it rarely matches what they had anticipated. A general expectational framework is that Australia will be warmer than Britain (it must be remembered here that the Federal Government has for years projected an image of Australia as being a country where the population are beautifully sun-tanned, and spend all day lazing around on beaches). Thus, a family arriving on a wet day (Adelaide averages 121 days, and Whyalla 65 days, of rain per annum) or an overcast day (Adelaide averages only 85.8 clear days - ie with less than two-eighths cloud - per annum), experiences weather that was "not expected". They also do not expect to find it cold in autumn, and they find the diurnal range of temperature in the equinoctial seasons are greater than they had previously

experienced. The main climatic shock occurs to the families who arrive in summer when it is hot. For many families, a temperature over 35°C is greater than anything they have previously experienced. Summer warmth is a pleasurable concept for most British people, and so increasing warmth equates to an increasing satisfaction. Thus, high temperatures represent a point further along the dimension, to be pleasurably anticipated. They have no concept of an interdimensional shift, such as most local people associate with the high temperatures - a move from extreme pleasure to distinct discomfort. Overall then, the weather has the biggest impact on the new arrivals, being either at best a disappointment or at the worst an unpleasant new experience.

While the weather represents one key parameter, the 'home economics' position represents another. For most wives, these costs are a source of apprehension, since it is almost certain that it will be their job to make sure that ends meet. Thus visiting the shops is extremely important, and is granted the largest proportion of their time during the stay in Adelaide. In many instances, they are able to make direct cost comparisons, since they can buy exactly the same articles here as they could in Britain, especially in such basic commodities as milk, bread, breakfast cereals, washing powders, and so forth. Many of the lines have exactly the same brand names in each country. Taken as a whole, the results of the comparisons range from favourable through to unfavourable. The range is such that it creates a situation where, at this initial stage, a balanced assessment is readily submerged beneath the cognitive set the person holds on arrival. That is, the comparisons realise either what was expected, or where

they were not expected, they are logical. Thus, items such as refrigerators and cars are more expensive than was anticipated, but they are also much larger, and so the extra cost becomes a 'logical' extra. In other words, it is not seen as being an unanticipated absolute extra. It is a relative one, and the fact of extra expense in an absolute sense therefore does not arise.

In another respect, the availability of the same items here is viewed as a paradox. So many things are different that finding identical items becomes in itself at variance with this 'difference' cognitive set.

4.4 Travelling to Whyalla

At the commencement of the study, it was possible to travel from Adelaide to Whyalla by road or by air (there are no sea services between the two; such a link would involve a rather roundabout link, although it is possible). During the study a new spur was completed to link Whyalla with the Commonwealth Railways standard gauge network. From then onwards, it was also possible to travel from Adelaide to Whyalla by rail, although different gauges necessitate a change at Port Pirie. Three of the non-assisted migrant families in the study travelled on this route to Whyalla, whereas all the assisted migrant families travelled by bus.

Luchins (1942) referred to the perseveration of habitual sets derived from prior experience with similar problems as *Einstellungen*. The three non-assisted migrant families showed such an einstellung effect in electing to travel to Whyalla by

rail. Given the distance to be travelled from Adelaide to Whyalla (397 km), most people requiring to travel that distance in Britain would elect to travel by rail, and few would travel by bus, whereas between Adelaide and Whyalla the reverse is true.

Travelling by bus or train to Whyalla, the families come gradually upon the scene that is scheduled to be the background to their new life. Once north of Port Pirie (225 km from Adelaide) and the Goyder Line[1] the scenery changes from fields of grain and pastures to bush country, although the foothills of the Flinders Ranges, two kilometres or so off to the right of the route, are used for market gardening. After passing through Port Germein (243 km north of Adelaide) the bus passes through 68 km of mainly scrub country until it arrives at Port Augusta. Nock (1971) described the route in a chapter on the Transcontinental Railway:

> In the foreground the ground was covered with a very dwarfed scrub and this was a prelude to seeing hundreds of miles of it, and nothing else... ...so we came into Port Augusta; it had the appearance of a wooden 'shack' town and the sight of an occasional aborigine on the platform fully confirmed the impression that we were now really heading into the 'outback'.

Bus passengers used to enter Port Augusta by travelling along Stirling Road, past rows of rusty iron roofs and fences,

[1] A broad division of vegetation types in South Australia is formed by Goyder's Line, which represents approximately the 25 cm annual isohyet. To the north of the line, in the Eremaean Province, lies about 80% of the State, experiencing arid to desert conditions where short, erratic growing seasons prevail.

and past the signpost to the 'Royal Flying Doctor Service' (see Plate 1), and thence into Commercial Road, the main street where the shops have their verandahs reaching to the edge of the pavement (see Plates 2 and 3). Undoubtedly these scenes, plus an occasional Aborigine, have a profound effect on the new arrivals.

The general impression is that Adelaide is 'different' (from Britain) but contains sufficient familiar features to be acceptable. By Port Augusta, the whole scene has undergone a considerable change, and its main importance is the way in which it establishes a cognitive 'set' towards what Whyalla is going to be like. For many of the families, Port Augusta represents the crystallisation of the forebodings that have been gathering momentum since they first arrived in Australia. This is the point at which the first 'escape' decision is made. At this juncture, the accumulated evidence is weighed up and the decision to stay or not to stay is made. If the answer is negative, then the future evidence has to be exceptional if the decision is to be reversed.

After staying in Port Augusta long enough for refreshments, the bus sets out on the last 76 km of the journey to Whyalla. The unbroken salt-bush and mallee country allows plenty of time for reflection. The bus itself exemplifies the contrasts with its up-to-date air-conditioning and 'roo-bar' across the front. Both bus and scenery can be seen in Plate 4, and Plate 5 shows the first views of Whyalla's heavy industrial complex against a foreground of salt-bush scrub.

The first houses to be seen in Whyalla have iron roofs and fences, and tend to confirm the preconceptions formed in Port

Plate 1 Entering Port Augusta

Stirling Road, Port Augusta
Showing rusty iron roofs and fences on the right;
'Royal Flying Doctor Service' sign in the foreground
and 'Opals for sale' on the left

Plates 2 and 3 - Commercial Road, Port Augusta

Plate 2 Looking east
Showing the Post Office, the Town Hall, Woolworths, and an impressive array of stobie poles

Plate 3 Looking west
Showing balconies and shop verandahs out to the edge of the pavement

Plates 4 and 5 - Taken from a spot 8 km short of Whyalla

Plate 4 The air-conditioned 'Stateliner' bus, fitted with a 'roo-bar', against a background of salt-bush and mallee scrub. Also to be seen is the pipeline bringing water from Morgan (359 km away, on the River Murray) to Whyalla

Plate 5 BHP Steelworks and Shipyards in the distance. The first view of Whyalla

Augusta. (The first houses are shown in Plate 6). Any doubts are put to rest with the sight of the Hotel Whyalla (Plate 7) with its typical Australian-style of full-width verandahs over the street. "All it needs is for John Wayne to come out of the bar, then you'd *know* you were 'out west'".

Here the families leave the bus and are met by a BHP official who takes them to the BHP hostel 'Milpara', which will act as their first 'home' in Whyalla.

4.5 Milpara

One of the inducements for the families to come to BHP at Whyalla is the offer of a house. In this instance, the house is a South Australian Housing Trust unit (one of a pair of semi-detached single-storey houses). The system is that the families go on a waiting-list for house allocation. However, migrants recruited from overseas to work for BHP go on the list as soon as it is confirmed that they are coming to Whyalla. At the time of the study, the length of time on the list was about six months, but as the immigration process took longer than this amount of time, the families were effectively at the top of the list when they arrived. Consequently, since the Trust always allocates houses on a Friday, the families would get their houses on about the second or third Friday after they arrived. In effect, they stayed in the hostel for about ten days. This feature in itself was a source of constant strain between the migrant families and Australian families. An Australian family coming to work for BHP could only get onto the housing list *after* they had arrived in South

Plate 6 The first houses in Whyalla (note the iron roofs and fences)

Plate 7 Hotel Whyalla

A typical Australian hotel, with verandahs to the edge of the pavement. "All it needs is for John Wayne to come out of the bar, then you'd *know* you were 'out West'!"

Australia, so a family coming from Tasmania for instance would go on the list as soon as they arrived at the hostel, and would then wait six months to be allocated a house. Meanwhile, they would see a succession of migrant families arriving from overseas and getting houses after a relatively short stay in the hostel. Since living conditions in the hostel were none too pleasant, this gave rise to latent and occasionally open hostility towards the migrant families.

Many of the migrant families anticipated that the stay in the hostel would be an opportunity for relaxation and recovery after their long journey. Instead, they found themselves in iron buildings rated by many of the menfolk as worse than anything they had encountered in the army. (See Plates 8-12).

The Stage II interview was scheduled at four weeks after arrival in Whyalla, and such were the feelings about the hostel that it featured as the main topic of conversation at the interview. The overall impression of Milpara was decidedly unfavourable, though views expressed by different families were inconsistent. For some; "The meals were uneatable", but for others they were "alright"; the rooms and bedding were "filthy' for some and "clean but uncomfortable" for others. In summer, the iron construction undoubtedly caused them to be uncomfortably hot.

All in all, it seems fair to conclude that nobody really liked Milpara and the syndrome had to find expression in some tangible form. Hence the dislike would be focused on a specific aspect of the life there, and the associated disadvantages magnified beyond their true level. No doubt the boredom and frustration experienced by the wives who were

Plates 8 - 12 Milpara Hostel

Plate 8 A block of four accommodation units

Plate 9 A 'single' accommodation unit

Plate 10 The Men's Toilet Block - "So far away, you've done it by the time you get there".

Plate 11 The Men's Washroom and Showers

Plate 12 The Dining Room and its rainwater tank - a necessity because of "the vile taste of the Murray River water" in the taps

largely left to their own devices at this stage also helped to exacerbate their feelings. The husbands were less affected as they were preoccupied with the business of induction into the new job.

Visual impressions of the hostel as it was for the migrants may be gained from Plates 8-12. Milpara was closed in November 1975. In a way it was a definite loss, in spite of the universal dislike. The rationale for this is as follows:- When a migrant family is due in Whyalla, their arrival and where they have come from often appears in the local press, and on the local radio and television networks. Anyone in Whyalla hearing this information knows that the family will go to Milpara and many, prompted by their own never-to-be-forgotten experiences there, go to welcome the new families. In this way, it is rare for a family to arrive and not find anyone come to meet them, show them around, give them a meal, and generally familiarise them with Whyalla.

This is an essentially informal system and it goes a long way towards assisting the newcomers to settle into their new environment, and much of its success stems from its informality. By contrast, the Commonwealth Government-aided Good Neighbour Council did little for the new families. Of the 62 families in the study, only four were visited by representatives of the Good Neighbour Council, and of these one was visited for the first time just less than six months after their arrival in Whyalla. This may be because the Council gives priority to welcoming non-English-speaking families who undoubtedly have much greater problems, but from the evidence, it is certain that very little is done for the

British families. In fact, some of the citizens have organised themselves into a small band of 'unofficial' Good Neighbour Council representatives, making it their duty to welcome as many newcomers as possible.

There seems little doubt that the prevailing circumstances in Milpara did much to stimulate the Whyalla residents towards taking their own initiative in welcoming newcomers. Closing Milpara means that future families will be accommodated either in the BHP-owned cottages - in effect fully furnished rental accommodation - or in local motels. Thus the closure will have a paradoxical effect in that the new families will be left much more to their own devices, and so have a correspondingly harder time of establishing themselves.

4.6 Moving into the new home

Once it has been allocated, the family has to move into the South Australian Housing Trust home. The local office of the Trust sticks rigidly to the rule of first come, first served, both for houses and prospective tenants. If new houses are available, it means that migrants arriving together in Whyalla and getting to know one another in the hostel are likely to be assigned neighbouring houses. Thus they have the advantage of not moving into a completely strange neighbourhood. On the other hand, if new houses are not available, they can find themselves in a position where they know nobody in the vicinity. Quite often, the only news two concurrently arrived families had of one another was via the interviewer, because direct reacquaintance was only possible when one or other family had bought a car.

The inflexibility shown by the Housing Trust in its allocation programme is a justifiable cause for complaint, and very little would be lost by allowing the families concerned to exercise a little choice over their future homes. Pickett and Boulton (1974) make the point that the important factor is: "Whether the person involved *feels* (their italics) that he has exercised choice rather than whether or not he has actually done so". (Their work was based on the resettlement of former Liverpool Council tenants into new homes in the 'New Town' of Kirkby).

Newcomers are often more than willing to take over some of the outgoing tenant's fixtures and fittings, but this is rarely permitted or encouraged. One of the most disliked features of the older style Trust houses is the slow combustion stove in the main room, with its ugly and obtrusive chimney. Many tenants remove the stove, plastering over the hole in the ceiling where the chimney passes through, and retiling the hole in the roof. When they leave, they assiduously replace it as it was, only for the new tenant to repeat the removal process. The tenancy regulations also become quite farcical in the extent to which the outgoing tenant has to restore the garden to its original state when leaving.

One of the least endearing features of the Housing Trust estates is the way in which neighbours pillage the garden when tenants leave. The generalised free-for-all that takes place leaves the newcomer with a devastated property, together with neighbours only too willing to relate what the property used to look like. At least with a new home the family has the

compensation of an excess water allowance for the first twelve months to assist them in establishing the garden. On the other hand, some of the older houses have passed the criterion point where the trees are obviously too large, and the neighbouring gardens sufficiently well-established to eliminate the need for taking the various plants and shrubs when a house becomes empty. In this respect, it is quite extraordinary how much difference is achieved in the 'look' of a neighbourhood once it contains large established trees. This comparison may be seen in Plates 13-16, which show Housing Trust double units of different ages and styles. These are the types of houses that were allocated to the families in this study. The Housing Trust policy is that double units are available only for rental, but in addition to these, the Trust also builds single units, and these may be purchased. Under some circumstances it is possible to transfer from renting a double unit to renting a single unit, but usually only after a prescribed period of time. Furthermore, a tenant renting a single unit may also be permitted to make arrangements for purchasing the house in which he is living. Plates 17-20 show the types of houses that are purchased by incoming families. The Trust policy is to use a range of standard designs for single units and these are intermixed to give a variety of styles in any one street (as is shown for example in Plate 18). The large private, Jennings Industries Ltd, operates in Whyalla in a similar way.

With the Jennings' houses, a range of designs is available and the buyer selects his block of land, and then the house he choses is built there. In contrast, the prospective purchaser

Plates 13-16 South Australian Housing Trust Double Units

Plate 13 Established Double Units in Howard Street, with established trees and fenced front gardens

Plate 14 Four-bedroomed Double Units in Richards Street (Note the air-conditioner fitted in the unit on the left)

Plate 15 A general view of Heurich Terrace, showing how the Trust breaks the monotony by mixing the styles and brickwork

Plate 16 A closer view of units in Gilfillan Street. The newer units share open-plan frontages

Plates 17-18 South Australian Housing Trust Single Units

Plate 17 'Weatherboard' Single Units in Eyre Avenue

Plate 18 Mixed styles of Single Units, and a forest of stobie poles carrying the mains electricity to the houses, in McDouall Stuart Avenue

Plates 19-20 Private housing in Whyalla

Plate 19 1930's style houses, hidden among the trees in Hockey Street

Plate 20 New houses on the AV Jennings Estate

of a Housing Trust house selects the design he likes, and the Trust tell him where one is being built. The difference between the two is in the decision regarding which house will be built on a particular block - with the Housing Trust it is their decision, but with the private developer the decision is made by the customer.

4.7 Aspects of Whyalla

Whyalla was the subject of a special article in the 1975 South Australian Year Book (Aitchison, 1975). It is a comprehensive appraisal, and so the full details will not be repeated here. Many of the succeeding facts are taken from the article, but this present selection includes only those that are directly relevant to this project. For a more general picture, reference should be made to Aitchison (1975).

'Whyalla is 225 km (just over 140 miles) north west by north by air from Adelaide and was established at the beginning of the twentieth century as a port to ship iron ore extracted from the Middleback Ranges" (Aitchison, 1975). This shows where Whyalla is and the basic reason why it exists, but gives no real indication of its remoteness. Some indication of this may be obtained from Table 10, which shows the urban centres within 400 miles (640 km) of Whyalla - that is, the approximate distance from London to Edinburgh or Glasgow. From Table 10, it can be seen that the only large centre within this radius is the State capital Adelaide, 397 km from Whyalla by road. Adelaide, with a population of 840,000 is

Table 10 Urban centres within a 400 miles (640 km) radius by road from Whyalla

Road mileage from Whyalla	Population							
	5,000-9,999	10,000-14,999	15,000-19,999	20,000-24,999	25,000-29,999	30,000-34,999	Over 35,000	Total
0 - 49		1				Whyalla		2
50 - 99								-
100 - 149		1						1
150 - 199	1							1
200 - 249	1						Adelaide 840,000	2
250 - 299	3							3
300 - 349	2					1		3
350 - 399		1						1
Total	7	3	-	-	-	2	1	13

the main centre, but apart from this, only Broken Hill, with a population of 30,000 and over 300 miles (480 km) away, has a population greater than 15,000 people (compared with 33,000 in Whyalla). In effect, there is only one large city and one market town within this London-Glasgow distance from Whyalla.

All the intending migrants were told how far away Whyalla was from Adelaide before they committed themselves to come to Australia, thus the objective distance was known to them. However, the conceptual remoteness is quite incomprehensible and unexpected. For people whose conception of geographical space emanates from rolling English countryside coupled with occasional wilderness areas such as in the Lake District or the northern parts of Scotland, it comes as a shock to find the slightly undulating roadway to Whyalla with its cultivated areas giving way to the uncleared salt-bush and mallee scrub that surround Whyalla, especially as the last 76 km is traversed without a single town or village.

It is on the journey to Whyalla that this remoteness becomes a conceptual reality. From a distance in Britain, it is easy to say that if one does not like Whyalla, one can move elsewhere in Australia, but it is quite another thing to find that if you want to move you have to go so far. Contrast this with the situation of the Lancashire New Town of Skelmersdale: in 1966 over 80% of the new residents worked in the town, of whom nearly half had moved on account of the employment availability there (compared with 20% moving for work reasons in the country generally). The difference in the scale comes from the report that: "The great majority moved *at least ten miles*". This reference by Pickett and Boulton (1974) on the

Skelmersdale Development Corporation's 1967 Population and Social Survey shows the size scale conceptualisation of the researchers, let alone the population, and probably reflects quite accurately the framework exercised by British migrants coming to Whyalla, before they left Britain. In other words, the physical difficulties associated with the isolation of Whyalla do not exist at a cognitive level although the geographical distance is known.

From the wives' point of view, these problems take the form of a lack of variety of available goods in the shops (a necessary feature of any small town or city) but particularly irksome because no alternative sources exist nearby. The alternative of ordering from Adelaide incurs lengthy delays and if the goods arriving are not exactly as ordered the customers find themselves under great pressure (in the form of cash discounts) to accept the substitutes. The situation is much more difficult for the husbands since changing jobs virtually means moving *at least* the 397 km to Adelaide. For the children it means no opportunity for a 'night out' other than in Whyalla.

(a) Climate

Aitchison (1975) deals with Whyalla's climate: "With an average rainfall of 264 mm and a mean maximum daily temperature of 22.9°C the climate of Whyalla may be described as hot and dry. In addition, during the period from November to March, at least 20 days with a maximum in excess of 37.5°C (99.5°F) can be expected". These temperatures greatly exceed what is normal in Britain, where the *maximum* temperature ever recorded was 38.0°C (100.5°F) at Tonbridge, Kent in 1868. In

conceptual terms this merely equates to a higher point on a 'warmer summer weather' gauge. In reality, associated as it often is with hot northerly winds it represents more of a shift to a new dimension of heat that may be the aspiration of the British holidaymaker visiting the Costa Brava, but does not accord with the British housewife doing her daily chores about the house, or pushing the pram to the local shops. In fact, in common with many Australians, they find the hot weather decidedly unpleasant.

The occurrence of this hot weather also coincides with the time when the northern hemisphere is experiencing its winter, leading to comparisons being made between the migrants and their families in Britain. One wife, who comes from near Leeds and finds the hot weather particularly exhausting, wrote home trying to say just how hot it really was. She got letters back saying how cold it was in Leeds and how they would love some of her warm weather. She had failed in her attempt to convey the impression of the heat so she "laid it on thick" in reply, saying how it was "like walking out into an oven". But it made no difference, for she still had a letter in return saying how cold it was and how "We'd love some of your heat". In her words; "If you've never experienced it, you can't understand what this (Whyalla) sort of heat can be like. If you're cold, you can always get warm somehow - sitting in front of the fire, wrapped up in a coat with thick boots on and a hot-water bottle up your jumper, but if you're too hot, there's nothing you can do about it".

(b) Transport

Turning now to the question of transport; one effect of

Whyalla's location is that virtually all the transport systems linking it with other parts of South Australia are based in Adelaide. The principal passenger systems are a regular air-conditioned bus service, covering the distance to Adelaide in six hours, including stops for meals. Air links with the rest of Australia are all via Adelaide, on a service geared mainly to the requirements of the BHP expense-account staff. Thirdly, since October 1972, there has been a rail link with Port Augusta, and from there to Adelaide. For the time being, the Whyalla end of the line terminates adjacent to the abbatoirs and the BHP Steelworks, about 11 km from the centre of the residential area where the migrants went to live. Aitchison (1975) says that; "In future this railway will probably be extended to Whyalla South" (ie to the residential areas). Until this happens, freight will be the principal traffic with the passenger service now languishing to such an extent that its continuance is very much in doubt.

Within Whyalla, transport is provided by buses, taxi-cabs and private cars. The bus service is poor, with no Sunday services whatsoever. The service after 5.00 pm for the remainder of the week is shown in Table 11. There are *only nine* buses after 5.00 pm, and *only three* after 6.00 pm, for a population of over 33,000 people. In October 1974, the Whyalla City Council took over the running of the bus service.

The need for a more adequate public transport system can be determined from the extent of the taxi services. The Whyalla News (14.7.72) reported that; 'Whyalla is more lavishly supplied with taxis than any similar community in three states". A report tabled at the Council meeting earlier in the week had

Table 11 Whyalla bus service after 5.00 pm on weekdays (including times)

Route number	1	2	3	4
To City	1 (5.10)	1 (5.30) + Friday only: 1 extra (8.30)	2 (5.30 & 6.55)	-
From City	2 (5.40 & 6.40)	2 (5.30 & 8.05) + Friday only: 1 extra (9.10)	1 (5.40)	-

shown Whyalla to have a per capita taxi ratio of one taxi to every 619 people. Other South Australian ratios were :-

Port Augusta 1: 637*

Port Pirie 1: 1,474*

Mount Gambier 1: 1,154*

By comparison, the figure for Canberra was 1: 1,1889*.

The composite consequences of the inadequacy of the transport systems are also reflected in the data for car ownership in Whyalla. The relative incidence of car ownership in Whyalla, in South Australia generally, and in the Standard Regions of Great Britain, are shown in Table 12. The smallest percentage of households having no cars in Britain occurs in the region of East Anglia, where 37.0% of the households do not have a car. At the other extreme, 61.1% of Scottish households do not possess a car. By comparison, only 12.8% of Whyalla households have no car. The lowest British incidence of households having no car is *three times as high*, and the highest is *five times as high*. Single car ownership in

*Data supplied by Region 7 Information Centre, PO Box 126, Whyalla, SA 5600.

Table 12 Comparison of number of cars per household: South Australia and the United Kingdom (figures are percentages).

	Number of cars				
	None	1	2	3 or more	Not stated
Whyalla*	12.8	60.8	20.1	4.9	1.4
South Australia*	16.7	50.7	23.1	8,0	1.5
United Kingdom+	48.8	44.3	6.2	0.7	-
Standard regions of the UK:					
North	53.8	40.7	4.9	0.6	-
Yorks and Humberside	56.3	36.7	6.5	0.5	-
East Midlands	49.5	45.7	4.1	0.7	-
East Anglia	37.0	51.3	10.6	1.1	-
South East	43.7	47.6	7.7	1.0	-
South West	43.4	49.7	6.7	0.2	-
West Midlands	43.4	48.1	7.2	1.3	-
North West	51.8	43.3	4.6	0.3	-
Wales	54.9	41.1	4.0	-	-
Scotland	61.1	34.4	3.8	0.7	-

*South Australian data from 1971 Census; quoted in Aitchison (1975)

+UK data from Table 89, Family Expenditure Survey, 1971; data quoted in CSO Abstracts of R.E.C. Stats., 1973, No 9, HMSO: London, 1973

Whyalla is 10% higher than the figure for South Australia as a whole, and larger than anywhere in Britain by a greater margin. Two-car ownership in Whyalla is slightly less than the South Australian figure, but still double the *greatest* incidence in Britain. In effect then it can be seen that this *need* is reflected in the actual behaviour of the Whyalla residents, since at least 85.8% of the households own at least one car.

(c) Housing

Perhaps the most critical aspect of Whyalla concerns the housing. Aitchison (1975) quotes data from the 1971 census; the salient features of which appear in Tables 13 and 14. These two tables underline the substantial differences between

Table 13 Occupied dwellings by class, 1971 Census (figures in percentages)*

Dwelling class	Whyalla	South Australia
Separate house	37.8	77.9
Semi-detached house	54.7	9.6
Other classes	7.5	12.5
Total	100	100

*Abridged from Aitchison (1975)

Whyalla in particular and South Australia in general. What is important is that the picture for South Australia is representative of the 'norm' for Australia in general both in reality and in the conceptual image of Australia. The aspiring migrant sees Australia as a country where people own their own houses and looks forward to becoming such an owner himself. Likewise, home ownership is regarded as a 'right'

by most Australians. The data in these two tables show the extent to which Whyalla diverges from this norm.

Table 14 Private dwelling occupancy*

	Whyalla	South Australia
% of occupied private dwellings where dwelling is owned or being purchased by the resident	28.4	68.3
% of all occupied private dwellings occupied by tenants of the SA Housing Trust	58.3	9.9

*From Aitchison (1975)

The majority of the families in this study arrived in Whyalla with the intention of buying a house, but then followed the prevailing maxim of "Don't buy a house in Whyalla, you can't sell it". The figures for 30 June 1974 show that of a figure of just over 9,000 dwellings in Whyalla, 6,500 were erected by the SA Housing Trust (Aitchison, 1975) and most of these were double units. In the circumstances, it is not surprising that rental homes are more readily available than owner-occupied houses.

Changing employment to a new job outside Whyalla almost certainly means moving away from the City altogether. In this respect, it is also much easier to make such a move if the family concerned is living in rental accommodation, because there are no extensive and expensive operations of house-selling involved. Furthermore, there seems little doubt that many see home ownership acting as a deterrent to moving -

those families interviewed certainly saw buying a house in Whyalla as one of the criteria for deciding to stay there. Put the other way, by buying a house it was recognised and understood that the family was going to stay.

The Australian allegiance to home ownership is so strong that non-home owners are almost identified as an itinerant class. Thus Whyalla tends to attract peripatetic Australians, and in a similar way it is at variance with the projected aims of the migrants from overseas. It is probably this characteristic that does most to perpetuate the status of Whyalla as a transit town. Spooner (1974) asserts that: "Home ownership is a traditional part of the Australian character, and people do not feel settled in rental accommodation". He made two recommendations in the report on the Pilbara (North Western Western Australia) Study, namely that: "Rents of $7.12 per week should be adjusted to more realistic levels", and secondly that: "Future large scale development of the Pilbara company-owned housing should be avoided as much as possible". The same could be said of Whyalla, with probably more justification.

(d) Education

The education facilities in Whyalla include four Kindergarten Union of South Australia pre-schools and three independent pre-schools, then there are nine State and two private primary schools. These schools are well-located and most parents are satisfied with them. It is at the secondary level that Whyalla leaves much to be desired. There are three State high schools, plus two private denominational schools, one of which caters only for boys, and the other only for

girls. Pickett and Boulton (1974) found that in Kirkby (Lancs), with a population of 55,000; "While primary schools serve the neighbourhoods in which they are located, the four comprehensive schools, two country (equivalent to the State secondary schools in Whyalla) and two Roman Catholic, take children from the town as a whole". By contrast, *all* Whyalla schools serve the neighbourhoods in which they are located. The result is that in addition to being smaller than their Kirkby counterparts they each have to offer a full range of available subjects and so the range itself is correspondingly limited. This becomes particularly apparent in the case of foreign languages, where the students had a choice of either French or German, and no others, though the situation is improving. The 1971 Census showed 11.7% of the population in Whyalla was born in Europe, and since the majority of these are Central and Southern Europeans, there is a decided lack of opportunities for the children to study their parental languages at school.

In some respects it seems rather incongruous that the largest urban centre in South Australia outside the Adelaide metropolitan area should be classed as a 'country' area, but for the purposes of teacher allocation this is the case. Like those in other states, the South Australian Department of Education is highly centralised, and 'posts' teachers to their appointments with neither the teachers nor the schools to which they have been allocated having very much say in the matter. The only way round the system is to volunteer for country duty. Spooner (1974) recognised the consequences of such a system: "Teachers and administrators generally look

upon service in the North West (of Western Australia) in terms of a maximum period of two years for the purpose of gaining promotion in the South. This means that many of the teachers are newly trained, young, and teaching in the area solely because they are bonded[1] to the Education Department. Hence both experience and commitment are limited. The promotional system eventually dictates a return to the Perth metropolitan area". Spooner sees decentralisation and local autonomy as the means of overcoming these difficulties.

Harris *et al* (1973) make similar points regarding high staff turnover in South Australian country schools. The resultant non-continuity must adversely affect morale in the schools both at staff and student levels. Much could be done to alleviate these problems, and having teacher training facilities in Whyalla itself would enable potential teachers to get the feel of the region without the usual first-appointment stresses.

The other main problem factor is general throughout South Australia and concerns the training of apprentices. The system is such that unless the apprenticeship is commenced directly the person concerned leaves school, it is impossible

[1]Bonding is a provision whereby the individual is paid a salary by the State Government Education Department during his period of teacher training, in return for which he has to teach for the Department for a specified time on completion of the training. Under the system, the candidate is allocated to a school of the Department's choice for the purposes of working off the period of the bond, and such allocations tend to be to the more remote parts of the State.

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to undertake such a course. In consequence, there are *no* possibilities for adults to become tradesmen.

At the further, or post-secondary, education level, Whyalla contains a branch of the Adelaide-based South Australian Institute of Technology. At one stage, it was also envisaged that Whyalla would have a College of Advanced Education, but the scheme failed to materialise, due to "Cuts-back in State finance" (Whyalla News, 26.5.1975). In retrospect it seems that instead the State Government preferred to build the new college at the projected new town of Monarto.

(e) Medical services

Agoraphobia is also found amongst the medical profession. Aitchison (1975) regards the status of medical services in Whyalla as satisfactory, but other sources have different views. The Whyalla News for 19.5.72, in an article headed: "Shortage of doctors is concern" pointed out that at the time there was only one medical practitioner for every 2,300 people in Whyalla, compared with a generally accepted standard of one doctor per 1,200 people. A spokesman for the Eyre Peninsula* Medical Association said he would like to see more doctors in the City - "Unfortunately many doctors seem reluctant to leave the big cities and come to the country". The facts of the situation may be gauged from the regular opening sentence on "Doctors" in the Whyalla Almanac. Each year the entry commences with; "Whyalla is experiencing a shortage of general practitioners". The ratio quoted in the 1974 Almanac was one practitioner per 2,500 people, and for 1975, one per 3,200 people. Other parts of the State have solved the problem by

*Whyalla is situated on the Eyre Peninsula.

'importing' Indian medical practitioners. One such practice serves the immediate vicinity of Port Augusta, with regular clinics at Quorn (41 km away) and Hawker (107 km away). In a similar manner, Whyalla also includes emigrant doctors on its hard-worked staff.

(f) The media

The media are also denuded in their Whyalla representation. The Whyalla News (3.10.75) contained the following remarks by Mr Tom Ebdell of the Television Action Committee in Whyalla (TVAC); "They (in Adelaide) have a choice of four television stations as well as numerous cinemas, theatres, drive-ins, and so on, whereas in Whyalla we have to be satisfied with two television stations, one cinema and one drive-in". Until recently, the regular complaint by the British migrants was that not only did they have to put up with seeing the same old films as they had seen years earlier in Britain, but also that they had to see them in black and white whereas previously they had seen them in colour.

(g) Industry

Aitchison (1975) also refers to the industry in Whyalla. Not surprisingly, Whyalla is dominated by the two BHP operations of steelworks and shipbuilding. Associated with them are a number of smaller heavy industrial concerns who rely largely on BHP subcontracts for their existence. BHP exercises a particularly invidious caveat with these other industries wherein if they poach staff from BHP they face the probability of having their manufacturing contracts with BHP rescinded. This leads to a situation where minor manufacturers can advertise for skilled tradesmen, and if the

applicant works for BHP he is told to leave BHP first and then apply if he wants the job. It is then up to the intending candidate to decide for himself whether he takes the risk of leaving BHP and getting the other job, since the firms are naturally unwilling to 'guarantee' the employment. In a similar manner, the Steelworks and the Shipyards are theoretically autonomous units, and a worker for one finds that he can only move to the other if his respective superiors agree to the move.

The overall consequences of this collusion are that if a specialised tradesman such as a boilermaker finds that he wants to leave BHP, effectively he has to leave Whyalla. Here the question of distances in Australia becomes a hard reality, in that leaving Whyalla invariably means a big move.

5 RESULTS

5,1 Precursors for emigration
5.2 The preconceptions and impact of Whyalla
5,3 Other considerations of Whyalla

5,1 Precursors for emigration

(a) Motives for emigration

It is interesting to ascertain just why the families in this study left Britain. The question has been asked previously in connection with other migration movements. Eisenstadt (1954) describes the trend of modern mass migration from Europe to overseas countries as being "Due to the growing increase in population which at first could not be absorbed within the new productive sectors, as industrialisation lagged behind population growth. It differed from earlier mass migration in being a movement of individuals and small groups rather than of whole peoples". W Thompson, the American demographer, summarised the basic common characteristics of pre-World War II emigration as: "The motivation was largely economic and individual. The individual migrated alone or with friends and family, as seemed best to him and his family... By and large it was as often the attraction of the new country as the expulsive force of the homeland which exerted the decisive influence. The knowledge of the attractive features of the new land was

conveyed chiefly from relative to relative or from friend to friend by word of mouth and by letter, although not infrequently both private organisations and public agencies in the receiving country made definite efforts to acquaint prospective migrants with the advantages open to them.

"The natural result of this relatively free play of forces on the individual was that there was a large movement of people from areas of relatively dense population and low economic opportunity to areas of low density and greater opportunity". (Thompson, 1942). Eisenstadt's (1954) view is that generally there are two kinds of motives for modern emigration, sometimes separate and sometimes interconnected. These are firstly "Economic, in the widest sense of the word, ie mostly entailing the aspiration to improve the economic position of the immigrant family, first by acquiring a higher level of remuneration and secondly through economic advance", and secondly; "The search for political freedom, the urge of the individual to free himself from political restraints and persuasions in his country of origin". These points are made specifically in connection with migration to the United States, and concern all classes of immigrant entering the country, irrespective of nationality. In the case of the families in this study, political motives do not play a large part, though they are still present in some instances.

Richardson (1974) deals perfunctorily with the motivational factors in his book on British immigrants coming to Australia: "For the great majority, the decision to leave Britain has come about when the socio-economic satisfactions, in particular, have fallen below some 'relative' level of acceptability".

Appleyard (1964) makes the point that the reasons are difficult to ascertain: 'Even under the most satisfactory interview conditions, many migrants tend to conceal their real motives beneath a veneer of rationalisations". As an economist, he understandably prefers to stick to economic motives on the grounds that these at least are factors he understands. Taking into account the various studies that have included this factor, as for example those detailed in Appleyard (1964), no really satisfactory answer seems to have arisen, more because of a refusal by the investigators to accept the information they have been given than because of some ulterior desire not to divulge their purposes by the emigrants themselves. There is no reason why a potential emigrant should have some pre-eminently rational basis for migrating in the first place, when one takes into account the circumstances from which these families have come. It is not as if these families are fleeing from some acute economic stress or political oppression. What is much more likely is that the family who carefully weighs the pros and cons of emigrating is far more likely to decide not to emigrate. What, for example, is the *reason* for a family with two teenage children, a secure job, a home which is nearly paid for and fully furnished, a car, no financial problems, all the relatives in Britain (and the important ones close at hand) to emigrate to Australia where they know nobody and have very little idea of what it is going to be like? For such a family, it seems much more likely that their reasons for coming are objectively quite frivolous - they are in a position where the grass seems greener on the other side of

the fence, and they can afford to go and have a look, without incurring an irretrievable loss if they find they do not like it.

The initial interview was aimed largely at exploring the reasons why the respondents were emigrating. The basic questions for the Initial (Stage I) interview are given in Appendix I, and they include questions like, for instance: "Why leave the United Kingdom?" The responses have been grouped into a category under the general heading of 'motives for migration'. In contrast to what has just been said, in the case of some of the families in this study, there are undoubtedly quite tangible reasons for emigrating. Appleyard (1964) talks in terms of a 'Germination Period' for Commonwealth-nominated families, averaging 4.6 years - in answer to the question: "About how long had you been thinking of emigrating before you decided to leave?" This seems to be a misleading point, since it implies that the people concerned had some quite specific starting point in their plans to migrate. What seems much more likely to be the case is that most people at some stage or other in their lives think about the possibilities of going abroad, or more generally, of leaving home. In effect, it is quite impossible to specify exactly when the plan ceased to be a vague idea and became actuality. The reality seems to fit much more into a conventional decision-making paradigm, where the nucleus of the idea of migration starts at some point, and continues over time until some arbitrary impulse causes the trace to cross some decision criterion boundary, whereupon the plan begins to assume a tangible form - such as making definite enquiries

about emigration. The model does not stop at that point though, since it always possible to recross the decision boundary, re-entering the area of indecision. For example, the wife of one of the families has a father who was a miner until the depression when he joined the Merchant Navy, making frequent trips to the United States. On the strength of her own experiences and the tales she heard from her father, she decided to emigrate to America, at the age of about 20. She only withdrew *after* the formalities had been completed as far as specifying the date for her passage. She eventually arrived in Whyalla as a migrant *after* three sisters, two brothers and her parents had emigrated to Australia - at a stage when her own departure meant that one solitary brother remained in Britain. Her own migration took place some 23 years after her initial moves to go to the United States. In this particular instance, the ultimate principal motive to emigrate seems to be the pressures of a general 'recentring' of the family in Australia.

In another instance, the husband had planned to emigrate to Australia with his sister when he was about 17. His parents had forbidden their departure on the grounds that they were too young. Thereafter, both had married, and the sister settled in Britain. He however married a girl whose brother had migrated to Australia. His enthusiasm was such that he sponsored his parents to come. Once again the family showed definite signs of recentring in Australia, and so the remaining sister showed a desire to follow suit, taking with her her husband - the individual who had been keen initially to go on his own account, but who had never done so.

In both these cases, the individuals concerned originally crossed the migration decision boundary as a result of their *own* decision, only to recross subsequently to the indecision side of the boundary, from which they crossed again *because of pressures from sources other than their own.*

These are but two examples from the 124 individuals involved in this study. As Appleyard (1964) warns, one must be very careful in accepting *stated* reasons as being true motives for migration. A more reliable method seems to be to examine the overall situation and to infer the motives from it. The danger lies in that some of the stated motives are both real potential motivational factors and also 'fashionable' considerations. In 1972, when this study started, the entry of Britain into the Common Market was fresh in people's minds. As a result, the consequences, both real and imagined, of entering the Common Market were given as the reasons for emigrating. One family gave as the reason for leaving: "The effects of the Common Market on shipbuilding" - that is, on his occupation - an inherently real reason, except for the fact that he had had his initial interview with BHP five years earlier - at a time when entry to the Common Market was not an issue. What is undoubtedly true is that the apprehensions about the consequences of joining the Common Market did figure in the rationale underlying the decision to migrate.

What seems to be more definite is that many families were finding themselves in a position where prices were going up but wages were not, and that in real terms, they were slipping back. In effect, they found themselves unable to afford the car they had been running, or unable to have holidays, or had

to reduce the amount of their holidays. More particularly, families had planned to buy a house of their own, and saw the prospects of success slipping further and further away. In other words, the motives fit into the framework suggested earlier by Richarson (1974), that socio-economic satisfactions had fallen below the level of acceptability, or in Eisenstadt's (1954) terms of looking forwards rather than concentrating on the status quo; "An aspiration to improve the economic position" of the family.

Other objections to Britain were the general overcrowding, and more specifically the overcrowding in schools. These two factors have been exacerbated by the ingress of coloured immigrants from other Commonwealth countries into Britain.

Redundancy, or the threat of redundancy, seems to be one particularly important factor. Redundancy carries with it the implication that it will be necessary to move elsewhere in Britain to get reemployment. It is surprising how strong is the attitude that: "If we're going to have to make a move, it might as well be a big one" - that is; "If we're going to have to move anyway, we might as well go to Australia". Apropos this last feature, one family of a husband from Northern Ireland, and his English wife, living together in Northern Ireland, said they decided to leave because the 'political' situation was such that her relatives were too scared to go and visit them. So they moved to South Australia, where there is not the slightest chance that any of her family will ever be able to afford to visit them.

The features so far have been essentially negative attributes of Britain; in addition, the families also gave as

reasons for leaving Britain some of which were more recognisable as positive attributes of the receiving country. In this instance, they looked for "better opportunities" for themselves.

In the following summary of the findings for the question: "Why leave the UK?", it must be remembered that no attempt was made to prescribe the form of the responses - for example, listing the possible 'causes' of emigration, and asking the respondents to indicate if they felt the alternatives applied to them. Instead, responses were spontaneously generated by the families and given in their own words. Whilst this may mean more reliable responses, it also creates difficulties of interpretation and aggregation, as two families may hold basically the same beliefs, but express them differently; or convey different meanings by the same response. To allow for this, the responses have been partially grouped into 'natural' sets, though the categories are still not discrete.

The most important set (in quantitative terms) relates to opportunities. Of the 62 families in the study, 28 (45.2%) gave "better opportunities (ie in education, employment, or non-specifically) for the children" as a reason for leaving Britain. A further four families (6.5%) gave "better opportunities for themselves" as their reason. Another important set consisted of financial considerations - various aspects of inflation; mortgage rates and repayments; and for those who had not progressed so far, an inability to raise a sufficient deposit to buy a house. These factors all involve specific considerations of the past family situation. Another feature fitting into this category is an aim to accumulate more wealth than the family had known in the past. Between

them, these financial considerations were nominated by 21 (33.9%) of the families. In addition to these, a further 5 (8.1%) of the families refined this category in the following manner; they rated themselves as "earning good money", but were finding that inflation was decreasing the purchasing power of their earnings down to, or below, par. The commonest way of rectifying this imbalance was to curtail fringe activities - holidays, outside entertainment, car, - and to revert to less luxury and more basic foodstuffs. For example; "Steak was £1.20 per pound. We didn't have it because we didn't need it, but the children do", and; "Meat is cheaper here than in Britain. We eat much more of it here. In Britain, we lived on chicken; that was all we could afford".

The third category refers to the employment situation. This focuses on the way in which two features, redundancy and strikes, influence the families towards leaving. Of the two, 'strikes' is the more definite characteristic, in that the families who were influenced by it, or who mentioned it, tended to be those who had experienced protracted or frequent strikes during the course of their work. In the extreme case, one family was attracted to a BHP advertisement towards the end of an eighteen-week strike. In contrast, redundancy is a much more open-ended phenomenon. Families nominating redundancy range from those who had actually experienced it to those for whom the threat was little more than a rumour that had gained favour because of the British economic climate. Subject to these limitations, 3 families (4.8%) were motivated by the experience of strikes, and a further 13 (21.9%) gave redundancy, or the threat of it, as the motivating factor.

Next comes a set labelled 'colloquial', for want of a better expression. Included in this category are considerations which appear to be mentioned mainly because they are 'fashionable'. At the same time, there is good reason to believe that some of them are very real. One of these is the Common Market, named by 4 (6.5%) of the families. A further 6 (9.7%) named coloured immigration to Britain. This category is also obliquely supplemented by 6 families (9.7%) who were influenced by the "overcrowding" in Britain. These two features overlap to the extent that 4 (6.5%) of the families nominated both features. A further 4 families (6.5%) stated overcrowding in schools as one of their objections, or that the standard of education is going down.

For the remainder, 6 families (9.7%) considered Britain was "going downhill" in some unspecified way. Two families (3.2%) left Britain because of boredom, and two saw coming here as "coming home", because of the extent to which their families were already settled in South Australia.

The most striking feature of the reasons for leaving Britain is that they are couched in terms of the negative aspects of Britain, rather than the positive aspects of Australia. This is surprising since the families in this study - mostly skilled tradesmen - were not really badly off in any absolute sense in Britain; in other words, the basic aim was to make a good situation better, rather than moving out of an intolerable situation. It is possible however that the first requirement for emigration is an aggregation of negative attributes justifying leaving, rather than the accumulation of positive attributes of the receiving country.

It is admittedly true to say that a negative feature of Britain corresponds by implication to a positive feature in Australia, but the salient factor is the way in which the feature was expressed by the families concerned.

Having accumulated a negative balance, it becomes necessary to complement this with a country whose attributes permit a fulfilment of the missing factors. This is a much more difficult decision to make, since logically no such Nirvana exists in the world today. If it did, a host of other people would have gone there first. It follows from the answers to "Why leave the UK?" that the potential venue must supply tangible features such as available housing, guaranteed employment, good wages, and a generally equitable standard of living. It must have plenty of free space, be exciting, and if it can throw in a few extras, then so much the better. It must also provide better opportunities for the children. This always sounds good, but is notoriously difficult to define. In fact, only one family attempted to specify what they meant by it. In that particular instance, it meant being able to get an education that allowed the children to chose white-collar employment, should they so desire, rather than being forced to "work with their hands" like their father.

The countries that are prepared to accept people from Britain are mainly in two classes. Either they take the whole family, or in the case of countries like Germany and Libya, they encourage the husband to come, leaving his family behind - as so-called 'guest' workers. Other countries compromise, such as Rhodesia which is prepared to take the whole family, but requires the husband to work 'up country' while the family

remains in Salisbury. A further class of countries, such as Zambia and some of the Arab countries, leave it to the family concerned to make the decision as to whether the whole family, or the husband alone, goes, but people are taken under contract for a specified period of time, for example a three-year 'tour'. At the other end of the scale, countries like Canada, New Zealand, South Africa and Australia operate assisted passage schemes, while still other countries, such as the West Indies or the United States, fall somewhere in between.

At the time of the study, the 'contract' countries, like Saudi Arabia and Zambia, offered the greatest wealth, and Western European countries, especially Germany, offered good employment opportunities, as also did South Africa and Australia. New Zealand was rather conservative in that it would not take people who had large families, or who were tradesmen likely to experience difficulty finding work. Canada had an unpredictable employment situation.

In the end, it becomes a question of assessing the pros and cons of the various countries and weighing the attributes to choose which best fits the preconceptions of the family concerned. What must be remembered is that these features are all pertinent to the time when the families were evaluating them - they are not necessarily true of the situation today. A common characteristic of the second string Western World countries - a classification which virtually amounts to those countries which operate assisted passage schemes - is that they tend to lag behind the remainder of the Western World in terms of their cultural levels and some standards of living.

Generally this does not matter very much, but it does mean that those families who, for instance, came to Australia because of the on-going effects of inflation in Britain, arrived to find themselves back again at the bottom of a new inflationary spiral in Australia.

This second consideration within the emigration process was also probed with the families concerned when they were asked why they chose Australia, as opposed to the other available countries. Furthermore, since it was reasonably assumed that past experience could influence the families in their decision as to where they wanted to go, they were also asked if they had had any overseas experience. As a rule, the wives' experiences of living overseas were gained passively, generally as daughters in families who had lived overseas - that is, they had been there, but had not personally had to shoulder any responsibilities such as maintaining themselves or families. However, some had lived overseas with their husbands, but none had lived overseas as a consequence of her own initiative. For both sexes, living abroad was usually associated with service in the Army or Royal Air Force. Apart from these, the main source of overseas experience for the husbands was in either the Merchant or Royal Navies.

As the questions asked were essentially unstructured, the families were not asked to place the countries they had considered in any order, nor were they asked their opinions of other countries. This was a decided asset, since it permitted the families to show the emphasis as they saw it themselves. In other words, when other countries were nominated, the families tended to give a reason for identifying them. Thus,

for example, one family who saw Australia in a positive light said: "We chose Australia as being closest to the British way of life". Although no other country was mentioned, it is reasonable to assume that others were subjected to a fairly critical analysis. At the other end of the scale, one family "thought of going to New Zealand. We made enquiries and found there was no work. We wouldn't go to Canada because of the rat-race there, and we wouldn't go to South Africa 'because of the political situation'". Finally; "Jess has a sister in Jamaica. We considered going there, but education is so expensive because you have to send your children to boarding school. In any case, there's no work for me".

Of the 62 families in the study, only one had been turned down by the Australian Immigration authorities under the Assisted Passage scheme. In these circumstances, no reasons are given, and it is left to the person concerned to adduce what might have been the cause. It is possible that some of the families may also have been rejected as potential migrants by other countries. However it is much more probable that they terminated their own enquiries before it reached the stage where the authorities would have turned them down. For example, a family applying to go to New Zealand, but finding beforehand that there was likely to be no work available in the husband's particular trade would probably withdraw their interest before it had reached the stage where the New Zealand Immigration authorities turned them down because of the non-availability of work.

The other countries the migrants considered, and their reasons for rejecting them, are summarised in Table 15. There

Table 15 Stated reasons for rejecting other countries

	Country	Canada	New Zealand	South Africa	Zambia	Rhodesia	United States	Bahrain	West Indies
	Number of families stating a rejection of that country	31	21	25	4	2	4	1	1
	Reasons for rejection	No. of fams. stating that reason							
Work situation	No work; seasonal work; work scarce	8	5				1		1
	Few opportunities for promotion		1						
	Rejection by potential employer		1						
Cost of living	Too expensive	1							
	Family unable to take enough money		1						
	Education costs								1
Way of life	Racial situation			22					
	Personal safety						1		
	Too much like Britain		1						
	The rat-race	1							
	"Wouldn't want to live there"				1			1	
	Husband having to work away from family					1			
	Only taking single men				1				
Miscellaneous	Limitation on family size		1						
	Potential trade loss through UK EEC entry		1						
	Country "exploited"	1							
	Friends didn't like it					1			
	Too cold	20							
	Prefer Australia	4	9	3	1				
	No reason given		2		1		2		

is a certain amount of ambiguity in the data, since although the table shows the incidence with which the families rejected the countries named, it is also possible that they terminated their enquiries because it was clear in the first place that their applications would be unsuccessful. That is, the country was exercising the choice and rejecting them, rather than the other way round as the data imply.

Putting Australia aside for the moment, it is quite clear from Table 15 that emigration interest focused mainly on the three present or former Commonwealth countries, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa. After South Africa, there is a distinct drop in the level of interest shown for the other countries listed. In general, with the marked exception of South Africa, the data are very similar to what was found in the United Kingdom-wide survey conducted in 1966 (Social Surveys, 1966). Part of the findings are shown in Table 16. In this survey, the top three countries listed, Australia, New Zealand and Canada, were in each instance considered by at least 23% of the married respondents. Then follows a drop to South Africa and the United States, each of which was considered by only 6% of the respondents. These data are all for the married respondents, irrespective of socio-economic class, but there is virtually no difference in the picture for skilled tradesmen alone. Neither the semi-skilled nor the unskilled respondents showed a greater level of interest in South Africa, but the semi-skilled respondents also showed a much lower interest in Canada.

The paradox in the data of Tables 15 and 16 lies in the nature of the purported questions. Social Surveys (1966)

Table 16 1966 Survey responses to the question: "Which country did you consider emigrating to?"

Country	Married respondents*	Manual workers		
		Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled
Australia	45	38	59	52
New Zealand	27	27	24	21
Canada	23	22	15	22
South Africa	6	6	4	2
USA	6	5	5	3
Rhodesia	2	2	2	-
European country	1	2	-	1
South America	1	-	-	-
Other	3	5	3	2
Can't remember	1	1	-	1
Total number of persons	441	173	81	63

*Includes all married respondents, irrespective of socio-economic class.

Note: All figures (other that for the 'number of persons' totals) are percentages. These all add up to more than 100% because some respondents named more than one country.

responses are to the direct question: "Which country did you consider emigrating to?". (That is, of the original total of 1495 married respondents in the survey, only 30% stated that they had "seriously considered going to settle in another country"; these 441 respondents then went on to this present question). The implication is that the respondents had seriously considered *going* to these countries, whereas the data in Table 15 lists the incidence with which other countries had been considered but were *rejected*.

These two sets of data between them raise the question of just what is meant by a consideration of, and a rejection of, other countries. To examine the question a little closer, the countries shown in Table 15 as having been rejected were further classified according to whether or not the families mentioning them had any connection, such as friends or relatives, there. These results are shown in Table 17. In the case of the three most often mentioned countries that were rejected, generally about 25% or less of the families had connections with the countries. On the other hand, of those countries infrequently mentioned, the incidence of connections is very much higher. This shows firstly that the countries in this second layer tend to be seriously considered only if there is some tangible connection there, but secondly that the presence of connections in these countries is itself a justification for considering them. Over and above the places mentioned so far there is a selection of further countries that are connected primarily through employment. This class includes countries such as Western Germany, Cyprus, Malta, Singapore, and so forth, that are visited by virtue of British forces garrisoned there.

Table 17 Number and percentage of families having connections with the rejected countries and with Australia.

Country	Connection*		No connection		Total
	n	%	n	%	n
Canada	8	25.8	23	74.2	31
New Zealand	5	23.8	16	76.2	21
South Africa	1	4	24	96	25
Zambia	2	50	2	50	4
Rhodesia	1	50	1	50	2
United States	2	50	2	50	4
Bahrain	-		1	100	1
West Indies	1	100	-		1
Australia	39	62.9	23	37.1	62

*Connections indicate either relatives or friends are living in, or have lived in, the country named.

Consequently they tend to be thought of in terms other than those as potential countries to which to migrate. In other words, they are regarded as countries wherein friends or relatives are, or have been, living, but do not warrant inclusion in the group of countries rejected as potential emigration venues. This reasoning does not apply in the case of Australia, since 62.9% of the families had connections here before coming. However, matching the numbers of families showing connections with other countries in Table 17 to the levels of interest shown in other countries in Table 16, it can be seen that there is some measure of resemblance between the two. Hence it can also be argued that having connections with another country is in itself a determiner of

interest in emigrating to that country. On the other hand, the exceptional number of connections the families in this study have with Australia may also be partly due to the families making a deeper search for connections in Australia because they know they are going there. What is undoubtedly true is that some of the families were informed, generally by their parents in Britain, that they had relatives in Australia of whose existence they had previously been unaware. This factor alone is sufficient to cause an increase in the incidence of relatives in Australia as opposed to other countries. In a similar way, remote friendships that would have died are resurrected, especially if the friends are thought to be residing in South Australia.

Returning to Table 15, it is interesting to look at the reasons why the countries mentioned were rejected. In the case of South Africa, 22 of the 25 families rejecting the country did so on the grounds of the racial situation. Some of the families definitely had specific incidents in mind, such as the occasion in September 1973 when 11 Africans were killed during a strike at Carletonville, near Johannesburg; for others, these incidents occurred as reminders of what the prevailing situation is like. Apparently the migrants feel they could cope with the situation themselves; if anything did happen, they would be able to get out in time. Their fundamental concern is for their children. What is expressed is a direct concern for what it would be like for them. Either the situation will blow up at some stage in the future, possibly when their children are grown up (there seems to be a general acceptance that it will blow up); or more likely the parents see their children as a hindrance to them if they

have to get out in a hurry.

What stands out from the general picture in Table 15 is the way in which families can reject a country, and give a single reason for doing so. Either the single reason is sufficiently important to outweigh all other considerations, as is probably the case in the rejection of South Africa on the grounds of the racial situation, or alternatively, once there is one reason for rejecting a country, it becomes unnecessary to find any others. After all, it was really an academic question in any case, since it was asked at a time when the decision had already been made and acted upon.

Social Surveys (1966) asked for the reasons why their respondents chose the countries they had selected. This is far preferable in that the question is being asked long before any decisions are made. The responses for the three most popular countries, Australia, Canada and New Zealand, are shown in Table 18. In this situation, where the respondents are giving reasons for making a clear positive choice, there is an average of approximately 1.5 reasons for each person. Hence it seems that more than one good reason is needed to justify contemplating emigrating to a country, but only one good reason is necessary to turn it down.

The picture derived from the present study is esentially one of looking back, and justifying moving to Australia on the grounds of what was wrong with Britain, or why other countries were unacceptable. In contrast, all except one of the replies in Table 18 are indicating the advantages of the selected country. The exception was that 12% of the respondents (16% for New Zealand) gave being 'fed up' as

Table 13 1966 Survey reasons for the choice of country. (The Table has been arranged so that the Australian data are in descending order)

Reason for choice	Countries considered			
	All countries	Australia	Canada	New Zealand
Opportunities	40	42	53	41
Better weather	22	24	10	31
Better life	22	20	22	28
Family there	25	15	27	17
Fed up	12	12	12	16
Offered a job	8	6	7	4
More space/room	5	5	6	8
Saw advertisement	6	5	9	5
Getting a house	2	1	1	2
Other reasons	14	15	9	16
Total mentions	152	144	156	168
All giving reason	97	96	99	97
No particular reason	3	4	1	3
Total number of persons	535	227	126	142

Note: All figures (other than for the 'numbers of persons' totals) are percentages. These all add up to more than 100% because some respondents gave more than one reason.

their reason for wanting to emigrate. Taking 'opportunities' and 'better life' together, over 60% of the respondents gave one or both of these as their reason for wanting to emigrate. As was implied earlier in this section, these are reasons that are extremely hard to define, but they sound good.

The real dilemma generated in Table 18 is that the majority of the responses (168% of the 'Total Mentions') favour New Zealand. In effect what this means is that, given the requirement is to generate criteria in favour of a particular country, there are on average more reasons in favour of New Zealand than there are for the other countries. The answer though is limited to a quantitative assessment of the responses. How much weight should be attributed to them is a different matter, and cannot be determined from the data available. In the case of the present study, it was possible to gain some idea of the relative importance attached to the alternative countries since six of the eight families who indicated a second choice of country nominated New Zealand. The result though must be treated with caution since the question was only asked of families who had already made the choice to come to Australia. Conversely, in one case the family had really wanted to go to New Zealand and in the end had opted for Australia because there was no appropriate work for the husband in New Zealand. Another family had been turned down by New Zealand because the family size exceeded the New Zealand limit of four children and so they came to Australia. This also caused the friends who migrated with them to come to Australia.

As mentioned earlier, six of the eight families who named

a second choice selected New Zealand as the country to which they would go if they could not settle in Australia, and the remaining two chose Canada.

What has been stressed so far is that this analysis on the choice of venue has been based on the *stated* explanations given by the families themselves. More difficult to determine is the extent to which these explanations faithfully reflect the real aims, aspirations and expectations of the people themselves. What would give credence to the ultimate interpretation would be to find a degree of consistency in either the stated reasons or the behaviour of the families concerned. Whilst the analysis so far may suggest this is so, the analysis of the remainder of the family and friendship networks shows much more of a picture where each family operates within a set of criteria unique to themselves. In effect, it is a 'migration syndrome' rather than a phenomenon possessing certain clearly defined characteristics.

These difficulties become particularly apparent when looking at the potential motivational attributes of having relatives or friends in the receiving country. Much has been made of emotional ties connecting the families, especially the wives, to their parental links within their source countries. Richardson (1974) makes the point that emigrating families tend to have links less closely tied to families or localities than do non-migrants. The other side of the question concerns the potential draw of ties already existing in the receiving country. The quantitative impact has already been referred to in Table 17. Appendix XXVIII shows

the exact overseas and friendship connections for each family in the study, together with those countries stated as having been considered and turned down. The full details have been shown because no really definable characteristics emerge that would indicate any distinct pattern. For example, in family F2 in Appendix XXVIII, the wife has a sister who has lived for a long time in Whyalla, and who their mother has visited. She also has a close friend who emigrated to Adelaide and now lives there. Finally, she has a single brother living in Zambia. Her husband has a male cousin (married, but without children) who lives in South Africa. The rationale for choosing Whyalla was: Zambia is out because it only takes single men; South Africa is out (for her) because of 'the situation'. "Its alright if you don't have children". In fact, his cousin is in a sufficiently good position to be able to regularly send money to his parents. The wife would not go to Adelaide because of the uncertainty of a job and accommodation there. In the end, the only place *in the world* where she would go was Whyalla, because of her married sister there, since she would not move unless it was to somewhere where there were some connections, preferably relatives, and Whyalla was the *only* place to meet all the criteria. The other considerations were that her husband had been made redundant, and could not go back to his trade without moving away from their Scottish home, so they additionally moved to where there was work *and* accommodation.

In this instance, the family ostensibly chose Whyalla in part *because* of the strength of the family ties. However, for every case like this, it is possible to find contrasting

examples, such as family F15 in Appendix XXVIII. In this instance, the wife has a brother in Perth, and the husband has one brother in Brisbane, one in Mount Isa and a third in the New Zealand Navy. Asked why they did not go to any of the locations where siblings already lived, the answer was: "We want to stand on our own two feet, and can't do that if we go and live with other members of the family". This particular family was unusual in that one of his sisters is also married to one of her brothers. This latter family also migrated to Whyalla - much to the joy of the study family wife who actively looked forward to "someone to chat to".

Relatives are generally sufficiently entrenched in the family system to be 'there' in any circumstances, unlike friendships which may lapse and be resurrected should it be advantageous. Even so, it is by no means unknown for relatives to be suddenly 'discovered'. This even applies in quite close relationships such as uncles, aunts and first cousins. For the families concerned in the study, 12 (19.4%) had relatives living in Whyalla when they arrived, including one family with three relatives there, and two families with two relatives there. One of the twelve families also had a second relative who had been to Whyalla, gone back to Britain, and was returning to Whyalla. A further family also had a relative on the way back to Whyalla at the time of the study. For four families, the parents (or one parent, usually the mother) had also visited them in Whyalla, though of these four, two families represented a situation where the parents had visited Whyalla when there was more than one of their children there. Finally, a further two families arrived in

Whyalla at approximately the same time as parents who came independently (that is, they established themselves independently in Whyalla) and another family brought the sole surviving parent - who lived with them - with them to Whyalla.

At the same time, four other families had a friend already living in Whyalla, and one other family had a friend who had lived in Whyalla and had gone back to Britain, but was returning to Whyalla.

The other consideration concerns those families who have connections in Australia, but outside Whyalla. Table 19 shows the full details of the presence, now and previously, of relatives and friends of families in any part of the world outside Britain. The data are condensed from Appendix XXVIII. In Table 19 it can be seen that there are only 15 families (24.2%) for whom neither their relatives nor their friends have at any stage lived outside Britain. In current terms, 19 families (30.6%) had neither relatives nor friends outside Britain at the time when they emigrated to Australia.

Looking at the situation in a slightly different way, 39 (62.9%) of the families came to Australia having had at least a relative or friend living in Australia at some stage; and in present terms, 36 (58.1%) of the families had a relative or friend living in Australia at the time when they arrived themselves. This compares with 15 families (24.2%) with relatives in Whyalla at their time of arrival, or 19 families (30.6%) with relatives and friends in Whyalla at their time of arrival. This leaves 15 families who came to Whyalla knowing that they had relatives in Australia but *not* in Whyalla, or 17 families who came to Whyalla knowing they had

Table 19 Numbers of families with relatives and friends, now and previously, outside Britain.

		Relatives only, now	Relatives only, now & previously	Friends only, now	Friends only, now and previously	Relatives, friends, now	Relatives, friends, now & previously
Only in Australia	Only in Whyalla	9	7	3	4	7	7
	In SA excluding Whyalla	5	5	5*	5*	6+	6+
	In Aust, excluding South Australia	6	4	5	5	4	3
	In Whyalla and also elsewhere	3	4	2	2	8	9
In Australia and also in other countries outside the UK	Only in Whyalla	3	3	-	-	2	2
	In SA excluding Whyalla	1	1	-	-	2*	2*
	In Aust. excluding South Australia	3	6	1	1	5	7
	In Whyalla and also elsewhere	-	2	-	-	2	3
	None in Aust. but in other countries	9	10	2	3	7	8
	None outside Britain	23	20	44	42	19	15
	Total number of families	62	62	62	62	62	62

*Figure includes 2 families who also have friends in Australia, but outside South Australia

+Figure includes 1 family who also has friends in Australia, but outside South Australia

relatives and friends in Australia, but *not* in Whyalla.

This means that, at their times of arrival in Whyalla, the number of families who had relatives living in Whyalla was approximately the same as the number of families who had relatives in Australia, but *not* in Whyalla. A similar situation obtains when friends are also included. Though their frequencies of occurrence may be similar, they nevertheless represent quite significant differences in attitudes for the families involved. The former have come to Australia, to a location where they know they already have relatives or friends, whilst the latter have come to a *country* where they have relatives or friends, but have *not* come to the place where they are. There are basically several different attitudes here at stake, both parallel and serially. In the first instance, some families experience a felt need to have friends and relatives at hand. Some want friends at hand, but not relatives; they can feel independent in the presence of friends, but not in the presence of relatives. A third category manifests true independence by not requiring the presence of either. In an open practical sense, rather than a theoretical experimental sense, these families display true 'field independence'. It is important to realise though that some of the families show full or partial independence in their behaviour at coming to Australia, but live to regret the omission later - in other words, their migratory behaviour showed a degree of independence that was attributable more to oversight and a failure to recognise the family or friendship needs. The real criterion for either full or partial independence is

that the families do not show anxiety when the full impact of their migratory behaviour becomes apparent.

The second stage of the independence behaviour shows more of an 'approach-avoidance' paradigm. This is manifested by showing avoidance behaviour in going to Whyalla without relatives or friends there, but approach behaviour in doing so knowing there are relatives or friends within reach, living in other parts of Australia, should they be needed. This particular phenomenon seems without doubt to be one of the most important features of human behaviour. In a completely different context, Duncan-Kemp (1961), writing about the introduction of the Royal Flying Doctor Service in inland Australia, gives the following quotation; ""Its not that you want a doctor" said one young mother, "but its the feeling that you can get help if you need it, that means so much"".

This feeling appears to represent a very significant basic need, and seems to have been the underlying reason why 47 (75.8%) of the families recognise such an anchor in Australia. Furthermore, of the remaining 15 families, two deliberately came together "so we would at least know someone when we got here".

(b) Personal overseas experiences

Human ties is one aspect of coming to Australia, another is whether or not one or more members of the family has actually been here. In connection with the previous discussion, one other of the 15 families with no Australian ties had, in fact, lived in Salisbury, South Australia, for two years, during service with the British Army. In addition,

one of their children was born there. In this instance, it seems far more likely that the fact the family indicated no friendship connections with Australia is because they have not felt the need to identify any in the way that a family coming to a new country does, though it seems highly likely that such friendships do exist. The family was able to rationalise going to Whyalla: "We are going there knowing full well that if we don't like it, we can move to Adelaide, and we know we could settle there".

The concept of immigration is one that is extraordinarily difficult to define. According to Richardson (1974); "Settler migration may be defined as a movement from one community to another in which individuals involved have the intention to live permanently in the new community, or at least, they have no intention not to live there permanently". He is not alone in believing that potential emigrants possess, or should possess, some definite intention to migrate permanently. In fact, in the annals of South Australia, only the Rev RW Newland, the Congregational minister who established a settlement near Victor Harbour, seems to have possessed such a deliberate intention from before he emigrated. "Ridgway Newland's understanding in leading a band of adventurous pioneers from the old world to found a permanent settlement in this great South Land bears sterling resemblance to the Mayflower pilgrimage to America, in the 17th century" (Cockburn, 1925). He died in the knowledge that he had succeeded.

For the majority of families, the unspoken aspiration seems to be to go to Australia and to accrue sufficient

wealth to be able to retire in comfort to a chosen spot in Britain. Certainly quite a number of the early South Australian settlers succeeded in achieving this aim. It seems quite unreasonable to expect that people will be prepared to set forth for a new country with some definite intention as to their future habitation, especially as they have no real experience of what to expect.

It has already been shown that for the majority of the families in this study, they have 'scouts' who have reported back on the situation in their potential venue. The alternative means of acquiring such knowledge is to experience other countries for themselves. Once again, it is extremely difficult to predict just what constitutes the appropriate sort of experience, since overseas experience comes in a variety of forms. Of the families in this study, the duration of their overseas experiences ranges from a day trip to Calais to thirteen years in Nigeria. It is possible to differentiate between those people who have experienced living overseas, and those who have merely visited other countries. However, each of these possesses clear sub-categories. Those living overseas may have done so in the fully accepted sense of fending for themselves in the community in the same way as any local family does. Within this category fall Armed Forces families overseas. However, children of these families obtain vicarious experience in the sense that they have never had to fend for themselves. Their experiences are child's experiences, and are subtly different from those of adults such as National Servicemen who lived overseas but equally had all their needs catered for. In a

similar way, holidaymakers in Spain obtain a far more superficial sample of overseas experience. Personnel in the Royal or the Merchant Navy obtain a similarly superficial experience although from a wider range of countries.

In total, only 12 (22.6%) of the 53 families for whom the answer is known have had no first-hand experience of overseas countries. Of the 53 wives, only one (from the family mentioned at the commencement of this section on overseas experiences) had previously been to Australia. For the husbands :-

2 (both in the British Army) had spent the day in Australia en route to elsewhere

2 (both in the Royal Navy) had had single visits to Australia

3 (all in the Merchant Navy) had had several visits to various Australian ports

1 (Merchant Navy) had spent a month strikebound in Newcastle, NSW

2 (both in the British Army) had spent two years in Australia; one was husband of the wife mentioned above, the other was a National Serviceman stationed at the atomic bomb site at Maralinga in South Australia

1 civilian (one of the non-assisted passage family husbands) had previously come to Australia with his parents, living in Elizabeth and Whyalla in South Australia, and also in Western Australia.

Thus together, 11 (20.7%) of the 53 husbands for whom the answer is known, had previously been to Australia.

In the previous section, it was shown that 19 families had

no ties outside Britain when they left, and 15 had never had any such connections. Of these 15 families, two are included in this present set of families for whom one member had visited Australia. A further four families fall into the category of having no Australian connections mentioned, and one family used to have a connection, but not at the time when they came themselves. Taken together, this results in a final situation where, for the 62 families in the study, 45 families came to Australia with either first-hand (that is, personal) and/or second-hand (through relatives and/or friends) experience of Australia, out of the 56 families for whom the answer is known. This summary is shown in detail in Table 20. That is, 80.3% of the families for whom the answer is known referred to a source of information about Australia, whose opinion they considered to be reliable in a thoroughly objective sense. It is important to realise that relatives or friends constitute a source of information, and *not* a source of advice. For example, one wife had a sister who arrived in Whyalla just two months before she herself arrived. This sister reported back that the coming sister could expect that "Whyalla will be one of the worst places in Australia". Or again, this time in a letter, dated 21 November, from a prospective migrant to friends in Whyalla; "My brother is coming home at 12 o'clock tomorrow, from Queensland. He went last January and was there for three months. He didn't like it but his family (wife and three children) liked it. They came home last July and did not like England. He said he would go to New Zealand. He's supposed to have gone there but didn't like it, so went back again to Queensland. He even bought a house; but his letters were not happy, and I've had

Table 20 Details of previous first-hand and/or second-hand (through relatives and/or friends) experiences of Australia by families in the study.

		Relatives/Friends: In Australia now			In Australia previously, but not now.			Never in Australia			
Families with relatives, and possibly friends in Australia at some stage	Families with first-hand experience of Australia	4			1						
	Families whose first-hand experience is unknown		2			1					
	Families known to have no first-hand experience of Aust.			25			-				
Families with friends only in Australia at some stage	Families with first-hand experience of Australia	-			-						
	Families whose first-hand experience in unknown		-			-					
	Families known to have no first-hand experience of Aust.			5			1				
TOTAL	Families with first-hand experience of Australia	4			1			6			11
	Families whose first-hand experience is unknown		2			1			6		9
	Families known to have no first-hand experience of Aust.			30			1			11	42
Families who have first-hand (personal) and/or second-hand (through relatives and friends) experience of Australia		4	2	30	1	1	1	6		=	45
Families with first-hand experiences unknown, and no stated second-hand experiences.									6		
Families known to have no first-hand, and no stated second-hand experiences of Aust.										11	

one to say they arrive on Thursday. "I am not put off coming to Whyalla by my brother. He said we are mad still to go, but I cannot get out there quick enough"". (The details of this correspondence are included as Appendix XXV).

Another family had neighbours who had come to Whyalla in June and had come back six months later because they "Couldn't stick it". In spite of the neighbour's experiences, the family concerned came - "You've got to make up your own mind haven't you?"

(c) Precipitating factors

A final factor in this consideration of the intrinsic motives (those features related to the internalised drive to emigrate, as opposed to the extrinsic motives - such as the incentives offered - which will be dealt with later) is the question of what actually initiated the departure. Richardson (1974) recognises that there are such things as 'precipitating factors' but severely understates their value. "Given the motivation and the opportunity to emigrate, and the personality characteristics to make the most of it, the final precipitating event may hardly be necessary". On the contrary, it seems very much the case, certainly for the families in this study, that having reached these criteria, it was extremely important that some specific initiating factor had occurred to convert the emigration idea into actuality. One of Richardson's own examples of such a 'final straw' is a married couple who described the final trigger as occurring when a job fell through "along with the ceiling of our house".

Since the reasons given for initiating departure are rather diverse, they are shown in full in Appendix V. Some families

had quite explicit events determining their departure. This includes family F37 who had been growing increasingly uneasy at the circumstances surrounding them in Northern Ireland. For them, the idea, germinating for nearly ten years, crystallised with a bomb scare during one of their visits to the cinema. For two families, F35 and F36, the decision to emigrate coincided with the termination of long service in the Armed Forces, though countering these are families F22 and F46 who thought about emigrating at the end of their service careers, but decided to settle in Britain instead. Only later did they resurrect their ideas and follow them through. Appleyard (1964) quotes several cases like F45, where the husband said it took him eight years to persuade his wife to emigrate. Jenkins (1969) documents his own initiating process: "We made our decision to emigrate to Australia about 8.30 pm on Friday, April 9th, 1965". The colleague with whom Jenkins had lunched that day had been talking about Perth and Western Australia. That evening Jenkins had asked his wife; "How would you like to go to Australia?" At one o'clock the following morning, he had written to Perth asking about a job. In his words; "It may seem incredible that two sane and settled people could make such a decision in the way we did that evening". The antecedents he describes so clearly seem to be a particularly important and relevant part of the migration process. The basic pattern seems to be one of a subtle and insidious undercurrent of dissatisfaction developing in the minds of the people concerned. It may be that people experience a continuous ebbing and flowing of such feelings throughout their lives. Indeed, some of the families in the study mentioned periodic excursions into the

possibilities of migrating. What seems to be vitally important though is that at the point of maximum susceptibility, there must be some specific event that will take the idea across the decision boundary into the region of action. What equally seems to be the case is that such an event is often quite trivial and frivolous in its own right - such as the instance quoted earlier from Richardson (1974), or as in the case of family F42, for whom the 'final straw' was the car breaking down on the way to Wimbledon tennis championships. For some families, it may be that the critical event was so trivial that looking back they are unable to recognise it.

Whatever the truth of the matter, it seems indisputable that some event occurs to crystallise ideas. The explanation of the culminating feature may merely be a teleology. On the face of it, suddenly making such a major decision is a plainly irrational piece of behaviour. What the people concerned may well be doing is to latch it to a pseudo-rationalisation of such otherwise inconsistent behaviour. As Festinger (1957) would have it, the families are impelled to explain in such a way as to obviate their cognitive incongruity.

For many of the families, the critical feature is the BHP advertisement. Writing off to BHP seems little removed from making enquiries about Australia, but the response from the Company seems to be more decisive and personalised. It impels a more positive response.

As a general rule, migrating to Australia takes the form of going 'on spec', with the need to find a home and work on arrival. Brown (1961) sees British migrants choosing New

Zealand as a venue because its similarity to Britain minimises the anxieties of transition; "By expecting close similarity between origin and destination, the would-be migrants probably reduce anxieties associated with moving". In this context, the BHP offer of a job and 'guaranteed' accommodation is undoubtedly a soft option for the families concerned. It seems highly likely that many of the families see this not only as an easy direct entry to Australia, but also as a 'safe' anchorage from which to explore alternative localities in Australia. Failing that, it is always possible to go to New Zealand which is, as Brown (1961) implies, a safe alternative.

Another aspect of choosing a trivial explanation of the critical factor in the decision of coming to Australia is that it acts to minimise the impact of the overall decision to take on such a major undertaking. It cushions the psychological blow and implies that the move is not such a major one after all. This also fits into the theory of cognitive dissonance. As Festinger (1957) says: "The *importance* of the decision will affect the magnitude of the dissonance that exists after the decision has been made". Thus a reduction in the cognitive magnitude of the decision itself acts so as to reduce the size of the dissonance experienced. For example, family F41 saw their failure to emigrate during eight years of thinking about it as due to "lack of moral courage". Then they "came home one cold wet foggy night in January, and there was this advertisement for BHP". The husband wrote off for it because they felt that they had now "built up a big enough store of moral courage". The alternative view is that the BHP offer was a soft enough option to come within the boundary limits of

the 'moral courage' criterion.

(d) "Why choose Whyalla?"

The discussion of the intrinsic considerations underlying the decision to migrate has also brought into focus some of the extrinsic aspects. These come within the aegis of what BHP offers to the potential immigrants. It has already been said that they guarantee accommodation, and it goes without saying that they offer employment. They also offer a financial inducement, in the form of a cash award that effectively covers the Assisted Passage scheme costs, with sufficient over to provide an 'establishment' allowance on arrival in Whyalla. The Company then proceeds to recover the sum it has outlayed, in equal instalments over the next 52 weeks, at the end of which time it gives it all back to the employee as a 'reward' for staying with the Company for at least a year. The sum involved was $100 at the commencement of the study, and $400 by the end. Of the 62 families involved in the study, one said they were very pleased with the 'unexpected' $150 'settling-in' allowance, and a second showed genuine gratitude for the sum. What gave them real pleasure was the feeling that the Company was doing something that it did not *need* to do. This gesture is so atypical of British companies that it is somewhat surprising that no other families felt this way, or if they did that none of them mentioned it.

In the third instance, the husband said that after 22 years in the Royal Navy, he was keen on his independence, so he refused the money. In any case, the effect of the incentive for employees to remain with the Company is probably marginal,

and one would predict that the best it would do is to induce an employee to hang on for a few extra weeks at the end of the twelve-month period. This was the case for one husband, who seriously intended to leave the Company at 50 weeks, but stayed on for an extra three for the sake of the award.

The question of "Why choose Australia?" (as opposed to other countries) was examined in detail at the commencement of this section. Associated closely with the question, and following on from what has just been said, is another question that was posed at the Initial interview, namely, "Why choose Whyalla?", as opposed to any other location in Australia. There is a substantial overlap between this and the former question since for several families the choice of Australia followed the choice of Whyalla, while for others the two questions are synonymous. A further difficulty lies in that there are three distinct features confounded together in the problem, namely: choosing Whyalla, choosing a location that offers work, or one that offers a home. In other words, it is not a choice between a job and a home in Whyalla, as opposed to the same offer in Melbourne or Adelaide. Nor is it possible to go to Whyalla with only one of the other two features. These interrelationships make it particularly difficult to isolate the real criteria for going to Whyalla. Here once again one comes up against the discrepancy between the 'real' needs and the needs that come within the cognitive awareness. An example of this comes from two families who stated that they did not consider having a home to go to was important *because they think of the home as going with the job.* This feature is highlighted by the overt reactions of two other families. One, questioned before arrival in Whyalla,

looked forward to getting their *BHP* house. In other words, they had not assimilated that the house 'ownership' had nothing whatsoever to do with BHP. This was even better exemplified by the second family who gave as one of their reasons for their immediate return to Britain; "We expected an RDC house, not a council house". (RDC is a private organisation who erects houses in Whyalla, and it is possible to buy them with a loan arranged through BHP, though none of the families in the study availed themselves of this option). Yet another family left Whyalla because they were allocated a Housing Trust house, and not a Shipyard Cottage as they had expected.

There is little doubt that 'council house' is a concept in Britain with definite adverse connotations. Thus it would seem that when BHP offers a job plus guaranteed accommodation, the general expectation is that the house offered will not be a council house, or a council house type, since this sort of accommodation is *conceptually* at variance with the job-plus-house image. Indeed, one family who moved from Whyalla to Groote Eylandt went to an offer of a furnished house, much like the hirings that are available to British Forces families who live outside their units. In any case, quite a number of the families coming to work for BHP are ex-Forces personnel. Several of them will have lived in such accommodation, and all will undoubtedly have visited them.

Germane to the question of "Why choose Whyalla?" is the way in which the families concerned found out about the opportunities available. There are several avenues by which the appropriate information could have been obtained, and

unfortunately there is no really clear-cut demarcation between them. The full list of the responses is given in Appendix VI. From this data it can be concluded that at least 27 of the 62 migrant families (43.6%) originally contacted BHP in Britain as a result of Company advertisements in the press. Again, 22 of the families approached Australian Government agencies *before* applying to BHP (35.5%) and of these 22, six (27.3%) were advised by the Australian Immigration authorities to try BHP as a consequence of the initial approach to the authorities. Additional to these, 29 families (46.8%) said their initial official approach was direct to BHP, generally to British representatives of the Company. Of the families included, 30 (48.4%) said they had come to Whyalla because of the job there, and 23 (37.1%) said it was because of the house; of these, 20 said they came because of both features. Of these 20, four families felt that the job was the more important and one said the home was.

Of the families who were definite, 9 said categorically that they would not have come to Australia 'on spec', whereas 3 said that they would. In other words, only three of the 62 families said they would come to Australia under the same conditions as did the group of families in this study referred to as the 'Adelaide migrant' families, and conversely the nine definitely would not. This leaves a total of 50 families for whom the question was undecided.

Lastly, of the 62 families, 11 (17.7%) had relatives in Whyalla. This does not necessarily mean that the families went to Whyalla because of the relatives there. Four of these 11 also had relatives in other parts of Australia; and other

families also have relatives in Australia but not in Whyalla. What it does mean is that BHP and Whyalla have been vetted by 'reliable' judges. Herein lies another problem, because a 'best friend' can also be relied upon in the same way, thus mitigating the importance of relatives in this context.

While precise conclusions are difficult for this question, it is still possible to draw overall impressions that are of value. What is clear is that in a number of cases the families were toying with the idea of emigrating. In these circumstances they keep their eyes open for any offers that look promising, and the BHP offer of a job and 'guaranteed' accommodation in a 'safe' country is a particularly attractive one. The families create as it were a cognitive set wherein they are keyed to watch for just such a stimulus as the BHP offer represents. This set may arise because the families have already initiated the emigration process. At least six families approached BHP themselves, in response to a Company advertisement, *after* they had initiated the emigration process. Other families had merely made the decision that they would like to come, before they had seen the advertisement, while others seem to have made a spontaneous decision.

The unspoken logic associated with such a move is that if BHP are so short-staffed that they are recruiting from overseas then it is probable that the home market as a whole in Australia will also be short of the specified tradesmen. So if the migrants do not like BHP it will not be too difficult to find work elsewhere in Australia. Whatever the true situation, it is unlikely to be that the job situation is as bad as it is in Britain.

An idea that lies at the back of the minds of many of the families is that one great advantage of the BHP offer is that it gets the family to Australia. In a way, the ultimate decision becomes deferred. Instead of having to make up their minds while still in Britain as to whether or not to migrate, the BHP offer means that the families can go to Australia and make the decision there instead. This is an extremely important feature of the migration syndrome since it means that, in effect, the candidates are moving to the new country *without* making the psychological break usually associated with emigrating. This decision is seen as belonging to the future - a decision to be made *after* arrival in the new country.

Evidence for this conclusion comes from the comments made by some of the families, and their remarks are such as to imply that the basic idea is far commoner than the few responses would suggest. At least two families stated that they never intended to stay in Whyalla, and several others said that the BHP offer merely provided the means to get to Australia. One family, before arrival in Whyalla, said they had taken the BHP offer "just to get us out". This particular family underlines the fallacy of the belief that the migration process is being assuaged by coming to Australia with BHP, since on arrival in Whyalla, they decided instead to return direct to Britain. Thus most families realise at least by the time they reach Adelaide that, far from putting off the decision, they have in fact made it.

(e) Personality details of the families

The final, and perhaps the most important, aspect of the families to be considered is their personalities. Here one is

looking to see whether or not there is something characteristically different about the families who choose to emigrate in the first place, and secondly whether or not the families who choose to go to Whyalla differ from other migrants. This is particularly valid in view of the suggestion put forward in the previous section, that joining the workforce of BHP in Whyalla represents a much 'safer' option than is generally undertaken by families who migrate.

Another suggestion, put forward in Chapter 3, is that the evenness of the proportion of families emigrating - that is, the families in the sample of this study occur in the same proportion as the proportion of the population that occurs in each of the Standard Regions of Britain - may represent a steady-state proportional loss that is constantly occurring amongst the originating population. Wynne-Edwards (1962), speaking mainly in terms of conclusions drawn from infrahuman species, makes the following point: "We have recognised all along that emigration is, in the first place, an almost universally available means of rapidly reducing population density in any area where the optimum has been exceeded. For this is an *ad hoc* remedy capable of being evolved immediately, without depending in the least on any outside agency". Whilst Anglo-Australian emigration may not be as dramatic as Wynne-Edwards is thinking of, it may well be an example of the same phenomenon in a modified, more humanised, form.

In effect, there are two alternatives at issue here; in the first instance, if it needs a specific personality 'type' to undertake such a major change as is involved in emigration, then one would predict that the migrant families as a group

would show systematic personality variations. On the other hand, Cattell (1965) sought to show the way in which personality is underlain, in part at least, by genetic determinants. Since it is fairly certain that there are such determinants, then one is faced with the possibility that if the people in the study do possess personality characteristics that do not form a random selection from the population as a whole, it follows that it is likely that the genetic population balance is also being systematically eroded in some non-random way.

One way to resolve this question would be to compare the personality profiles of the migrants with those of the source population. Unfortunately this is beyond the scope of the present study, so the 'second best' choice was adopted, namely to compare Whyalla migrants with similar groups in Australia, and in particular in Adelaide, since these were the most readily available. To this end comparisons were made between three groups (detailed earlier in Chapter 2) namely :-

Whyalla migrants - as in the study

Adelaide migrants - migrants from Britain coming to Adelaide 'on spec'

Australians - of British parentage, but born in Australia

For a variety of reasons, shown in categories in Table 21, the 62 families in the original survey were reduced to 49 families, plus one extra husband, for the purposes of generating the 16PF data. Comparisons were made between the three groups under four different conditions :-

(a) between the husbands alone

(b) between the wives alone

Table 21 Whyalla migrant respondents and non-respondents of the Cattell 16PF Test

	Number of families in the study	62
O	Families in the study who were not migrants	4
M	Family sponsored by the husband's son and not by BHP	1
I	Families who went to Whyalla but who stayed for less than four weeks	3
S	Family which did not go to Whyalla after interview in Adelaide	1
S	Families who refused to answer the 16PF	2*
I		
O	Family where one member only refused to answer the 16PF	1+
N	One family's answers showed strong evidence of collusion	1
S	Total number of families omitted from the analysis	12
	Total number of families included in the analysis	49+

*One family refused; in the second family the husband refused, and his wife omitted answers to some of the questions

+In one family, the wife alone refused to answer the questions; leaving the total of 49 families plus one 'extra' husband

(c) on the family sums

(d) on the family differences

The family sum profiles were obtained by adding together the scores for each husband-and-wife pair, to give a family score. This family score serves to highlight those characteristics that are common to both marriage partners. While this is straightforward, the family difference score can be obtained in several different ways, depending on whether or not the direction of the difference is taken into account. The

simplest method, and that which was used, is to subtract one score from the other, and ignore the sign of the difference. This has the result of highlighting those characteristics that are complementary, without reference to which one is the dominant partner.

The comparisons analysed were :-

(a) Australians against migrants

(b) Australians against Whyalla migrants

(c) Whyalla migrants against Adelaide migrants

Other comparisons are possible but not specifically relevant to this study. The full details of the scores in each factor, the number of respondents in each category and the significant differences are included in Appendix VII. An abstract of these data, showing only those instances where differences are significant is shown in Table 22. This appeared originally as Table 1 in a previous paper by the present author (Hornsby, 1975 (a)). In all cases the significant differences must be interpreted as emphasising *relative* differences between the groups under consideration; they do not necessarily indicate that the group possesses a trait in any absolute sense.

The conclusions that can be drawn from Table 22 are :-

(a) *Husbands* :-

Factor A: Australian husbands are warmer and more outgoing; while the Whyalla migrant husbands are more aloof

Factor C: Australian husbands show more emotionality and general instability; while the Whyalla migrant husbands are more mature

Factor L: Australian husbands are more trustful; while the Whyalla husbands are more suspecting

Table 22 16PF data - table of statistically significant results*.

	16PF factor	Mean scores: Whyalla Migrant	Adelaide Migrant	Australian	Comparisons: Australians v Migrants	Australians v Whyalla Migrants	Whyalla Migrants v Adelaide Migrants
Husbands	A	5.40	6.50	7.09	n s	1%	n s
	C	7.60	6.50	6.45	n s	2%	n s
	L	5.74	4.75	4.62	n s	2%	n s
Wives	E	5.69	6.25	4.16	1%	1%	n s
	G	5.78	7.00	7.48	1%	0.1%	n s
	L	5.55	5.75	4.19	1%	1%	n s
	Q_2	7.67	8.50	6.90	2%	n s	n s
Family Sum	F	12.18	13.38	9.84	1%	1%	n s
	G	11.14	13.13	14.13	2%	0.1%	n s
	L	11.22	10.50	8.81	1%	0.1%	n s
	Q_2	16.10	16.63	14.61	1%	1%	n s

*Initial data analysed by analysis of variance, then subsequent pairs by t-tests: in all cases, 2-tailed tests have been used for the assessment of significance.

In none of these factors are the Adelaide migrant husbands significantly different from the Whyalla migrant husbands. However, their scores lie between those of the Whyalla husbands and the Australian husbands, and the effect of combining the two migrant groups is to render all three comparisons non-significant. This could be interpreted as indicating that, although the differences shown between the Australian and Whyalla husbands are significant, the difference is of only marginal importance.

(*b*) *Wives* :-

Factor E: Australian wives are more submissive; while the migrant wives are more dominant

Factor G: Australian wives are more conscientious; while the migrant wives are more casual, or weaker in character

Factor L: As with husbands, Australian wives are more trustful; while the migrant wives are more suspecting

Factor Q_2: Australian wives are more dependent; while the migrant wives are more self-sufficient

In the case of the wives, the situation is rather different from that of the husbands. As with the husbands, there are no significant differences between the two migrant groups, but this time the first three factors, E, G and L, show differences between the Australians on the one hand, and either the Whyalla migrants alone, or the combined migrant group on the other hand. For the last factor, Q_2, the difference is only between the Australian wives and the combined migrant group.

Overall, it appears that the 'wife' differences are somewhat more marked than the differences of the 'husband'

group.

(c) *Family Sum* :-

The last point is re-emphasised when the husband and wife scores are added together, for each family, to give the 'family sum' scores. In the first instance, the significant family sum differences reiterate only those differences shown amongst the wives. The remaining factors, A and C, that were significant only in the case of the husbands, have now been lost as a result of the family combination. Furthermore, the significant differences are now between the Australians and either the combined migrant group or the Whyalla migrants alone.

(d) *Family Difference* :-

None of the family differences was found to be significant. This indicates that, whilst some personality traits may indeed be complementary within the family, this is not a feature differentiating the three groups under consideration.

(e) *Overall considerations* :-

One of the more interesting features of the results concerns the nature of the several differences that were found. Comparisons were made between Australians on the one hand, and either the Whyalla migrants alone, the Adelaide migrants alone, or the two migrant groups combined, on the other. All told, there are 11 instances shown in Table 22 where a significant difference has been found on one of the 16PF factors (three instances for Husbands, four for Wives, and four for the Family Sum). Generally speaking, taking one 16PF factor at a time, where there is a significant difference

between the Australians and the Whyalla migrants, it is reflected by a similar significant difference between the Australians and the combined migrant groups, and so it is not surprising that no significant differences occur between the two migrant groups on the same factor. On the other hand, there are four factors shown where a significant difference for one comparison is not reflected by a significant difference for the other, and strangely enough, three of these concerned the only significant differences shown for the husbands (where a comparison between Australians and Whyalla migrants was significant, but for the same factor, a comparison between Australians and the combined migrants group was not). This would suggest that the scores for the Adelaide migrant husbands would lie between those of the Australian husbands and the Whyalla migrant husbands, and the mean values in Table 22 show this to be the case. The paradox is that although the Adelaide migrant husbands' scores are numerically closer to the Australian husbands' scores, the discrepancy between the husbands' scores for the two migrant groups is not significant. Here is one case where the scores themselves indicate a leaning towards the Australian pattern in terms of the *direction* of the affinities whereas the *magnitude* of the affinities reflects the cultural background. It is, as it were, a case of British husbands with Australian leanings.

Four of the Family Sum 16PF factors showed significant differences, namely E, G, L and Q_2, and all of these showed similar significant differences for the wives alone, but only one, Factor L, was significant in the case of the husbands alone. Conversely, of the three factors to be significant for

the husbands alone, only this Factor L was significant for the Family Sum. This shows the wives to be more influential in determining the family score than are their husbands, at least in those instances where the differences are significant.

The overall consequences of the analysis of the personality factors are somewhat of a compromise. The original question, the comparison between the personalities of the emigrating population and the source population, remains to be solved. What does emerge from the study is that there are no recognisable personality differences between the two ostensibly 'different' types of migrants. Thus it appears that the migration phenomenon is an overall concept, leading to the suggestion that there is really no difference between the families who came 'on spec' and those who chose the 'safe' option offered by BHP. This would imply that either the families were prepared to come under any circumstances and that those who availed themselves of the BHP option just happened to be the lucky ones, although some said this was definitely not the case. Alternatively, it could be interpreted to mean that there are no personality factors differentiating any migrants from the source population and that as has been implied, there *are* differences between the two classes of migrants, but that these differences are *independent* of the personality attributes.

The strongest evidence of there being little difference *in fact* between the Whyalla migrants and the Adelaide migrants ultimately lies in this lack of differentiation between their

profiles on the 16PF. Conversely, the strongest evidence for difference lies in the manner in which they came to Australia. Their behaviour suggests that Adelaide migrants are more adventurous and risk-taking than the Whyalla migrants.

The Zuckerman Interest and Preference Schedule Form IV (the Sensation Seeking Scale) was used in the initial stages of the study in the hopes that, being a more sensitive measure, it would throw light on traits such as these last two. Accordingly, the same three groups, namely the Whyalla migrants, the Adelaide migrants and the Australians, were also requested to fill in the Zuckerman Test at the same time as they were given the 16PF - that is, for the Whyalla migrants, six months after their arrival in Whyalla.

The full results are shown in Appendix VIII and those which are significant appear in Table 23. The only factor to give significant results is Factor IV 'Disinhibition'. Zuckerman (1972) refers to this as expressing the hedonistic 'Playboy philosophy': heavy social drinking, variety in sexual partners, wild parties and gambling.

Among the husbands, the Whyalla husbands "Show significantly more disinhibition than either of the other groups" (Hornsby, 1973). However, the two migrant groups combined are not significantly different from the Australians. These results are reiterated in the Family Sum comparisons, showing that the 'husbands' difference is sufficiently strong to be reflected in the combined scores of husbands and wives.

These are relative attributes, and since the Whyalla migrant husbands do not seem to display the characteristics associated with this trait, it seems reasonable to assume

Table 23 Significant results in the Zuckerman Test

Zuckerman Factor IV 'Disinhibition'+		
Mean Scores:	Husbands	Family Sum
Whyalla migrants	7.20	11.20
Adelaide migrants	2.88	5.75
Australians	4.03	6.37
Comparisons*		
Australians v migrants	n s	n s
Australians v Whaylla migrants	10%	0.5%
Whyalla migrants v Adelaide migrants	10%	1%

+Factor IV was the only factor to show significant results

*Initial data analysed by analysis of variance, then subsequent pairs by t-tests; in all cases, 2-tailed tests have been used for the assessment of significance.

that, by comparison, the Adelaide migrants and the Australians are more staid and sober - a conclusion reflected by the low absolute scores (2.88 and 4.03 respectively) compared with the Whyalla migrant mean score of 7.20, out of a maximum score of 14.

As only four comparisons out of the 60 possible (3 groups by 5 factors by 4 classes) were significant, it was decided to abandon the Zuckerman Test, in favour of more profitable avenues of investigation. Subsequent families completed the 16PF questionnaire together with either the Whyalla Questionnaire or the Item Value Questionnaire (IVQ).

This brings to an end the considerations of the results of the study concerned with those features associated with the

families primarily during the stages preceeding the migration process. The focus of attention will now be directed towards those features more relevant to what other authors have referred to as the 'assimilation process'. Included in this next part are considerations of the preconceptions of Whyalla - an area strictly within the compass of the present stage of the interpretation of the results. It has been included in the following section more for the sake of continuity since it will thereby be possible to match the preconceptions of Whyalla with the 'actuality' as evidenced initially in Chapter 4, and secondly in terms of the Whyalla Questionnaire. At the same time it is also highly probable that how the families react to the realities of Whyalla will also be related to their personalities - a feature that has already been considered here.

5.2 The preconceptions and impact of Whyalla

The first part of this chapter dealt with the initiating processes through which the families went in reaching their decisions to come to Australia. It suffered one big disadvantage in that nearly all the impressions given were on the basis of recollections by the families *after* they had arrived in Australia, and so it is inevitable that these will have been greatly modified during the processes of *post hoc* rationalisation. By comparison, this part of the chapter is based squarely on 'on the spot' impressions of the families, and so should be correspondingly more reliable and dependable.

The initial section deals with the preconceptions of

Whyalla, obtained from the families *before* they arrived in Whyalla, and the remainder deals with details of the reactions to Whyalla itself. These two features were also examined by the use of the two questionnaires, the Whyalla Questionnaire and the Item Value Questionnaire (IVQ). The IVQ was given at two stages; firstly, before arrival in Whyalla, and then again to the same families six months after their arrival in Whyalla.

The Whyalla Questionnaire sought to obtain an objective assessment of Whyalla, while the IVQ paralleled it in obtaining attitudes towards the Whyalla Questionnaire objectives, both before and after they had been experienced. Since together they form a coherent whole, they will be dealt with together in the second section, although the results of the first IVQ are strictly relevant to the first section dealing with the preconceptions of Whyalla. These are followed by a sequence of sections all dealing with aspects pinpointed as important or contentious from the three questionnaires. Treatment of the individual items where dissonance occurs has been expanded to include a general discussion on aspects of life in Whyalla subsumed by these items. Any further items have been held over for consideration in the final part of this chapter. This includes all the features of Whyalla life that are considered important, but have not featured as discordant areas within this present part. An example is children's education, which is a very important aspect of Whyalla life, but is generally held to be satisfactory.

(a) The preconceptions of Whyalla

Of the 62 families included in the study, 41 were first

interviewed in Adelaide, before they reached Whyalla, though one of these returned to Melbourne without continuing on to Whyalla. Of the remaining 21, three families were missed in Adelaide because they paid their own way to Australia and so their movements were unmonitored by BHP. These three families, who travelled on the same ship/jet schedule, arrived in Whyalla more or less simultaneously, and all had their initial interview at the BHP hostel, Milpara, in Whyalla. A further nine families also had their initial interview in Whyalla, some because there was not sufficient time to interview them in Adelaide, or they spent their 'free' time sightseeing with relatives and so were not available. Alternatively, they arrived in Adelaide and travelled to Whyalla while the interviewer was in Whyalla. One other family travelled direct to stay with relatives in Whyalla, and was first interviewed in the relatives' home in Whyalla; another family drove to Whyalla from Sydney, and was first interviewed in their own home, as was another family sponsored by the husband's son by a previous marriage. The remaining six of the 21 families were also first interviewed in their own homes in Whyalla, having been missed through the absence of the interviewer at the times of their arrival both in Adelaide and in Whyalla. This leaves a total of 40 families from whom the preconceptions of Whyalla were obtained.

The families in the study left Britain over a period that included a change of Australian Federal Government, from the Liberal-Country Party Coalition to the Labor Party. Then during their period in office the Labor Government 'froze' the direct recruitment from overseas by BHP. (The families

already in the pipeline came on instead, with some delay and a great deal of frustration, as Commonwealth-sponsored migrants). At the same time, BHP dispensed with the services of their Recruiting Officer in Europe, as there was no longer any work for him. Consequently, when direct recruiting resumed, BHP first used employees from their London Office to deal on an *ad hoc* basis with any recruitment enquiries they received. Later, they sent one of their former Recruiting Officers, from the BHP operations at Newcastle, NSW, to look after recruitment until such time as a permanent replacement for the former could be found. The latter was still in charge at the time when the last candidates to be included in this study were interviewed. It will shortly be shown how these events have a direct bearing on the issue of preconceptions of Whyalla, since *impressions* are centred on what has been said at the recruitment interviews.

Before leaving Britain, the migrants were given a copy of the Whyalla Almanac. This is primarily a directory of Whyalla (and as such it is extremely good) but it does not contain remarks about the impressions of life in Whyalla. The Almanac depends for the details it contains on those forthcoming from the clubs and societies mentioned. Thus it favours a middle class ethic, since such organisations are (a) more likely to supply the information for inclusion in the Almanac in the first place, and (b) are more acceptable to the ethic. In effect, the Almanac shows Whyalla indulging in relatively far more middle-class activities than is in fact the case. However, it does contain a great deal of background information that is informative for the incoming migrant

family, provided they are conversant with the English language, since this is the only language in which it appears. This of course does not concern the families in this study, but it is a relevant issue for those families recruited from other European countries.

Another source of information is from friends and relatives who have been in Whyalla and can talk to them about it, or write and tell them about it. In recent years it has also become popular to compromise between the two and send tape recordings as well. Thus a family with relatives in Whyalla may have found out about Whyalla by seeing slides and photographs, reading letters, and listening to tapes about the life there.

An important source of information, in terms of this study, is that some of the families have also seen the film about Whyalla, "This is the Life". The initial ideas about conducting this study were based on this film, since it gave a patently unrepresentative impression of what living in Whyalla is like. Thus the reasoning behind the study was: if that is what people imagine their life in Whyalla will be like, then they are bound very quickly to become disillusioned and dissatisfied.

The film itself bore a close resemblance to the hackneyed humour associated with tourist advertisements in Britain. This whole attitude was supported by the Australian Government 'image' of Australia that had been put forward for a number of years - an image of golden sands and sun-baked bodies. If this image was supported by the views expressed by the BHP Recruitment Officer, then the families coming to Whyalla were

in for a period of predictable disillusionment. As it turned out, the two main people involved had very different views from one another, with the later Officer favouring the 'image'.

As has been implied, the Recruitment Officers represent only one source of information, but in terms of the *stated* preconceptions of Whyalla, they seem to be by far the most important. This can be gauged by the answers given to the question: "What do you think Whyalla is going to be like?" Typical answers took the form of: "Mr A told us that it would .., ". The difficulty as far as the study is concerned is that the image Mr A gave to the families is an extraordinarily good one if the desire was to induce people to come to Whyalla *and stay*. The evidence in this study goes a long way towards bearing out this contention. One family, for instance, reported that Mr A had said: "If you don't like the heat, then don't go to Whyalla" (to a man who had spent a year in the Congo). For another family, Mrs A told the wife to expect heat and dust storms. For a third family, and this is typical, their opinion was that Mr A played down Whyalla; "Didn't sing its praises", and said that the wife would find it difficult to find work there.

Thus for the families who were recruited by Mr A, there is an overall presentiment that the life in Whyalla will not be a garden of roses; much more it will be a harsh challenging place in which to live. The possible consequences of such underplaying of Whyalla are that in the first place families may decide not to come after all (far better for them, and cheaper, to change their minds *before* departure, than to arrive in Whyalla and then find they do not like it). This

though does make the initial task of recruiting personnel more difficult. It also fails to impress the Personnel Department that uses one eye to watch the recruitment figures, and keeps a completely separate eye on employee turnover.

The other consequence, for the families who still decided to go ahead, is that they arrive to find that Whyalla is nothing like as bad as their more pessimistic thoughts had led them to expect. This is extremely facilitative as far as successful induction into Whyalla is concerned.

Overall then, for Mr A's recruits, there is this 'low-key' substrate underlying the families' responses to what they imagine Whyalla is going to be like, and any points mentioned in the succeeding paragraphs must be gauged with this factor in mind.

By comparison, the families who saw the later Recruitment Officer, Mr B, were given a rather different interpretation. For them the tendency was to enhance the positive attributes of Whyalla, and to gloss over the shortcomings. Thus the reaction on arriving in Whyalla was more one of; "Mr B told us that ... we'd come direct to Whyalla; we'd be staying in a hotel here; we'd get a furnished house from BHP... ". Instead of which the families found themselves staying firstly in a hostel in Adelaide, then in the BHP hostel at Whyalla, and then they got an unfurnished SA Housing Trust house. In other words, they arrived with a series of misconceptions about what would happen at Whyalla, and the relevant feature is that for them, the reality turned out to be worse than they had anticipated, and not better, as in the case of Mr A's recruits.

The actual question the families were asked was: "What do you think Whyalla is going to be like?" It was couched in such non-specific terms in the hope that the answers would give an idea of the conceptual features the families themselves considered important. A precis of the responses is given in Appendix IX. The responses are extremely diverse and often complex. There is, for instance, the case of family F50. This family was extremely good on the facts of Whyalla - its size, where it is, the climate, and so forth, but were poor on the impressions of what it is going to be like living there. Contrasted with this family is family F39. They described the layout accurately - "It will be a well laid-out city, with the industrial area on one side and the residential area on the other". They assumed that because of the location it would be self-sufficient, that prices would be higher, that people would visit Adelaide to shop "as Blyth people visited Nottingham". In other words, they had a conceptual image of what life would be like in Whyalla, based on the appropriate aspects drawn from their own previous life experiences. At the other end of the scale, some of the families had only the vaguest idea of what Whyalla is like or where it is.

The family giving the impression of having the best idea of what Whyalla would be like is the family F23, who had lived in Salisbury, South Australia, for two years, though they had never been to Whyalla. By comparison, for the family whose husband had spent two years at Maralinga, in the South Australian outback, family F29, it was the wife who had the better conception of what living in Whyalla would be like. Her experiences were limited to living with her parents in the British forces in Cyprus and Germany. He was very apprehensive

about it, especially the surrounding countryside.

Many of the families are apprehensive about how they will find the heat. In this respect, they are certainly justified, since the heat does take some getting used to, though over the years, the families do seem to become acclimatised to it. That it is bearable may be judged from Plate 21, which shows Patterson Street, the main shopping street, at midday on a Saturday in mid-January. (Note that few people are about as the shops close at 11.30 am on a Saturday). The BP thermometer on the right shows the temperature at just over 37°C (close to 100°F). Plate 22 shows residents relaxing on the Foreshore beach on an even hotter day.

The other cause for apprehension is the belief that Whyalla is surrounded by desert. In fact, Whyalla lies well within the region classed as semi-arid according to the Koppen classification system of climates. In terms of vegetation it lies in a region changing from sclerophyll mallee to low-layered woodland. The appearance may be judged from Plates 4 and 5.

These two beliefs are attributable to the remarks of Mr Parsons, the Recruiting Officer, but the expectation that Australians will be aloof and unfriendly certainly is not, though surprisingly many people expect this.

By all accounts, the most outstanding feature of the preconceptions, and one which 19 of the 40 families expressed in one way or another, is that they really have no idea what Whyalla is going to be like. They range from family F14 who "know to expect the worst", to family F15, where the husband had thought "nothing at all" about Whyalla, whereas for his

Plate 21 Patterson Street, Whyalla

The main shopping street, where migrants first set foot in Whyalla; taken at midday on a Saturday, half an hour after the shops close. Note the effective way the shop verandahs shade the pavements and the temperature (37°C) on the BP thermometer on the right

Plate 22 Sunday lunchtime on the Foreshore beach

The temperature is 39°C (over 100°F)

wife it "doesn't really matter, as long as its alright". For family F16, the husband "hasn't a clue", and together they feel you must "wait and judge for yourselves".

What this boils down to is that, although the families have been supplied with plenty of information (and all the would-be migrants are shown photographs of Whyalla; the houses, the BHP installations, and so forth) they really have no conceptual impression of what Whyalla is going to be like, *that they are able to express in words*. It is very difficult to imagine the families have not thought about Whyalla at all. It is much easier to accept that they have thought about it, but find it easier to say that they have not thought about it than that they cannot conceptualise it. This latter is implied in the F16 husband's remark that he "hasn't a clue". Against these responses are others, such as from the wife in family F46, who "doesn't think Whyalla will be any different from the UK".

Some of the ideas seen quite bizarre on their own, but become more plausible when one realises how they have been acquired. For example, films about the Aborigines out from Alice Springs give rise to the question "Are the Aborigines dangerous?" since Alice Springs may be only just down the road from Whyalla. Alternatively, seeing the film "Tea and sugar", about the train crossing the Nullarbor, leaving from Port Augusta, gives rise to the idea that travelling from Adelaide you effectively cross a desert to get to Whyalla. Another of the families believed you need a dog "to keep snakes out of the back garden". Several of the families are apprehensive about finding dangerous snakes, spiders and 'flies that bite'.

Whilst this section deals mainly with the preconceptions of Whyalla, it also covers the stage where the families are

undergoing their first experiences of Australia, and so it is appropriate to include a few of these early impressions, especially as some are quite relevant to the points that have been made so far. The first of these experiences is one that depends largely on the time of year; 10 of the 40 families found Australia much colder that they anticipated. The expectation is that Australia is hot, and although it undoubtedly can be, there are long periods when it is quite cold - though nothing like as cold as Britain can be. The cold is particularly noticeable at night - South Australia experiences a very much greater diurnal range of temperature than Britain, especially during the winter, when the families find the warmth of the day fulfilling all their aspirations, but find the drop in temperature as the sun sets is a very unpleasant surprise.

The second feature, that was mentioned by seven of the families, though subsequent interviews have suggested that the true figure is much larger, concerns the friendliness of Australians; for example, the family F35 said they were "impressed how cheerful and friendly everyone is - so polite and friendly - in the shops, on the bus" - not like they expected Australians to be. This is a rather odd phenomenon. There does not seem to be any reason why Australians should be regarded as off-hand and aloof, and yet there is a general expectation that they will be. Quite apart from that is the other feature that seems to have attracted very little a attention amongst psychologists - the reactions of people finding themselves amongst strangers. In these circumstances, people behave in a systematically different way from their normal behaviour. They are hesitant, and look about in an

aid-seeking way. In some instances, these overtures may be treated to a hostile reception, but more often they evoke assistance and courtesy. There is plenty of evidence of the latter in anthropological studies of the Australian Aborigines. Mountford (1950) makes the point: "Neidi, a boy of about twelve, appointed himself my wife's escort. He helped her over rough, tumbled boulders, offered her his hand in the steepest places, and pointed out the best footholds, watching carefully lest she should slip .,. The incident, unusual as it seemed to us at the time, was but one of the many examples of courtesy we later experienced while living with those native people".

The consequence of this phenomenon of courtesy to strangers is that the migrant families find that Australians are much friendlier than expected, and also, in the shops for instance, "much pleasanter than they ever are in Glasgow". The possibility that this is a peculiarly South Australian phenomenon is mitigated by the way in which South Australians find, "The shop assistants in London are much pleasanter and more helpful than they are in Adelaide".

In effect, it is an expectation that Australians are aloof and off-hand that seems to be at fault.

The final feature of this section deals with attitudes of the families towards Australia as a whole. It was suggested earlier that some of the families approached Whyalla with the expectation that it would be "the same as the UK". In family F50, the wife said she "looked out from Melbourne Airport and couldn't imagine we weren't in England". For family F43, their initial impression of Australia is that they "haven't seen anything to show its Australia". The wife in family F59 was rather more explicit. She was surprised at the extent to

which "nothing looks different - everything in the supermarket is the same".

One is left with the impression that the families have thought far more about what their future lives in Whyalla are going to be like than their responses would lead one to believe. At the same time, there is also the feeling that one of the main reasons why so little is said about what Whyalla is thought to be like is because this conceptualisation is essentially a non-verbal process. It seems highly likely that they have formed a conceptual impression of what their lives are going to be like, but it has never been mooted in verbal terms, simply because normal language does not encompass such impressions. This idea may seem rather far-fetched and untenable, but the precept is supported by evidence from later interviews, as will be discussed in the next section, covering events after arrival in Whyalla.

(b) The results of the Whyalla Questionnaire and the Initial Item Value Questionnaire (Initial IVQ)

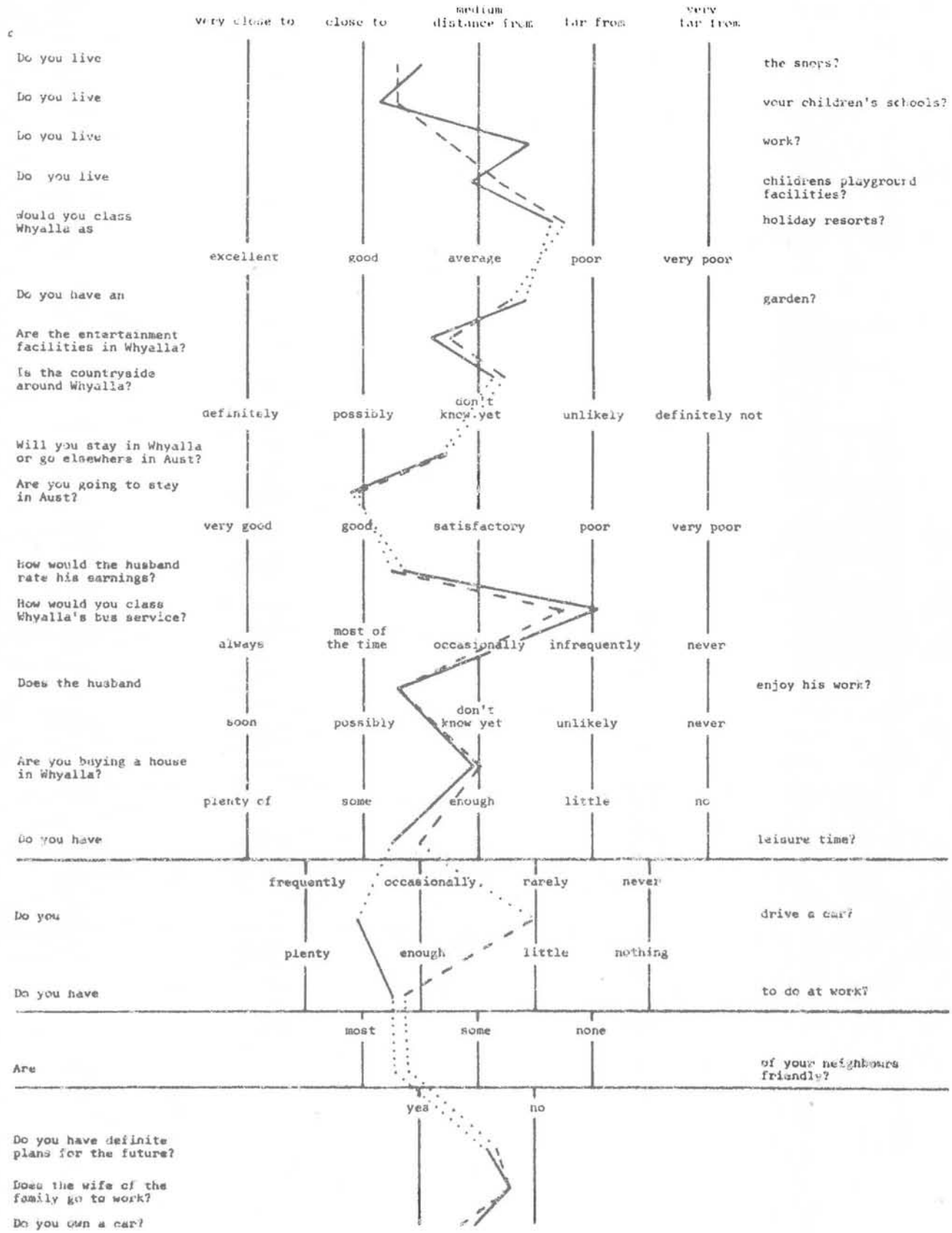
There is a certain amount of overlap between this and the previous sub-section as the Initial IVQ results were obtained from families in Adelaide, before they had arrived in Whyalla. What was given in the earlier sub-section are the impressions obtained from the families during the course of the interviews. At the termination of the interview, some families were asked to complete the IVQ, and so none of the earlier impressions were 'prompted' by the questions in the IVQ. At the same time, it was felt that the answers to these 'leading' questions were not strictly applicable to a discussion of the families' preconceptions of Whyalla.

Although chronologically the Initial IVQ results were obtained before those of the Whyalla Questionnaire, it is more convenient to examine the Whyalla Questionnaire results first, and then compare them with the results of the Initial IVQ.

The two tests were designed to be complementary in that the Whyalla Questionnaire attempted to measure the attributes of Whyalla in an absolute sense, whereas the IVQ sought to determine the importance of these attributes. Furthermore, some of the attributes within each questionnaire were conjugate. For example, the Whyalla Questionnaire asked whether the migrants owned or drove a car; and also how the public transport system was rated, whereas the IVQ asked how important the families rated these features. The aim of the Whyalla Questionnaire was to produce an objective picture of the major aspects of the lives of the people living there. In Chapter 4, an attempt was made to describe Whyalla in geographical terms whereas here the aim is to generate a picture of Whyalla in *conceptual* terms. The essential difference is that the questions contained in the Whyalla Questionnaire were based on points raised by earlier families themselves. In effect, it itemises those features that are significant to the inhbaitants themselves, rather than giving a balanced picture of life in Whyalla. Hopefully, this means that it is more sensitive to the significant features of Whyalla life.

The results of the Whyalla Questionnaire are shown in 'profile' form in Figure 6, and the quantitative results are shown in Appendix III (b). Both husbands and wives were asked to complete the Questionnaire, and the point was made earlier (Hornsby, 1975a) that the data generated showed a considerable degree of homogeneity in the results obtained. In fact, the

Figure 6 Whyalla Questionnaire response profile



concordance is so marked that there is good reason to conclude that their ultimate synopsis of Whyalla must be derived by much mutual discussion and agreement within the families. Alternatively, it could be that the Questionnaire was documented by those topics which are considered to be most important, and that these features are initially manifested as a result of concordance within the family. In other words, if the earlier families experienced issues that were contentious within the family, these issues would be played down in the presence of an outsider (the interviewer) and are correspondingly less likely to be included in the Whyalla Questionnaire in the first place.

Ultimately, in only two of the questions were the results for the husbands significantly different from their wives (for details, see Appendix III (b)). Each concerned more concrete issues included in the Questionnaire - how far the respondents live from work, and driving the family car. The overall results were summarised in Hornsby (1975 b), and this summary is reproduced below :-

> The results give a global picture of Whyalla as being a place where people live reasonably close to shops and their children's schools, and a medium distance from children's playground facilities. Whyalla has above average entertainment facilities, but below average countryside around it, and it is considered to be far from holiday resorts.
>
> The residents' gardens are rather poor, but most of the neighbours are friendly.
>
> The husband has enough to do at work, and most of the time he enjoys doing it, and his earnings are rated as

quite good. However, he has only just enough leisure time. Correspondingly, few wives work and those that do live significantly closer to work than do their husbands.

The bus service is classed as poor, and most of the people own a car, which the husband frequently but the wife rarely drives. Most of them do not have definite plans for the future, and do not know either whether they will stay in Whyalla, or buy a house there. They are somewhat more definite that they are going to stay in Australia.

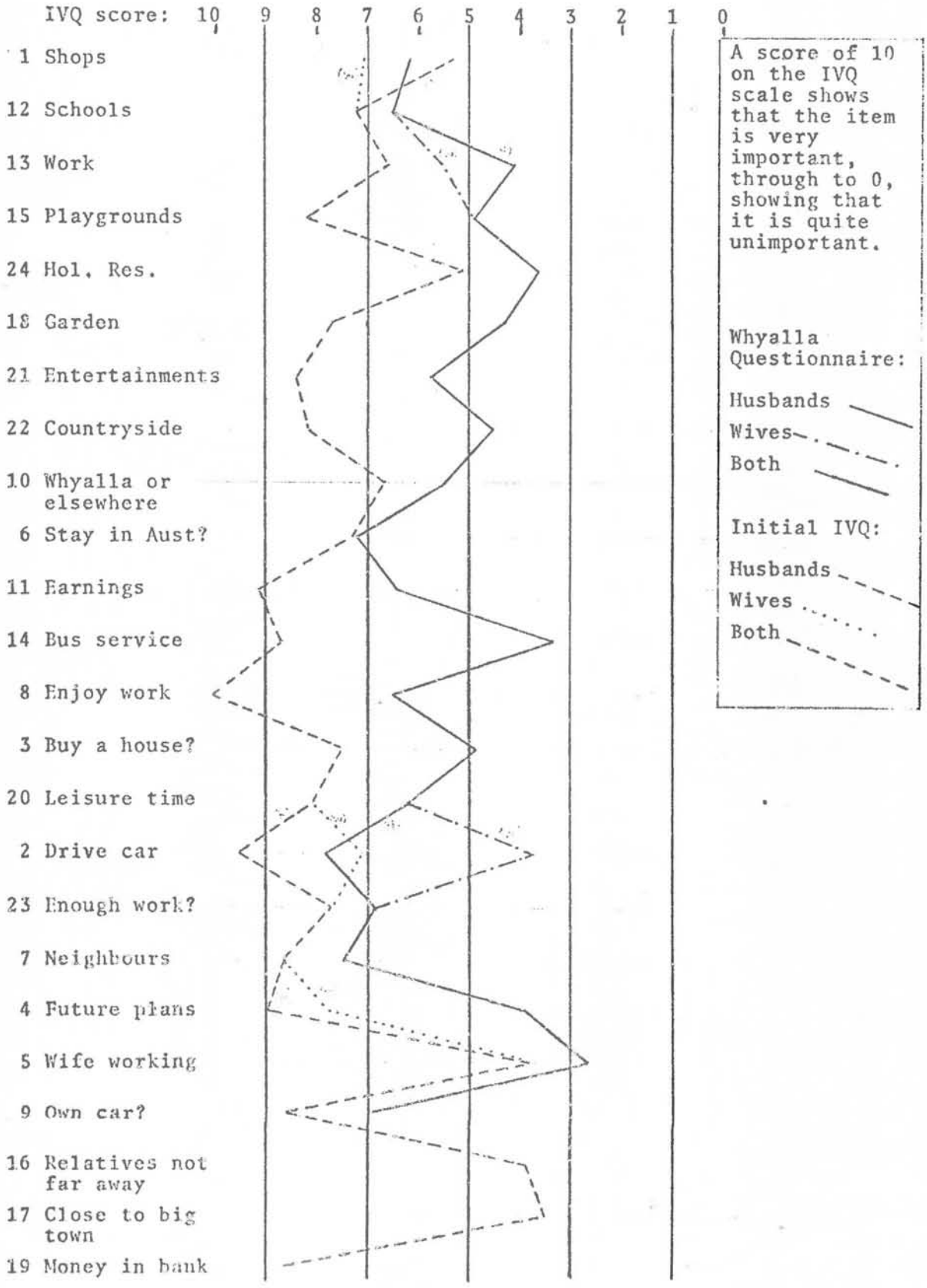
The finding that the wives live significantly closer to work than their husbands can be explained in terms of the bias caused by the selection, within this study, of husbands who all work for BHP, whereas the wives have a free choice of where they work. (BHP is the principal employer in the district, with predominantly male labour, and located farthest from the residential areas).

The general homogeneity of the results of the Whyalla Questionnaire is such that it provides confidence in the reliability of the data as a basis for comparisons to be made with the Item Value Questionnaire. However, because of the nature of the two questionnaires, it is not possible to make direct statistical comparisons between them. The point was made elsewhere (Hornsby 1975a) that there are two possible ways of making such comparisons. In the earlier paper, the simpler method was used, namely "to look for the significant differences between the results of the Initial and Final IVQ's (that is, between the first and the second IVQ's) and see how they match with the 'reality' as demonstrated in the Whyalla

Questionnaire". The alternative method is rather more complex and correspondingly more open to question regarding the interpretations placed on the data. It is based on a comparison between the Whyalla Questionnaire and the Initial IVQ results. This permits a comparison to be made between the theoretical requirements - presumably what the families would consider to be an ideal environment - as gauged by the Initial IVQ (it must be remembered that no respondent to this questionnaire had ever been to Whyalla) and the actual situation, as measured in the Whyalla Questionnaire.

From this approach it is possible to get an idea of what expectations the families entertain, and then, looking at the second IVQ, what happens to these expectations in the light of the Whyalla reality. The difficulty of this approach lies in making comparisons between the Whyalla Questionnaire and the Initial IVQ, since the scales are not strictly comparable. However, an attempt has been made to merge together the common concepts, and the results are shown pictorially in Figure 7. The initial data have been adapted in two stages in order to derive the profiles shown in Figure 7. Firstly, each questionnaire was analysed separately. For the IVQ, the differences between the husbands' and the wives' scores were analysed. This was done separately for the Initial IVQ and for the Final IVQ scores. The significant differences are shown in Table 24 (the complete IVQ results are shown in Appendix IV(b)). When the husbands' and the wives' scores were found to be not significantly different from one another, the individual results were pooled, for the Initial IVQ, and again for the Final IVQ. The pooled data were then used for the basis of the Initial IVQ profile shown in Figure 7. The profile shows the pooled scores, except when the husbands' and wives' scores are

Figure 7 Comparisons between the Initial IVQ and the Whyalla Questionnaire



(For details of the Whyalla Questionnaire results, and full item titles, see Figure 6).

significantly different, in which case the two scores are shown separately. Ultimately, there remains a unitary profile which branches appropriately at the points of significant differences.

Table 24 Item Value Questionnaire: statistically significant comparisons between the husbands' and the wives' scores on the Initial and on the Final tests

Question	Mean Scores Husbands	Wives
Initial IVQ		
1 Living close to shops	5.33	7.11
2 Being able to drive a car	9.44	7.11
4 Having definite plans for the future	9.00	7.78
Final IVQ		
2 Being able to drive a car	9.89	8.56
4 Having definite plans for the future	8.00	6.33*
24 Living close to the shops	3.67	5.44

Note: (a) a score of 10 shows that the item is very important through to 0, showing it is quite unimportant

(b) in all cases, t-tests have been used for the analysis, and 2-tailed tests for the assessment of significance. All results are significant at the 5% level except where shown

*difference is significant at the 1% level

The data for the Whyalla Questionnaire were pooled in a similar fashion. However, before the data could be plotted on the same table as the IVQ results, the Whyalla Questionnaire scales were first stretched, where necessary, so that all 'scores' were of equal length, and then the stretched data superimposed on the IVQ data in a roughly equivalent scale. The result, shown in Figure 7, looks neat, but extreme care should be exercised in the interpretation of the table, because of the two-stage assumption that has been made; namely, for the

Whyalla Questionnaire, that the weights associated with each of the scales are all equivalent to one another, and following from this, that the baselines of the two questionnaires are correctly superimposed. In effect, what must be done is to infer suggestions about the possible relationships between scores for the different items, rather than draw conclusions from the absolute data as shown. Thus what follows must be regarded mainly in the light of a constructive interpretation of the data.

Following the results through the chart shown in Figure 7:-

Not surprisingly, the wives regard living close to the shops as being significantly more important than do their husbands, with their opinions lying either side of the 'true' Whyalla situation. Both agree to the need for living close to the schools, and it appears that this need is satisfied.

Similarly, both agree on the need to live close to work, though the husbands in Whyalla find themselves living significantly further away from work than do their wives.

Both regard it as important to have good playground facilities, but in this instance, Whyalla falls short of the expectations. In a similar way, the standard of the garden, the quality of the entertainments, and the countryside around Whyalla all fall short of expectations. On the other hand, there is close agreement between the importance of staying in Australia initially, and the probability of doing so as given by the residents of six months' duration. Earnings fall short of expectations, but by far the largest discrepancy lies in the difference between the expectations regarding the bus service and what there is in reality.

Of all the questions asked, the one that appears to be of most fundamental importance is that the husband should enjoy his work, since both husbands and wives unanimously rated the question with the maximum score. Not surprisingly, the actuality falls short of this Nirvana, but the overall rating of the working conditions is well above average.

The preconception with regard to buying a house is much more important than the likelihood of buying one is rated by the residents. Being able to drive a car is the only concept where the views of the husbands are significantly different from their wives, both in theory and in reality. The husbands regard being able to drive as significantly more important than their wives and also drive the car significantly more often.

The only other markedly divergent attribute concerns having definite plans for the future. Before reaching Whyalla, the husbands regarded this concept as being significantly more important than did their wives, though both rated it quite highly, and very much more than did the Whyalla residents.

The results that have been examined so far concern the answers to the two questionnaires. In addition to this, questions related to these topics also appeared in the verbal interviews, and throw further light on the data - such as with regard to past and future home ownership, and past and future car ownership. These other aspects will be dealt with in the following sections, and where appropriate, reference will be made back to the present results, rather than expanding at length to include them at this stage.

The overall picture presented by the comparison between these two scales is one of a set of expectations or aspirations which exceed the reality as it exists in Whyalla. In effect, the migrant families are arriving with a pervading attitude of hope for the future. In fact, they arrive with an overriding degree of optimism concerning their future. Presumably that is what one would expect, otherwise there would seem to be little point in making such a major move (as is involved in coming to Australia) in the first place. What also seems to be extremely likely is that the families have to accumulate a reserve balance of optimism before they are prepared to make the migration move. Whatever the truth of the matter, one thing that is quite clear from the results is that reality in Whyalla falls short of expectations.

On the face of it, this conclusion is a direct contradiction to the conclusions at the end of the previous sub-section, concerning the preconceptions of Whyalla as given in the initial interviews. When prompted to give their own views of what they expect Whyalla to be like, the families tended to paint a rather negative picture. On the other hand, the results of the Initial IVQ indicate that they would really like to find something very much better. In effect, the situation boils down to one where the expectations themselves are at variance with the aspirations. Since the equivalent 'initial' Whyalla Questionnaire asking how families rated Whyalla before they arrived there was not used in the study, it is not possible to make a full two-way comparison, between the aspirations and reality, and between the initial and subsequent expectations. Thus the aspirations have remained unmeasured - due mainly to an insufficient number of families within the

study after the two questionnaires were introduced.

Even allowing for this omission, the discordance between the results of the Initial IVQ and the Whyalla Questionnaire is such that some changes will have to occur in order to bring about a greater degree of congruence. In terms of Festinger's Theory of Cognitive Dissonance, such discords will induce some changes to be brought about in order to reduce the dissonance. Because of the nature of the study, in order that these changes should be included in the study, they have to occur within a period of six months from the time when the initial attitudes were first measured.

The alternatives are either the attitude towards the object has to change, the behaviour towards the object has to change, or the discord has to remain, since it is not possible to change Whyalla, over a short period of time at least, to match the expectations.

Each of these alternatives will be dealt with in the following sub-sections, commencing with the examination of the possible changes in attitude.

(c) Comparisons between the results of the Initial and the Final Item Value Questionnaires (Initial and Final IVQ's)

The possible changes in attitude over the period of six months from the time of arrival in Whyalla, are shown in a comparison between the results of the Initial and Final IVQ's. Both husbands and wives were asked to complete the Initial IVQ at the end of the initial interview in Adelaide. At their third interview, after six months in Whyalla, the same families were asked to complete the same questionnaire again, to produce the Final IVQ. For the purposes of comparison, only those nine

families who completed both have been included in this analysis. The comparisons between the two sets of results, for the families who stayed in Whyalla, are shown in Figure 8, for clarity, against the results of the Whyalla Questionnaire. In general, the scores on the Final IVQ tend to be lower than those on the Initial IVQ. From this, one may conclude that the families have moderated their views of the importance of the various concepts measured.

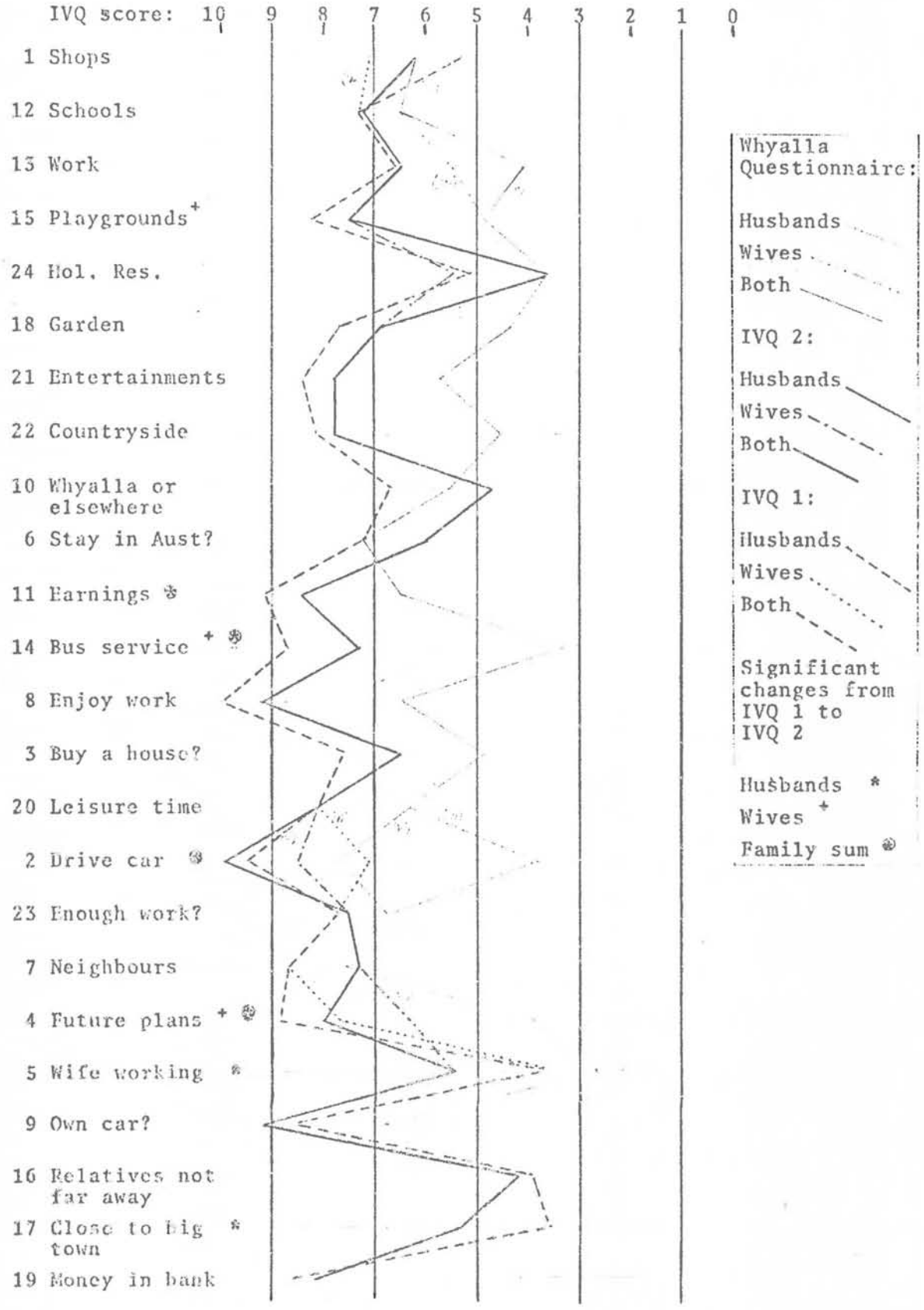
What is particularly interesting is the consistency with which the Initial attitudes (as measured by the Initial IVQ scores) have been moderated in the direction of coming more into line with the Whyalla Questionnaire results. In other words, the changes in attitude that have taken place are changes that bring about a closer congruence with reality. However, it must be recognised that these changes are nothing more than a slight tendency in the direction that might be expected. In fact, of the 96 possible changes that could be made, only nine were significant. These are shown in Table 25, which first appeared in Hornsby (1975 (a)). The interpretation of the results that accompanied the original table are reproduced below :-

(a) Husbands

Question 5

It becomes significantly more important for the wife to be able to work. This probably reflects the desires of the wife, rather than economic necessity. The wife is living in an almost empty (of furniture, etc) house, knowing nobody, and finding it extremely difficult to get about because of the inadequacy of the public transport

Figure 8 Comparisons between the Final IVQ (IVQ 2) and the Initial IVQ (IVQ 1); matched with the Whyalla Questionnaire results



system. Thus the husband sees the fact of his wife's working as both a direct (through meeting others, and relief from boredom) and an indirect (more money for fitting out the house to become a home) means of overcoming the problem.

Table 25 Statistically significant differences between the Initial and the Final Item Value Questionnaires

	Question	Mean Scores Initial	Final
	Husbands		
5	The wife being able to work	3.11	5.44*
17	Living close to a big town	3.44	4.67
	Wives		
4	Having definite plans for the future	7.78	6.33
14	Having a good bus or train service	9.11	7.89
15	Having good playground facilities nearby	8.33	7.67
	Family Sum		
2	Being able to drive a car	16.56	18.44
4	Having definite plans for the future	16.78	14.33
11	The husband earning good money	18.33	16.88
14	Having a good bus or train service	17.44	14.67

Note: (a) a score of 10 (20 for the Family Sum) shows that the item is very important through to 0 showing that it is quite unimportant

(b) in all cases, 2-tailed tests have been used for the assessment of significance, and all results are significant at the 5% level except where shown

*difference is significant at the 2% level

(In all instances, data have been analysed by t-test)

Question 17

It becomes significantly more important to live close to a big town. In this instance, it must be remembered that few of the migrants have ever lived so far from a big town before. Thus the proximity of other towns has generally always previously been taken for granted. That this question is significant only for husbands possibly reflects a desire to have alternative sources of employment within easier reach.

(b) Wives

Question 4

It becomes significantly less important to have definite plans for the future. This probably reflects the way in which nearly reaching the destination represents a culmination of one set of plans (the Initial IVQ is completed just before arrival in Whyalla), whereas six months of living in Whyalla under difficult circumstances causes the future to become more open-ended. That this is a significant change for the wives, but not for the husbands, suggests that problems of assimilation are greater for the wives than for their husbands.

The change is sufficiently substantial for the wives' views to be reproduced in the Family Sum scores.

Question 14

It becomes significantly less important to have a good bus or train service. This result can be coupled with the Whyalla Questionnaire assessment of the Whyalla bus service as 'poor'. This is a somewhat paradoxical result, in that one would expect that the poor bus service would result in frustration and the feeling that it is

important to have a good bus service. As it is, the change in felt need becomes more congruent with reality. The question is further confused by the finding that wives drive cars significantly less often than do their husbands.

Question 15

It becomes significantly less important to have good playground facilities nearby. This can be matched with the Whyalla Questionnaire, where families regard themselves as living a 'medium distance' from playground facilities. As in answers to the previous question, the decreased availability is reflected by a decrease of desire.

(c) Family Sum

Question 2

For the family, it becomes significantly more important to be able to drive a car, though it was not significant for either member alone. This represents one of the ways in which the lack of adequate transport services is balanced. As such, it matches the result of Question 14, in that the poor transport is mitigated, not by improved public transport, but by the use of the alternative of private transport.

Question 4

For the family together, it becomes significantly less important to have definite plans for the future - reflecting again the views of the wives.

Question 11

For the family, it becomes significantly less important

for the husband to earn good money, though this was not significant for either member alone. By contrast with their former (UK) earnings, the husbands do receive more money, and this is reflected here by the family feeling a lower *need* for the husband to earn good money.

Question 14

For the family together, it becomes significantly less important to have a good bus or train service, again reflecting the views of the wives.

(d) Family Difference

Analysis was also conducted to see if there were any changes in the differences of views within the family unit - in other words, looking for possible polarisation of opinions. None was found to be significant.

All of these significant changes go in the direction of bringing the original attitudes closer into line with the Whyalla reality except two. Except for these two, the significant changes underline the point made earlier about the general changes being towards bringing the attitudes into line with reality. The two exceptions are firstly, by the husbands, they become significantly more in favour of the wives working. The suggested reason why this change should take place was given earlier; what is under consideration here is why this change is at variance with the general trend of bringing attitudes into line with reality.

The second IVQ response to go against the trend concerns being able to drive a car. In practice, this may be coupled with the only other, though non-significant, response that went against the trend, namely, the ownership of a car.

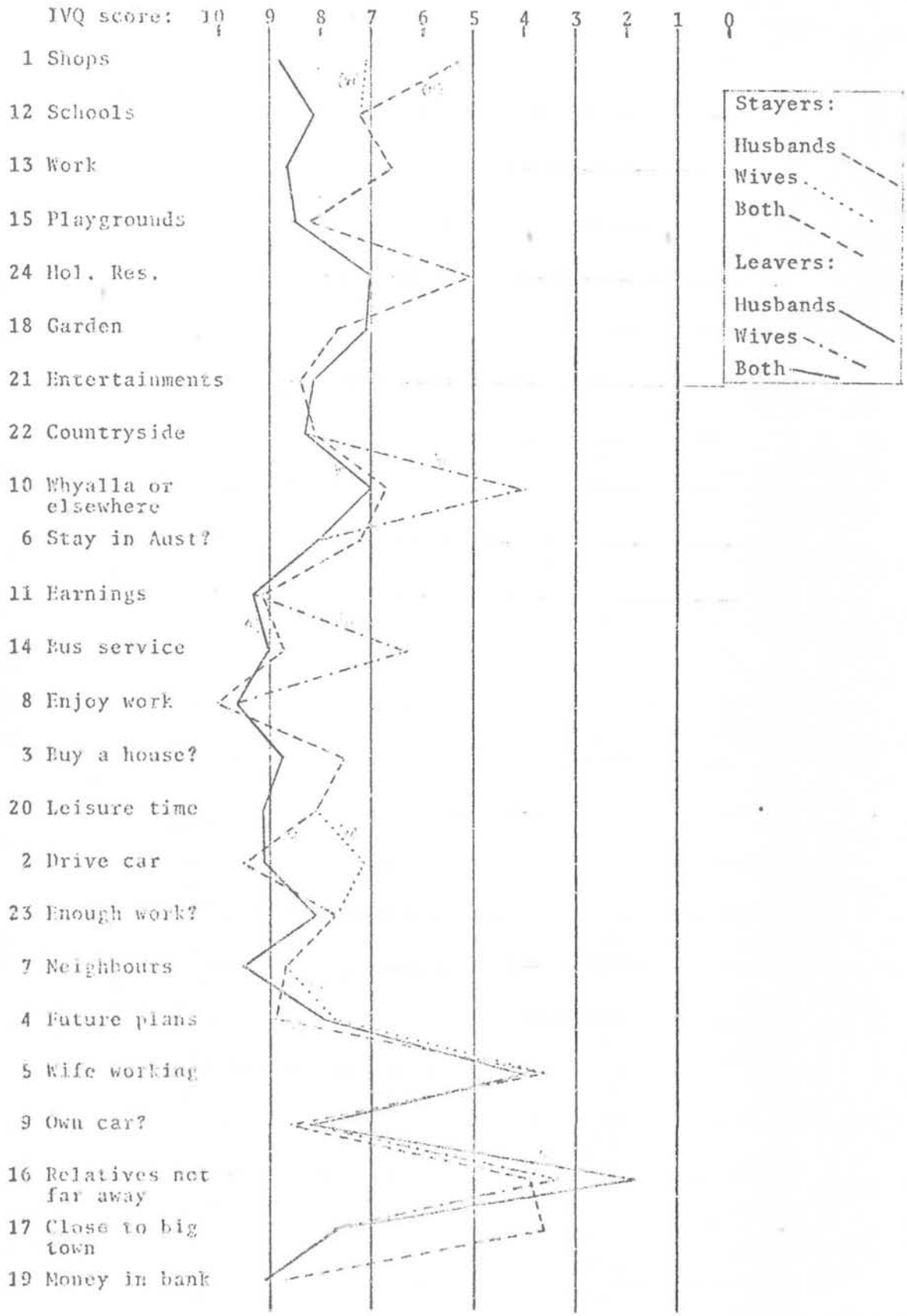
In both these instances, it seems likely that the Whyalla Questionnaire scores are less reliable indicators than those of the IVQ. However, both the question of wives working, and of car ownership will be examined in greater detail shortly, and this suggestion will be developed further at that stage.

(d) Initial Item Value Questionnaire: comparisons between stayers and leavers

It was mentioned earlier in this chapter that the second alternative for the reduction of dissonance between the Whyalla Questionnaire and the Initial IVQ was to retain the attitude but to change the behaviour. One way of examining this phenomenon is to look at the profiles of the families who left Whyalla shortly after their arrival there, and compare them with the families who stayed.

With this idea in mind, the Initial IVQ data for the families who left Whyalla in less than six months from their time of arrival have been kept apart from the IVQ data examined so far. In numerical terms the evidence is necessarily rather thin, since only three families left Whyalla quickly and also completed an Initial IVQ. The comparative data for the two groups are shown in Figure 9, and the details listed in Appendix X. With such small numbers, it is hardly a viable proposition to look for statistical differences between the scores for husbands and wives in the 'Leavers' group, so they were arbitrarily classed as discrepant if the difference between the mean scores was greater than or equal to 1.5. Using this criterion, the profiles in Figure 9 are reasonably similar except in eight instances, as follows :-

Figure 9 Initial IVQ: comparison between Stayers and Leavers



(i) Living close to big towns

The largest difference was on this factor, where the leavers' score is very much higher (7.67 for the Leavers; 3.61 for the Stayers). One would expect this to be so in the case of people who are going to leave Whyalla, since the location of an alternative venue is clearly more relevant to them than it is to a family not contemplating leaving. However, this response was recorded *before* any of the respondents had reached Whyalla, so either they were already contemplating leaving, before arriving there; (and at least two of the three families had declared that they were really only using the BHP Whyalla offer as a means of getting to Australia, rather than as an end in itself) or possibly they represented a genuine fear of the isolation Whyalla implies. One of the two families exploiting the 'convenience' of the BHP offer did not in fact use it as a base in Australia, but instead returned direct to Britain.

(ii) Living close to the shops

There was also a large discrepancy on this factor and here the difference between the Leaver families and the Stayer husbands is 3.50, and between the Leaver families and the Stayer wives is 1.72. In some respects this is to be expected since, for the reasons mentioned earlier, the Stayer wives attach more importance to living close to the shops than do their husbands. Thus, although the Leaver families attach even greater value to living close to the shops, it follows that the difference would be less for the Stayer wives than for their husbands. Even so, it is possible that this could also be one of the instrumental reasons why the Leaver families ultimately did not stay in Whyalla.

(iii) Staying in Whyalla as opposed to elsewhere in Australia

Since two of the families indicated they were using Whyalla as an Australian 'base', it is not so surprising that as a group their scores show them as less committed to the idea of staying in Whyalla. What is surprising is that this family commitment should be manifested only in the wives' scores, and not in the scores of their husbands. It seems unlikely that at that stage the husbands feel any particular allegiance to BHP, but rather that they are probably prepared to at least try Whyalla first before exploring elsewhere, especially as they know they have a job to go to there.

(iv) Whyalla bus service

Here again, the Leaver wives have an atypically low score, and in this respect, they are less likely to be adversely affected by the vagaries of the Whyalla bus service than their Stayer counterparts.

(v) Having relatives living close by

In order of magnitude, the next largest difference applied mainly to the husbands, where the Leaver husbands (mean score: 1.67) rated having relatives living close by as far less important than did their wives (mean score: 3.33) and the Stayer families (mean score: 3.94). This result is borne out by their behaviour, since of the three husbands leaving Whyalla, one left when his only relatives in Australia were in Whyalla, and another returned to living amongst his wife's extended family in Britain.

(vi) Living close to work

The Leaver families rated this concept higher than did the Stayer families. This could be one of the factors contributing to the reasons why they did not stay, since in Whyalla the BHP

operations and where the families generally live could scarcely be farther apart and yet still be in the same city.

(vii) Living close to holiday resorts

Again the Leaver families rated this concept more important than the Stayer families. This could also be one of the factors why they subsequently left.

(viii) Being able to drive a car

This time the Stayer wives regarded the concept as less important than did the Leaver families, the difference being more attributable to the significant difference between the Stayer wives and their husbands. Presumably this is in part a measure of the predisposition amongst the Stayer wives to remain where they are.

(c) Enduring discords between the Whyalla Questionnaire and the Item Value Questionnaire

Of the strategies available to the families for coping with the disharmony demonstrated by the difference between the Whyalla Questionnaire and the Initial IVQ, the one which incurs the least effort is to retain the attitudes expressed in the Initial IVQ, and in behavioural terms do nothing. In effect, such enduring attitudes may be thought of as robust, since they have been maintained in spite of ongoing evidence to their contrary.

In the respect that changes in attitude were gauged by changes in the IVQ scores over time, then a constancy in these scores over time may be used to pinpoint those areas where the attitude has been maintained. What are important for this present discussion are those factors where the attitude has been sustained in the presence of discord between the Initial

IVQ and the Whyalla Questionnaire.

The main areas of discrepancy between these two are (from Figure 7) :-

1	Having good playground facilities nearby	In these, the mean family IVQ score greatly exceeds the mean family Whyalla Questionnaire score
2	Having a good garden	
3	Having good entertainment facilities	
4	Having good countryside around Whyalla	
5	The husband's earnings	
6	Having a good bus service	
7	The husband enjoying his work	
8	Buying a house	
9	Having plans for the future	
10	Being able to drive a car	The wives' IVQ response greatly exceeds the wives' Whyalla Questionnaire response
11	Living close to work	The family IVQ response greatly exceeds the husbands' Whyalla Questionnaire response

For the present discussion, the only ones of interest are where the itemised discrepancy shown above is matched with a constancy in the IVQ scores. To draw the comparison, the changes between the two IVQ scores on these factors are given below (taken from Figure 8); in all instances, a Final IVQ score less than the Initial IVQ score indicates a change in the direction of reducing the discordance between the IVQ and the Whyalla Questionnaire:-

1	Having good playground facilities nearby	Family scores are marginally less, but the wives' scores are significantly less
2	Having a good garden	Family scores are marginally less
3	Having good entertainment facilities	
4	Having good countryside around Whyalla	
5	The husband's earnings	The family scores are significantly less
6	Having a good bus service	Family scores are marginally less
7	The husband enjoying his work	
8	Buying a home	
9	Having plans for the future	The husbands' score is marginally less, whereas the wives' score alone, and the family score, are both significantly less
10	Being able to drive a car	The wives' score is marginally greater
11	Living close to work	The family score is marginally less

The areas of enduring discord are those factors above that show only marginal changes. In effect, it means all of the factors except number 5. An examination of the reasons for the discordance will be made in the following sub-sections, which have been expanded to allow for a more general examination of the features of Whyalla.

Since number 10 is the only factor to show a real hardening of the attitude, in terms of an increase in the discord, it will be dealt with first.

(f) Car ownership in Whyalla

In this context, the various features concerned with car ownership and car driving that have been raised so far will be brought together and examined conjointly. They include :-

(i) From (b):

It was found that being able to drive a car is the only concept where the views of the husbands differ significantly from their wives. The husbands regard being able to drive a car as significantly more important than do their wives, according to the Initial IVQ scores; and secondly, they also drive the car significantly more often according to the Whyalla Questionnaire.

(ii) From (c):

Nearly all the changes between the Initial and the Final IVQ scores are in the direction of bringing the Initial IVQ score closer to reality, as measured by the Whyalla Questionnaire score. The *only* exceptions are in the case of car ownership, where owning a car is seen to become marginally more important, and both husbands and wives see it as being more important to be able to drive a car.

(iii) From (e):

One of the robust attitudes is that of the wives towards driving a car, where the initial discord between the Whyalla Questionnaire and the Initial IVQ is seen as 'hardening', let alone being polarised, though this change is significant only when the husbands' attitudes are added to their wives', in the form of the 'family sum' profile.

One of the difficulties outlined in the conclusions in (b) is that there are no equivalent 'initial' Whyalla

Questionnaire to enable comparisons to be made similar to those between the Initial and the Final IVQ. In this particular instance however, some comparison is possible because the families were asked at their initial interview whether they owned a car or drove a car before they came to Australia. Note was also taken of car ownership and driving licences amongst the families at their final interview.

In the case of car ownership, the views of the families were divided into three groups: those who intended to buy in Whyalla; those who intended either not to buy or who had car purchase low on the list of priorities; and the third group comprised those who expressed no views one way or the other. Details of these attitudes are shown in Table 26, matched with the Whyalla car-buying behaviour and previous car ownership in Britain, for the families in the study.

Of the 58 families shown in Table 26, 42 (72.4%) previously owned a car in Britain. This puts them considerably above the British norm, where only 51.2% of the households own at least one car (see Table 12 for details). Conversely, 51 (87.9%) of the 58 bought a car within six months of arriving in Whyalla. Aitchison (1975) gives the corresponding figure as 87.1% of the Whyalla households owning at least one car. In other words, within six months the migrants in the study had effectively reproduced the prevailing Whyalla pattern of car ownership - though none had reached the point of owning more than one car. (In this respect, it should be recalled that few families in the study have children old enough to have cars of their own - a common source of second cars in Whyalla households). Of the 58 families, 11 (19.3%) were in the category of those whose intention was not to buy a car in Whyalla. The comments on car

Table 26 Car ownership amongst the migrant families

		Owned car in UK	Did not own car in UK	Total
Intended to buy in Australia	Bought within 1 month	11*	1	12
	Bought between 1 and 6 months	7	-	7
	Did not buy a car	2	2	4
Neutral	Bought within 1 month	12	2	14
	Bought between 1 and 6 months	5	4	9
	Did not buy a car	-	1	1
Did not intend to buy, or low on list of priorities	Bought within 1 month	4	1	5
	Bought between 1 and 6 months	1	3	4
	Did not buy a car	-	2	2
Total		42	16	58+

*Includes two instances where the family brought a car to Australia with them.

+The missing four families did not stay for as long as a month in Whyalla, so their data have not been included

purchase are enlightening. One family considered that the car was going to be the last thing bought, but purchased one ten days after arrival. For another family, "It was the first thing we bought", whereas another family, who bought one on their second day in Whyalla, said they had not intended buying one so soon, but rapidly saw the usefulness of one. This family also bought a house two weeks after arrival. One family, who bought a car after four weeks in Whyalla, said that, "A car is a necessity", whereas another family said, before they reached Whyalla, that they expected to get a car at some stage, "But its low on the list of priorities". After two weeks in Whyalla they bought a car "because you need a car in Whyalla - need to be able to drive". Perhaps the most significant remark came from one of the families who did not stay in Whyalla, and therefore was not included in the table. They said (before they had been there) that they did not intend buying a car "because Whyalla is too small". (They knew the population of Whyalla was "30-35,000"). What is particularly noteworthy is that they also "anticipated that there will be no public transport 'because Whyalla is so small'".

There were other families though who did intend buying a car in Whyalla, such as the family who "planned to buy a car when we arrived, and set money aside to do so". All told, of the 23 who intended to buy, 19 (82.6%) did buy within six months of arrival, and 12 of the 23 (52.2%) bought one within one month of arrival. Of the 11 who did not intend buying, 9 (81.8%) bought within six months, and 5 (45.4%) bought within one month of arrival. These details are shown in Table 27. As can be seen, there is virtually no difference in the *behaviour* between the group intending and the group intending not to buy, in

spite of the initial difference in attitude.

Bearing in mind the cost involved in obtaining a car, it seems reasonable to assume that for some families the lack of finances has caused a lag between the intent and the action to purchase a car. Thus the Whyalla Questionnaire response of actual car ownership falls short of both the Whyalla norm and the IVQ attitudes.

Table 27 Car purchasing attitudes and behaviour amongst the migrant sample.

	Intended to buy	Intended not to buy
Bought within one month	52.2%	45.4%
Bought within six months	82.6%	81.8%

In as far as the two questionnaires can be matched, it seems very much as though the ultimate 'true' Whyalla Questionnaire response will be changed to come into line with the attitude. If this is the case, and it seems highly likely that it is, one has here an instance of where the behaviour itself is brought into line with the *changed* attitude. Thus the changed circumstances, at variance with what was anticipated, have resulted in both a changed attitude and a changed behaviour.

In terms of the IVQ sample, the change was not so much with respect to buying a car, but rather with regard to the attitudes by the family to being able to drive a car. Comparisons between British and Australian driving tests are not straightforward, because of the all-or-nothing system in

Britain, and the two-tier system in South Australia. For a holder of a British driving licence to obtain a South Australian licence, all he has to do is to pass a written test. On the other hand, a person learning from scratch in South Australia has first of all to pass the same written test - whereupon he is qualified to learn to drive a car. To obtain the driving licence, the learner then has to pass a practical test. For the purpose of comparison between the two, Table 28 shows firstly the comparison between who held a licence to drive in Britain, with who holds a licence to drive in Australia, and secondly with the inclusion of those learning to drive in Whyalla who have passed only the written test. In effect, the second set of figures indicates a confirmed 'declaration of intent' towards being able to drive. Interestingly, all eleven instances in the column referring to both partners driving in Whyalla are instances where the wife alone has passed the written test, but not the complete test. Paradoxically, it is the wife who suffers more, from boredom and loneliness, and yet of the eight instances where both husband and wife could drive in Britain, at the end of six months two of the wives still had not passed their South Australian tests, although in order to achieve this they only had to take the written test. By contrast, none of the 37 husbands who could drive in Britain had not obtained an Australian licence by the time they had been here six months. Of the 13 instances where neither could drive in Britain, only four (30.8%) were still both without licences after six months, though in one other case, the husband alone had passed only the written test.

The significant change recorded with the IVQ respondents was

Table 28 Comparisons between migrants driving in Britain, and in Whyalla six months after arrival

		Driving in Whyalla: Both	Husband alone	Wife alone	Neither	Total
Driving in Britain	Both	6 *(6)*	2 *(2)*	- *(-)*	- *(-)*	8 *(8)*
	Husband alone	1 *(12)*	28 *(17)*	- *(-)*	- *(-)*	29 *(29)*
	Wife alone	- *(-)*	- *(-)*	1 *(1)*	- *(-)*	1 *(1)*
	Neither	3 *(3)*	5 *(6)*	- *(-)*	5 *(4)*	13 *(13)*
	Total	10 *(21)*	35 *(25)*	1 *(1)*	5 *(4)*	51 *(51)*

Note: The bold figures show the table as it would be if only full licence holders (ie written and practical tests both successfully completed in Australia) are included; the italic figures in parentheses show how the table would read if persons who have passed only the written test are also included.

In all cases, the figure shown refers to the number of families in that category.

on the question of the family being able to drive. The IVQ respondents were a sample chosen from the families included in the study and one feature of interest is the actual behaviour of this sample, as opposed to the whole group. Within this sample :-

10 (55.6%) held a full licence in Britain

11 (61.2%) held a full licence in Whyalla six months after arrival

In these terms, the change in *attitude*, whereby it becomes more important to be able to drive is not reflected in the actual behaviour. However, if passing the written test is taken as a confirmation of intent, then 83.3% (15 people) of the sample

either hold a full licence or have passed just the written test. In other words, in the case of the need to be able to drive, the change in attitude is equated to a similar change in the actual behavioural intention.

(g) Home ownership in Whyalla

The question of buying a house is another of the concepts where the initial attitude, shown in the Initial IVQ, proved robust in terms of its endurance in the face of discordance with the Whyalla Questionnaire response. In addition, this is also one of the features known about the families in terms of their previous British behaviour. Thus it is also possible to make comparisons between the original British home ownership behaviour, and the subsequent behaviour in Whyalla. However, there are complex problems in dealing with the question of home ownership, arising mainly because of the differences between various aspects of the situations in Britain and in Australia. In Britain for instance, rental homes fall into two distinct categories. In the first place, there are the Council houses and flats, and secondly there are the others, available from a variety of types of non-public owners. The two categories are differentiated in a number of ways; the Council rents tend to be cheaper, and the homes are exchangeable in different parts of the country. These features are on the positive side, but balancing this they occur in large estates and have monotonous uniformity. In all, they give rise to an 'image' having generally adverse connotations. They are also, except in a very few areas, difficult to obtain, usually incurring years on a waiting list.

By contrast, all other classes of rental accommodation are

diverse in style and tend to be associated with comparably higher rents. The general shortage of rental accommodation also means that the incidence of home ownership is quite high, through pressure of circumstances rather than choice. This creates a situation where the families arrive in Australia with a strong predisposition towards home ownership, especially as the Australian image abroad is that of a country where the norm is to own your house. Thus previous owners in Britain intend to maintain their ownership behaviour, and rental families come with the aspiration of buying a home of their own.

Paradoxically, in view of what has just been said, one of the main attractions of Whyalla is that it offers a job and a home to go with it, though it is obvious that this is a rental home, not one to be purchased. The attractiveness of the offer from BHP lies in the fact that *any* accommodation in Britain is difficult to obtain, so the offer alleviates the anxiety that is normally associated with moving to a new job that also necessitates finding a new home.

Looking now in detail at the families in this study; in the first place there was no significant change between the Initial and Final IVQ responses to the rating for the importance of 'buying your own home'. In terms of their actual behaviour, 35 (56.4%) of the 62 families in the study owned their own home in Britain, whereas six months after arrival in Whyalla, for the 59 families for whom the answer is known, only 8 (13.6%) had bought a home, and all of these were in Whyalla. However, one family owned two houses in Britain, one of which they sold before coming to Australia. This family did not stay in Whyalla, but rented accommodation in Tom Price, a town of some

3,500 people, about 300 km inland from Dampier, in Western Australia, where they were still in residence in December 1975 (that is, twelve months later).

The comparison between the class of home in Britain (that is, whether rented, owned, etc) and the class of home in Australia is shown in Table 29. Of the 62 families, four were non-migrant families paying their own way to Australia. Two of these owned their homes in Britain, and two lived in rented accommodation. None of these families had bought a home in Australia by the time they had been here six months. One of the two home-owning non-migrant families left Whyalla just after they had been there six months and a year later they were still living in rented accommodation at Dampier, Western Australia. One of the rental families left Whyalla between six and twelve months after their original arrival in Whyalla, and their present whereabouts is unknown. A spot check at the beginning of December 1975 revealed that the other two were still at their rental addresses in Whyalla.

The details of the occupancy data for private dwellings in South Australia are given in Table 30. From this table, it can be seen that the home ownership rate amongst the migrants when they were still in Britain, namely 56.4%, is considerably higher than the average Whyalla figure of 28.4%, but less than the overall South Australian figure of 68.3%. This would suggest that those families who came to *South Australia*, as opposed to Whyalla, with the idea of buying a home of their own, which they were unable to achieve in Britain, are at least supported in their belief by the available statistics. In fact there is an almost unanimous feeling amongst the families that they would like to own a home of their own 'eventually'. Only

Table 29 Former residential status in Britain, compared with Australian status at six months after arrival in Australia, for the families in the study.

	Lived with parents in UK	In the UK, rented :- Council flat or house	other (or unknown	Owned flat or or house in UK	Total
Migrants renting in Whyalla	7 (4 newly wed)	10	7	21*	45
Non-migrants renting in Whyalla			2	2	4
Migrants renting elsewhere in Australia	1 (newly wed)			1	2
Other migrants, whereabouts unknown				3	3
Migrants who bought a house in Whyalla				8	8
Total	8	10	9	35	62

*Includes one family whose home was compulsorily purchased, and who were resettled in a new council flat; and one family who sold their home to move to another part of the country.

Table 30 Occupied private dwellings (South Australia)

	Owned, or being purchased	SA Housing Trust tenancies	Non-SAHT tenancies
Whyalla	28.4%	58.3%	11.4%
South Australia	68.3%	10.0%*	17.4%

Data from Aitchison (1975)

*This figure reduces to about 8.7% for the *remainder* of South Australia, if Whyalla is excluded.

one of the families expressly said they did not want to own one, "because its too much of a fixture". At the moment they can just "get up and go" but they could not do so if they owned a home.

On the other hand, at the end of six months' stay in Whyalla, the 13.6% who had bought a house is considerably lower than even the Whyalla norm of 28.4%, let alone any of the other comparisons. The spot check at the beginning of December 1975 showed that the figures had changed slightly, in that 9 (19.3%) of the 47 families still in Whyalla now owned their own homes - showing a move, in percentage terms, towards the Whyalla norm, though it was a fortuitious change, since it involved ownership by just one extra family. Even so, this figure still lags behind the former British figure and is way below the South Australian standard. What has to be looked for are the *reasons* for this ongoing discrepancy, particularly in the light of the mismatch between the expectations and the behaviour. Some are quite straightforward; the attitude of family F44, for example, is: "Buy a house?" "In Whyalla?" "What fool would want to stay in Whyalla?" They will not buy a house "because of the possibility of losing money if we have to move elsewhere".

This is not such an unreasonable attitude amongst the families who depend on the Whyalla Shipyards for their employment. Today the shipyards in Australia look anything but 'safe'. Furthermore, the view of the wife in family F44 is that people who "bought houses 'amongst all those council houses' must be mad". This is a reflection on the way the South Australian Housing Trust (SAHT) lays out its estates. The main feeder roads are faced with single units, whilst the double units occupy the space behind them. As the purchasable houses are these single units, there is a real basis for such criticism. It stems from the feeling that there is status in home ownership, and in Whyalla this status is partly mitigated by the lack of clear demarcation lines between private and rental homes. In other words, the status of any one house depends in part on the properties that adjoin it.

At least five of the families declared they would not buy because of the risk involved in buying a house in Whyalla, whereas they would be quite happy to do so elsewhere. Different families see the phenomenon in slightly different ways. The general view of Whyalla is that it is a 'One-Company Town', so if anything happens to BHP, it happens to Whyalla. From this point of view, if BHP reduced the scale of its Whyalla operations in any way, then the housing market would very soon become flooded.

From the point of view of the individual, a much more likely situation is that, even though nothing has changed with BHP, the individual could lose his job; "Whyalla is a One-Company Town - you lose your job, you lose everything". For at least one family, they came to Whyalla with enough money to buy a house, or to pay for the fares back to Britain. They opted not

to buy when they decided they were not going to stay in Australia.

The family who opted not to buy on the grounds of having to leave Whyalla if the husband lost his job may be said to have a better reason for not buying than the last case that was mentioned. Given a situation where the demand exceeds the supply, and this was increasingly the case as the study progressed, there seems no reason why a family should not buy a house and live in it until such time as they decide they want to leave, but few families seemed prepared to do so. In fact, for many of them the spoken aim was to buy a house "when we've decided where we want to settle". There is ample evidence in Whyalla that this philosophy can be maintained for years.

Whatever the reason, one is left with a situation where the actual behaviour of house purchase has changed, but the attitude towards home ownership has remained constant. In the terminology of Fishbein (1967), there has been no change in the part of the equation representing the general expectation towards buying a home; what has undergone a change is the motivation to comply. The consequence is a greatly reduced level of home buying by the families once they have arrived in Whyalla.

In addition to what has been said so far, it is also the case that none of the families was subjected to any extrinsic pressures to buy a home of their own. Being supplied so readily with a rental home eased much of the intrinsic drive that was shown in the initial interview. The situation can be conceptualised as one where, in Britain, the family would be making an immediate change from purchasing one home to purchasing another. It would be an ongoing progression, with

no gap between the two; that is, a change in the capital asset, but not a release of the capital. Coming to Whyalla is quite different, since now there is a gap between the sale of one property and the purchase of the next. The significant feature is that the actual capital appears. For most of the families, they suddenly become aware that they now have money, possibly for the first time in their lives. The availability of this money seems to act as a strong incentive against buying a home in Whyalla. The main explanation is that the money is for either buying a home or paying the fares back to Britain. The logic is such that these are mutually exclusive demands, and that neither investment will be made until a decision has been reached. The argument does *not* run along the lines of buying a house and living in it *while* the decision is made. The long-term evidence of the study suggests that unless the home is obtained soon after arrival, the initiative is lost. In the fifteen months since the study was completed, only one family bought a home.

It could be said that the rationale relating to home ownership could also be applied to the question of car ownership, since these two represent the largest instances of single-item capital outlay for the families concerned. However, there is an important difference between the two. The question of car ownership is a response to an immediate pressing need, and does not represent such a large capital outlay (in terms of cash flow, and of staying in Australia), and it also does not imply any commitment to stay in Whyalla. In fact, it does just the opposite, since it represents a means of ready egress from Whyalla. In summary, of the two aspirations, car ownership is a far more viable and utilitarian response than buying a house.

(h) Leisure activities

Of the first four activities listed, three of them - having good playground facilities nearby, having good entertainment facilities, and having good countryside around Whyalla - can be considered under the collective title of leisure activities. The remaining one, 'having a good garden' could also be included. However, it tends to be much more a question of getting the garden into shape, and so is seen more in terms of an unwanted chore. Because of its peculiarities, it will be treated separately at the end of this section.

The nature of leisure activities probably undergoes a gradual change with the increasing age of the individuals concerned. This progress tends not to be apparent with the families in this study since the age distribution is essentially parents and children, with only very few teenagers included. Thus the impressions given tend to concentrate on the two major groups, to the exclusion of those concerning teenagers. To some extent, the omission is counterbalanced by the finding that such teenagers as there were tended to be present at the interviews, and express their own ideas and feelings, much more so than did the younger children, who tended to have their feelings expressed for them by their parents.

(i) Children's activities

Children's leisure activities are one of the features of Whyalla life that are characteristically different from Britain. Table 31 shows the average annual rainfall, and the annual number of days of rainfall, for selected centres in Britain and South Australia. For Britain, the annual rainfall ranges from 581.2 mm in London (just 8.5% greater than Adelaide) to 1040.6mm

Table 31 Average number of days of rainfall per annum and precipitation, at relevant centres in Britain and South Australia

		Number of days of rainfall	Average annual rainfall	
			mm	in
Great Britain	London (Greenwich)	164	581.2	22.9
	Birmingham (Edgbaston)	181	753.8	29.7
	Liverpool	183	735.5	28.9
	Plymouth	183	959.4	37.8
	Southampton	169	799.5	31.5
	Newcastle (Tynemouth)	182	690.4	27.2
	Glasgow (Renfrew)	208	1040.6	41.0
South Australia	Adelaide	122	535.5	21.1
	Port Augusta	60	238.6	9.4
	Whyalla	96	264.0	10.4

Data from: (a) Tables of Temperature, Relative Humidity and Precipitation for the World. London: HMSO, 1958: Part III, Europe and the Atlantic Ocean North of 35°N (for Britain); Part IV, Australasia and the South Pacific (for South Australia, Adelaide and Port Augusta)

(b) Aitchison (1975), for Whyalla annual rainfall

(c) Aust Govt Dept of Science and Consumer Affairs, Bureau of Meteorology, for the number of days of rainfall in Whyalla

in Glasgow, compared with 264.0 mm for Whyalla. In other words, it ranges from two to four times as much as Whyalla's annual rainfall. At the same time, the occurrence of rainfall (for it to be recorded, the rainfall for the day must be greater than 0.25 mm) ranges from 164 days per annum in London, to 208 in Glasgow, compared with 96 per annum in Whyalla. As far as children are concerned, this means that they have considerably greater opportunities to play outside in Whyalla than they do

anywhere in Britain. This has two consequences: in the first instance, the general type of activity is different - outdoor, instead of indoor - and secondly, because of the first one, the parents have to exercise a different sort of control over their children. These differences give rise to ambivalent attitudes in the parents, particularly the mothers. On the one hand, the parents welcome being able to get the children outside, since it means that fathers on shiftwork have to contend with less noise inside the house (meaning less strain on the mothers who have to try and keep rowdy children quiet in their play). As regards their children: "Life is better for them - they can get outside and enjoy themselves". "The children can play outside here, which is much healthier for them".

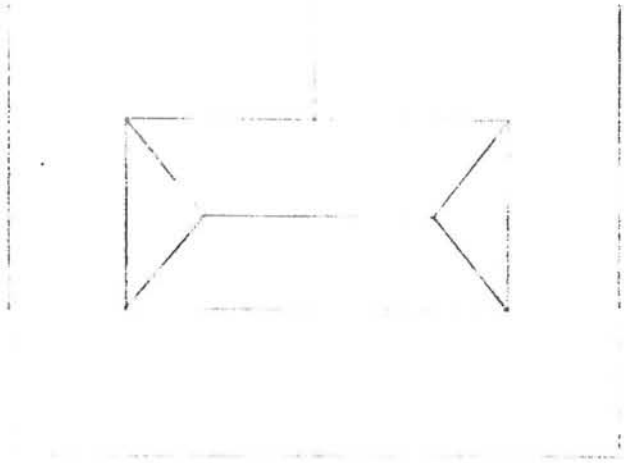
In contrast to this, the families also resent (for instance): "The (Tasmanian) children across the road - the freedom with which they make use of our house and garden, and the damage they cause. Although we've been used to 'open house', we still expect a certain amount of respect; personal respect and respect for our property, and it isn't the case here".

Largely because of the climatic differences, with the children playing outside, they tend to be outside much more often in South Australia than they would be in Britain. This also means that they are *out of contact with their parents* much more than they otherwise would be. In psychological terms, this means they are under a relatively greater influence by their peers, and an equally lesser influence of their parents, than would be the case in Britain. In immediate terms, this gives rise to a situation where for the children the parental control processes are less often reinforced, and for the parents there is a greater frustration and dissatisfaction

because of their inability to exercise the parental control they expect.

These differences may also be responsible for what appear to an observer to be some long-term differences in behaviour between Britons and Australians. Australians seem to behave in a generally more self-oriented way, showing relatively less awareness of, and consideration for, others, though they are overtly more generous. These are characteristics more associated with the behaviour of children. It is almost as though protracted exposure to their peers at this specific stage of their development has entrenched their behaviour. The British parents in this study become extremely conscious of these characteristics hardening in their own children, together with their own increasing lack of ability to modify the behaviour. In this respect, the climate rebounds on the parents, since they themselves are less inclined to make the necessary, possibly extra, efforts to control their children themselves. This becomes especially apparent in the way in which the families in the study have sought to delegate their parental responsibilities. In Britain, the parents tend to interact with their children, in play terms, more because the children are inside the house with them than because of any conscious efforts on their behalf. In Australia, where the children are outside, it requires much more direct effort to organise them. For the housewife, this is time-consuming in that it is not possible to do the housework with half an eye on the children. However, it is probably a *desire* to be able to do something with the children that makes them seem so much more aware of the lack of suitable playground facilities within easy reach where they can take them to play.

Once the children are old enough to organise themselves, the parents really do come face to face with the anomalies of the SAHT system. As was shown earlier in Plates 14-16, the modern concept for SAHT houses is continuous 'open-plan' frontages. This, coupled with the iron fences at the sides and rear of the houses, gives a network like this:



R O A D W A Y

where children in the back garden cannot see any neighbours because of the high iron fence, and it is impossible to restrain them in front of the house. Driving through the suburban areas of Whyalla, one cannot fail to be overwhelmed by the presence of young children and dogs running about in the streets, where so many of the parents have succumbed to the 'out of sight, out of mind' philosophy. One family mentioned how the wife was in difficulties through having to fetch one child home from school at 2.30 pm and the other at 3.30 pm, so they used to have to wait an hour for the second one. "Now I let them come home on their own - a thing I'd never do in the UK; but it must be OK here, because everyone else does it".

The level of disinterestedness by the parents has already been mentioned in Chapter 4. Parents, for example, "see

Guides only as a means for getting the children out of their hair". There is a chronic shortage of openings for children in such organisations because they cannot get people to run them. There is also a decreasing amount of opportunities for children. "They've shut Scott Street School. They used to allow children to play there in the evenings, but vandalism caused the amenities to be withdrawn". This is typical of the problems of Whyalla, where frustration at the lack of opportunities induces the children to resort to acts of vandalism, which in turn force the closure of more of the few facilities available. "In Whyalla, there's nothing for the children - we can't take the children anywhere after school. Where can you walk to from here?".

For the older children, there are fewer opportunities for them to roam off and play on their own. Whyalla is a city designed for the use of cars, so it is a long walk to get anywhere from the residential areas. The airport and the industrial areas lie between the residential areas and the sea, and Mount Laura is a 'good walk' in the opposite direction. The third direction means walking 'through' Whyalla and only in the fourth direction are opportunities available, with the open salt-bush and mallee country to the south.

As one twelve-year-old put it, "We've never been on a train since we've been here. We used to go once a week in England". In Whyalla, there are no buses to take them anywhere, and from a child's point of view, the trains have still to reach Whyalla. On the other hand, some parents see these omissions as a means for stopping the children from 'running wild', since they no longer have the scope to do so.

There are, however, plenty of organised sports for the

children, and during its open season, the Swimming Pool is an absolute Mecca, and is considerably more used than the Foreshore, and the beach in general. During December 1975, there was an incident during which a twelve-year-old girl nearly drowned at the Swimming Pool. The maximum temperature on the day before the incident was 40°C, the overnight minimum had been 27.3°C and the maximum on the day was 44.2°C. In other words, it was the sort of weather that caused people to flock to the Pool. At the subsequent inquest, reported in the Whyalla News, 22.3.1976, the coroner said the situation at the swimming centre could only be described as "chaotic". "Estimates given by witnesses of the number of children at the Pool at the time of the accident varied from 400 to 800, with estimates of adult numbers from 10 to 80". Even the most conservative estimate shows it to be an extremely popular place. Taking the number of children between the ages of 5 and 14 in Whyalla to be just under 8,000*, this means that between 5 and 10 percent of the children in Whyalla were at the Pool at the time of the incident.

In numerical terms, by far the most popular children's event in Whyalla is the CUC (Combined Unions Council) Annual Labour Day Picnic on the Foreshore. The Whyalla News, 10.10.73, reported that the Picnic was a record. "An attendance of more than 5,000 children at the Foreshore on Monday made the Annual Labour Day Picnic a record event". Assuming children to be those under the age of 14, this means that nearly 42% of the children in Whyalla were there. The figure seems reasonable in view of the fact that the children were "given 4,000 bumper

*Based on figures from the South Australian Divisional Statistics. Adelaide: C'wealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, 1973.

bars, 2,500 bags of sweets, 1,250 bags of peanuts and 1,250 twisty bars". At the height of the Picnic, the acting CUC secretary estimated that there were; "10,000 adults and children on the Foreshore" - nearly 30% of the total Whyalla population.

(ii) Activities of teenagers

In a way, the extreme popularity of the last two examples highlights the general shortage of facilities for the younger children. The Swimming Pool appeals more to the older children, but they find it frustrating that it is only open for part of the year. One teenager said they had been asked to list the amenities required for children, and a heated indoor pool had come out at the top of the list.

One reason for the popularity of the Swimming Pool is the water problem in Whyalla. Pools have to be filled with tap water from the River Murray, via the Morgan-Whyalla pipeline. The summer heat causes rapid development of micro-organisms in the water if it is exposed to sunlight. These in turn are a common source of amoebic meningitis, which is particularly fatal to children who succumb to it. This has dissuaded many people from having their own pools, especially as a large commercial pool is much better equipped to take effective counter-measures.

As things stand at the moment, all that is available once the pool shuts is to "play sport". For the teenager: "There are problems if you don't like it (sport) and don't want to". "There's no discos for the kids", nor are there any youth clubs; "They shut down the clubs because they say there's drugs there". "There's only one cinema in Whyalla". One son (16½) deplored how his mates at school "boast of their drinking bouts and mad

driving". His sister sees Whyalla as "dull, boring, and nothing to do".

A husband in one of the families who came to Whyalla had been involved in youthwork in Britain, and hoped to do something in the same field in Whyalla. Tentative enquiries about starting a club for the 9 - 16 years age group resulted in an offer of the use of club premises belonging to one of the local Football Clubs, but the idea folded when the Club stipulated Saturday night, and it became known that their main aim was to use the club as a means of obtaining a liquor licence - they already had one for five weekdays and this would have given them the sixth. Hence, Whyalla remains without its youth club.

Pickett and Boulton (1974) looked at a similar sort of problem in their study of the new town of Kirkby, in Lancashire. They refer to a study made by the Divisional Education Officer for Kirkby in 1964, when it was found that in spite of the considerable provision of facilities, "three-quarters of the population between fourteen and twenty years old were still unattached to any organised youth group ....."The fact was that among both boys and girls in the survey, 'staying in bed' was the answer most often given when they were asked to give an account of their usual way of spending Saturday and Sunday morning, and 'television' for Saturday evening and Sunday afternoon and evening, suggests that many have less regard for physical activity than might be considered suitable by their elders".

Mays *et al* (1968), in a survey of 14-year old Kirkby school-children, found 50% of the children attended the school club, though only 17% attended once a week. 16% visited a dance hall,

and 16% visited a youth club (other than the school club) at least once a week. 7% visited the cinema at least once a week (though Kirkby has no cinema of its own, so a visit entails a relatively expensive trip to Liverpool) and 8% visited a beat club at least once a week. Mays *et al* emphasise the value of schools organising clubs of their own - a feature that could readily be copied in Whyalla.

Sarre (1973) also highlights the inadequate facilities and the absence of leadership for young people's activities. Of the 58 families in the study who remained in Whyalla (that is, 116 people in approximately the 21-45 age group), one acted as a guide leader, one as a coach for a junior football team, and one made the already mentioned abortive attempt at starting a youth club. If this proportion is repeated in the overall population, it is hard to see why there should be such an apparent shortage of people to assist in youth activities. That there is a shortage is borne out by the coroner's remarks at the inquest on the near-fatal drowning at the Whyalla Swimming Pool, when he said that provision should be made for there to be many more people on duty to supervise such a large crowd of children. For some reason, parents abdicate part of their responsibilities when they come to Whyalla, and there is a marked lack of enthusiasm on the part of others to make good the omission.

(iii) Activities of adults

The contrast between what is available for the younger generation and for adults is quite large. As one of the families pointed out, the Whyalla Almanac "contains eight pages of Clubs and Associations, including various church organisations, lodges, national groups, groups for recreations

and hobbies, school clubs, service clubs, and so forth, including over three pages of sports clubs".

As was implied earlier, an *ad hoc* survey of the responses by the families in the study shows a distribution of activities that do not even faintly resemble what is available. Faced with this formidable list of opportunities, several of the families, after six months' residence in Whyalla, could still ask the question; "What can you do in Whyalla?"

Adult activities may be divided roughly into two classes - either they involve the whole family, including the children, or they are limited to the parents. Taking a hypothetical example of a couple, newly arrived in Whyalla, it could cost them approximately $15 for an evening at the cinema. This includes the costs of a baby-sitter 'from across the road'; the entrance fee for two adults to the one cinema in Whyalla, and the taxi fares there and back again, since there are no buses in the evening. If they were unable to find a local baby-sitter, then it would cost more as they would also have to pay for the baby-sitter's transport.

On arriving in Whyalla, many of the families find themselves as nuclear families for the first time, and so lose out in two ways. Firstly, they cannot socialise with their relatives, taking their children with them, and secondly, they cannot use the relatives as baby-sitters, either leaving their children with them, or having them come and look after the children. In effect, baby-sitters mean added costs to an evening's entertainment, and for many families, there is no alternative. The net result is that most of them just do not go out together. This also means an added burden of frustration for the wives and many of them disparage their 'leisure' time

with nouns like boredom and loneliness. Not being able to go out together means that, if the husband goes out by himself at all, the wife will have to put up with these additional periods of loneliness at a time when she would normally expect his company.

In turn, this also means that if the parents are going out together then they must also take their children with them, or leave them at home. Only one of the families regularly went out leaving children below the age of ten to fend for themselves - this particular family including five children, all less than ten years old; presumably their parents believed in safety in numbers.

Looking now at the activities involving only one of the parents; the first considerations will be devoted to what the wives are able to do. As one of the families expressed it, not long after they had arrived in Whyalla, they had "noticed there's only bingo for entertainment, and that seven nights a week". Another wife said that: "All there is for women to do in the afternoons is bingo, and bingo or the Drive-in in the evenings". Six of the housewives said they went regularly (at least once a week) to bingo, and it seems quite likely that others also went, though not necessarily so regularly. All those who mentioned it went in the evenings.

Leisure activities is not an area that was directly explored in the study, so the activities mentioned here tended to arise casually in the conversation, in connection with how the families were liking Whyalla, and how they were getting on there. It appeared as though most of the activities mentioned were regular. There is an additional utility in regular

attendance at an activity, as it enables the newcomer to build up a circle of new friends and acquaintances.

While it is possible to speculate at the details of the evening activities, there is ample evidence of group participation in daytime activities. These usually take place where there is a crèche provided for the children. Thus groups of housewives going bowling, playing badminton, squash or netball are all able to take their children with them. Some venues like the ten-pin bowling alley provide a crèche on an organised footing, while children are probably accommodated on a more informal basis at smaller activities such as netball.

The husbands also had their share of taking part in group activities. Seven said they played football, which also meant they had training and practice sessions as well. At least another four of them are in darts teams, an activity that includes social interaction and drinking, as well as the more competitive aspects. There is though a subtle distinction between the husbands' and the wives' activities. The husbands tend to get drawn into activities they are introduced to by their colleagues, whereas the wives tend to go to their activities initially on their own initiative, as a means of getting to know and meet other people. Thus the husbands go as a *consequence* of the social networks, and their wives go to be able to *establish* such networks.

What has been said so far refers to relatively formal activities. It is also noticeable that while a husband may experience his leisure in a semi-formal activity like going to the club, or playing darts, his wife generally achieves her leisure in totally informal ways: "He goes out to the club, and I go to see my friend, or she comes over to see me".

(iv) Family activities

So far each part of the family has been dealt with in turn; there remains the consideration of the activities which involve the whole family. Some of these have already been mentioned in part in relation to the children, and by far the most significant activity, in terms of frequency, is going to the beach, or to the Swimming Pool when it is open. Going to the Drive-in is popular, and it also means no overheads such as baby-sitters, but it does mean that you need a car.

Apart from these, the scope is not large: "What can you do in Whyalla? There's the Drive-in, or there's the Pool". On the other hand, some of the families welcome the opportunity to be able to go out for a drink and to take the children with them, and also to be able to take their children into the clubs. Several of the families watch football on Sunday afternoons. For one family, the husband takes the children out fishing on Sunday morning; lunch at home, and then they all go out together (including the wife) to watch the football match in the afternoon.

The impressive list of available activities in Whyalla seems very much part of the 'grass is greener on the other side of the fence' phenomenon. This becomes apparent when one looks at what the families do in Whyalla, compared with what they previously did in Britain. Family F12 "left the UK, in part, because we could never go out". Their life was: "Sitting at home, watching TV, or talking - nothing else". They "couldn't afford to go out. It cost as much for a baby-sitter as it did to go out; and the meal was so expensive". They looked forward in Whyalla to "eating out; and having a better social life", but they found the same problems and do

the same things as they did in Britain. This reflects the general attitude of many of the families. They are not looking to be able to do different things from what they did before, but rather they look for better opportunities for doing the same things. Thus the footballer in Britain looks forward to playing again in Whyalla, but with the game less often marred by bad weather, and the swimmer looks for being able to swim more often than he did in Britain.

Ironically, those who indicated that they did want to do something they had previously not done, frequently found they were unable to do it. One family looked forward to being able to go riding. The first difficulty they encountered was with the South Australian system of land sub-division which meant they could not possibly get a home with sufficient land for them to keep their own horses, and with a conventional Whyalla home: "You can't keep a horse in the garden; its too small". Another family from New South Wales said that before they came to Whyalla they had thought it inconceivable that you just cannot get a house on a property big enough to run horses. The only alternative available is to go to the Riding Club, and "They're too, you know, 'posh'".

A third family looked forward to joining the Sailing Club. He had been a marine engineer in the Army, and looked forward to being able to continue tinkering about with boats. They also did not join the Club when they reached Whyalla: "For one thing, you must have a boat. On the other hand, we're not keen on the set-up".

Both of these may be examples of *post hoc* rationalisation by the families for not doing what they originally intended to

do. At the same time it also shows the subtle social class pressures that apply in such activities. There is a high incidence of ex-military families in this study and they tend to be particularly sensitive to such nuances. Hence they often shy away from activities that purport to be a province of social classes other than their own. Consequently, the activities in which they indulge are either traditionally class-free, or those which pertain to their own social class. Thus the women go to bingo and netball, play darts, visit friends and neighbours "for a chat", or occasionally go out for a drink and "to the club". In the club: "The men join the men, and the women join the women". By the same token, the men are interested in 'the dogs', darts, football, or go to the clubs, lodges, and so forth.

(v) Visiting local places of interest

Many of Whyalla's activities presuppose car ownership, and one activity which cannot be undertaken without a car is visiting places outside Whyalla - the feature loosely included in the concept: 'Having good countryside around Whyalla'. Several of the families, especially those who owned cars in Britain, were used to going out for a trip in the countryside if and when the spirit moved them. This varied from "an evening run to a pub in the country" to spending the day just roaming around the countryside. Without doubt, the countryside around Whyalla, and its scale, is vastly different from what the families have been used to, and necessitates a great deal of adjustment. For example, the Iron Knob Hotel is the *only* hotel within 70 km by land of Whyalla, which leaves little scope for an evening out "at a country pub".

An examination of details of travelling outside Whyalla is

obtainable from the answers to the question: "Where have you been in the last month/six months?", given during the second, and more especially the third, interview. The responses are shown schematically in Figure 10, and the details are summarised in Table 32. It is interesting to see that 11 of

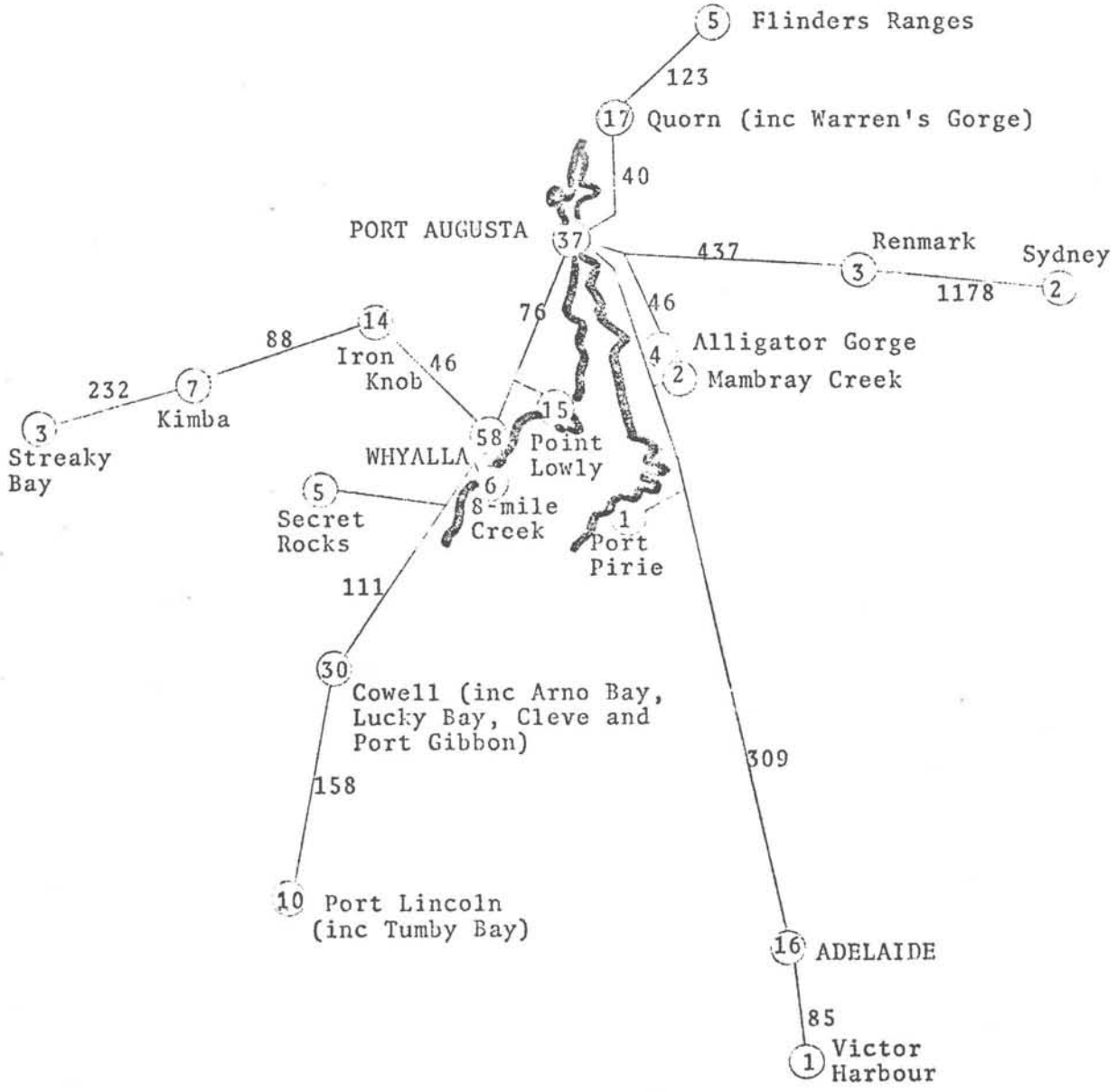
Table 32 How far the families have been in their first six months in Whyalla

		Number of families
	Whyalla only	11
1	Whyalla and local spots only	15
2	From Whyalla, only via Cowell	5
3	From Whyalla, only via Kimba	1
4	From Whyalla, only via Port Augusta	12
5	Two or more of 2, 3 and 4	25
	Did not stay in Whyalla	4

the 58 families who stayed in Whyalla (19.0%) had not ventured outside Whyalla at all in their first six months there. In fact, one family had only been to the City Centre once in their first six months, after they had received their house allocation, and had never been to the beach. A further four families had been no further than the two 'down the road' local spots at 8-mile Creek and Point Lowly. Together, these amount to 15 families (25.9%) who had been no further than the two local spots during their first six months in Whyalla.

It seems quite astonishing that the families should undertake a 19,000 km trip to Whyalla, and then go no more than 40 km in the next six months, but this is what happened

Figure 10 Showing the number of families who have been to the various places within their first six months.



(10) = 10 families visited the location shown

107 = distance in km, between circles.

to more than a quarter of them. This feature has nothing to do with car ownership either, since seven of the fifteen families had cars by the end of their first month's residence in Whyalla, and a further two by the time they had been there six months.

It is possible to drive out of Whyalla in three different directions, and the number of families using these directions is shown in Figure 10. From Table 32, it can be seen that only one family made their only trip out of Whyalla in the direction of Kimba (going west across country). Five families made their only trips southwards in the direction of Cowell. (The spots that tend to be visited around Cowell are mainly the beaches at Arno Bay, Lucky Bay and Port Gibbon, and associated fishing spots). This area is reputedly the best place for beaches within the vicinity of Whyalla and is about 120 km (just over an hour's drive) away. Most of the families made their only venture in the direction of Port Augusta, since Port Augusta itself is the nearest place of any size, and most of the places that are visited necessitate passing through Port Augusta. What is interesting is to find that 25 (43.1%) of the 58 families made trips in more than one of these directions. Of these 25 families, four have been classed as 'inveterate' travellers in view of the amount and frequency of exploring they undertook. Of these four, two families left Whyalla after being there just over six months. One family drove to Sydney where they sold their car before moving to Groote Eylandt, where they would be unable to take a car, and the other family drove over to Perth and then to Dampier. For these two, there seems little doubt that their adventurousness was associated with a general feeling of

dissatisfaction with Whyalla, and all four families showed a marked level of non-participation in other forms of leisure activities. They also showed some evidence of difficulties with fitting into the Whyalla society. Two families, F35 and F10, said so in as many words; F35: "We can't find the sort of people with whom we want to associate. On the other hand, the people we've met when we've travelled around the countryside have fulfilled our expectations". (This family moved to Umbacumba Mission, on Groote Eylandt). F10: "We are regarded as outcasts because we do different things from most people, and we like to mix with ones who are like us".

In the third family, F19, the wife is rather shy. They had very friendly neighbours who did not like Whyalla and have just gone back to Sydney. In the wife's opinion, they were: "The only ones I felt I could just drop in on". Since their departure she has been feeling lonely and bereft, so for this family, travel is almost a vicarious social existence. He says his mates (at work) are "always going places". He asks them where they go, and then the family goes later to see for themselves.

The last family, F9, is rather different in that he appears to have definitely fitted in. He played football and actively investigated the possibilities of youth work. On the other hand, his wife found the boredom of being at home with nothing to do was a very real problem. She felt "just like a cabbage" and was desperate for some sort of stimulation. She even investigated the possibilities of part-time taxi-driving. Paradoxically, this is the only one of the four families to arrive with friends already in Whyalla. (None of them has

relatives in Whyalla). This is the family which moved to Dampier, in Western Australia.

From these examples, it seems reasonably certain that excessive exploration is associated with their social isolation. Ironically, this inveteracy must exacerbate their isolation, since while they are frequently roaming away from Whyalla, they must be greatly reducing their chances of meeting people in Whyalla who have a similar outlook to themselves. It could also be argued that by travelling they are more likely to meet such people, but the families concerned showed no evidence of making any enduring relationships as a result of their explorations.

Over and above this, it also seems plausible that there is a more general association between exploring outside Whyalla and the within-Whyalla social interactions. A visit to the countryside around Whyalla, whilst satisfying a normal curiosity drive, also provides a means of escape from the frustration, and loneliness and boredom, of not having a good social network in Whyalla. It is literally a means of 'getting away from' the problems. At this more general level, the evidence strongly suggests that there is no behavioural link between those families who 'explored', and those who never ventured from Whyalla, as can be seen in the following matrix :-

	Good socialisers	Moderate or poor socialisers
Sedentary families	7	8
Traveller families	12	13

In this matrix, the 15 families who never ventured from Whyalla have been classed as 'sedentary families', and the 25

who explored in more than one direction are the 'traveller families'. Their socialisation behaviour is based on observation of the families concerned, and the figures indicate quite clearly that the two features are independent of one another. It would therefore appear that the factor "Having good countryside around Whyalla" is associated with a quite definitive requirement, and the ongoing importance of this factor is related solely to the satisfaction of this specific need. It is not a displacement requirement brought about by other frustrations of living in Whyalla, though it seems likely to have been enhanced by being another 'whole family' activity.

(vi) Television and entertainments

Returning to the more comprehensive considerations of leisure activities; those that have been discussed so far can be broadly classed as interactive. In addition to these, there is one 'inactive' activity that is resorted to by all the families without exception, and that is watching television. In fact, only one family had not obtained a television set within one month of arrival. In terms of the amount of time devoted to the various activities, watching television must stand in a clear lead, though the suggestion itself is somewhat misleading. The television set is there, and it is invariably on, but it is debatable whether or not the watchers are consciously absorbing the programmes they are viewing. One very noticeable feature of this is that the families were clearly much less distracted by the television set than was the interviewer. They seem quite capable of carrying on normal life uninterrupted by the programme they are supposedly watching. In turn this means that it becomes particularly

hard to assess their 'involvement' in this activity, compared with others that have been mentioned; the measure depends more on the stated reactions to the programmes. For a start, with one exception, nobody had anything good to say about the programmes. When the study was taking place, Australia did not have colour television, and apparently nearly all the families had colour sets in Britain. This alone caused the Australian television to be classed as "backward". Furthermore, many of the programmes have done all the rounds before they reach Asutralia, so the net result is the families find themselves watching "In black and white the programmes we've previously seen years ago in colour in Britain", and the quality of the reception leaves much to be desired. Even so, there is a marked reluctance to switch off the sets; apparently even third-rate watching is better than none at all. The only person who actively praised the programmes was one who was classed by the interviewer as suffering from acute agoraphobia, which prevented him from ever venturing beyond the Whyalla City limits. He satisfied his ardent desire to explore the countryside and the bush by the vicarious method of watching other people doing it on the television: "I'd love to go out exploring the bush - like the Leyland brothers", but he rejects all attempts to persuade him to leave Whyalla.

The opinions of Whyalla television have already been discussed in Chapter 4, so it is sufficient to say at this juncture that the opinions of the families in the study bear out what has been said. One of the major criticisms was that "Adelaide has four channels to Whyalla's two". Sarre (1973) was quite specific about this, querying why the Whyalla

viewers should pay as much for their two channels as the Adelaide viewers paid for four. The succeeding Federal Labor Government solved the problem by abolishing the licence fee.

In conclusion then, it may be said that the concept "having good entertainment facilities" in Whyalla encompasses the whole range of activities that have been discussed, from having a meal out to the quality of the television programmes. Sarre (1973) reported that: "To provide for people's social needs, Whyalla could do with a cultural centre 'with frequent plays, ballets, concerts, etc.'" Only one of the 57 families who stayed in Whyalla mentioned regret at the loss of opportunities to go to the theatre and "a show in the West End" when they felt like a night out. On the other hand, the one family that did leave at between one and six months after their arrival in Whyalla, also said how frustrated they felt at not being able to go to the theatre and particularly the cinema. "Adelaide has many more cinemas with the chance of seeing a much better range of films".

Most of the families appreciate the cabaret-style entertainment that brings various celebrities to Whyalla. The shows are decidedly popular, if not all that frequent.

Overall, it appears that this factor of "having good entertainment facilities" represents a general desire for an improvement in the quality and quantity of the entertainment available. In this instance though, there seems to be some justification for assuming that the ongoing strength of the desire comes about, in part, through the displacement of other frustrations - in particular those attributable to the social isolation experienced especially by the wives, who suffer greatly from the loss of their previous neighbourhood

interactions.

(vii) Gardens and gardening

The final feature of this section is the concept of 'Having a good garden'. Reference was made in Chapter 4 to the way in which the gardens are pillaged between one tenancy and the next. This behaviour seems to be most frequent where houses are in the early stages of establishment; that is, at a time when people imagine that fruit trees and so forth have not been in long enough to become too firmly established to be transplanted (though in reality they invariably have). Alternatively, the pillagers' gardens are not sufficiently established in their own right, and need supplementing. The other aspect is inherent in the core concept of rental accommodation, namely that people living there do not see themselves as fixtures. This gives rise to the feeling: "Why should we work for somebody else's benefit?" Furthermore, in numerical terms, an incoming tenant is more likely to obtain a house of a transient family than of a more permanent one, and a transient family is less likely to make an effort with the garden.

The incidence of previous tenancies in the study is not generally known. In fact, the only known ones tend to be extreme cases. For example, one family was told by the neighbours that they were the "sixth tenants in five years", and they were succeeded by another family in the study. At the other extreme, one family knew they were taking over a house occupied by the previous tenants for eight years. This latter family home included the 'best' garden of those in the study, while the earlier one was the worst.

To match up with the concept at issue, the quality of the

Table 33 Quality of gardens when taken over by the families.

	n	%
Extremely good garden	6	12.5
Good garden	8	16.7
Medium garden	18	37.5
Poor garden	16	33.3
Total	48	100
In new house	8	
In own home	2	
Did not stay in Whyalla	4	
Total number of houses	61*	

The overall total of houses is 61, and not 62, because one family in the study took over a house previously occupied by another of the families in the study.

gardens was assessed, in a rough way, to give some idea of with what the families had to contend. The results of the classification are shown in Table 33. From this table, it can be seen that only 14 families (29.2%) received houses with gardens that were classed as 'good', or better, and several of these were only good in the sense of having been well-maintained and cared for, though by the time they were taken over several features were missing. For example, family F40 said: "The previous owners of our (2-year old) house had made a beautiful job of the garden - but the neighbours pinched the roses and fruit-trees before we moved in".

Family F30 moved into a house whose previous tenants were evicted - "He was a (car) speedway fanatic. The backgarden used to be like a second-hand car yard. We're forever digging

up pieces of cars. We got a gearbox out the other day". Family F1 moved into a home whose previous tenants were evicted because they ran a 'market garden' business - their garden being the market garden. "The garden was full of peppers, onions, etc, and the back porch was covered with trailers where they used to dry their products". A third family, F2, took over a house that had been occupied for the previous four years by a couple who had never touched the back-garden - it was still covered by virgin salt-bush. In a way, this was fortunate for the new tenants, since untouched scrub is far easier to deal with than land that has been cleared, cultivated, and then allowed to go its own way.

Two families bought houses soon after arriving and have not been included in this discussion. A further eight families were allocated new houses and so were faced with the task of establishing a garden from scratch. It seems that the pride of occupying a new house is sufficient incentive to cause most of the families to work hard towards making a garden. The houses are first available as pairs of units, and because of the open-plan designs they have common frontages. They tend to be first occupied simultaneously, so the two families often find themselves being mutually supportive in their efforts. It is noticeable that if two families are actively looking for an opportunity to buy a home of their own, and one family is in a brand new house, and the other is in an established one, then the family in the new house will continue to work on the garden, whereas the other family will either maintain the status quo or allow the garden to deteriorate slowly, but will not improve it.

What this comes down to is that many of the families do spend quite a considerable portion of their time working on the garden. In the early days of their stay in Whyalla, the families are still building up a circle of friends and acquaintances, and therefore have more time to devote to such activities as getting the garden straight, as well as the drive from their initial enthusiasm for getting their new property into good order. The Initial IVQ goal was 'having a good garden' and this is maintained, in spite of the Whyalla Questionnaire rating of the gardens as poor. Thus the goal is maintained where it is by the amount of effort made by the families towards their gardens; in other words the behaviour to achieve the goal is itself supporting the goal.

(j) The husband's work, and the attitudes towards it.

Two of the remaining discrepant features are 'The husband's earnings', and 'The husband enjoying his work'. Rather than deal with these two now, and the remaining aspects of work later, they are going to be linked together within this sub-section, which will therefore attempt to cover all aspects and consequences of the work situation.

There are two outstanding 'attraction' features that characterise the group of families in this study. They have come to Whyalla knowing that they have a job and a home to come to. The features of having a home have already been discussed. What differentiates them from the present topic is that the home embraces all members of the family, whereas work, in the present context, only involves the husbands. The attitudes of the wives towards their husband's work are essentially second-stage characteristics, and only reflect the way in which the

husbands' reaction to their work impinge on the rest of their families. This is not to say that these features are not important; they can in fact have quite a profound effect on the total situation.

(i) Initial problems

To get the problem into perspective, one has to consider just what is involved in the migration process from BHP's point of view. At any one time, they have a certain number of vacancies, covering several different trades and occupations. The Recruiting Officer in Britain is notified of the 'vacancies', and his job is to find suitable candidates. The difficulty lies in the uncertainty of the duration, and extended length, of the lead-time between when a person has accepted a BHP appointment and the time when he arrives to take it up. Naturally the BHP operations do not remain at a standstill until the candidate arrives. What happens is that BHP makes do by deploying the available staff in such a way as to maintain production until such time as the newcomer arrives. One consequence of the personal redeployment is that the individual concerned may find he likes his 'temporary' job better than his previous one, and takes up the option of staying there. Thus a person recruited in Britain will find himself in Whyalla doing the job for which he was selected in the first place only in the following circumstances :-

(a) He was a specialist in an area, the nature of which, or of him, are such that the job was kept open for him

(b) In the case where more than one person does the same job in the same place; his original vacancy was filled, but an identical one just happened to arise

(c) He was allocated to an unpopular department that has a high turnover, and so his original vacancy has been filled, but become vacant again before his arrival.

The first of these is most infrequent. The second is a frequent occurrence in the Shipyards, where the ratio of the number of men to the number of trades is much higher than in the Steelworks, and furthermore, departments like for example the Plate and Bar Department employ numbers of men with common trades, such as welders and boilermakers.

The third alternative certainly occurs in the Steelworks where some departments are undoubtedly more unpopular than others. Some of the jobs are extremely dirty and obnoxious, and to outsiders, these are where they would expect to find a high turnover, but paradoxically this is not the case. For example, the Pellet Plant is reputedly one of the dirtiest places to work; the whole atmosphere surrounding the Plant is pale pink from the presence of ferrous oxide dust, but it does not experience such a high turnover as do the Motor Shops. This is so even though many people who do not work in the Pellet Plant say they would leave, rather than be transferred there.

The overall effects are that if a person starts working for BHP and finds he does not like the job he has been allocated, the most likely reason is that it is because he has to fill an 'unpopular' vacancy. In this respect, reactions to housing and work are similar in that in each instance an establishment having a history of high turnover is more likely to prove unpopular and also, *because* of this, is more likely to be available in the first place.

It was mentioned in Chapter 2 that the questions

incorporated in the Whyalla Questionnaire were included because they were features the families themselves had considered important. In turn, it must be assumed at this point that the circumstances surrounding working for BHP represent a sensitive area. It has just been shown how there is a somewhat tenuous connection between what was expected by the husbands in the first place, and what they subsequently got. The most one would anticipate that this means is that they found it disconcerting. After all, it is not very difficult for the husbands to predict for themselves the likelihood of one particular vacancy being kept open for them, and on the whole, most of them considered that what had happened was not too consequential. One husband was particularly perplexed by his assignment. He had previously worked in the shipbuilding industry, on assembling marine turbines. He had originally applied to go to the Shipyards as a fitter, but had delayed his departure because of his wife's pregnancy. He travelled to Whyalla knowing he had been assigned to the Motor Shops, which he assumed meant ship's engines. He got a shock when he turned up and found he was to work in the BHP 'garage'. He had "served his time" in the motor trade, but it was the first time he had worked on a vehicle since he had completed his apprenticeship.

Against this is the case of another husband who had worked in the shipyards at Birkenhead but had come to Whyalla with the expectation of working in the Steelworks, since the Shipyards had no vacancies when he applied to come. He was rather pleased when he arrived to find an offer of a job in the Shipyards instead, because they were particularly short of men in his trade at the time.

These two cases though are exceptional. It is much more likely that the person finds himself doing the job he had expected. The problem is that it fails to fulfil his expectations. It is another example of the reaction syndrome; this time the job turns out to be different in ways which were not expected. Generally these are not major differences so much as an aggregation of smaller ones. However, one big snag that crops up occurs in the question of trade licencing, especially of electricians, and stems from procedural differences between the British and Australian systems. For a supervisory position in Australia, an electrician needs an 'A' licence. Australian electricians qualify directly for their A licences, and so do not bother with the less general B licence first, before qualifying for the A licence. Because of the differences between the two countries, a British-qualified electrician can only be granted a B licence when he arrives, and then has to pass the requisite examinations before he may be granted an A licence. However, *because* of the national differences in the systems, the need for such a course in Australia, leading to the requisite examination, is minimal. This creates a problem in Whyalla, where the Technical College will not run a course unless there are at least six candidates. Thus an electrician can find himself in Whyalla, without an A licence, and without the course being available to study for the necessary examinations for obtaining the licence. This is particularly irritating for the older man who has achieved seniority in Britain. His past experience would lead him to expect accelerated progress in Australia, but he finds himself debarred by this unexpected difficulty. Not only that, the older man finds it proportionately more difficult to return to study after a long absence than does the younger man who has

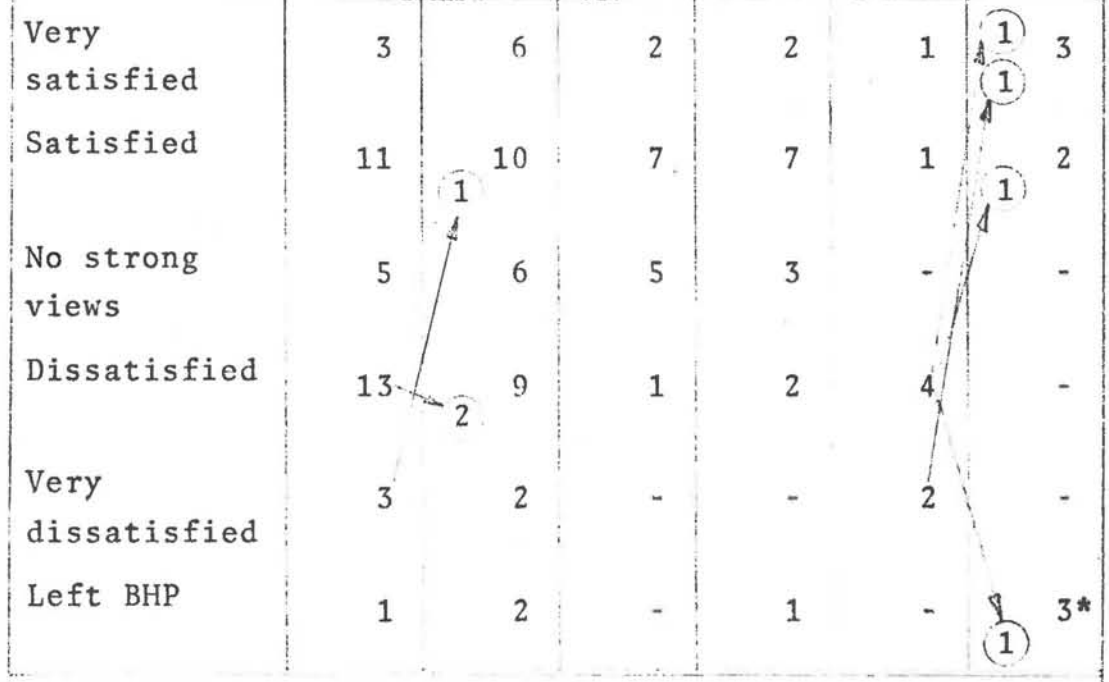
not long finished his apprenticeship.

(ii) Satisfaction and dissatisfaction with the job.
The husbands in this study fall into two broad classes - they are either skilled or unskilled. As skilled tradesmen, they were assigned to either the Steelworks or the Shipyards, whereas the unskilled workers all went to the Steelworks because unskilled vacancies tend to occur less frequently in the Shipyards; (a) there are relatively fewer of them, and (b) the work is inherently more satisfying. The converse is equally true; the work is dirtier and more dissatisfying in the Steelworks, and the turnover is high. For example, one husband who was a unskilled worker at the Steelworks reported: "Several fellows started work last Monday, and they are finishing today (Friday). They will not stick it - including an Australian, a Swiss and a Yugoslav. I have applied for a transfer myself. If I had known I was going to get this sort of a job, I would not have come here (to BHP), but I'd have still come to Australia".

The general levels of satisfaction and dissatisfaction are shown in Table 34, and the details of the attitudes towards working for BHP are given in Appendix XI. The personnel involved were not asked directly to rate this feature, though three questions having a bearing on it were included in the Whyalla Questionnaire: "Does the husband : always/most of the time ..... :enjoy his work?"; "Do you have : plenty/enough ..... :to do at work?"; "How would the husband rate his earnings?" The responses from the sample who completed the Whyalla Questionnaire were that the husbands enjoyed their work most of the time; they have enough to do at work, and they rate their earnings as good. In effect, the responses

Table 34 Attitudes towards working for BHP: the situation at Stage 2 (one month after arrival) and at Stage 3 (six months after arrival); including transfers from one dept. to another.

	Steelworks (skilled)		Shipyards (skilled)		Steelworks (unskilled)	
	At one month	At six months	At one month	At six months	At one month	At six months
Very satisfied	3	6	2	2	1	3
Satisfied	11	10	7	7	1	2
No strong views	5	6	5	3	-	-
Dissatisfied	13	9	1	2	4	-
Very dissatisfied	3	2	-	-	2	-
Left BHP	1	2	-	1	-	3*
Numbers and percentages in the major categories						
Not dissatisfied	19 (52.7)	22 (62.9)	14 (93.3)	12 (80.0)	2 (25.0)	5 (62.5)
Dissatisfied	16 (44.5)	11 (31.4)	1 (6.7)	2 (13.3)	6 (75.0)	- -
Left BHP	1 (2.8)	2 (5.7)	-	1 (6.7)	-	3 (37.5)
Total	36	35	15	15	8	8



*Includes one person who was sacked.

Note: (a) Arrows show the transfer movements, and the number in the box refers to how many were so affected.

(b) In the lower part of the table, figures in brackets are percentages.

indicate a generally satisfactory state of affairs.

The data in Table 34 have been derived from an assessment by the author of the general attitudes shown by the subjects during their interviews. The most diminant feature shown is the overall satisfaction found in both BHP divisions. Taking the situation for the unskilled workers first; it has already been mentioned that the Company is able to meet locally the demand for unskilled labour for the Shipyards. That there are problems in the Steelworks comes through quite clearly from the data for the situation at the end of the first month after arrival in Whyalla; 75% of the unskilled candidates disliked their work. By six months, one had had the sack, two had left BHP of their own accord, and four had been transferred to other tasks. Of these four, one still disliked the work so much that he then opted to leave the Company without first securing a new job to go to. Hence, by the end of the first six months in Whyalla, he had firstly been transferred and then left, so augmenting the number shown as leaving of their own accord to three. On the whole though, the reshuffling was successful in that all those remaining with the Company at the end of six months were satisfied with their work.

The reactions of the skilled personnel may be gauged by comparison between the Shipyards, where at the end of the first month, 93.3% were not dissatisfied with their work, as opposed to only 52.7% in the Steelworks. The data, with regard to transfers are somewhat misleading, in that the workforce at the Shipyards tends to be divided into very broad categories, with the personnel concerned deployed in accordance with the needs at the time. Thus welders for example will be initially employed on prefabrication, but once

this stage is completed, the work emphasis is on installation on the ship, with part of the workforce redeployed accordingly. By contrast, the majority of the Steelworks employees have sedentary occupations (with the principal exception of the Motor Shops, where they can be called out to attend a breakdown on one of the larger vehicles), and so a change of work necessitates a transfer.

At the commencement of the study, the Company attitude towards the transfer of personnel was very rigid, quite surprisingly so in view of the features associated with it. Firstly there are the problems already mentioned associated with the extensive lead-time between the time when the employee was initially accepted and when he actually starts work; and secondly, BHP was experiencing problems with regard to staff turnover. Its reaction to this was to clamp down on internal transfers, to the extent that they were only permitted if the supervision in the giving and receiving shops agreed. The system also extended to personnel moving from the Steelworks to the Shipyards and vice versa, although they are in theory completely independent and autonomous units. The other feature, referred to in Chapter 4, is the way in which BHP holds the axe over the smaller firms in Whyalla. Not surprisingly, a large organisation such as BHP gives rise to a number of smaller independent satellite organisations who live by subcontracted work from BHP. The iniquity stems from the way the contracts are jeopardised if the firms 'poach' labour from BHP. This means a BHP employee can be grossly dissatisfied with his job, and wish to join his mates working for a sub-contractor, but he cannot make the move because of the risk to the contract. One employee thought of moving, but

he "heard that Reyrolle Parsons 'have an agreement' whereby changing jobs is not allowed if BHP don't want the man to go". In a similar way, a Shipyards employee found he was "always being rejected when I apply for jobs. I think it is because I work for BHP". In the end, he applied to Perry Engineering, who have an 'agreement' with BHP, that they will not take on people from BHP, so he had to leave BHP before he could get the job at Perry's. "I should not be talking to you", said the Perry's representative, "So go and leave BHP first and then come and talk to us". So he left BHP on the Friday, and was offered the job on Saturday.

Such charades show little credit for BHP and make a mockery of the rights of the individual. The consequences of such Big Brotherliness are either the employee grins and bears it, or he leaves BHP, and so usually leaves Whyalla. Both the cases cited above opted to leave Whyalla, the second with the cessation of Perry's operations in Whyalla.

Predictably these actions give BHP a bad name as an employer, and undoubtedly contribute to their labour turnover statistics. An outsider cannot know the full story, but during the study there was a change in Federal Government, and the incoming Labor Party certainly put pressure on BHP to do more in terms of within-Australia recruiting, and less recruiting from overseas. Just how this affected Whyalla is difficult to ascertain, but around about the same time, the Steelworks appointed a Liaison Officer as a 'trouble-shooter'. He features in this study mainly as the BHP staff appointee investigating the dissatisfaction among the husbands in this group. In any event, internal transfers appeared to become more frequent after his appointment, and the proportion of

employees satisfied with their work rose between the 1-month and the 6-month interviews. This is particularly noticeable in the case of the unskilled employees where there was a 37.5% increase in the number satisfied, and the remaining 37.5% of dissatisfied employees left the Company. A similar tendency is apparent among the skilled employees. Even so, after six months 31.4% of the skilled employees at the Steelworks were still dissatisfied with their work, and not surprisingly several more left the Company in the ensuing months.

(iii) Overtime and shiftwork

The picture so far is of dissatisfaction being more in evidence in the Steelworks than the Shipyards. While the nature of the work may be less desirable in the Steelworks, it is also necessary to look at other features distinguishing the two Divisions. The main difference is that the Steelworks operates around the clock, whereas work in the Shipyards is strictly day-work. Thus the family has a more ordered and routine existence with the Shipyards, whereas the Steelworks family's life is correspondingly more disrupted, but tends to be more highly paid. The effects, as far as earnings are concerned, are that supplementary payments are accrued by overtime, shifts, or a combination of the two (not taking into account standard supplements associated with some of the tasks or Departments - such as 'Dirt Money' at the Pellet Plant).

Overtime is one feature where care has to be taken as to the conclusions drawn. The situation now being discussed is not one where overtime is being introduced into a stable environment, but rather it is a case where the environment itself is extremely unstable. The families concerned are in

the process of being inducted into a new society which is a long way from, and very different from, what they have been used to. Overtime affects the situation in a number of ways: it increases the income, and so theoretically shortens the length of time necessary to be able to afford to equip the home. Secondly, it *adds* to the burden for the wives because (a) they have to spend longer periods on their own, and (b) because the husband has the car (the point examined earlier in Section (f)) they are usually deprived of the means for getting about in order to alleviate this loneliness. These lead to the ambivalence of the wives putting extra pressures on their husbands to spend more time at home, but at the same time encouraging them to do overtime to bring in the increased income to make it a better home. These all encourage the husband to do overtime, because being at work, with plenty to do, is more congenial in the first place, and lessens the time he has to spend in the uncongenial atmosphere at home. All that can be said at this juncture about the overall effects on family cohesiveness is that none of the families in the study showed any signs of major disruptions, so it must be assumed that the effects of overtime are no more than a further straining of an already stressful situation. Nevertheless, the potential is there, particularly as some of the families gave, as part of their reasons for leaving Britain, a desire to get away from the difficulties in home life brought about by shift work, or 'permanent nights' (an option not practiced by BHP at Whyalla).

Some measure of the overt reactions to shiftwork, overtime and earnings were obtained from casual remarks made by the families. These have been detailed in Appendix XII; the data

do not readily lend themselves to a reduction to tabular form. One cannot ask, for instance, what the reaction is to shiftwork; how many like it and how many do not. The responses show the question to be rather more complex, since shiftwork is inevitably tied to the earnings. A typical reaction comes from the husband in family F31 for example, who said: "I don't like shifts - but I do like the money".

Working shifts does carry with it the problems of disruption to the household, and the body rhythms, especially the BHP system of week-and-week-about, as opposed to a monthly turnround. Families, especially with young children, find it difficult to adjust to the frequent changes. However, for every husband disliking the system, there is another who welcomes it because of the opportunities available to spend longer breaks with his family. The shift system brings about particular difficulties in those families where both husband and wife are working, irrespective of which partner, or both, are working on shifts, as they run into distinct problems when their shifts are out of phase. (For example, the shift system at the Whyalla Hospital is different from the one at BHP).

The wives also show mixed reactions to the shift system. For them comes the loneliness and boredom, and some of them are especially anxious when they are left at home on their own at night. Family F4, for instance, has neighbours who "are alcoholics. When they're 'blind', everything goes". The light on in their home, and no car, means that the neighbours know she is alone in the house. At least one wife refuses to answer the door when she is on her own at night. The reaction seems to depend on the neighbours, and what it was previously like in Britain. One family, F11, finds it easier here, since the wife

can "sleep peacefully at nights" without having to worry about whether anyone would take advantage of the knowledge she was on her own.

A measure of the problems facing a newly-arrived wife can be seen in the experiences of family F38. Her husband, in their first four weeks, had one Sunday off. In other words, he had worked every day except one since they had arrived in Whyalla. Once a family is established this would be a sore enough trial, but it must be quite soul-destroying for some of the wives. Other wives, like the wife from family F7, are philosophical about the problem: "He was doing it in Britain, so it doesn't make any difference".

While the question of finances plays an important part in reconciling the attitude towards shiftwork, there is also evidence that the nature of the work, in terms of job satisfaction, plays a part. This is particularly noticeable among the unskilled workers. Here the inclination to do overtime seems to be directly linked to the nature of the task. In family F37, the husband initially elected not to work "seven days a week" at a job that he did not really like, although he had the opportunity to do so, and would have appreciated the extra money. The position changed when he was transferred to a job "more compatible with my abilities and experience" (and paying more money). He then started working "seven days a week; 7.30 am to 4.00 pm during the week; and 7.00 am to 3.00 pm at the weekends".

Some of the families had been used to the husbands working 'permanent nights' in Britain - a system that occurred to none of the families in this study while they were working for BHP.

Getting away from permanent nights was one of the reasons put forward for leaving Britain. In family F34 though, the husband found he did not relish the shift system either, and was looking forward to leaving BHP to go and work permanent nights with GMH in Adelaide. He was also grossly dissatisfied with his BHP job, and with the second one after he had been transferred, so it may be that the dislike of the task had been displaced onto the shift system.

As mentioned earlier, the Shipyards operations are 'days only', but an exception occurred as a result of the 5-week strike at the end of 1973, when work at the Shipyards came to a standstill. (The consequences carried over to the Steelworks as well, with a ban on overtime). Because of this protracted strike, the Shipyards began operating a two-shift system to catch up the back-log. In family F27, the husband found himself working on the afternoon shift - 4.00 pm to midnight - "which was not too bad except that the overtime is on Saturday morning, from 6.00 am to midday". This means that he gets, at the most, five hours' sleep on Friday nights. (It is surprising that in Australia this is still legally permitted; in Britain it would contravene the Factory Act).

Two husbands from the Shipyards disparaged the overtime situation; one said that; "You haven't any option - its part of your BHP 'contract' to work overtime, so its fixed up for 'regular Saturdays'". For the other; "They sit down and plan a strike if they can't work Saturdays".

(iv) Earnings

Irrespective of whether the question is one of shiftworking or of overtime, both features seem to be irrevocably tied up with

the question of money, and several of the families referred to the state of their finances, particularly in comparison with their former situation in Britain. The considerations of income are included in this section on a technicality. The original aim in this section was to look at those IVQ items that remained constant over time, but at variance with the Whyalla Questionnaire response. However, income, as has been implied, is part and parcel of the work situation, and so it has been included here for convenience. The justification for precluding it stems from the original finding that initially, the expectation regarding earnings as measured by the Initial IVQ is high, by comparison with the Whyalla Questionnaire score. The important feature is that the Final IVQ score is markedly less than the Initial IVQ score, but only significantly so in the case of the Family scores. Taking into account only the relativity of the two IVQ scores and regarding income as a 'basic' need, Maslow (1943) would imply that a reduction in the strength of such a need is indicative of the need being met.

Although the Initial IVQ score has been interpreted as higher than the Whyalla Questionnaire score, the latter is itself quite high, since the overall rating of the earnings, shown in Figure 7, is good. Paradoxically, this is supportive of the high Initial IVQ score, since it suggests that earnings are a premium need.

Detailed reactions to the earnings are given in Appendix XIII, the data from which have been summarised in Table 35. Of the 58 families included in the Table, 23 (39.6%) see themselves as better off than they were in Britain, whereas 2 (3.5%) see themselves worse off, and the remaining 33 (56.9%)

Table 35 Opinions of wealth: Australia v Britain.

	Steelworks (skilled)		Shipyards (skilled)		Steelworks (unskilled)		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Better off	16	45.7	6	40.0	1	12.5	23	39.6
Worse off	1	2.9	1	6.7	-	-	2	3.5
No comments	18	51.4	8	53.3	7	87.5	33	56.9
Total	35		15		8		58	

offered no opinion. Put another way, 92% of those offering opinions saw themselves as better off. This is not just a case of earning more money, but of being better off in 'real' terms, like family F41 who said they were better off than they were in Britain because they can afford a car here "which we could not do in Britain".

Without wishing to cast doubts on the integrity of the families concerned, it is difficult to see how they are able to make an objective assessment of their financial situation, since their initial sojourn in Whyalla must be accompanied by a big expenditure on diverse small items, quite apart from the major ones, and as has already been implied, many of the families have exchanged a mortgage for a rental agreement on their homes. What this boils down to is that there is a justification for regarding this as a subjective, rather than an objective, assessment, brought about by the higher level of actual earnings in Whyalla. This is probably why some of the responses seem so ambiguous. Family F21 for instance said; "The money does not go far here. We anticipated being able to save money here but we don't see ourselves able to do so just yet". But in spite of the drawbacks, they still see themselves

as being better off than they were in Scotland. That was one month after arrival; five months later, the wife's view was that "in spite of all our efforts, we cannot save. 'The money does not go far here'". But they were buying a car, which they never had in Scotland because they could not afford one. Family F56 said; "We have saved a lot since coming here; though we are still not as well off as when we came". There are others in a similar vein. Appleyard (1964), an economist, makes the point that; "Real income differentials - the purchasing power of money incomes in each country - are, however, notoriously difficult to calculate". He avoided the issue by devoting the relevant chapter in his book to "general data on wages, taxation, ... " Thus it is not surprising that the families in this study find it difficult to assess their own relative financial positions.

The results in Table 35 were divided into three categories, showing that the families considered themselves either as better or worse off in Whyalla than they were in Britain, or they offered no comment. The discussion so far has been concerned with the first two, but the psychological interest is more to be found in the 'no comments' row. Here it should be remembered that the data in the Table are derived from points raised by the families themselves, and not as a response to a specific question concerning relative wealth. Hence, the presence or otherwise of the remarks is purely a question of whether or not the families themselves considered them worthy of inclusion.

There was a close correspondence between the proportions of responses in each of the three categories for the two classes of skilled respondents; approximately 40% felt themselves

better off, and just over 50% offered no comments. The real difference occurs with the results for the unskilled workers. Only one family considered themselves better off, and none was worse off, but seven (87.5%) offered no comment. On the surface, it appears this need was not really being satisfied, but the conclusions should also take into account the results of the previous findings that were discussed, namely that there was a large measure of initial dissatisfaction with the work itself (see Table 34). Thus it may well be that the overall question of job satisfaction has preempted any opinion on wages. On the other hand, the reverse could equally be true, but the discussions focused more on changing the job than on the amount of money involved. What is noteworthy is that the sole respondent to consider himself better off was also the only unskilled employee to consistently maintain he was satisfied with his job.

(v) Rate of work

Work rate has been included because of the frequency with which it cropped up during the course of the interviews. It was not a feature that had been anticipated as being important. The full details of the opinions regarding the work rate are included in Appendix XIV, and have been summarised in Table 36. Only two of the respondents can be thought of as predictive, in the sense that the respondents expressed an opinion of what the work rate was going to be, and both showed the expectation of having to work hard. One husband, in family F34, anticipated that; "Whyalla will be a good place to be 'provided you're prepared to work hard'".

Overall, only 16 of the 58 husbands concerned expressed an

Table 36 Opinions of the work rate at BHP

	Steelworks (skilled)	Shipyards (skilled)	Steelworks (unskilled)	Total
Works harder	2	-	-	2
Works slower	8	3	3	14
No comments	25	12	5	42
Total	35	15	8	58

opinion. Of these, 14 (87.5%) found the pace very much slower than they liked, and only two found they worked harder than they had in England. One husband, in family F10, said he worked harder in Whyalla because; "You work harder at the things you like". In fact, he said he had never worked so hard before.

Both of the husbands who 'worked harder' were skilled and in the Steelworks. The question of work rates occurs in other spheres in industry. In Work Study, a person is said to be working at the rate of 1, or 100%, if he is working at a pace that can be maintained for a long period of time without the need to exercise undue effort. Provided the person concerned does not possess any characteristics that make him exceptionally able to perform the task, the resultant performance would be classed as a 'standard' performance. Theoretically, such a standard performance should be within the capacity of any person called upon to do the task, but this is not necessarily the case. In Britain, members of the Work Study Department at J Lyons & Company assessed the standard rate for certain repetitive tasks in London, and had the associated machinery geared accordingly. They then found that

West Indian workers suffered undue fatigue because they were unable to sustain the pace, but that in addition Scottish workers on Clydeside were also fatigued because the pace was *too slow*. Hence it could well be that the same phenomenon is occurring in Whyalla, and that the British workers really do find the Australian work rate is too slow for them.

On the other hand, there may be aspects of the work rate that arise solely because of the special situation in Whyalla. Two husbands gave their views as to why this apparent slowness should occur. The husband in family F27 said that most people going to a new job start off keen and 'raring to go'; anxious to make a good impression - and this creates the impression of how relatively slowly the others are working. Some support for this comes from Appendix XIV, where quite a few of the remarks were made during the second interview, one month after arrival in Whyalla. Presumably at this stage many of the husbands are still 'learning the ropes' - a stage when they typically are keen, as has been implied, and also typically underemployed.

Perhaps the most telling response comes from family F47, where the husband joined BHP as a foreman. He was one of those who found the pace hard to accept. In his words; "Here they get an hour and three-quarters to do the job; if they do it in 1½ hours, they knock off for ¼ hour. If they carried on, 'It would overload the next stage'. Then you find the next stage is working slowly, 'because if we worked any harder, the previous stage could not keep up'. Its all so dead-pan".

Opsahl and Dunnette (1966) looked at the role of financial compensation in industrial motivation. One feature they considered was the "Perceived Relations between Performance

and Pay". Generally speaking, workers see increased earnings as being related to higher personal productivity. This is the basic philosophy behind conventional incentive payment schemes. By the same token, they also mention the study by Campbell (1952) in which he showed that one of the major reasons for lower productivity in large groups under incentive plans is that the workers often do not perceive the relation between pay and productivity as well as they do in smaller groups. While Campbell made the point explicitly in connection with incentive schemes, it is quite probable that this is a far more general phenomenon, in that productivity in a large organisation falls, partly because of the depersonalisation of the operations. Munro (1968) has mentioned evidence from BHP foremen about such depersonalisation in the Company's Whyalla operations.

Opsahl and Dunnette (1966) also refer to the earlier study by Georgopolous, Mahoney and Jones (1957) who found that only 38% of the workers in their study perceived increased performance as leading to increased earnings. More amazingly, 35% perceived *low* productivity as an aid to higher earnings in the long run. The evidence in the present study is very much in support of this contention. There is little doubt that productivity is low in both the Shipyards and the Steelworks at Whyalla. Furthermore there is also evidence that there is a vested interest in maintaining the low level of productivity *because* it guarantees overtime. What this amounts to is that the level of wages associated with the overtime payments have become a habit that cannot easily be given up. In 1973 there was a protracted strike at the Shipyards and this was associated with a ban on overtime instigated by the

Amalgamated Metalworkers Union in the Steelworks. Coming as it did in all but the last of the eight weeks preceding Christmas, more than one of the families so affected 'felt the pinch'. As one of Munro's (1968) interviewees put it; "This Town lives on overtime and you have to have it".

The overall situation is not a new one. Flanders (1964) examined such a problem in great detail in the formation of the Fawley Productivity Agreements of the Esso Petroleum Company, in Britain. He refers to this class of overtime as arising from 'earnings drift' - the long-term result of a steady increase in the amount of overtime worked - not because of an increase in the work itself. It becomes 'policy' overtime whereby the company can only attract labour because it offers such additional payments, and it follows that such overtime is sustained in order to maintain the earnings, in turn to ensure that the labour force stays with the company. "At Fawley, high overtime was undoubtedly a substantial cause of underemployment, and its fatalistic acceptance was symptomatic of management's casual attitude towards the use of human resources. There is plenty of evidence that this attitude - which the Fawley self-diagnosis changed - is far from unique". There is strong evidence that such a situation is manifest in the BHP operations in Whyalla.

The pernicious habit of systematic overtime and the associated underemployment probably irritate the new migrant to the extent that they do because he arrives to find himself at a goal point in his own battle for attainment. Arrival in Whyalla puts him on the threshold of a new better-than-the-old system that he has left behind in Britain. It is in some ways amazing how rapidly the new families assent to the systematic

overtime habit. On the other hand, it is not so difficult to see what a bonus it is towards the setting-up of their new homes. Presumably once the initial hurdle has been overcome, the habit is sufficiently established to be impossible to break. Flanders (1964) sees it as a 'ratchet' system, where it is only possible to advance. Once a premium level of overtime has been established, it is practically impossible to turn the ratchet back to a lower level.

(vi) Workers who left BHP

So far in this section, attention has been directed solely at the reactions of the husbands while working for BHP, However, as was implied earlier, some also left the Company to work elsewhere. In some instances it has been possible to follow up these movements, and what follows is an examination of those that are known. Full details are included in Appendix XV.

Five families in this category came from the Steelworks. Three of them left Whyalla at the same time as they left BHP, and two of these were still with their new organisations at the time of the Spot Check in December 1975, approximately two years after they left Whyalla.

The third family turned up in Adelaide at about the same time, in the course of their third move since leaving Whyalla. At their initial interview, this family had said they had wanted to come to Adelaide when they first negotiated to come to Australia. They achieved their aim just over two years after leaving Britain, having sampled life in Whyalla; Albury (NSW) and Melbourne (Vic); and producing two children, in the interim. It would be interesting to know the opinions and experiences of this family, but the information they forwarded

from Albury concerned only social features of their life there. Of the other two, family F35 moved to Groote Eylandt, and nothing is known of their progress there; whilst the other family, F59, moved to Victor Harbour. There they gave the impression that the husband was very much happier with his work than he had been at BHP, but he also said that one of his aims was to travel round Australia. He may be able to achieve this aim with his present employer, and this could well be one of the contributory factors in his satisfaction.

Of the two ex-Steelworks employees who remained in Whyalla, one had previously intimated that he was reasonably satisfied with his work, though his wife had given it as her opinion that he would not stay permanently working for BHP, "because he doesn't like the Company". In hindsight, there is every reason to believe this was a shrewd assessment on her behalf. Whatever the truth of the matter, he certainly gave the impression of being considerably happier with his new job than he was with BHP, and it seems more than likely that this was due to the intrinsic satisfaction with the new work, rather than other considerations such as overtime, shifts, and so forth.

The remaining ex-Steelworks employee has all the appearances of being an unique case in this study. Before they came to Australia, he worked part-time in his own business - renovating vintage cars and other miscellaneous work with wrought-iron. On arrival in South Australia, he did not immediately establish his part-time occupation. Instead, the family spent a great deal of their spare time in 'assessing' South Australia. During this period, he enjoyed his work with BHP, and welcomed being able to work shifts as it gave them an increased income

and the opportunities for 'long weekends' exploring South Australia. Having decided that Whyalla was the appropriate centre from which to operate, the requirements then became rather different. Now he was looking for a job with regular hours, and no overtime - something that BHP does not offer. Under these circumstances he looked for a new job which fitted this new set of criteria. The job he eventually found suited the purpose admirably, being located virtually on his own doorstep. It allows him not only a regular 40-hour no-overtime week, but also the promise of eventually leaving the Company as a paid employee, but continuing to do the work on a contract basis, which would allow him the maximum time to develop his own business.

Whilst five (14.3%) of the 35 families associated with the Steelworks left BHP, approximately the same proportion, two (13.3%) of the 15 families associated with the Shipyards also left. Of these two, the first husband, from family F44, had previously said that he found his work unsatisfying. He found the repetitive work he was called upon to do as "monotonous and boring" - like "assembling cars on a conveyor belt". In the end, he left BHP, thirteen months after arrival, to join a very much smaller organisation in Whyalla that does some of the work subcontracted by the Shipyards. He finds this very much more interesting since it involves making up sections of ships. The work entails more variety, and the satisfaction of producing completed units. He also works close to his home, and has to work only an occasional Saturday, "all for more money", since he has, in addition, been made a leading hand.

The other husband to leave the Shipyards is one whose original intention was to use BHP only as an advance camp from

which to explore the Australian possibilities. At the second interview, his wife said that he preferred, and had always been used to, working for small companies. "If you work for a large company, like the BHP Shipyards, and they close down, there will be a large number of welders (his trade) looking for work. On the other hand, if you work for a small company and it closes down, there would only be a small number of welders looking for work, and it should not be too difficult to find it". With this philosophy in mind, it is not altogether surprising that this particular husband left BHP only three months after joining them, to go and work for a smaller organisation.

A similar situation exists in respect of the two unskilled husbands who left the Steelworks (out of a total of eight). The first one, from family F12, got so fed up with BHP that he left the Company, four months after joining them, without having a new job to go to. He worked casually for two weeks, before joining the Whyalla Bus Company. In this instance, he gives the impression of finding his new job intrinsically more satisfying, but he certainly gets less money than he did with BHP. At the same time, he gave the impression of still looking for something better.

The remaining husband left BHP three months after joining the Company. He also gave the impression that he was using BHP merely as a base for exploring the prospects in Australia. Both of these two families give the impression of flitting about on the periphery of organisations, taking virtually any job that is offered and staying there until boredom drives them off in search of pastures new. In this latter instance, the family concerned moved to Adelaide, where he got a job on

the assembly line at the Chrysler car factory, and his wife got an office job in the City. He says his job is "very boring; but I've usually found that to be the case in industry", so it appears that he has done this sort of thing before. In his words, what he is looking for is a job as "trainee General Manager".

So far, the nine families who left BHP have all been dealt with individually. What is of interest is to see if there are any characteristics that are common amongst them. Five of the nine families show what could be classed as a peripatetic disposition. If a family shows such a trait, then one could say that they should be avoided from the start, on the grounds that they constitute a bad employment risk. The difficulty comes from the requirement of at least one instance of such behaviour, or they would not have travelled from Britain to Australia in the first place. Viewed in this light, it seems not unreasonable that, of the 58 families presently being considered, only five of them (8.6%) subsequently proved to be 'risk' recruitments.

Of the remaining three families, the one with his own part-time employment interests merits treatment as a special case, but the other two, families F7 and F35, are symptomatic of instances where the problem of leaving is associated specifically with the situation surrounding the job at BHP. The first husband had his requirements met by moving to a different employer in Whyalla. A measure of his satisfaction with Whyalla itself may be gained from the fact that the family had bought a house in Whyalla shortly before he left BHP. For the other family, both the job and Whyalla were

sources of dissatisfaction, and so the solution for them was to move away from Whyalla altogether.

For the purposes of the preceding discussion, an arbitrary lower bound has been applied to the duration of the stay in Whyalla. It was assumed that an assessment of the conditions of working for BHP does not include the possibility of a violent and instantaneous dislike of the Company, of such intensity that the family has forthwith departed from Whyalla. As a corollary to this, it has also been assumed that where such precipitate departures have occurred, there are other features assisting to hasten the event. These will be examined later in Chapter 6, in the section considering the question of whether or not the families were going to stay in Whyalla. Four families are included in this category, and so the base figure has therefore been reduced from 62 families to 58, during the course of this present discussion on working for BHP.

In addition to the nine families who left the Company and have been detailed above, the Spot Check in December 1975 revealed that three other families had also left Whyalla for unknown destinations, plus a fourth who was known to have gone to Dampier, in Western Australia. It is also conceivable that further families were still in Whyalla at the time, but the husbands had left BHP. (The 1975 Spot Check was made from the electoral roll, which reveals the presence or otherwise of the family in Whyalla, but not what they are doing or for whom they are working).

The importance of this rider is that it means that the proportions mentioned for the families who left BHP should be

used as guidelines and nothing more, since they represent *minimum* levels of occurrence. They have been included for the purposes of comparison between the three categories, and because there is no reason to believe that there is any bias regarding how much is known of any one category as opposed to the others.

(k) The bus service, and 'living close to work'

The next two features to be dealt with for which the IVQ scores remained constant, at a level at variance with the Whyalla Questionnaire are "Having a good bus service" and "Living close to work". The first of these was examined at length in the analysis of the IVQ scores in section 5(c). The problem was again briefly referred to in the foregoing discussion in connection with the difficulties of getting to work on time experienced by the husband who was dependent upon the bus service.

The public transport facility in Whyalla leaves a great deal to be desired. While 85.8% of the population (Aitchison, 1975) continue to own at least one car, there seems little likelihood that the demand for the Whyalla bus service will increase, and until there is such a demand, it is equally unlikely that the service will be improved to any marked extent. It is possible though that the anticipated takeover of the bus service by the City Council was seen as going to lead to an improvement in the service. If this is the case, it is not unreasonable for the need to be continued to be felt in the presence of the expectation that the need will be satisfied. On the other hand, it is also very likely that the ongoing need is a manifestation of the frustration experienced by the families in this study

not so much for a good bus service *per se*, but rather for a better societal network than they had managed to establish for themselves in the six months they had been in Whyalla. That is, these societal needs were seen as being frustrated by the poor public transport services, rather than by the shortcomings of the families themselves.

The other feature, 'Living close to work', is a phenomenon rather unique to Whyalla. The layout of Whyalla is such that once one has crossed the BHP tramway line on the way out to Port Augusta, there is virtually no employer except BHP. Thus anyone who changes his job to work for one of the other firms in Whyalla is very nearly guaranteed to find himself working closer to home. Furthermore, because nearly everybody who works for BHP travels to work by car, there are mass exoduses from the works along roads not designed to take the numbers. Hence, the bulk of the journey time to and from work is taken in getting on or off the BHP premises. It is therefore quite possible that the associated frustrations cause the endurance of the desire for living closer to work, as shown by the stability of the IVQ scores over time.

(1) 'Having plans for the future'

The final outstanding feature concerns 'Having plans for the future'. Here the husbands' score is marginally less on the Final IVQ score, and so warrants inclusion in this present analysis of constant IVQ scores that are discrepant from the Whyalla Questionnaire result. Conversely, the wives' Final IVQ score and the Family Sum score are both significantly less than the Initial IVQ score; that is, coming closer into line with the Whyalla Questionnaire response. Thus the indications

are that in general the family feels a lessened need to have plans for the future. This may be because so many requirements have been met by reaching the main goal of Whyalla. On the other hand, it could be that the experiences associated with achieving this goal have shown the shortcomings of having overly definite plans. That is, the families come to Whyalla with firm ideas about the future, but so few of the aims have been met that it casts doubt on the worthwhileness of having had the plans in the first place.

Whatever the truth, there is still the discrepancy between the results for the husbands and their wives. Both evidenced the desirability of having plans for the future at the outset, but only the husbands continue to show the need. This may be an indication that the wives are more satisfied with Whyalla than their husbands, or alternatively it could be a more general indication of the husbands' desire to move elsewhere because of their dissatisfaction with the work situation in Whyalla. A third option, and this seems probably to be the most likely explanation, is that the results are due to a combination of the two.

5.3 Other considerations of Whyalla

The principal features to be examined here are the problems of work opportunities for women; the general feelings about the South Australian Housing Trust houses and their locations; education and opinions of 'Whyalla now', together with a number of minor considerations.

(a) Work opportunities for women

Previous sections have concentrated on aspects of the work situation for the men in this study, whereas this section looks at the problems faced by their wives. From the outset, the point must be made that there are not a great many opportunities for women to work in Whyalla. Munro (1968) reports that: "There certainly is a demand in the community for more jobs for women employees", and Sarre (1973) includes, as the first of his list of the 'Top Ten priorities for improving the quality of life in Whyalla', "The diversification of industry to provide a wider range of employment and in particular employment for women and school-leavers". In fact, the City Council has been noticeably backward in its efforts to attract to Whyalla such organisations as would employ female labour, for example, light engineering work, or any manufacturers whose products employ a large proportion of their costs in the labour involved, compared with the materials. In this respect, Whyalla's location puts it at a distinct disadvantage because of the transport costs to other main population centres.

The existing female work opportunities fall roughly into two classes. Where continuity and reliability are required, the employer tends to look for the older women who are more mature, experienced and dependable. Contrasted with these are the opportunities at the lower end of the skills range, where the aim is to employ the youngest available staff, on the grounds that they are the cheapest. In areas where there is a surfeit of available female labour, young women with no skills find it proportionately harder to get work, since there is

always someone younger and cheaper than themselves wanting the same job.

The views and experiences expressed by the wives are detailed in Appendix XVI, and the data summarised in Table 37 below.:-

Table 37 Work status of wives in Britain and Whyalla

In Whyalla	In Britain: Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled	Did not try	Total
Skilled	3	-	-	-	3
Semi-skilled	3	-	-	-	3
Unskilled	-	2	11*	-	13
Un-successful	2	3	5+	1	11
Did not try	1	-	-	27	28
Total	9	5	16	28	58

*Figure includes three who gave up their jobs because they were dissatisfied with them

+Includes one wife who was successful after moving from Whyalla

The classes of employment shown in the table are :-

a. Skilled (that is, required extensive training, such as teaching)

b. Semi-skilled (that is, requiring a modicum of training, such as a bank clerk)

c. Unskilled

The figures shown on the diagonal line represent instances where the class of employment in Whyalla matched the British class. In fact, only three skilled wives (and no semi-skilled wives) found equivalent employment in Whyalla. Of these, one was a teacher, one was a sewing-machinest, and the last was a shorthand typist. The typist found no difficulty in getting work, and was even able to change her job for a better one. The machinest experienced great difficulty in getting a job, mainly because of the dearth of available opportunities. When she first arrived in Whyalla, she negotiated with one manufacturer who said he would take her on on a part-time basis "If ever I'm swamped with orders". By the time she had been in Whyalla for six months, she was working permanently for him.

The best opportunity offered was in the case of the teacher, who was asked if she would teach, although she had said at her initial interview that she did not anticipate returning to work. This example also raises more general issues regarding education in Whyalla, but further discussion will be deferred until the next section, which is devoted to education.

The overall conclusions to be drawn from what has been said so far are that some wives with skills find little difficulty in obtaining work in Whyalla. However, for the others, such as the sewing-machinest, the appropriate employment can be obtained, but only if the wife is prepared to wait for the opportunity to occur. Partly because some are not prepared to wait, they have taken other work that has involved a degrading

of their skills. Those instances where such a downgrading has occurred are shown below the diagonal line in Table 37. Such occurrences also include wives who at the end of six months in Whyalla were still hoping and waiting to get the appropriate work.

The three with skilled employment in Britain who went into semi-skilled work in Whyalla include a telephonist, who could not work with the PMG because the regional telephone exchange is in Port Pirie, and not in Whyalla. She eventually worked as receptionist/telephonist at one of the Whyalla hotels. (Twelve months after her arrival in Whyalla, she was working as a telephonist with BHP, but this has not been shown in Table 37 because it exceeds the time limit of the study). This particular wife is also a trained nurse, and even went as far as being measured up for a unifrom at the Hospital, only to give up the work in favour of the more remunerative position at the hotel.

The second wife to be unsuccessful in getting work of comparable grade to her work in Britain was one who had five years of accountancy training. The best she could manage was to become a ledger clerk at one of the big stores. She said that when she first approached the Labour Exchange in Whyalla; "There were 17 vacancies for women, and 179 applicants".

Thirdly, one of the wives was an orthopaedic nurse in Britain. She had to revert to working as a nursing auxiliary in Whyalla because her qualifications were not recognised there. Furthermore, she was unable to obtain the South Australian qualifications because according to the Nurses Registration Board she failed to meet the prerequisite

education standards. However, none of these objections appeared to prevent the Hospital from using her skills when it suited.

Two of the wives in skilled employment in Britain elected to wait until suitable opportunities arose in Whyalla. One was a comptometer operator and the other was a hairdresser. Neither found work during their first six months in Whyalla, but both had been successful by the time they had been there for twelve months.

The two wives classed as semi-skilled in Britain and who did unskilled work in Whyalla both formerly worked in a bank. Both eventually got office jobs in Whyalla. (In Whyalla, the number of girls who want to work in a bank is such that the banks will not consider anyone who has trained elsewhere and who needs even a modicum of retraining. The banks much prefer to recruit girls straight from school and train them from scratch. (Being younger, they are also cheaper). For example, the Commonwealth Bank in Whyalla only takes on new applicants once a year, requiring them to apply just before the end of the school year, and success is then dependent upon passing the Bank's Entrance Examination).

The remarks so far have been limited to those wives who possessed some degree of skill in their work in Britain; there remains those who had unskilled jobs and were looking for similar work in Whyalla. They found their task doubly difficult. In the first place, they tended to be older than their competitors (and so more expensive), and secondly, they were in the most competitive market in any case. In these circumstances, the quickest tend to get the job. This means

getting the Whyalla News as soon as it comes off the press, and getting to the place offering the work as quickly as possible. These both mean that the candidates need a car available - which most of the wives in this study did not have, at least until they had had time to settle in. Eventually several adopted either of the two compromises available; they took part-time employment instead of the full-time work they had hoped for, or they took a job they did not particularly like, on the grounds that anything was better than nothing. Three of the wives in this group eventually gave up the struggle and resigned the jobs they had, in favour of staying at home, and one of the wives who was unsuccessful in finding unskilled employment in Whyalla was successful when the family moved to Victor Harbour.

Shiftwork is another cause of difficulties for working wives in Whyalla. If the husband works on shifts, then his home routine varies according to the shift he is working. For a working wife in this situation it means regular changes acting to disrupt her own working life, especially if there are also children to be considered. BHP did endeavour to help alleviate the female employment situation by reclassifying a number of the unskilled jobs as being suitable for either men or women. In effect, this also meant the availability of shiftwork for wives. These create even further difficulties if both the husband and the wife work shifts, and the shifts get out of phase. This also occurs with the wives who do shiftwork at the Whyalla Hospital, where the shift system does not coincide with that of BHP.

Another feature that acts to make obtaining work more

difficult for wives who have only newly arrived in Whyalla is the 'jungle telegraph' system, where one wife who is already working will 'pass on the word' when a vacancy is likely to arise. It cuts both ways in that the employee acts for both sides by introducing the prospective employee to the employer. This little system undermines the picture obtainable from Table 37 to a certain extent since several wives are 'lined up' for such a position. Thus they are shown as not working, or not trying to get work, mainly on the grounds that they are waiting until they 'get the nod'. In contrast, there are also four instances where wives are found to be working, when they earlier gave the impression they were not bothering about returning to work.

It is also interesting to look at the wives' attitudes towards working. One wife, in family F35, said at her initial interview that she was not interested in the work opportunities in Whyalla, she just wanted to be a housewife. By the time she had been there for four weeks, she was working. She said she had to do it "to escape being bored" at home. Another wife was considering becoming an agent for Tupperware, as a means of getting to know a few more people. A third, from family F4, said at her initial interview that she wanted "two to three months to settle down first", but approached the Whyalla Hospital two weeks after they had arrived in Whyalla. She "hadn't been there half an hour before they had me in uniform".

It seems that many of the wives look to work as an opportunity for escaping from boredom at home. In the early stages this boredom comes about partly because the home is still half-empty, due to delays in receipt of their furniture

and belongings from Britain, and delays in the general establishment of the home. Furthermore, taking over a home in an established neighbourhood means that they have to fit into the existing social networks, and many of the wives have little or no experience in initiating such entrees. Paradoxically, once they have been there for some time, many of these initial drawbacks have been overcome but by then they have been able to get a job, and the neighbours become less important as a source of companionship.

Much of what has been said so far about the difficulties experienced by the wives also applies to their daughters who seek work in Whyalla. (None of the sons fitted into this age category, all the older ones being still at school). Three of the daughters ran into the same strife as the orthopaedic nurse in that their education qualifications were not acceptable. One daughter said; "They ask for my school qualifications, and then don't understand when I say what they are". This particular girl was sixteen years old. In desperation, she went to Adelaide where she managed to get a job, but did not like the hostel where she was living, so she returned to Whyalla. Back in Whyalla, she turned down a job at $27.00 per week: "Why should I work for $6.00 per week?" (She gets $21.00 per week in unemployment benefits). Eventually her aim was to return to Britain where she knew it should be much easier for her to get work.

In conclusion, there seems to be little doubt that women do experience a great deal of difficulty in obtaining work in Whyalla. Many of them were warned of this by the Recruiting Officer's wife in Britain, before they left to come to

Australia, and in one instance the family had relatives who deliberately opted to emigrate to Adelaide, rather than Whyalla, because the wife also wanted to work. As one of the wives put it: "In Whyalla, you can only work in a shop. In Paisley (Scotland) you can take your pick of the industries; whether in a secretarial/clerical role, or as a factory worker".

(b) Education in Whyalla

The availability and the shortcomings of the school situation in Whyalla were examined earlier in Chapter 4. The aim here is to discuss the attitudes of the parents, and some of the children, towards this situation. The detailed responses are given in Appendix XVII, and since the points raised are rather diverse, they will be dealt with on an *ad hoc* basis as they arise, rather than being shown as an overall table.

In the first instance, of those 24 parents who expressed an opinion, 16 felt their children were getting on well at school, and eight felt they were getting on badly. Of the children themselves, nine said they liked school, and two said they did not. Regarding the schooling, eight parents thought it was better, and seven thought it was worse than in Britain.

One of the major problems associated with any movement of pupils between equivalent schools (such as moving from one secondary school to another) is that the curricula tend to be out of phase. This results in the student being ahead in some subjects and behind in others. How the student fares at the new school is in this respect largely a function of which

predominates. If he is too far behind, he will suffer from being unable to cope; if he is too far ahead, he becomes bored. In ordinary circumstances, such difficulties increase as the academic year progresses, but for the children coming to Whyalla from Britain, there is also the added problem because the academic years are out of phase. Firstly, education starts at an earlier age in Britain, and secondly, the academic year starts in September, instead of February as in Australia, so the children tend, on average, to be ahead when they arrive in Whyalla. Many of them use up this buffer during the early stages of settling in at their new schools, and as a result, many that appear to have minor problems initially have settled them by the time of the third interview six months after their arrival in Whyalla.

The results show that twice as many parents see their children as getting on well as see their children as faring badly. It would seem that the effect of the new environment stimulates the children to make an extra effort, and that this is reflected in the attitudes of both the parents and their children. Those parents who see their children as faring badly are mainly those with children in the extremes of the categories mentioned. For instance, in family F33, the son (just eight) had been at junior school for twelve months in Britain before they arrived in Whyalla in September. In Whyalla, he was put in the lower school until the end of the year. He was bored to tears, did nothing, and acted as an isolate all the time. In family F49, the daughter (12) saw herself as "going off to prison" when she went to school. She found the others were "way ahead of me in most subjects". By

the time she had been there six months she was settling very much better, but one of her colleagues said she still occasionally "played up".

The parents seem equally divided on how they rate the schools compared with those in Britain. Many of the negative feelings about Whyalla schools may be attributed to the lag in the academic year, and in this respect parents will say that their children are doing alright at school, but that this is partly because the school itself is backward. The daughter in family F33 for instance was "put back a year" in Whyalla. She says she's "Done it all before, but its done differently here, so its the same as if its all new". In Britain, she was eighteenth out of thirty-three; whereas in Whyalla she is near the top of the class. Her mother says it is not because she is brighter than the other children here, but because she has done it all before.

There is little doubt that different parents have different opinions about the education system and how it affects their children. Regarding one primary school, the wife from family F16 said how wonderful the education is here and how much better are the schools: "If there's anything you want to know; anything you want to ask; don't hesitate to come and see us". The headmaster there really makes the parents feel involved with their children's education, and makes them keen to keep their children at it, and the children like the school as well. The wife from family F32 was not so impressed and she had reservations about the school system: "The size of the classes is smaller here; 'But the parents go and listen to the children in the classroom'".

There are however two definite problem areas, one of which is transitory. Because children start school at an older age in Australia, some parents arrive with children who had been to school in Britain, but because of their age cannot go to school when they arrive. Without exception, such children feel extremely frustrated, and are unfortunately too young to understand why they cannot go to school here. This feature also gives rise to the feeling that education in Australia may not be as good, because the children spend a shorter total amount of time at school.

The other problem arises because of the shortage of kindergarten places available. Three parents wanted their children to go to kindergarten, but could not get them in because of the waiting list. Then when they do manage to get them in, it is often not at the nearest one.

A rather different problem is one that was alluded to in Chapter 4, but which only appeared once in the opinions of the parents, possibly because of the relatively short period of time each family concerned had been in Whyalla. This concerns the question of staff turnover. Family F41 remarked about the high turnover of staff, and said it was another good reason for moving to Adelaide. They saw education in Adelaide as being better if for no other reason than better continuity within the school because of more stable staffing. The Whyalla News, 4.2.74, reported that three schools out of a total of nine State Primary schools in Whyalla had new headmasters for the new year, and that at one of these there was also a new deputy headmaster, as was the case at *all of Whyalla's (three) high schools*. The following year, the Whyalla News also put the spotlight on another associated

problem. In the issue for 10.2.75, it was reported that "Two of Whyalla's high schools need about four more teachers each to operate their normal timetables". "The Whyalla High School headmaster, Mr R Mansfield, said this morning it appeared some teachers had changed their minds at the last minute about coming to Whyalla".

Sarre (1973) makes the point that "most of the teachers do not spend more time in Whyalla than the minimum three-year period required of them. Most teachers come from Adelaide, and wish to return there". He sees as the solution the Government providing incentives for the teachers to want to come to Whyalla.

Another focus of interest in the field of education concerns the opportunities that are available to adults in Whyalla. However, only eight families mentioned adult education, and their remarks are shown in Appendix XVIII. Although this is a relatively small proportion of the number of families involved in the study, the area they have pinpointed must surely be one of the most contentious. The problems all hinge on the need for trade qualifications. For example, the husband in family F48 had "done a bit of draughting" in Britain, and looked into the possibilities of doing draughtsmanship in evening classes in Whyalla, leading to a trade licence. He could do draughting all right, but *not* as a trade qualification, *unless* he did it with the Company's backing, for example as an apprentice. The husband in family F12 found the same problems with regard to studying plumbing. Conversely, the qualified fitter, from family F40, was able to go to welding classes, and achieve all he wanted to learn, since all he was really attempting was to increase his knowledge of the requirements of the people with

whom he was working; he was not trying to qualify as a welder.

In effect, this means that a man can *only* acquire a trade qualification as a consequence of an apprenticeship. If, for some reason, he neglected to do so at the appropriate age, and later learns the error of his ways, there is apparently no going back and rectifying this omission unless he does the complete apprenticeship. As the husband in family F28 said, he would also like to obtain a trade certificate in draughtsmanship "but not as an apprentice at $30 per week".

The other irritating problem also concerns trade qualifications. An electrician doing an apprenticeship in Australia will automatically qualify with an 'A' licence. A qualified electrician coming from overseas is granted only a 'B' licence, and has to undertake the requisite course and examination before being granted the 'A' licence. The Technical College in Whyalla offers such a course, but understandably the demand is not high. If the enrolment is small, the College will suspend the course, and this is what happened to the husband in family F61. Thus, although he was a foreman electrician in Britain, he cannot be promoted in Whyalla until he has the 'Australian' licence, and he cannot get that because too few people are interested in the course.

The situation is much saner and more rational for the wives in Whyalla, and at least two women (one wife and one daughter) undertook a 'trade' course in shorthand and typing. What is ironic though, in the light of the earlier remarks about children's education and the problems of getting and keeping teachers in Whyalla, is that at least two of the wives would have liked to undergo teacher training. Two aspects seem quite clear in this context: firstly a wife in Whyalla is not

going to go to Adelaide to get such a training, and secondly, such a qualified teacher is more likely to be interested in, and to remain in, Whyalla. The Institute of Technology is equally frustrating in the way in which it offers courses, such as social work, that may be commenced in Whyalla, but can only be completed in Adelaide. The Whyalla News, 13.12.72, reported that the State Premier, Mr Dunstan, "said during his visit to Port Pirie last Friday that he hoped the South Australian Institute of Technology would be able to begin teacher training (at Whyalla) in 1975". Needless to say, it did not.

(c) The South Australian Housing Trust home

The question of homes has already been considered twice in this study. Earlier in this chapter, the examination centred on the question of home ownership, and the why's and wherefore's of buying a house in Whyalla. More relevant to this present section was section 4.6 in the previous chapter, when the process of obtaining the home was discussed, together with Plates 13 to 16, showing what the houses look like. At this stage, the aim is to examine the views of the families concerning the houses as they are living in them. From this, the theme will be developed to include other immediate aspects of living in Whyalla, such as the neighbours; who mixes with whom; and so forth.

Munro (1968) had such strong feelings about the housing in Whyalla that he devoted about 15% of his report to this one topic. Naturally, housing is a very important feature in people's lives, and so warrants a great deal of attention, but the responses in this study fall far short of supporting the unmitigated condemnation afforded by Munro. His first two

sentences read: "There are few areas of community concern in Whyalla which elicit comment as varied and violent as does the question of housing. The comments generally run from those damning the Housing Trust with faint praise to examples of unabashed paranoia such as was mentioned by the interviewee who stated that BHP and the Housing Trust had a secret agreement to build only double units and use only tin roofing in an attempt to keep Whyalla looking as temporary as possible so that wages might be depressed". He goes on to suggest that the Housing Trust "Has in effect created a migrant ghetto within Whyalla - a reasonably clean and well-constructed ghetto to be sure, but a ghetto none the less". His main criticisms are aimed at the double units, for which he has not a good word to say.

The balance of the views of the families in this study is firmly tilted towards repudiating Munro's views. In line with this, Sarre (1973) devotes only a single paragraph to 'Housing and Planning' in his report. His main argument is that a wider range of better-quality housing is required "To break down the monotonous boredom of the double-unit dormitory areas".

The details of the attitudes towards the Housing Trust double units are shown in Appendix XIX. These are summarised in Table 38, showing the degree of satisfaction/ dissatisfaction expressed. Once again, these are deduced from the views freely expressed by the families, as opposed to being in answer to a specific question. Two of the dissatisfied families, F25 and F44, expressed their dissatisfaction in similar terms. The latter wife said that

Table 38 Opinions of the South Australian double unit houses.

	Number (families)	%
Satisfied	23	39.0
Mildly dissatisfied	7	11.9
Very dissatisfied	7	11.9
No comments	22	37.3
Total	59	100

living in a South Australian Housing Trust house is like living in a (British) council house: "Its degrading", whereas the former wife said that; "If you'd lived in a tenement, then a SA Housing Trust house is a vast improvement, so naturally you'd be pleased; but if you'd had your own house like we had (we'd had it for four years) then it is very much a comedown". The family said they had been given the impression that they would be allocated a house "Like an RDC house, 'not a council house'". (RDC is a large private organisation building houses in Whyalla, and elsewhere in Australia). The wife in family F25 had lived for 13 years in Nigeria with her parents. She undoubtedly had fixed in her mind the idea that she was going to get a repetition of her Nigerian home - vide the 'RDC house'.

This impression regarding the type of housing is partly supported by family F35, who said that the offer of accommodation had been a premium feature for them, but they had no real conception of what the 'lower limit' would comprise.

These comments strike at the very core of the issue. There seems little doubt that a family moving into a Housing Trust home that is much better than their previous home would feel very satisfied with it. In this respect, it also seems likely that families coming from Britain, where council houses are an accepted part of life, would be more receptive than would their Australian counterparts for whom this class of rental home is stigmatised and contrary to the accepted idiom. Reference was made earlier to Spooner (1974) and his comment that: "Home ownership is a traditional part of the Australian character, and people do not feel settled in rental accommodation". It could well be that Munro (1968) extensively sampled Australian families, judging by the similar conclusions he reached.

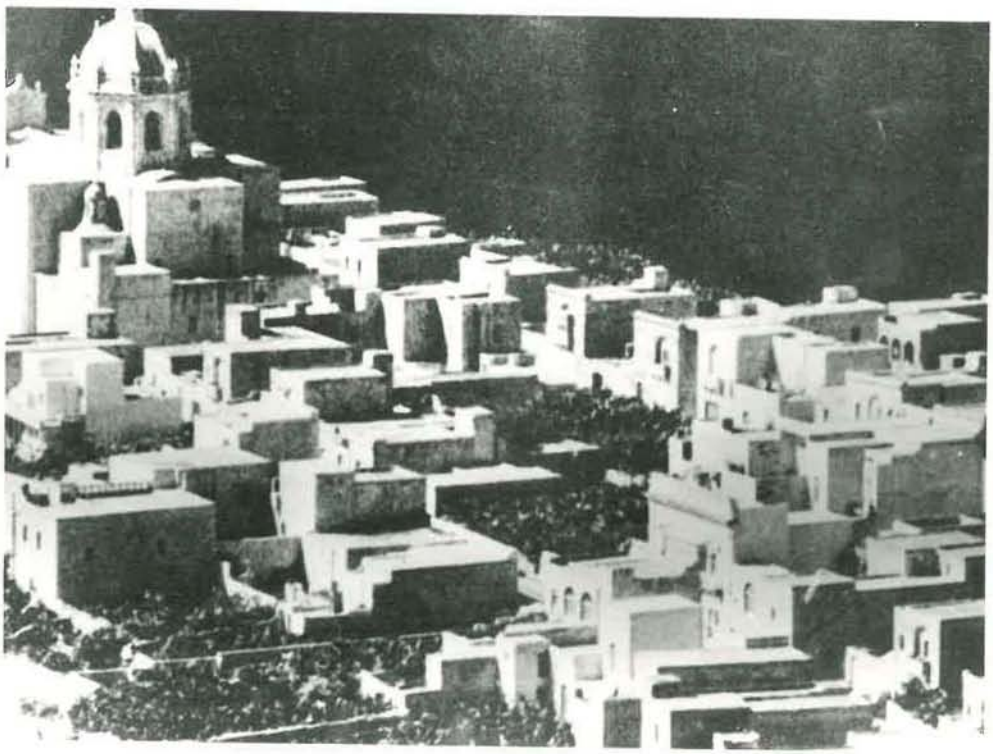
Despite various negative views expressed after arrival in Whyalla, there were no instances of families indicating they realised beforehand they were going to get a 'corporation' house, and having reservations about what it was going to be like - that is, an expectation of an 'unacceptable' house. It may be though that any such families decided against coming to Australia in the first place. On the other hand, there are instances of families, such as family F51, who owned a house in Britain, and came to Whyalla with the anticipation of buying a house there, but who were so satisfied with their Housing Trust house that they opted to remain in it in preference to buying a home of their own.

The majority were satisfied with the house, and as the wife in family F16 said: "You can make it into a good house"; and the wife from family F11 said she did not think she would want

to move into a house she was buying; "I like this one". Against this background, some of the families had minor complaints about the house which the Housing Trust readily rectified, though some also had minor dissatisfactions. One of these latter is the Housing Trust system of rental assessment, whereby when they want to increase rents, they frequently change them in such a way that the incoming tenant pays a higher rate, whereas the rent for existing tenants remains unchanged. In addition, the rent is assessed irrespective of the age of the house, so a brand new one can cost the same as a shabby old one. These are eminently reasonable practices, but they do give rise to anomalies, and naturally the newest tenants are the most likely to feel it to be slightly unfair, as they are the ones paying the highest rates.

One telling criticism came from family F37, where the wife said: "Why can't they build houses for the climate, like they do in Malta?" (The style of houses in Malta can be seen from Plates 23(a) and (b)). There is no doubt that the designs could be made more suitable to the climatic conditions, as the current styles get uncomfortably hot in summer. One has the impression that if the Housing Trust designers had to live in the houses in Whyalla, they would very soon develop more appropriate designs. In fairness to the designers though, one criticism made by several families concerned the size of the windows, and some of the newer houses did have considerably larger and more acceptable window sizes.

Plate 23 (a) and (b) House styles in Malta



(d) Neighbours and the neighbourhood

(i) The neighbourhood

It is difficult to differentiate between objections to the house itself and to the neighbourhood in which it is situated. As far as the families were concerned, all that matters is that they do not feel happy where they are. In one particular instance though, the family voiced objections specifically to the neighbourhood, as well as the house. This instance is especially interesting because the family concerned eventually left Whyalla, and the house was subsequently reoccupied by another of the families in the study.

The full details of the attitudes of the families towards their neighbours are given in Appendix XX. One feature highlighted by F35, the former family just mentioned, concerns just exactly what it is that constitutes a neighbourhood. In the end it comes down to a consideration of those immediate families who are likely by their behaviour to affect the specific family. Family F35's view is that the neighbours and the neighbourhood have a poor reputation: " ..... Street is not a good place to live". They found the immediate neighbourhood undesirable: 'It is dirty and unkempt, and the families (nearly all British) are likewise". In one household, the 14-year-old son beats up his father, and another neighbour "smashes up his wife when they've had a row". Their adjoining neighbours have put up with it for five years but cannot stand it any longer, and are moving to Queensland.

When family F35 left the house, it was taken over by family F4 who, like their predecessors, get on well with the adjoining neighbours. The wife from F4 referred to the other

neighbours as: 'Always fighting, swearing and carrying-on'. She says they are alcoholics and 'Everything goes when they're blind; having tremendous rows, shouting and banging about'. She is concerned about what will happen when her husband goes on shifts. If he is working a night shift, and she is at home, the car will not be there, but the light will be on in the evenings, so the neighbours will know she is on her own.

One of the families never openly expressed their aversion to the neighbourhood, but at the same time the wife would never answer the door after dark if she was at home on her own. However, in contrast to the families who reacted unfavourably to their neighbourhoods, there were those for whom Whyalla was a distinct improvement on what they had known before. Family F1 lived in a Corporation flat in Manchester before they came to Whyalla. The wife said the night they moved into their flat (Saturday night) she thought all the noise was their friends joking and livening things up for them. She got quite a shock when she found that it was like that every Saturday night. Family F11 also had a Corporation flat, but this time in Glasgow. In Whyalla, their children can go outside and enjoy themselves without fears about the neighbours or the neighbourhood. In the wife's words: 'Where I was before, I put the washing out, and then had to sit and watch it until it was dry - its not like that here'.

Generally speaking, as was implied in the last point, the neighbourhood becomes synonymous with the neighbours, and so in this study it is possible to query not just how the families got on in the neighbourhood, but also how they got on with the neighbours. This may also be expanded into a broader examination of with whom the families mixed. This latter topic

is detailed in Appendix XXI.

Interactions with other families can be considered at two levels. In the first instance, there is the question of how the families in Whyalla got on with one another, and particularly how the families in this investigation fared. The second level is a comparison between the overall patterns of interaction in Whyalla, compared with elsewhere. Since this latter comparison introduces the features that differentiate Whyalla, it will be dealt with first. The evidence is rather sparce, since it comes mainly from the families who moved away from Whyalla and from whom it was still possible to obtain opinions. This includes three families; one went to Albury, one went to Adelaide and the third went to Victor Harbour. The first family (F57) said, in a letter from Albury; "We found it much harder to make friends here, which I think is due to the fact that the majority of people have grown up here and therefore have their friends and families here, whereas in Whyalla the majority of people were in a similar position to ourselves, and so went out of their way to be friendly".

Family F48 moved to Adelaide, and one of the noteworthy problems they experienced there concerned friendship. They know nobody in Adelaide, though each meets people at work. However, neither of these sources brings them into contact with the 'type' with whom they would like to be friends. The wife said she does not think it ever occurs to the people she works with "that I know nobody here". Furthermore, her workmates "wouldn't think of inviting us round at all". As a consequence, they spend a great deal of time in one another's company, and very little with anyone else. This problem is characterised by the wife from family F11 who, given the choice of joining

relatives in Adelaide or Whyalla, chose Whyalla because Adelaide is a big city "too much like Glasgow", which she never liked, coming from Baillietown, a village outside Glasgow.

"In Glasgow, you could walk around for days and nobody would talk to you". This view is borne out by the opinions expressed by the friends family F42 met during the voyage to Australia. They had gone to live in Adelaide, but flew up to Whyalla for the weekend to stay with the family because they were lonely and finding it difficult to meet people in Adelaide. By contrast, they thought family F42 had "been able to make lots of friends".

For family F11, Whyalla was preferable, but the wife from family F59 said she found she was able to make many more friends in Victor Harbour. She said she never made friends in Whyalla because (a) she "never had a car", and (b) she "didn't go to work". She said if ever she went out (by bus) in Whyalla, she never encountered anyone she knew, whereas in Victor Harbour she meets someone she knows whenever she goes out.

This last wife makes a particularly valid point about Whyalla. From Appendices XX and XXI it can be seen that, when two families go to Whyalla at the same time, their meeting-point is usually at, or just before, arrival in Adelaide. From this point, they will stay together in the hostel in Adelaide, travel on the same bus to Whyalla, and be with one another in the BHP hostel, Milpara, at Whyalla. In addition to this, there may also be a slight overlap at Milpara of families who arrived within a short time of one another. Furthermore, living in Milpara is a situation where the families have relatively large amounts of free time, and they are essentially weighing up Whyalla, and marking time until they get allocated

a house. The preoccupations and experiences of one family are inherently similar to all the others, and so there is a common bond between them. This also allows the families to gauge whether or not they can get on with the others, and so it is a time when friendships are established. The subsequent behaviour of the families may be regarded as a 2x2 matrix. The first factor concerns whether or not friendships are made during the stay in Milpara, and the second depends on how close together are the houses to which the families are allocated. Thus, if an initial friendship is established, its survival will be influenced by the proximity of the homes of the families involved. Conversely, families who did not establish initial friendships will, in the absence of predetermined friendships or relationships, be thrown much more on the mercies of their neighbours, and those families who did establish friendships but who find themselves geographically separated will, in addition to the need to establish new friendships with the neighbours, feel frustrated by the knowledge that they do know somebody in Whyalla, but they literally cannot reach them.

Altogether a total of 24 pairs of families met at Adelaide, and were in Milpara together, and of these, 20 pairs of families established friendships whilst they were there. Of these twenty pairs, the friendship patterns after they had been in Whyalla for six months were as follows :-

	Neighbours	Non-neighbours	Total
Friends	8	4	12
Non-friends	2	6	8
Total	10	10	20

The figures suggest that the chances of friendships enduring are facilitated if the families become neighbours; eight out of ten of the neighbouring families maintained their relationships, whereas only four out of ten non-neighbouring families did so. These figures are in no way biassed because of prior friendships or relationships in Whyalla. Of the 15 families who remained friends, two families already had relatives in Whyalla, whereas of the 16 families who did not, three had relatives in Whyalla, and one of these left Whyalla partly because of dislike for these relatives.

In effect, it appears the presence of prior connections in Whyalla had a negligible effect on friendship patterns, and of all the families now being considered, only one showed sufficiently strong ties with relatives to preclude the establishment of other friendship patterns. In this instance, the ties with the relatives could almost be viewed as abnormally close, since the same relatives were present at *all* the interviews with the family, together with three occasions when arrangements were being made to conduct the interviews.

On the other hand, it does appear that geographical proximity favours the maintenance of friendship patterns, presumably because of the difficulties experienced by families in travelling to see one another if they live more than easy walking distance apart. It was shown earlier that many of the families overcame the difficulties afforded by Whyalla's negligible public transport system by obtaining cars, but it was also shown that these cars were predominantly used by the husbands for travel to and from work, and so were of little use to their wives.

(ii) Interactions with neighbours

Summarising interaction with the neighbours is complicated by the finding that no family lived in complete social isolation from the neighbours. In effect, it is not an all-or-nothing phenomenon, but more a question of degree. It has already been mentioned that families F35 and F4, living consecutively in the same house, both found their adjoining neighbours particularly acceptable, but were averse to all the others. On the other hand, two other families, F29 and F53, lived further down the same street. The latter said they liked the neighbourhood, and the wife said the house was spotless when they moved in, and the garden was in good shape. They went to Arno Bay with their next-door neighbours, who have a caravan there, and the wife maintains a closer relationship with these neighbours than she does with her brother who also lives in Whyalla. Family F29 were also taken to the beach in Whyalla, and "To a beach south of Cowell last weekend" by their next-door neighbours.

Some of the wives, such as the wife from family F1, preferred to be on their own. She had rejected the overtures from the neighbours: "If my sister (who also lives in Whyalla) was here, she'd be in and out of their houses all the time, just like they are; but for myself, I couldn't stand it. I like to be on my own".

There certainly seems to be some interrelationship between the reactions to the neighbours and the amount of prior connections a family possesses when it first moves into the house. Family F7 for example was one of the four families who arrived together, and who maintained friendships. The wife gave the impression of being almost friendless. She said the

neighbours "Aren't as friendly here as in Britain". She said the family had "Done more socialising in six months in Whyalla than they had done 'in the last five years' in Britain". Socialising, in this context, is entertaining, or being entertained by, friends in a semi-formal circumstance, such as for dinner. Friends 'dropping in for a chat' does not constitute socialising, hence the apparent inconsistency between greater socialisation and at the same time friendlessness.

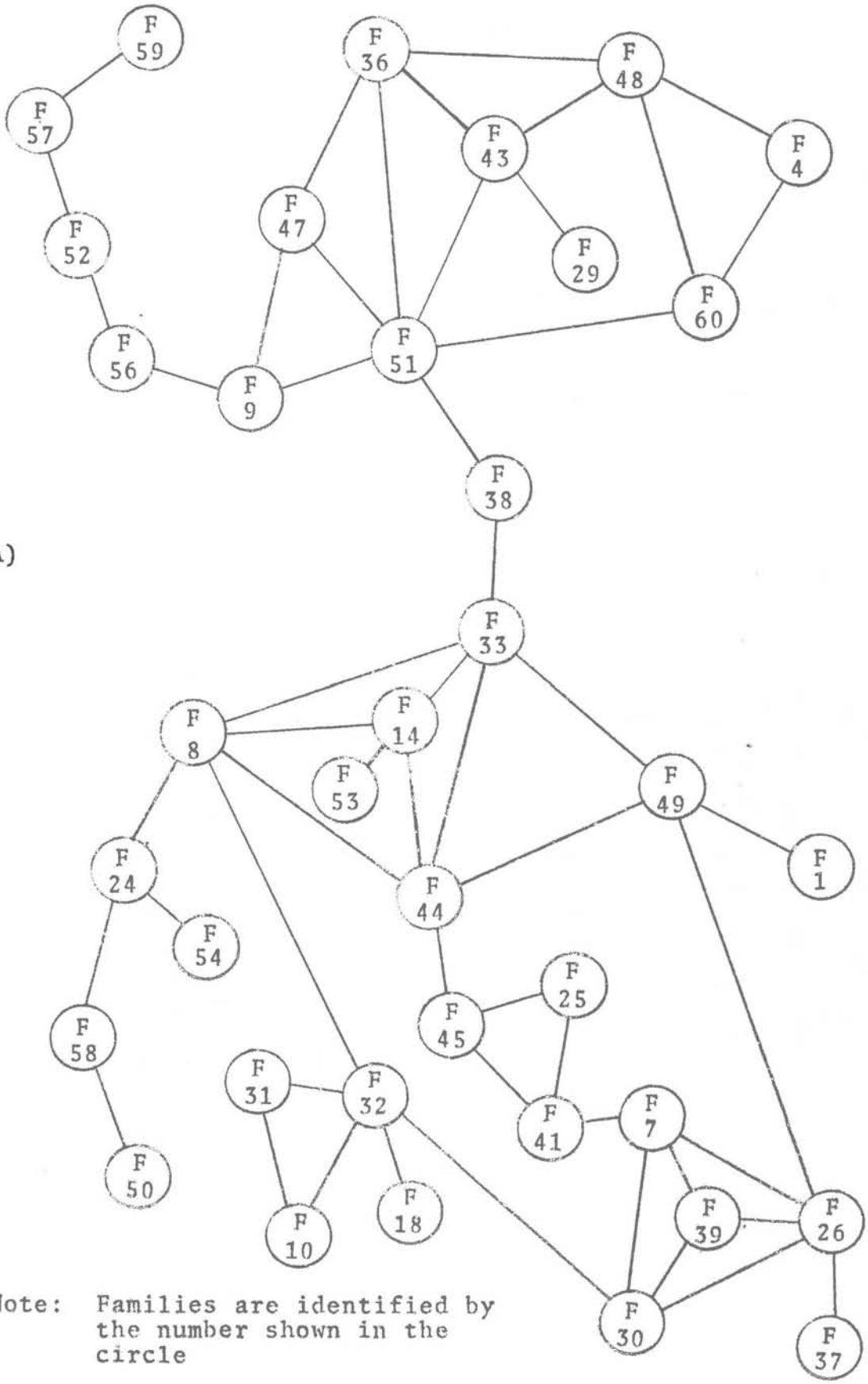
This feature of friends and neighbours 'dropping in' is a very interesting one. Several of the wives remarked on how this was one aspect of life in Whyalla that was missing, compared with their previous lives in Britain. It seems to be a feature of an established neighbourhood. It is almost as though, in an established neighbourhood, one family can move in and be readily assimilated into the 'dropping in' circuit, but if all the families are new, they may be quite prepared to be part of a 'dropping in' relationship, but nobody knows how to get it started. Thus the wife in F1 was given the opportunity and rejected it; the wife in F53 was given the opportunity and accepted it; but the wives from families F32 and F56, who live virtually opposite one another; the wives from F18 and F19 who live three doors apart, and from F31 and F58 who live directly opposite one another; and all of these families living in a circle of 150 m radius, in new homes, could all rue to a greater or lesser extent the non-existence of an 'open house' circle of neighbours. The wife in family F32 had always been used to 'open house', with people coming and going all the time, and the wife from F58 admitted that: "People are friendly here, but they aren't close enough to

form a 'circle of friends'" for her. She had probably found the key to the mystery when she described the behaviour of the Tasmanian family "across the street", who exercised their own interpretation of open house, but family F58 found their 'rules of conduct' unacceptable. What seems likely then is that in order to be truly homogeneous, there must not only be 'open house', but also a tacit acceptance of the unwritten rules governing the appropriate conduct. Presumably, a collection of wives from different parts of Britain do not share common rules, and so they are unable to meet harmoniously.

Support for such an hypothesis may be found amongst one such group of wives, who all came from in and around Glasgow. Appendix XXI shows, for the families in this study, who mixes with whom, and the data from the Appendix have been summarised in the sociograms shown in Figure 11. The main sociogram (network B, in 11(ii)) shows this network of five families from Clydeside. Four of them had their initial BHP interviews together in Glasgow, and although they arrived separately in Whyalla, they regrouped there. Family F20 is shown on the periphery, having arrived some time after the others. What is significant is that for the remaining four families, all the possible social connections are made. They are, in effect, in sociological terms, a totally integrated network. In other words, they had achieved what the families mentioned earlier had been striving for, but had not managed to achieve. Furthermore, the only friendship pattern that existed prior to arrival in Whyalla was that two of the husbands had known one another some years previously: "When we were both seventeen".

This particular network shows not only how strong are the interrelationships, but also the way in which the sociogram

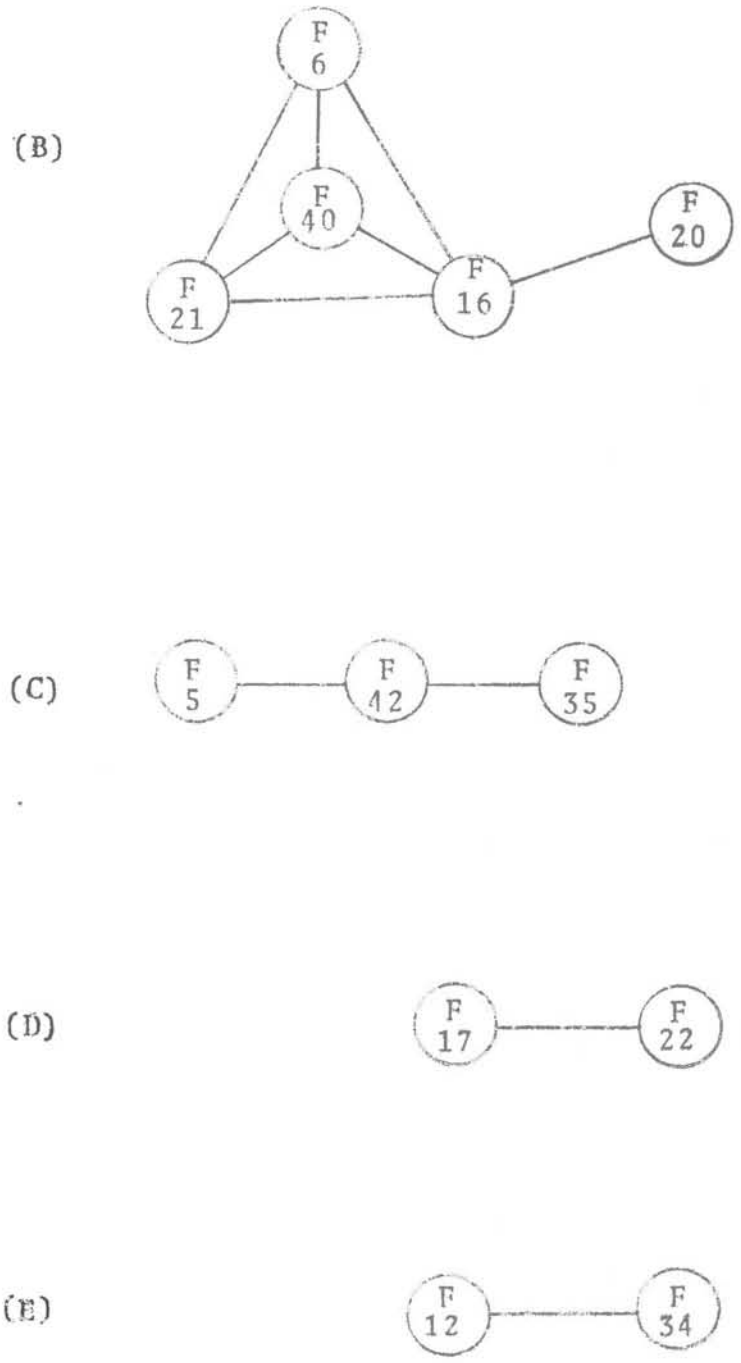
Figure 11 Family interrelationships (i)



(A)

Note: Families are identified by the number shown in the circle

Figure 11 Family interrelationships (ii)



Note: Families are identified by the number shown in the circle.

itself, and the larger one, Network A, shown in Figure 11(i) are disparate. Not only are these two sociograms separate and discrete, but Network B is also geographically intermingled with Network A; with two of the Scots families, F16 and F20, living close together in one part of Whyalla, and the other three also living close together, but in a group about two kilometres away. Thus they maintain their interrelationships over geographical distance in their own right, and spacially across Network A, without interacting with it.

(It should be noted that these sociograms show only the known connections. That is, those that cropped up in the course of the interviews. Not all the connections that exist between the families are known. This is partly due to the fact that all interviews could have been completed with one family before another family arrived in Whyalla, and thus any relationships developing between them could only be ascertained from the second family, and then only if they mentioned them).

A similar group exists in Network A, comprising the four families, F7, F26, F30 and F39, who met as a consequence of their simultaneous arrival in Adelaide. They were otherwise unknown to one another, and came from different parts of England. Both this and the Scots group showed themselves to be extremely durable over time, and while other families were also included in the friendship patterns, the closest affinities remained with the original quartets. In the case of the Scots group, there are logical reasons why other Scots families should be included, and yet none was, although family F16 for instance had a Scots wife (three years in Australia) next door and another (five years in Australia) across the

road. Family F40 also had a Scots wife next door, who had been in Whyalla for two years. They expressed antipathy towards her, saying that she is miserable and says there is nothing to do. She has no friends, and says everything is so expensive. She is going back to Scotland soon; "And she's in for a shock when she finds out what its like in Scotland now". They said they were besieged by Scots people when they arrived, and were rather put off. They did not "Want to become too closely associated with Scots people". But in spite of this, the family got included in the Scots quartet. What this suggests is that, for such a group to become established, there also needs to be some temporal contiguity in terms of the time of arrival, as well as some of the more recognised social affinities. Presumably this is related to the mutual sympathy and understanding that is expressed between families who arrived at the same time, whereas longer established families are alienated because of their more advanced level of assimilation. In effect, they have modified their original identities by partially assimilating features of their new environment. Certainly, the other quartet shown in Network A includes four families, F8, F14, F33 and F44, all of whom arrived in Whyalla within a short time of one another, and again all being unknown to one another beforehand. In their case, the common bond that helped to create the quartet was the husbands of three of the families working together, and the fourth family was brought in by virtue of coming from the same part of Britain as one of the other three.

A lot has been said so far about the sociological interrelationships between the families, and some reference

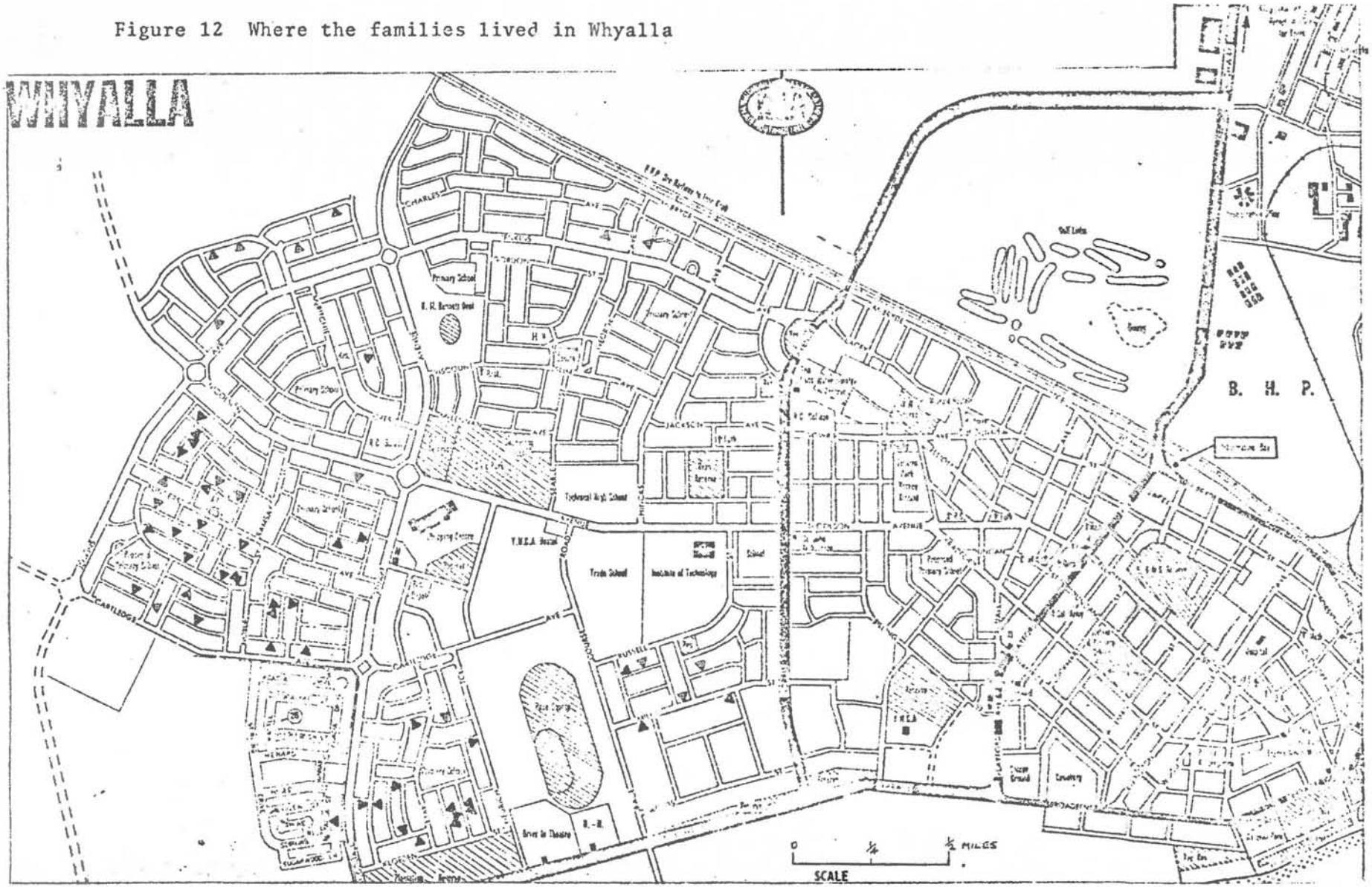
has been made to their geographical dispersion. The full pattern of this dispersion may be seen in Figure 12, which shows where the families lived, on a street plan of Whyalla. As can be seen, all but 14 of the families lived in two relatively confined parts of Whyalla, and so it is not altogether surprising that so many of them occur in the extended interrelationship sociogram shown as Network A in Figure 11(i).

(e) Cross-cultural relationships

Consideration will now be given to a rather different aspect of the relationships between the families and their neighbours. When the Housing Trust assigns houses, it does so on a 'first come, first served' basis, and one of the consequences of this is that there are no national enclaves in Whyalla; with the corollary that families can find themselves with neighbours of different nationality from their own. Many of the families in this study have had previous experience of living in the vicinity of people of different nationalities from themselves, but these are generally people of a different colour, but who on the whole can speak English. In Whyalla though, it is a predominently white community, but comprising families from different cultures who often arrive able to speak little or no English.

All in all, there are three ways in which cross-cultural attitudes and interactions may play a part in the lives of the families in the study. In the first place, it is eminently possible that some of the families had racial reasons for selecting Australia as a potential venue. Having exercised that choice and arriving in Whyalla, the families can then

Figure 12 Where the families lived in Whyalla



encounter people from other cultures in two ways; either they can have them as neighbours, or they are present at work, or both.

The details of the cross-cultural reactions and attitudes have been shown in Appendix XXII. From the outset, it should be made quite clear that not one of the families openly stated that they had chosen to come to Australia because of its 'white Australia' policy reputation. However, there is a tacit indication from several of the families that this may well have influenced them. Some of the reactions are passive, such as with the wife from family F59, who said she believed in equality, "having worked with coloureds", and so felt that her liberal views would have "landed me in trouble" in South Africa. For families who feel like this, coming to Australia is a solution to the problem because they no longer have to consider it. It is no longer there; as would also be the case in Canada.

Other families show far more active reactions, such as the wife from family F34, who said she is "not a racialist; not in some senses, anyway", but she said it was one of the last straws when they went to London - wherever they went, at the most there would be one white person serving them: "All the rest would be coloured". The family would not go to South Africa, because the wife "couldn't stand the racism there". In her words, there are coloured people where she used to live, but each side kept to themselves - "tolerated" each other.

Evidence of the deep complexities of racism may be gathered from family F13, who considered they had lost about £4,000 on

the sale of their house (which they sold for £13,500) because of coloured next-door neighbours. They were one of the first families to say that one of their reasons for coming to Australia was the number of coloured people in Britain. They gave the impression that they really were averse to coloured people in Britain, and yet these coloured neighbours "were the best neighbours we've ever had".

For families such as these, coming to Australia was definitely seen as the way of getting away from a mixed racial society. Another aspect of the same problem was pinpointed by family F35 who mentioned a school situation of one white child in a class of blacks. This cannot possibly be an issue in its own right for this family, since they ultimately left Whyalla for Umba Cumba, a mission settlement on Groote Eylandt, where their two children "will be the only white children in the school there". In this instance the racial characteristics of the two situations are *exactly* the same, and yet one is a reason to be got away from, whereas the other engenders feelings of pride.

For many of the families, coming to Australia is seen not only as a relief from the interracial situation in Britain, but also they imagine that the white Caucasian population is synonymous with British, and so it comes as something of a shock to find themselves in a multi-national society. The wife in family F49 for instance was "dumbfounded" at having a Spanish neighbour on one side and a Greek on the other. The Greek neighbour "hates it here" and "can't speak much English, although she's been here for eight years". Family F28 have Italian neighbours, and the wife gives the impression she does

not like them at all; "Because they're Italian, they wouldn't be able to understand me, even if I did go round there for help".

While some of the families react against having other nationalities for neighbours, others take it in their stride. The parents in family F61 said how their daughter (17) now had a boy-friend for the first time, and it had been a shock to them to realise (a) she is growing up, and (b) the cross-cultural consequences of adjustment to the idea of a Yugoslav son-in-law. The wife in family F56 has a Spaniard next door, but said that her main friends are the German couple next door but one, the Yugoslavs down the road, and a Greek family. All five wives exercise an 'open house' style of living, and this wife says she spends so much of her time helping them to get established in the community that she has no time to worry about it for herself.

The husband in family F11 emphasised the harmonious mixing of nationalities in Whyalla, especially the cross-cultural mixing amongst the children "which is good for them". His wife expressed gratification that there is no colour bar in Whyalla like there is in Britain, and "getting worse in Glasgow, where the coloured people 'work hard and get on', and the whites are beginning to hate them for it. In Whyalla, there isn't the same feeling, because there are too many nationalities living and mixing together to start with".

Whatever their eventual reactions might be, there seems little doubt that the overall expectation is that coming to Whyalla will mean an escape from the racial situation in Britain. What is equally clear is that associated with this expectation is the belief that no coloured people in Australia equates with no other *nationalities* in Australia (except of

course for the Australians themselves). The Australians are also expected to identify wholeheartedly with the migrants, and it is this feature particularly that seems to cause the greatest problems among the workforce.

The organisation of BHP has one rather unexpected feature. The Company recruited from overseas only those people who cannot be recruited from within Australia. There is no difficulty in filling staff appointments from within Australia, and so the Organisation has a progressively higher proportion of Australians on the staff as one rises up the ladder from the foremen. It also has relatively fewer problems at the other end of the scale; that is, in recruiting unskilled labour, though a proportion of these are migrants. The overall effect is that British migrants find themselves sandwiched between these two classes of Australians; they certainly do not anticipate this when they come to Whyalla as skilled tradesmen, and it is doubtful if BHP has given much consideration to the implications either. The consequences, in terms of this study, are that the wives at home may react against other nationalities as neighbours, but their husbands, at least from what they have said, tend to identify with the nationalities on the grounds that either they are experiencing problems similar to their own, or they are working at lower grades, and so do not compete with them in any way. In family F54 for instance, the husband said that the prejudice in Whyalla is not good. The situation where "the labourers are all Australians, and the tradesmen are all migrants" engenders resentment among the labourers. Since the Staff are also Australian, the affinities are "across the gap"; the "We don't want them here, taking all the good jobs" type of attitude.

As the husband says, the differential attitudes (ie Staff - tradesmen - labourers) are there anyway; it is just accentuated by the nationalism superimposed on it. The husband in family F61 said he is working in a set-up where all the others are Australians, and he feels he is penalised for 'being a Pom. The job (he is an electrician working on the coke ovens) isn't worth the money; 'and the Australians get the money''. But paradoxically, all his friends are Australians. His view is that: 'If there's anything going, the Aussies get it. An Australian in Australia has a better chance than a Pom". This view is supported by the husband from family F58 who says that the 'only thorn in the (work) system is the Australian. He's a real whining Australian. The boss is Australian, and whenever the Aussie worker gets left out if there's a chance of overtime, he puts on his best Aussie whine and says: "What about the Aussies? all these whingeing Poms getting the overtime", and wheedles himself in". This causes resentment among the others, and further exacerbates the disfavour with which he is viewed.

The husband in family F44 left BHP to work for one of the smaller organisations in Whyalla as a leading hand. He said he very much dislikes the prejudice extended towards him by his subordinates, who are all Australians, and his wife says that now she "knows what it must be like (for the Pakistanis) in Britain"; that is, what it is like to be a 'foreigner'. She is not the only one to show such enlightenment; the wife from family F40 said that in Scotland the Scots complain about Indians and Pakistanis - how they form 'cliques' - "But the Scots are doing just the same out here"; while the view of the husband from family F33 was, apropos the reactions of

Australians to the Poms; "I don't know how they'd get on if they had to live in Bradford".

Several of the families evince despair at the way the husbands get treated by Australians at work, but at the same time they have no problems at all with the Australians as neighbours. It is almost as though the cultural identification occurs only in a competitive situation, such as who gets the favoured job, or who gets the overtime.

Of all the States in Australia, only one, Tasmania, gets identified as such. There is no mention of say Victorians, but several families mentioned Tasmanians. Family F10 said they made friends with their Tasmanian next-door neighbours. The wife in family F58 reacted against the Tasmanian family who lived opposite them, mainly because their 'rules of conduct' were so different from her own. Some of the families disparaged the way Australian families treated their children, particularly with regard to them playing outside, but it is noticeable that this is an essentially initial reaction, and that after six months in Whyalla, many of the migrant families were allowing their children similar amounts of freedom. This is also true of the attitude of the wife in family F58 to the Tasmanian neighbour's children, though she continued to find features of their conduct unacceptable.

Perhaps the most marked reaction, and the one most symptomatic of the underlying subconscious feelings came from the wife in family F21. While they were in Milpara, she heard that twenty Tasmanian families were coming to Whyalla, and her reaction was; "What do they want to bring (to Whyalla) all those foreigners for?" In other words, she sees herself, a Scot, as a non-foreigner as far as Australia is concerned.

(f) Proximity to shops

The first question on the Whyalla Questionnaire related to how close the families considered they lived to the shops, and it was associated with Question 1 on the Item Value Questionnaire, that rated the importance of such proximity. The detailed results were referred to in sections 5.2(a) and (b). The finding for the Whyalla Questionnaire was that 'people live close to the shops'. On the Initial IVQ, the wives, not surprisingly, regarded living close to the shops as being significantly more important than did their husbands. The Final IVQ results were a coming together of the husbands' and the wives' scores in such a way as to be congruent with the results of the Whyalla Questionnaire. The aim of the present section is to examine the Whyalla situation in slightly more detail. Sarre (1973) includes among his 'Top ten priorities for improving the quality of life in Whyalla' the provision of "a large department store, giving a wider variety of general goods, specialist goods, and general service". He also included comments gathered from a "random sample of just over one hundred shoppers". The comments were mainly about prices, attitudes in the shops, range of products, and so forth, but nothing was said about their location.

In the present study, 14 of the wives commented on the distance of the shops, and all of them rated them as convenient; that is, within walking distance. In their earlier days in Whyalla, many of them prefer regular excursions to the shops, probably because it uses up some of their spare time. It is noticeable though that by the time they have been there six months, there is a marked tendency to do the main shopping once a week by car with their husbands, and complement this with

occasional excursions for a more leisurely browse around. Such comments as are made all refer to the availability of the shopping complexes - Westlands, or One-Stop - since there are no 'occasional' or corner shops in the Housing Trust neighbourhoods.

Although the families shown in Figure 12 living in the south-western district have about two kilometres to walk to the Westlands complex, none of them seems to mind. One wife said she preferred to walk to One-Stop "to avoid the crowds" although it was further away. The wife from family F11 said that it "costs a lot to go to town" (ie to the Whyalla shopping centre, at the eastern end of the City), but they do not really have to go to town at all, and her father, who lives in that part of Whyalla, has to come out to Westlands to get his groceries, "so what's the point of going the other way?"

The wife from family F21 says she enjoys her "walk across the bush" to Westlands, and the wife from family F40 said, "What would my sisters think if they could see me walking to the shops at Westlands, taking a short-cut across the salt-bush?" The wife from family F49 said she went to Westlands "for company". She goes there and sits down "just to see some faces".

(g) Pets

The question of pets is not one which would normally be associated with a study such as this one, but it has been included here for two reasons; in the first instance, remarks frequently appear in the local Whyalla papers about the nuisance caused by pets and stray animals, and secondly, the ownership of animals by the families in the study was one of the incidentals which by their presence became impressed upon

the investigator's mind. The ownership of pets is summarised in Table 39. What stands out is the proportion of families, 56.9% who ultimately acquired pets. Of these, 50% owned at

Table 39 Ownership of pets

Pets	Number of families	
	n	%
Dog	29	50.0
Other animals only	4	6.9
No animals	25	43.1
Total	58	100
Did not stay for four weeks in Whyalla	4	
Total	62	

least one dog by the time the families had been in Whyalla for six months. Of these, 12 families (20.7%) had acquired a dog before they had been in Whyalla for one month, including one family who brought their dog, a Pyrenean Mountain dog, to Australia with them. Six families acquired other animals as well as a dog, only one of which contented themselves with only one other species, namely family F5, who got chickens - the only family to make such an utilitarian acquisition. The remaining five families, including the family who brought their dog with them from Britain, all showed tendencies to acquire menageries. In so doing, three of them repeated their previous British behaviour, and the fourth was newly married. In these instances, it would appear that they are carrying on as before. For some other families, acquiring pets is a novel departure.

Some, with young children, had deferred getting animals until they arrived in Australia, so at least they had the intention of having pets, but it does also seem that some of the families were making new and unanticipated moves, and although none of them actually said they had acquired pets to stave off loneliness, it seems quite likely that this factor played a part. The reasons for acquiring animals fall into two classes: (a) in response to pressures from the children, and (b) for protection for the wives while the husbands "work nights". In the event, the dogs so obtained appear to adequately fill neither role, since in the first instance, the children tire of the puppy once it becomes a dog, and secondly good watchdogs tend to annoy the neighbours.

Of the four families with pets other than dogs, one had a cat, and the other three had galahs. The latter appear to be pets that can be endured for about six months, by which time the owners are heartily glad to get rid of them because of the noise, so galahs tend to change hands for nothing, or fairly cheaply. Only one family looked forward to owning a kangaroo "because they're cute". The family knew somebody who went out shooting and who had promised to bring a young one back for them.

(h) Illness and costs

Medical costs is one area which receives close attention by families coming to Whyalla, partly because for most of them, they are moving from a country where health benefits were a service provided by the Government to one where it was to be their own responsibility. Several of them expressed concern during the initial interview, but often this was because the

wife was pregnant, and so would definitely be needing medical attention in the foreseeable future. Family F31 made comparisons between the National Health Service in Britain, and a private scheme in Australia (this was before the advent of Medibank). Their conclusion was that in Australia, the contributions are *less*, but the supplementary costs make them higher, *if* you incur medical expenses, as a family of five children invariably does. On the other hand, family F20 reckoned they got better value for money in Australia than they did in Britain. The husband said he was paying $3.65 per fortnight for his Level 6 contribution with the Mutual Hospitals scheme, compared with 30/- per week in Britain. (ie excluding the employer's contribution). He was quite happy to get so much back, and pay the remainder. He said that, in addition, the service in Whyalla was very fast.

This last instance referred to hospitalisation. Ordinary general practitioner services are not so good, principally because of the ongoing dearth of GP's in country areas in South Australia (and this includes Whyalla). (This point was detailed earlier in Chapter 4, during the discussion of Whyalla). Family F33 mentioned an occasion when their daughter had been "screaming with pain" on a Wednesday. They had rung the doctor, to be told that the first available appointment was "next Tuesday evening".

It would be difficult to determine the expected hospitalisation rate for a selection of families such as this, and certainly nothing abnormal appears in the results seen. Two families had instances of stress-related illness; one husband collapsed at work, and went to hospital with a suspected appendicitis. He had his appendix, and gall-stones,

removed, but also had an ulcer confirmed. In another family, the wife, who had had a stomach ulcer removed at the age of 17, was having trouble again, and her daughter, age 6, had a suspected appendicitis.

Another husband had a vasectomy in Britain, and it gave trouble in Whyalla. Eventually he went to hospital with an absess in his groin. One wife had been in hospital to have two discs removed, and another had been in hospital for a dilation and curettage. One child (age 4) had become ill at Milpara, and had been to hospital for a minor gastric complaint, and had returned to Milpara, having contracted measles in the hospital. Finally, one husband spent six weeks in hospital as a result of a car accident, and one child spent a night in hospital after falling from a swing.

In effect, the major incidents do not seem to point to any abnormal amount of stress accruing from the effects of migration, and corresponding to this, although several of the families remarked on the apparently increased incidence of minor ailments, it would seem that these are more attributable to the effects of moving to a new environment where the necessary immunities have still to be developed. This occurrence may of course be exacerbated by a lowered resistance because of the stresses of assimilation.

(j) Reception in Whyalla

The final feature of the results to be examined concerns one of the first aspects of life in Whyalla, namely the reception and induction of the newly-arrived migrants. The point was made earlier, in Chapter 4, that there exists an effective informal system for helping families to settle in. The Spencer

Gulf Pictorial reports the anticipated arrivals, stating in which ship the family is travelling, and where and when it is docking, the names of the whole family, including the children and also their ages, the occupation of the father, and from where they came. The amount of available notice is so much shorter for air travellers, and so the advance information is neither so readily available nor is it published. However, all arrivals are announced over the local commercial radio and television networks, and this is generally sufficient to prompt residents to go to Milpara with offers of help.

Theoretically, the reception of newly-arrived migrants is the responsibility of the Good Neighbour Council, the semi-official Government-sponsored organisation. The organisation was established by the Federal Government during the 1950's "To help migrants who experienced problems when they arrived in Australia". A report to the Government in 1975 criticised the movement, saying that the Councils have "lost their acceptance as the main community agency through which the settlement of migrants is accomplished". The local South Australian secretary of the Council strongly rebuffed the report, saying (The Advertiser, 27.5.75): "In South Australia, we welcome 95 to 96% of migrants arriving. 3 to 4% we cannot contact because of wrong addresses or unavailability". He was probably being unintentionally ambiguous in the latter sentence, since it is not clear who he means are unavailable, the migrants, or the GNC representatives to meet them. As regards this study, it is simplest to allow the findings to speak for themselves; the details are given in Appendix XXIII. Quantifying the incidence of GNC reception is not easy. In the case of family F14 for instance, the GNC representative came to

meet them in Milpara, and took them to see their new house. He also visited them again in their new home, two weeks later. The representative told them that he had come "off my own bat", as it was "usually 2 - 3 months before we get round to seeing you". Family F16 had a similar experience. In their case, the representative also called to see them while they were in Milpara and took them to see their new house. He then took them round the corner and introduced them to a family of fellow-Scots, from where they were inducted into the Scottish circle. This representative's view was: "You need help now, not in two months' time" (ie when the GNC gets around to making an 'official' visit). (It could possibly be the same GNC representative in each of these two cases).

For family F48, the GNC lady regularly called to see the wife in Milpara at about nine in the morning. This meant that the wife had to get up, which she rather resented, and in the end the GNC lady "gave her up". The GNC representative was unable to catch up with family F23 until they had been in their house for a month. He had tried unsuccessfully on several occasions, but they were always out.

The GNC did however meet with some success. Family F57 said they had made friends through introductions from the GNC representative, but effectively these last three families were the *only* ones to receive attention from the GNC during their initial days in Whyalla. One other family had a visit just before the end of their first six months in Whyalla.

As far as can be assessed from these results, induction by the GNC in Whyalla runs at a rate of just under 5%. Waring (c1968) also found many of her subjects - British migrants in Melbourne - had never heard of the Good Neighbour Council, "Or

if they had, had never been approached by any of its members". In a footnote, she explains that; "The other side of the story is that functions arranged by members of the GNC, such as car rides, or a picnic to show people (in particular those in hostels) some of the country, are often poorly attended, and thus discourage further efforts. How this reflects a lack of need for this kind of activity on the British part, or simply lethargy and apathy, is an unanswerable question at this point".

The previously mentioned experiences of families F14 and F16 point to the shortcomings of the Whyalla branch of the GNC, as seen by one of the Council's own representatives. Families F43 and F51 give another view of the situation. The wife from family F51 emphasised how much she had been assisted by the "'unofficial Good Neighbour Council'" - two women who felt there was a need for helping to assimilate new families. They had gone to a GNC meeting, and they said that; "The main item on the agenda was when and where for the next dinner, rather than what opportunities they had been able to provide for newcomers". As a result, they set themselves up in an 'unofficial' capacity, with the collusion of one of the Milpara kitchen staff, who let them know when newcomers were due. The wife said these "'unofficial GN Councillors'" were very good, and gave the family sound help and advice. At the third interview (six months after arrival in Whyalla), the wife said that they "don't see much of the 'unofficial GNC' contact these days. She tends to 'move on' in her friendships" - a valuable attribute for someone whose self-appointed role is to welcome people to Whyalla.

Two of the families, F4 and F52, were from South Wales. They were met by one of the Whyalla City Councillors, who came originally from Merthyr, and who certainly aids migrants from that part of the world. He also hoped to discuss this project with the investigator, but unfortunately proved to be the only person in Whyalla who was never at home whenever the investigator called, so all the evidence points to him being an exceedingly busy man.

Several of the families in the study already had friends or relatives in Whyalla, and so the question of whether or not they were seen by visitors in this present context did not arise. Families such as F12, F15 and F42 said nobody came to see them at Nilpara; others, like families F20 and F61, met people they had known years previously in Britain (and of whose existence in Whyalla they were unaware) as a consequence of press publicity for their arrival. Others, such as families F39 and F56, were aided by families from their own part of Britain, but who were previously unknown to them, as a result of this same publicity.

In summary, it appears quite conclusive that families are aided in their induction into the new community far more efficiently and effectively by informal sources than by the formal organisations like the Good Neighbour Council, whose ostensible role is to do just this.

6 DISCUSSION AND INTERIM CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Introduction
6.2 Motives for migration
6.3 Housing
6.4 Parent-child interactions
6.5 Field dependence and independence
6.6 Going to stay?
6.7 Another problem of working for BHP

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter was devoted to a detailed examination of the results without any attempts being made to integrate them in anything more than a perfunctory manner. The aim of this present chapter is to examine any key issues that have arisen, as a consequence of events or ideas occurring during the course of the investigation, as a result of remarks made during the interviews, or arising from the gathering together of cohesive features of the results discussed in Chapter 5. These will form the initial sections of this chapter, and they will be followed by an analysis of the question of whether or not the families are going to stay in Whyalla. These examinations lead to some interim conclusions, and these will be dealt with as they occur.

Whether or not the families remain in Whyalla is in itself an indicator of how satisfied they are, and so it will receive

close attention in the following pages.

6.2 Motives for migration

Motives for emigration were examined at length in section 5.1, and what was looked for was an overall criterion for migration. In spite of this, the results showed that migrant families were not differentiable as a group, in terms of their mean personality tendencies, compared with other comparable groups of non-migrants. However, some families did name identifiable initiating factors, such as the occurrence of redundancy or strikes.

For an investigator in Australia looking at this problem, it is very easy to ask the question "Why did you emigrate?", with the presupposition that the key factor is finding motives for emigration. What is not so obvious is to ask the question the other way round, namely: "Given the problems you have; what was it that made you decide to emigrate, as opposed to all the other possible solutions that are available?" The answers to such questions appear to be far more deep-seated than it is possible to penetrate in a series of interviews such as were conducted in this present investigation. Where the clues do occur in the interviews, they are more often implied, rather than obvious.

One of the families was in a situation where the husband and wife "didn't get on" and their marriage was threatened with breaking up in Britain. One of their friends said the position was, if anything, worse in Whyalla. All families are under a certain amount of stress as a consequence of migrating,

and a family with existing marital tensions is likely to find their overall situation exacerbated by the increased load of interdependence brought about by the new environment lacking in alternative outlets, such as friends or relatives nearby.

In another family, the husband revealed while his wife was out that they had separated between the time when they had made their initial enquiries about coming to Australia and when they had got the sailing date. In the end, they decided to try and see if they could make a new life together in Australia. Initially, he was more than satisfied with the results, as the family had been very much closer together at the start. In a way it had to, because so much has to be done towards setting up the new home, but by the time six months had elapsed, the strain was beginning to tell. One way in which this was evidenced was the husband's preoccupation to do overtime. (This is a logical conundrum, since given the marital situation one can find the desire for overtime as a common feature, whereas a desire for overtime most decidedly does not *necessarily* mean intramarital stress). What is indeterminate is why the requirement should occur in the first place. Are the husbands seeking more money to as it were buy their way out of trouble, or are they trying to escape physically from a stressful situation?

Another family came to Whyalla with a teenage daughter who seemed to explode into a life of delinquency when she got here. On deeper examination, it appeared that she had already shown a tendency towards causing difficulties in Britain. She had been caught playing truant from school, and had been known to lie her way out of trouble at home.

Two of the wives showed psychotic symptoms. One was quite

an extreme case. She persisted, at each of the interviews, in giving minutely detailed accounts of the last few hours of the life of her hydrocephalic child, born with spina bifida and dying at the age of five weeks. At the initial interview, the wife gave the impression that this had happened shortly before the family came to Whyalla, whereas it transpired that it had happened years previously. She was a very difficult person to interview, and gave the impression that her life was a succession of crises, and they continued to occur in Whyalla.

These instances suggest that the families may have come to Australia because they imagine that a complete break with the indigenous environment will counteract the problem. Is it, by any chance a subconscious general feature of some of the migrants? Are they emigrating because of an endeavour to solve some deep-seated pathological need? The history of Australia is punctuated by examples of wealthy British families deporting their 'black sheep' in the expectation that they will find the error of their ways.

Quite apart from this, there is some evidence to suggest that towards the end of the study, there was an increasing tendency to see emigration as a solution to more straightforward and overt problems such as the shortage of employment opportunities in Britain. Five families arrived in Whyalla at the beginning of 1974. Four of them were childless, including two who were newly-married, and the fifth paid their own way to Whyalla with two children, but leaving behind other children from their previous marriages. Prior to these families, there was usually a feeling of allegiance towards Whyalla that came out during the initial interview, as though sponsorship by BHP had imposed a certain moral obligation upon them to remain in

Whyalla. None of these families showed this disposition. Instead, their allegiance was towards Australia, and Whyalla only if they like it. This may be associated with a hardening of feelings about Britain, because of the downturn in the British economy (the three-day week, electricity cuts, petrol restrictions, and the rise in the cost of living) bringing about a corresponding feeling that coming to Australia has to have a much greater degree of permanence than was the case amongst the earlier families. These families cannot 'go back', and so they have a far more definitive attitude towards Australia as a whole, that is, where they must remain, whereas there is a correspondingly diminished leaning towards Whyalla itself. For them, Whyalla is on trial, and if it does not measure up, then they will try elsewhere in Australia. With the earlier families, there was a feeling that they could always "go back" (to Britain) and so they could afford to advance more allegiance towards Whyalla, since such an attitude was not so consequential, in terms of costs, if Whyalla proved to be unacceptable.

The upshot of these feelings was that by the end of six months since the time of arrival in Whyalla, one family had departed and was living in Adelaide, and a second family was still in Whyalla but had left BHP. At the spot check in December 1975, this family had also left Whyalla, but the other three were still in residence there.

The later families also showed marked changes of attitude amongst their parents. One of the families just mentioned, family F4, came to Whyalla with the knowledge that they have "lots of friends" in Britain who would also like to come if this family finds Australia is satisfactory. Their parents

felt they were making the right move, and were interested in the way they settled here, because the parents also wanted to come to Australia. In effect, these parents exemplify the change of parental attitudes, away from seeing the younger generation coming to Australia as a threat to the family solidarity, and towards a greater concern about the opportunities for themselves to follow their children here. Family F47 said they came to Whyalla "with seventy names and addresses" of friends and relatives in Britain, anxious to know how they progressed, with a view to emigrating themselves.

Earlier in the study, a measure of the degree of acceptance of Whyalla came from the number of families who actually made the move to sponsor their parents to also come as migrants. This tendency was certainly increasing in 1973, with varied results. (One problem as far as this particular factor is concerned is that the overall duration of the study was too short to allow a measure of the outcomes of such sponsorship). Family F42 successfully sponsored the husband's widowed mother to come to Australia, but family F8 were not so lucky. They applied to sponsor the wife's parents (the family's *only* close relatives) to come to Whyalla. Her parents were turned down by the Commonwealth in January 1974, in spite of being accepted by the South Australian Government. In such circumstances, no reasons are given, but it could be because the wife's father was still in his fifties, and employment opportunities for his age group were decidedly not good at the time. The family were understandably upset at the outcome. This hardly seems to be a good way to encourage families to emigrate to Australia, and indicates quite forcibly that the attitude of the Federal Government is to see immigration purely in economic terms, and

at the same time abdicating its moral responsibilities towards the sociological requirements of the families it recruits. For that matter, it does not make sound economic sense either, since the dissatisfaction so caused in the family can easily lead them to forego their own advancement in the new country, in favour of returning 'home' to consolidate the family relationships.

6.3 Housing

In the previous section the suggestion was made that during the course of the study there was a noticeable increase in the determination to succeed and stay in Australia. The next question to ask is what are the determinants for families to stay in Australia, or more particularly in Whyalla. One such consideration is housing. Reference was made earlier to the point made by Spooner (1974) that home ownership is traditional in Australia, and people therefore do not feel settled there, but what of the family who decides that they like Whyalla? The answer is either that they accept the idea of a rented home, or alternatively, they set out and buy a house of their own.

Two of the families in the study who bought houses in Whyalla previously owned their own homes in Britain. One unusual feature common to both these families is that neither had been outside Whyalla (apart from their bus journey from Adelaide to Whyalla) at the time when they purchased their Whyalla homes. More particularly, neither *wanted* to go outside Whyalla. Both disliked the Trust houses to which they were allocated, but for one of the families, F8, Whyalla turned out to be so much more than they had expected that they opted to

purchase a home and stay, although the town they had come from in Britain was three times the size of Whyalla. The other family had lived in a small town in Nottinghamshire, and found Whyalla "isn't any different from home".

One cause of frequent complaints amongst the migrant families concerns the quality of the furniture; either that reasonable quality furniture is extremely expensive, or conversely that moderately-priced furniture is very poor quality. Some light on this question comes from a Dutch colleague who made a comparison with the situation in Holland, a country of 13 million people (slightly less than the total population of Australia) fitted into a space half the size of Tasmania. In her opinion: "The living conditions in Holland are such that very few people own their own houses; the best that many can hope for is a 99-year lease. A further effect is that the identification is not with the house, but with the furniture in it. People go in for good furniture, and 'old masters' on the walls; they have only originals, and would not dream of hanging prints. In Australia, the reverse is true; the 'average' Australian buys a house for $30,000 to $40,000 and has no furniture in it. The 'furniture' consists of carpeting throughout; no elegance in furniture. For generations, Australians have taken it for granted that people will own their own homes".

In other words, the suggestion is that in Australia families have such a heavy commitment in house purchase that they do not have the money available to purchase good quality furniture as well. Hence the lack of demand forces up the price of quality furniture. Several families bought good quality furniture, and doubtless the ensuing expense was the

basis for complaints about the costs.

6.4 Parent-child interactions

There are two noteworthy features of parent-child interactions; the first concerns the extent to which the parents remark on the degree of advancement of their children when they first arrive in Whyalla, which they attribute to their sudden "growing up". What is probably more to the point is that the parents undergo a period of enforced interaction with their children; because of leaving Britain; en route (especially by sea, where the children share a cabin with their parents); and then when they arrive neither age group has friends outside the family circle. Hence there develops a much greater 'awareness' of the children by their parents, and this increased interaction is associated with the facilitation of the children's own desires for advancement; being forced to ask questions facilitates more questions, and this snowballing effect results in the *apparent* sudden advancement by the children.

The second feature is also associated with reinforcement. It concerns the way children, especially the younger ones, apparently mirror their parents' attitudes towards Whyalla. The wife from family F44 was quite vociferous in her condemnation of Whyalla, and the son (age 6) wants to "go over the hill (ie Mount Laura) to see Grandma". He asked Father Christmas for an aeroplane "to take me home to Grandma", whereas the son (age 8) from family F47 said: "I don't want to go back to the street where we used to live, because its 'always raining' there". In this case, his parents think

Whyalla is a marvellous place.

At their first Whyalla interview, the wife from family F18 said what a terrible place it is; "There's nothing here; no corner shops and the only deli is at One-Stop (the shopping complex about two kilometres away). But above all, there's nothing to do - and the 'bush'!" She said how she "missed the shops", and several times mentioned that "There's nothing (here) but the bush. When you get to the edge of Whyalla, there's nothing but the bush; bush all around". Her two daughters (aged 16 and 14) were equally busy decrying Whyalla; "There's no discoes for the kids; there's no youth clubs; there's only one cinema". The elder girl preferred Adelaide, which she saw as full of cinemas; and "There's discoes in the main street, where you can go at night". The utility of identifying with her mother was manifested in the way she rejected the idea of going to live in Adelaide; "because I want to be with my mother".

The schism within the family occurred between the husband who liked Whyalla (the family came to Whyalla sponsored by the husband's son of a former marriage), and the wife plus her daughters (by her previous marriage). Their son (age 6) was in a dilemma because his father and his half-brother (plus his half-brother's children, who were about his own age) all liked Whyalla. He was also just starting school and by all accounts settling well and enjoying it.

By the time the family had been in Whyalla for six months, the wife had changed her mind. She was very much more settled and wanted to stay, because she has to "Think of our son, who's settling well". Her elder daughter had decided she was "going back to Britain at Christmas". There she was going to "get

married and come back to Australia". Her sister was also returning to Britain, but not to get married, "because its old-fashioned'. The son also did not want to stay in Whyalla, because he "had no friends here". Asked who he knew and played with here, he reeled off the names of over a dozen children before he had to stop and think, and his report says he "mixes well" at school.

Thus the older children show a tendency to adapt the orientation of their parents in order to encompass some of their own feelings, whereas the youngest child continues to follow the inculcations of his parents, but at the same time accommodating the desires expressed by his half-sisters.

6.5 Field dependence and independence

When thinking of the attributes that might facilitate successful emigration, one that comes to mind is the concept put forward by Witkin (Witkin *et al*, 1962) of field dependence. They postulated that field dependence is a perceptual component related to an individual's level of psychological differentiation, and they hypothesised that field-dependent individuals place greater reliance on external sources of reference than do field-independent individuals. So defined, the notion is more appropriate to an experimental psychological situation than to a preeminently practical problem of emigration, but on the other hand, the intuitive and literal interpretation could well be applied to the migration phenomenon. It was shown earlier that families could be divided into two categories, depending on whether or not they have any existing connections (either friends or

relatives) in Australia when they arrive. If a migrant is in the literal sense field independent, then one would expect he would find it easier to adjust to an unfamiliar environment, in the absence of any such connections, than would a field dependent individual. Correspondingly, a field dependent migrant with connections would also find adjustment easier than one with no connections. Furthermore, a field independent migrant who arrived with connections already in Australia could be reasonably expected to exercise that independence by successful adjustment to life in Australia, but not necessarily in a location conjugated to these connections.

There are two difficulties in testing such an hypothesis; firstly this study concerns families, not individuals; hence the phenomenon appears in the family, rather than the individual. Presumably what happens is that if the behaviour of only one of the family (putting aside any considerations of the children) is synonymous with field independence, then the other's dependency may be succoured by the independent member. If both show identical attributes, then what has been said so far for the individual would supposedly apply to the family.

The second difficulty stems from the problem of finding an independent measure of field dependence/independence that is relevant to this present context. Notionally, some of the families who arrived without connections, and who settled rapidly and easily, did show such field independent behaviour. In effect, these families showed a degree of self-sufficiency that differentiates them from other families. This also seems to be associated with a fundamental difference in attitude; those families experiencing difficulties adopt an attitude of "What is wrong is that ..... " whereas the successful families

see the same situation more in terms of "Its not very pleasant just now, but it won't be for long" (apropos for instance living in Milpara).

Self-sufficiency manifests itself in the way in which some families appear to have faith in their own ability to solve their own problems, irrespective of what the problems are. For example, a husband can work in Whyalla, knowing that he has not *got* to do so. His incumbency is related to himself, not to the situation.

Another possibility is that a field independent person is better at accommodation; that is, the capacity to assimilate the necessary adjustments to the new environment. Thus the wife from family F54 said that she "doesn't seem to do anything different from what she did in Britain". The essential point is that this is an apparent phenomenon, since what she does really is different from what she used to do. She now drives a car (which she never did in Britain), and went to Mambray Creek (130km away) for the day. She also made no mention of the problems of the heat, in spite of living in Whyalla throughout the hottest summer on record.

In both these cases, the families arrived in Whyalla, having no connections with Australia. Another family, family F40, arrived in Whyalla where they already knew at least one other family, and soon became members of a group of families. However, they never showed the interdependence that typified other families in the group.

At the other end of the scale, the wife in family F40 showed an excessive need for affiliation, coupled with strong indications that the family would not stay in Whyalla, and in fact was one that left before the check in December 1975.

This is an example of the reactions of an individual who would be classed as field dependent. Other examples may be the wives, mentioned in section 5.3(d), who were used to 'open house' in Britain, one of whom came to Whyalla with a second family "so we would at least know someone when we got here".

What has been said so far concerns the ability to settle anywhere, not necessarily in Whyalla. Whether or not a family is prepared to stay in Whyalla could equally well, if not more so, be a function of the qualities of Whyalla rather than of themselves. What is at issue now is whether the families were going to stay in Whyalla, and since this is one of the fundamental issues in this project, it will be dealt with separately in the following section.

6.6 Going to stay?

(a) A quantitative assessment

There are two fundamental issues under consideration in this study; one concerns the theoretical question of the fate of expectations and the second concerns labour turnover. To some extent, these two coincide in that the aims and expectations, and the behaviour, of the families will ultimately reflect both, and they come together in the consideration of whether or not the families are going to stay in Whyalla.

The question of staying was examined at two stages in the Whyalla Questionnaire. Families were asked whether they were going to stay in Australia, and also whether they were going to stay in Whyalla, as opposed to Australia. The opinions put forward by those families who participated in this questionnaire were summarised in Hornsby (1975b) and included

earlier in section 5.2(b) as: "Most families do not have definite plans for the future, and do not know either whether they will stay in Whyalla or buy a house there. They are somewhat more definite that they are going to stay in Australia". This question was also examined in the Item Value Questionnaire, and comparisons between the Initial IVQ and the Whyalla Questionnaire showed that: "There is close agreement between the initial assessment of the importance of staying in Australia, and the probability of doing so given by the residents of six months' duration". However, the Final IVQ score was slightly less than the Initial IVQ score on this question of the importance of staying in Australia.

At the same time, the Final IVQ score was also less than the Initial IVQ score on the question of the importance of staying in Whyalla, as opposed to elsewhere in Australia, with the difference being larger, though not significant. The change acted in such a way as to bring the IVQ score closer into line with the intentions as measured by the Whyalla Questionnaire.

There is always a danger in placing reliance on changes that are not statistically significant, and so the brunt of the conclusions are better borne by the accumulated evidence of all the families in the study, rather than by the samples in the questionnaires. The latter functioned more to serve as guidelines for the findings, and were particularly biassed on these two questions, since the ultimate attitudes of the families who left Whyalla were unobtainable. The attitudes by the families towards staying in Whyalla are shown in Appendix XXIV. These have been detailed in Table 40, and the details are summarised in Table 41.

Table 40 Summary of aims and actions; plus situation at the December 1975 Spot Check

Fam No	Aims and intentions: Initial (1) Stay in Whyalla	Leave Whyalla; stay in Aust	Return to Britain	Undecided	1 month (2) Stay in Whyalla	Leave Whyalla; stay in Aust	Return to Britain	Undecided	6 mts (3) Stay in Whyalla	Leave Whyalla; stay in Aust	Return to Britain	Undecided	Actions: 1 mth Still in Whyalla	Own home	Trust House	Left Whyalla	6 mts Still in Whyalla	Own home	Trust House	Left Whyalla	1975 Check (4) Still in Whyalla	Own home	Trust House	Left Whyalla	Remarks
1	x	*			x				x						x				x				x		
2					x				x						x				x				x		
3					x				x						x				x				x		
4	x	*			x							x			x				x				x		
5					x				x						x				x				x		
6	x				x				x						x				x				x		
7								x	x						x				x			x			
8	x	*			x				x				x				x						x		4. #
9	x	*						x	x						x				x				x		4. Moved to Dampier, WA
10	x	*			x				x						x				x				x		
11	x				x				x						x				x				x		
12	x	*						x		x					x				x				x		
13	x	*											x												2. Returned to Adelaide
14					x				x						x				x				x		
15					x				x						x				x				x		
16				x			x				x				x				x				x		Would probably go, if they had the money
17	x				x				x						x				x				x		
18							x		x						x				x				x		
19					x				x						x				x				x		
20	x	*			x				x						x				x				x		
21	x							x				x			x				x				x		Will probably return to Britain
22								x				x			x				x				x		
23				x	x				x						x				x				x		
24	x				x				x						x				x				x		
25	x	*					x						x												2. Returned to Britain
26	x				x				x						x				x			x			
27	x	*			x				x						x				x					x	4. #
28	x	*						x				x			x				x				x		
29	x	*			x				x						x				x				x		
30	x	*						x	x						x				x			x			
31					x				x						x				x			x			
32	x	*					x		x						x				x				x		
33				x			x					x			x				x				x		
34	x	*						x		x					x				x					x	4. #
35	x	*				x				x					x				x					x	3. Moved to Umba Cumba, Groote Eylandt

Table 40 continued

Fam No	Aims and intentions Initial (1)				1 month (2)				6 mts (3)				Actions 1 mth			6 mts			1975 Check (4)			Remarks
	Stay in Whyalla	Leave Whyalla; stay in Aust	Return to Britain	Undecided	Stay in Whyalla	Leave Whyalla; stay in Aust	Return to Britain	Undecided	Stay in Whyalla	Leave Whyalla; stay in Aust	Return to Britain	Undecided	Own home	Trust House	Left Whyalla	Own home	Trust House	Left Whyalla	Own home	Trust House	Left Whyalla	
36				x	x				x					x		x					x	4. #
37	x				x				x					x			x			x		
38	x	*						x	x					x			x		x			
39	x	*						x				x		x			x		x			
40	x	*			x				x					x			x			x		
41								x		x				x			x				x	4. Probably moved to Adelaide
42	x	*			x				x					x			x			x		
43	x	*			x				x					x		x			x			
44	x	*			x						x			x			x			x		
45	x	*													x							2. Moved to Tom Price, WA
46	x	*			x				x				x			x			x			
47					x				x					x			x			x		
48	x	*				x								x				x				4. #
49				x		x				x				x			x				x	4. #
50					x				x					x			x			x		
51	x	*			x				x					x			x			x		
52	x				x				x					x			x			x		
53	x	*						x	x					x			x			x		
54					x				x					x			x			x		
55		x													x							1. Went direct to join relatives in Victoria
56					x				x					x			x			x		
57				x		x				x				x			x				x	3. Moved to Albury, NSW; 5. in Adelaide
58	x	*			x							x		x			x			x		
59						x				x				x			x				x	4. Moved to Victor Harbour
60	x	*			x				x					x			x			x		
61	x	*						x				x		x			x			x		
62	x							x		x				x			x			x		
	9	1			35				39				2			4			8			Totals
	*=30	-		6		5		14		8		7		56			53	1		39	10	
						5				3				4								

Notes :- * the family wishes to stay in Australia, but not necessarily in Whyalla
whereabouts unknown at the December 1975 Spot Check
In the 'Remarks' column, the numbers refer to when the move took place
eg 3 = 6 months after arrival; cf numbers at top of columns

Table 41 Aims and actions: situation at the 1975 Spot Check; (a) families who left Whyalla

			Stay in Whyalla (SIW)				Leave Whyalla; stay in Aust (LW)				Return to Britain (RTB)				Undecided (Und)			
Aims		At one month	3				5*				1*				3			
			SIW	LW	RTB	Und	SIW	LW	RTB	Und	SIW	LW	RTB	Und	SIW	LW	RTB	Und
		At six months	3				4								1	2		
Actions	At one month	Own home in Whyalla	1															
		Trust home in Whyalla	2				4								1	2		
		Left Whyalla																
	At six months	Own home in Whyalla	2															
		Trust home in Whyalla	1				4								1	2		
		Left Whyalla																
1975 Spot Check		Left Whyalla	3				4								1	2		

* Figure includes one family who left Whyalla before six months after arrival.

Table 41 Aims and actions: situation at the 1975 Spot Check; (b) families who stayed in Whyalla

Aims			Stay in Whyalla				Return to Britain				Undecided			
		At one month	32				4				11			
			SIW	LW	RTB	Und	SIW	LW	RTB	Und	SIW	LW	RTB	Und
		At six months	29		1	2	2		2		4	2		5
Actions	At one month	Own home in Whyalla	1											
		Trust home in Whyalla	28		1	2	2		2		4	2		5
	At six months	Own home in Whyalla	2											
		Trust home in Whyalla	27		1	2	2		2		4	2		5
1975 Spot Check		Own home in Whyalla	4								3			1
		Trust home in Whyalla	25		1	2	2		2		1	2		4

Note: see table 41 (a) for explanation of the abbreviations.

There are difficulties in trying to interpret the eventual actions of the families against their initial orientations. This is particularly apparent from the data shown, for the outcome of the initial interview, in Table 40. Of the 46 families for whom the data are available, 30 families (65.3%) indicated that they wished to stay in Whyalla, but they also implied that they were prepared to go elsewhere in Australia if Whyalla failed to measure up to expectations. This is an inherently rational attitude to adopt since the families had not, at that stage, ever been to Whyalla. However, the balance of the attitude was gauged as being oriented in favour of Whyalla, whereas 6 families (13.1%) were more evenly balanced in their orientations and so classed as 'undecided'. For these, the attitude was more one of preparedness to stay in Australia, but in Whyalla if it exceeded expectations.

Together, these give 36 families (78.4%) who favoured seeing Whyalla before making up their minds. Of the remaining ten families, nine (19.6%) showed a definite desire to stay in Whyalla, and the remaining family, F55, had applied to BHP because someone in Britain had told them that was the quickest way to get to Australia. They never wanted to go to Whyalla, and in fact returned to Melbourne from Adelaide without ever having set foot in Whyalla. In their case, 'leaving Whyalla' had nothing whatsoever to do with any of the features of Whyalla.

At this initial stage, none of the families indicated a desire to return to Britain. This is not really surprising, since they would hardly be expected to want to go back the moment they set foot in Australia.

The best bases for assessing attitudes are the responses given in the interview at the end of the first month after arrival in Whyalla. These have been used as the starting point for the two parts of Table 41. Again though, this table understates the situation because three families are not included, due to their leaving Whyalla before the end of their first month, and more to the point, before they could be interviewed to ascertain their reasons for leaving. These three include family F55 mentioned above, and families F13 and F45. In their cases, all that is available is their initial interview results, plus some 'second-hand' comments in the case of family F45. The remaining family left near the end of their first month, and since they were interviewed before they left Whyalla, they have been included in these data; that is, family F25.

By the time the families had been in Whyalla for a month, their ideas and attitudes had polarised into reasonably clear-cut lines. By now the families had not only had time to familiarise themselves with Whyalla, and the husbands with working for BHP, but they had also been allocated their homes. In effect, they had encountered nearly all of the features that were likely to affect their assimilation into the new environment. The biggest omission was the weather, a feature whose impact at that stage was determined largely by the time of year when the families arrived. At this stage then, 14 families (23.7%) of the 59 families for whom this is relevant, were still undecided as to their future, leaving 45 (76.3%) who were more positive in their orientations; including five (8.5%) who said they were returning to Britain; five (8.5%)

who decided they were going to leave Whyalla, and go elsewhere in Australia, and the remaining 35 (59.3%) who were satisfied with Whyalla.

What is interesting is that none of the families chose at this stage to go to some other country; they were prepared to either look elsewhere in Australia, or to return to Britain. (This point will be examined shortly). Of the nine families who stated initially that they were going to stay in Whyalla, seven still had the same feelings at the end of the first month, and the other two had shifted their positions slightly, to go into the undecided category instead. Also by this stage, two of the families had decided that Whyalla sufficiently measured up to their expectations for them to buy houses in Whyalla, and three families, F13, F25 and F45, had decided to leave; family F25 returning to Britain, and the other two moving elsewhere in Australia.

By the time the families had been in Whyalla for six months, their opinions had further stabilised, and could in many cases be gauged by their actions. By now, one of the families, whose stated intention at the end of the first month in Whyalla was to leave and move elsewhere in Australia, had moved to Adelaide, leaving a total of 57 still in Whyalla. Of these, 39 (68.3%) were satisfied with Whyalla, including four who had bought houses. The number expressing an intention to leave Whyalla and go elsewhere in Australia had increased to eight (14.1%), and the number wishing to return to Britain had dropped from five to three (5.3%). Of the five, one had returned to Britain; two had elected to stay in Whyalla after all, and one family who previously said they wished to stay in Whyalla were now in favour of going back to Britain. There

remains seven families (12.3%) who were still undecided. Of the previous 14 who were undecided, five families had resolved to stay in Whyalla; four had decided to go elsewhere in Australia, and five remained undecided. The two extra undecided families had previously stated a preference for remaining in Whyalla.

No further opinions were actively sought, but extra information occasionally came to hand; when families were encountered by chance, or when other families subsequently volunteered information, but a Spot Check was carried out in 1975, from the December electoral roles. The families missing were then checked with the South Australian Housing Trust, with a request for information concerning only if the families were still in Whyalla. It is possible the Housing Trust knew the whereabouts of the families who had left Whyalla, but this information was not requested because it was felt that there were no reasonable grounds for so doing. This Spot Check revealed that 47 (82.4%) of the 57 families recorded at six months were still in Whyalla, and ten had left.

The aims and actions of all the families who had left Whyalla by the 1975 Spot Check are shown in Table 42. The table shows that of the eight families who said at six months that they intended leaving Whyalla and going elsewhere in Australia, six had done so by the 1975 Spot Check, leaving two still in Whyalla, both of whom had been 'undecided' at the end of one month. The three families whose aim at six months was to return to Britain were still there at the Spot Check, and the remaining four families who had left by the Spot Check had all stated their aim of staying in Whyalla at six months,

Table 42 Aims and actions of families who left.

Family number	Aims and actions: At one month					At six months					1975 Spot Check
	SIW	LW/ SIA	RTB	Und	Left	SIW	LW/ SIA	RTB	Und	Left	
8	+					+					Left
9				+		+					Left
13					Left						
25			+		Left						
27	+					+					Left
34				+			+				Left
35		+					+				Left
36	+					+					Left
41				+			+				Left
45					Left						
48		+								Left	
49		+					+				Left
55					Left						
57		+					+				Left
59		+					+				Left

Note: the abbreviations are expanded in Table 41.

including three who also said they aimed to stay at the end of one month, the other being undecided. What is particularly interesting about these families who said on both occasions that they aimed to stay in Whyalla was that two of them had bought houses in Whyalla, and all three husbands worked at the Shipyards.

(b) An assessment of opinions

The previous section was devoted to a quantitative analysis of the question of whether or not the families were going to stay in Whyalla. What is of fundamental interest is the reasons the families gave for their aims and actions. From this point of view, the families in the study may be arbitrarily divided into two categories, depending on whether or not they were still present at the 1975 Spot Check. Its arbitrariness stems primarily from the use of a fixed point in time, regardless of how long the families had been in Whyalla. Thus, the first arrivals had been in Whyalla for three years and six months, and the last for one year and nine months, at the time of the December 1975 Spot Check. Such timing could be an appreciable factor, especially as the critical time is two years after arrival (ie the time a family has to be in Australia before they may leave without refunding part of the costs incurred by the Government in bringing them here) and several families still had not been in Australia for two years.

One category is devoted to the families who had left by the Spot Check, and the second contains those who remained. This latter includes two sub-categories, namely those remaining from choice, and those who have no option. This mainly includes families who have not sufficient capital to be able to follow their orientations.

The families who left will be dealt with first, starting with the family who returned to Britain. They came to Whyalla knowing that one of their neighbours had come to Whyalla 17 months earlier, and had returned to Britain six months later because they "couldn't stick it". However, this family's attitude was that "You've got to make up your own mind". At

their initial interview, the husband said the choice of Whyalla was "just to get us out". In other words, there is already a conviction that they may not stay in Whyalla, but their stated aim was to stay in Australia "for good". The point is made in the notes for this family, family F25 in Appendix XXIV, that it is difficult to tell who is really responsible for the decision to return, and the original *reason* may never materialise. What comes out is a chain of events which taken as a whole lead to a rejection of Whyalla in particular, and Australia in general. What appears to have happened is that a spontaneous decision was made to return to Britain, and a series of factors, like the heat, the conditions in Milpara, the state of the roads, the drinking habits of the locals, and so forth, all acted to support the initial decision.

Once the return process had been initiated, so much had been done, like notifying relatives in Britain, cancelling the furniture shipment, handing in notice at work, etc, that the process continued under its own momentum; there being so much 'losing face' to stop it again. Thus this family found that after they had made all their return arrangements, they could sit back and relax for a bit, and during this period they found that Whyalla was not so bad after all, but by then it was too late.

Family F13 also left Whyalla within four weeks of arrival, but had gone before it was possible to interview them. They gave the impression at the initial interview that they were under a certain amount of pressure from the husband's sister and her friends in Elizabeth (near Adelaide) to go and live there, instead of Whyalla, and they had been impressed by what

they had seen there, so it seems reasonable to assume that is where they went. Family F45 was in Milpara at the same time as family F25 above, and there is little doubt that their reactions to Whyalla were mutually supportive. The difference lies in the outcome of their responses to the unfavourable situation. This family had been impressed by the statements of the recruiting personnel from Western Australia who had come aboard their ship at Fremantle. (On the other hand, family F25 had arrived by air and so had received no detailed information about alternative venues). As far as family F45 was concerned at their initial interview, the information concerning the alternatives was of purely academic interest; their hopes were pinned firmly on BHP and Whyalla. However, the husband did have some reservations about BHP. He said; "The Company's reputation is not good; but a Company is what you make of it". Once again the actual decision to leave seems to have been spontaneous, against a background of dissatisfaction. In this instance though, the precipitating factor seems to have been having four weeks' leave before coming to Australia, followed by four weeks on the ship, and so arriving in Whyalla somewhat short of ready money, and thus eager to get back to work, only to be laid off after eleven hours of work because of the Painters and Dockers strike.

Both families F13 and F45 have something in common. They both made moves, within Australia, that offered some material advantages over what they already had, at little personal cost. They made their moves before they had had time to expend capital, either financial or social, on getting established in a new location, whereas family F25 had moved to

achieve sociological gain, but at the considerable capital cost of having to pay their full return fares from Britain to Australia.

The other family to leave Whyalla before the first six months had elapsed was family F48. This family is one of the three in the study that gave the impression of being truly itinerant. The husband had a Russian father and a German mother who had separated, and the mother was living in Britain. The family came to Whyalla at the behest of the mother's sister who, with her husband, were a German family in Whyalla. The husband from family F48 had been used to wandering about Western Europe before his wedding, and showed little signs of changing as a result of his marriage. The wife seemed of a far more settled nature. The husband's socio-economic class was considerably above the sort of work he would find with BHP in Whyalla, but his qualifications, or rather lack of them, are such that it is difficult to see where he would fit. As he jokingly said, what he wanted was a job as "trainee General Manager". His wife is better qualified in academic terms, but she displayed a heavy dependence upon her husband. The upshot was that while in Whyalla, where both of them were distinctly dissatisfied, they "looked around" and decided that Adelaide had very much more to offer. In Adelaide, the husband was again employed as an unskilled labourer, but his wife had a job far more in keeping with her qualifications and skills. However, she was suffering from social isolation, and seemed quite incapable of initiating any way out for herself. She said she was sure none of the people with whom she worked realised she had only just arrived in Australia, and she was

equally dismayed that none would dream of inviting her to their homes. She ultimately gave the impression of being firmly fixed in her resolve to return to Britain, but her husband did not seem to feel so committed. After all, she had something positive to look forward to, in that she would gain by returning to her friends and relatives, while maintaining the same level of employment, but her husband showed no such desire for improved social relationships, and it is doubtful if he would be able to achieve a better level of occupation in Britain than he could in Australia. Whatever happened, they were no longer at their Adelaide address at the time of the 1975 Spot Check.

There remain ten families who were still in Whyalla six months after their arrival there, but who had left by the 1975 Spot Check. As was mentioned in the previous section, and is shown in Table 42, six of these families said at the end of six months in Whyalla that their aim was to leave and go elsewhere in Australia; and of these six, four had the same aim at the end of one month in Whyalla. One of these families was family F35, who moved to Umba Cumba, the mission station on Groote Eylandt. For them, it appeared that Whyalla was the sort of place they were looking for, but the job and the neighbourhood were not. The husband was profoundly miserable at work, and his wife said she could see him going steadily downhill and becoming more and more unhappy "which is not like him". Where they went, there will definitely be far more status and wealth for them, and one would predict they would fit in very much better there. In any case, they were still there at the Spot Check, twenty-two months after they had left Whyalla.

The next family fitting into this category was family F59, who move to Victor Harbour. The husband appeared to like Whyalla, but disliked his job; while his wife disliked Whyalla, due mainly to her lack of friends there. In Victor Harbour, she seemed very settled and no longer looked forward to returning to Britain. Her husband seemed very satisfied with his job, but not so much with Victor Harbour. The contrast seems to arise because his work enabled him to mix with a lot of people in Whyalla, whereas he has to spend a lot of time away from home in Victor Harbour, and so does correspondingly less social mixing. At Whyalla his wife achieved very little social contact, whereas her part-time job in a hotel has enabled her to get to know a large number of people in Victor Harbour.

Family F57 was closely associated with family F59, and here again, there is little doubt that the families were mutually supportive in their designs to get away from Whyalla. Toying over a reasonable period of time with the idea of leaving enables families to learn the appropriate strategies together. Each keeps a close eye on what the other does, and in this case, family F59 did the same as family F57, both of them with a view to getting away from Whyalla, but family F59 having the added aim of getting away from family F57, and so they tried for work in different places.

Family F57 originally elected to come to Adelaide, but went to Whyalla because of the offer of a house with the job. The husband was profoundly bored with his job there, but his wife liked Whyalla. Eventually Albury seemed to offer them so much more, and in a letter written three and a half months after their arrival in Albury, the wife said; "We have settled in

very well here and feel that the way of life suits us better than that of Whyalla. We have just completed transactions for the purchase of a plot of land and this, I think, has made us feel much more settled". In September 1975, just two years after they had moved to Albury, they were living in Adelaide, having also had a spell in Melbourne in the meantime.

The last of these four families, family F49, is the second, like family F48, to give the impression of itineracy; both husbands expressing the desire to travel round Australia. This family also occupies an unique place in this study for a very different reason; before they left Britain, they corresponded with family F26, who were already in Whyalla. Some of this correspondence has been included as Appendix XXV. From these letters it is possible to discover the sort of factors that are uppermost in the minds of intending migrants; such as anticipating that there will be no supermarkets; apprehensions about the heat and the flies; queries about working conditions and wages, houses, other nationalities in Whyalla, and so on. The wife also mentioned that one of her brothers had recently returned from Queensland, because his family did not like it there. "I'm not put off about coming to Whyalla by my brother. He said we are mad still to go, but I cannot get there quick enough".

She nearly burst into tears as their aircraft touched down at Whyalla "on the edge of the bush". She told her husband she thought he was bringing her to "a 'civilised place', not on the edge of the bush like this". It all made her very unhappy, and after an initial spending spree on furniture, they put on the brakes, because she decided they were not staying. This naturally fitted in with her husband's wish to

travel round Australia, and so he made sure he bought a car big enough to pull a large caravan. They went to Adelaide for a weekend, having a miserable journey there, with it pouring with rain all the way there and back. They had a cold wet time in Adelaide, and got held up by floods at Mambray Creek on the way back. Even so, they liked the look of Elizabeth, and the husband started actively searching for work in Adelaide. The wife's view was that they may go to Adelaide, buy a house, and settle there "but not in Whyalla". She put forward a general hypothesis which is quite interesting. She said that "people who've been used to big cities will not settle very well in Whyalla, whereas people 'from the country' or 'from Scotland' would settle well because it is an advancement for them". In effect, she is making two points, both of which are extremely sound. It does seem quite likely that people from smaller towns would find Whyalla, with its population of just over 30,000, more acceptable than would people who were used to big cities. In fact, this is one of the reasons given by some of the families for disliking Whyalla. The wife from family F9 said she "prefers a big city", and the wife from family F16 said she had "always been used to a big city (ie Glasgow)"; and "I like large cities" and "would much prefer Adelaide".

Similarly the point was made in the previous chapter, by the wife from family F25, that; "If you've lived in a tenement, then a Housing Trust home was a vast improvement, so naturally you'd be pleased (with Whyalla)". In other words, settling would be facilitated by such an advancement. She said this apropos family F41, one of the two families indicating a desire to go elsewhere in Australia at six months, but undecided at the end of one month in Whyalla. This family

liked Whyalla, and would be happy to stay there "if it was a hundred miles closer to Adelaide. Don't get us wrong; we like Whyalla. Its just that it hasn't got the things we want, and are used to. There's nothing here but BHP, and I don't want my children to grow up and work for BHP". They saw Adelaide as having much more to offer, like better schooling with a lower staff turnover.

The second of these families, family F34, went to Whyalla saying that they had heard stories of people moving to other parts of Australia and returning to Whyalla. They had also heard of others going back to Britain. "If they go back to Britain after eighteen months, they haven't given it a fair go". However, one month after their arrival in Whyalla, the wife was violently opposed to the City "largely because of the lies" they had been told about what to expect. She was already planning to return to Britain, leaving the rest of the family in Whyalla, as they appeared to like it so much.

At six months she was saying that she "hates Whyalla" in a generalised and non-specific way, and she was still threatening to return to Britain. The family desperately wanted to leave Whyalla and go to Adelaide, but were staying where they were for the time being, until the wife's grandmother arrived. They had sponsored her, but it was conditional upon the family being able to supply her with suitable accommodation. Their Whyalla home satisfied the criteria, but they had no such guarantee if they moved to Adelaide, and so they were waiting until she arrived before they moved. However, the wife said she was definitely going back to Britain four years after their arrival "even if its only for a holiday". The intention then was to go back permanently "but I could change my mind in the meantime".

This family seemed to go out of their way to clash head-on with whomever they came into contact: BHP, the family for whom the wife worked on a part-time basis, and the Immigration authorities. Whatever else this achieved, it certainly made life somewhat difficult and unpleasant for themselves. How it ended is unknown, but this family also had definitely left Whyalla at the time of the Spot Check.

There are four other families who had left Whyalla by the time of the Spot Check, all of whom had, at six months, stated their aim was to stay in Whyalla. Three of them had said the same at one month, but the fourth, family F9, was undecided at that stage. This family paid their own way to Australia shortly after the husband's "best friend" had gone to Fremantle. It was clear at the time that he kept an eye on the possibilities of Perth, and his wife's view was that they "very much like it here" (in Whyalla), but she "prefers a big city". Her husband's view was that they are "not here for ever". He always seemed as though he would like to join the ranks of those who increase their rate of earnings even if at the expense of a certain amount of hardship while doing so. The family showed evidence of this in the way they lost patience with the vacillations of the Federal Government concerning their migration sponsorship and paid their own way here. In the end, in spite of the wife's wish for a 'big city', they moved to Dampier, in the far north-west of Western Australia, and were still there at the Spot Check, seventeen months after their arrival there. Dampier is allegedly one of those places where people go "with the idea of making a fast buck", and then returning to 'civilisation'. In a letter to family F51, this family said that their aim was to stay in Dampier "for

about two years", at the end of which time they would be going to Perth, which they very much liked on the strength of a few days' stay there, en route to Dampier.

To some extent, this family's move was not unforeseen, notwithstanding their stated aim and in spite of family F51 saying that the family appeared to be more settled, and that the move seemed rather sudden and unexpected. This was not the case though with the other three families, none of whom could be traced at the Spot Check. The husband in family F27 said at the initial interview that he was not sure where he would go if the family found they did not like Whyalla, but it would not be to a place like Adelaide, "I'm not a city lover". At the second visit, the wife said she liked Whyalla, though she was a little apprehensive about what it would be like when the weather got hot, and at six months, their intention was to stay in Whyalla at least for the time being. Twenty-three months later they had gone.

The remaining two families both liked Whyalla so much that they bought houses there, and so appeared to be among the most anchored families in Whyalla. However, in the case of family F8, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, the wife suffered a severe disappointment when they were knocked back in their attempt to sponsor her parents to come to Whyalla; and in family F36, with two teenage children, the elder son with a very good English education record and expecting to matriculate here, it was becoming increasingly evident that there would be problems for the children in finding satisfactory work in Whyalla. Thus there is a broad basis for each family to have misgivings about remaining permanently in Whyalla, and it could be that all of these last three families

sensed that there would be difficulties in the future in shipbuilding in Whyalla, and decided to get out while the going was good. In any case, none was there for the Spot Check.

This represents the end of the considerations of the families who left Whyalla, and there follows the details of the 47 families who were still there at the end of the 1975 Spot Check. In some respects, several of the families who remained were more articulate in giving reasons for leaving Whyalla than were the families who left. This may possibly be because they are financially unable to go, and so talk about it instead. At least three families said at six months that they aimed to return to Britain, including two who thought the same one month after their arrival in Whyalla, and the remaining family who initially suggested they were satisfied with Whyalla. One of the first two, family F16, with four young children simply could not afford to go back to Britain. They suffered greatly during the protracted Painters and Dockers strike (of 5½ weeks' duration). The family, "'only saw two pay days' before the strike". They were not too keen on Whyalla, but the wife liked what she saw of Adelaide. She said she "likes large cities" and would therefore "much prefer Adelaide", but her husband "wouldn't go to Adelaide", however he did say at six months that they "won't stay permanently in Whyalla". He likes Whyalla, and his aims would probably be different if he was on full wages (ie no strikes).

The other two families, families F33 and F44, are close friends, and again there is little doubt that they are mutually supportive in their attitudes. The wife from family F33 was especially astute in her comments about Whyalla. Her point was that when you tried to explain what was wrong with Whyalla "all

you have is a collection of little things, all seeming trivial in their own right". What finished her off was the heat: "I wanted to go to Canada, but no, he (her husband) wanted to come here - so here we are". Asked if they would go to Canada - "No. Go home the shortest way, and the quickest! We were going to New Zealand if we couldn't settle here. But what's the point? *What I miss here, I'd miss in New Zealand too.* I gave up a good home, friends, relatives, etc. For what?" The paradox is that when they first arrived in Whyalla, she liked it. She still likes Whyalla; its having it in Australia that galls.

These seem especially important factors. In the first case, most of the families disliking Whyalla would probably agree that, putting aside BHP, there are really no major things wrong with Whyalla, and as the wife above says; you finish up with a collection of 'little things, all trivial in their own right'.

The second factor was implied earlier when it was pointed out that none of the families evinced a desire to go to another country. The reason for this is probably tied up with the point that "What I miss here, I'd miss in other countries too". What occurs is that features the families always took for granted, such as extended family networks, and friendships, suddenly cease to be available when the family migrates. In other words, what is wrong is not a characteristic of the new location in which they find themselves, but rather a product of leaving the old location irrespective of where they go.

The third factor follows from this second one; namely that the families find Whyalla acceptable, it is just where it is that is wrong. If Whyalla, with all its positive attributes, was about a hundred kilometres from where they used to live, most of the families would probably go there without hesitation,

since this would result in merely stretching networks, as opposed to severing them.

Many of the points made by family F33 were reiterated by family F44 and although they initially found Whyalla acceptable, at six months they were actively negotiating to return to Britain. They said: "You can't pin it down, but there's something here that isn't quite right". They mentioned that the family down the road had been in Whyalla for five years, and they were going back to Britain "only now because they couldn't afford to go before". The wife from family F44 said she knows other families who have really taken to Whyalla: "I can't understand why. I can't see what they see in the place I'm sure, although I've tried". She probably hits the target when she says that "Australia (ie not just Whyalla) is not the place for me". It is very much the wife who has the 'set' for returning, whereas it appears that her husband would be quite happy to stay. In the event, both families were still in Whyalla at the Spot Check.

Two other families also said one month after their arrival that they aimed to return to Britain, but had changed their attitudes towards staying in Whyalla by the time they had been there for six months. The position of the first family, F18, was rather complex. The husband and wife both had previous marriages that had ended in divorce. They came to Australia on the strength of sponsorship by the husband's son, bringing with them the wife's two teenage daughters by her previous marriage, plus their son, the product of their present marriage. The result of the husband coming was an extension of his nuclear family, and he was well satisfied with Whyalla, especially as he had previously been out of work for some time in Britain,

and he was now at work again. It was his wife and step-daughters who were having the problems. The wife summed up the position by saying that if you wanted to go anywhere else than Walsall (where they lived), "you could always go to Brum", whereas here, "if you don't like Whyalla, you can go to Adelaide, but its so far away". Her attitude at one month was: "I suppose I'll have to stay for two years, but I'm going back". Her mind was quite made up.

At that stage the daughters saw Adelaide as the solution to their problems. The elder girl (16) even went to Adelaide, where she got a job, and lived in a hostel, but she did not like it and returned to Whyalla. Adelaide still had all the positive features like entertainments, but experience showed it also had negative attributes as well.

By six months, the aims had resolved into the two girls electing to return to Britain; the elder "to find a husband, and come back to Australia", whereas the wife had decided that after all she was beginning to like the life of leisure Whyalla offered. She still aimed to go back to Britain in two years time "for a holiday".

The position of family F32 was also problematical. They originally emigrated with family F31, the idea being that they would at least know one other family when they got here. Very soon after arriving in Whyalla, the wife decided she was not going to stay. Here again, the point arises of "I just can't pinpoint what it is, but I know Whyalla's not for me", whereas she knows that England is. She said that originally she wanted to know if the grass was greener on the other side of the fence, "and now I know it isn't". In spite of these feelings, they had still gone to great lengths towards settling; buying

furniture, and so forth. She said she still wanted "better opportunities for the children", but now she saw these as being in Britain, rather than Australia.

By six months, there had been an about face, and it is fairly certain that one very important factor had been the wife's mother, who was staying with them. The mother's view was that Whyalla is marvellous, and she cannot get back quick enough to be able to retire and live there. The wife from family F8 said how this wife's attitude "changed overnight". She had written to friends and relatives saying "We're definitely coming back at the end of two years, even if it means we have to live in a tent", then suddenly; "We've bought a deep-freeze - Oh! We're not going back; we're staying".

Within both these families, the husbands were well satisfied with Whyalla, the work and the place. Both could see how dissatisfied were their wives, but they were powerless to do anything about it - a type of resignation and incomprehension. They wanted to stay, but were unable to resolve the deadlock. It seemed to need some outside influence to bring about the change.

What is significant is that the latter family were unmoved by the apparent satisfaction with Whyalla manifested by family F31, who accompanied them. It appears that their acceptance was insufficient to alter the feelings of the wife from family F32, but it looks as though her mother's opinions were. In any case, all three families were still in Whyalla at the Spot check. Family F31 expressed increasing satisfaction with Whyalla as time passed, and felt sufficiently settled to have bought a house there by the time of the Spot Check.

Four of the families were undecided in their aims at the end

of one month, and had decided to go elsewhere in Australia at six months. By the Spot Check two families, F34 and F41, had left but two remained. One of these, family F12, had been friendly with family F34, as a consequence of arriving together in Adelaide and then Whyalla. Their original aim had been to settle in Australia, probably at Whyalla. By six months, they seemed more oriented to go to Adelaide. The wife said she did not like Whyalla, but when asked the reason she said she "can't put it into words". Adelaide was seen as having so much more to offer them, such as a job the husband likes, and a better social life for them. Family F34 left Whyalla, but this family did not, possibly because a visit to their friends in Adelaide had highlighted unanticipated problems there, such as difficulties in finding accommodation, and also because the husband's new job in Whyalla was proving satisfactory. This is the only family where the husband's dissatisfaction was such that he handed in his notice at BHP and signed on at the Labour Exchange, as opposed to hanging on at BHP until he could find another job.

The other family in this category, F62, was another of those paying their own way to Australia, this time because the husband had already lived in Australia, coming here in the first place with his parents when they migrated. This family is the third to be classed as itinerant, again because of the husband's predisposition. His history consisted of migrating to Elizabeth, moving to Whyalla, to Western Australia, and back to Britain before returning to Whyalla. He gave the impression, like family F55, of using the BHP system to ensure a home and a job when he got back to Australia. His parents came back to Whyalla just before he did, and his brother was already there.

These add up to a vested interest in returning to Whyalla, whereas his wife wanted to go to Canada. His attitude was that he wanted his wife to "see Australia and make up her own mind first", and so at one month, staying was definitely an open question, but whatever the outcome, they were unlikely to return to Britain, where it appeared he was rather unpopular with the Inland Revenue, who would have liked him to come back. By six months, the BHP ties had fallen through. There were so many disputes between himself and BHP that the Company eventually decided to call it a day and gave him the sack. He was then talking in terms of "going west", whereas his wife, working at last after a great deal of effort, but not very satisfied with her job, had her eye on Adelaide. He was not keen on going to Adelaide, and definitely would not go back to work for GMH (the car manufacturers) at Elizabeth. In the end, it seemed his wife "liked Whyalla" but not her job, though she would be content to remain in Whyalla, whereas he seemed keen on moving.

The next group consists of five families who were all undecided about the future, both at one month, and again at six months. The first of these, family F21, came to Whyalla because it was the *only* place away from their native Scotland to which the wife would go, and the reason was because she already had a sister there. Their mother had stayed with the sister in Whyalla, and this family came largely on the strength of the mother's enthusiasm. One month after arrival, the wife was saying that they were keeping capital "in reserve" in case they want to go back. At six months, she was saying that they will "give it a couple of years" and then see if they will return to Britain, and most of her conversation was by way of

finding fault with Australia. She saw her sister as being "BHP through and through - but she can afford to be, because her husband's a foreman, and he doesn't get affected by the strike". She is also in a real dilemma about her parents; "It would really be a mistake for them to come (ie when they retire, they plan to live in Whyalla) ..... especially if we decided to go back". Twenty-two months later, at the Spot Check, they were still in Whyalla.

Family F28 arrived with the conviction that if they did not like Whyalla, they would go elsewhere in Australia. By one month, the husband was saying; "Lots of people think that Whyalla's not a very good place", and they were thinking of leaving because of the work situation for both of them. By six months, the wife's attitude was that she did not really like Whyalla "because its too large. I like the bush; I'd like to live in the bush. I'd much rather we had a farm of our own out in the bush". She much prefers Renmark to Whyalla, "I never liked big towns". They seem the sort of couple who will stay a while in Whyalla, and then move on, but it is also very probable that Whyalla will remain the family base, since her parents arrived in Whyalla at the same time as they did, and are now settled there, having been sponsored by her brother, who also lives in Whyalla.

Family F61 weighed up Sydney, Melbourne, etc, and decided Whyalla looked the best place, but by the time they had been there for a month, they were not so sure, largely because of the husband's problems at work. By six months, they had had an opportunity of revisiting Adelaide, and "loved it", but the husband was cornered. They liked it in Whyalla, and wanted to stay, but the job .... . On the other hand, they did not want

to move because their elder daughter was in the middle of her matriculation year. The same reason prevented them from going to Western Australia. The husband's view was that "The job situation will drive me home, and nothing else would". The talk was of home, and home was in Britain.

In contrast, family F39's initial view was that they would stay permanently in Australia, but not necessarily in Whyalla. At one month the wife was saying they liked Whyalla, but did not think they would stay, but they would "be here for a couple of years anyway". These feelings were reiterated by her husband at six months; his view then was that they did not know if they will stay in Australia; "We never intended necessarily to come here permanently. I don't know that we would ever stay (ie here in Whyalla) even though I like it here now". He said that there is "no feeling of permanence about the place". Six months later, they had, like the three other families who travelled to Whyalla at the same time as them, bought a house in Whyalla.

The last of these five families who continued to be undecided in their aims was family F22, one of the first two families in the study. By one month, the husband was saying that they would actively rebuff any of their friends thinking of coming to Australia. Both of them like Whyalla, but he said he would "give the Company another twelve months", and then he would move, "since its almost impossible to get another job in this 'one-company' town", so this would probably mean leaving Whyalla. He disliked his job, and was finding it impossible to get a transfer. Eventually he hit upon the idea of writing to the Head Office in Melbourne; "You got me here, now help me get a transfer". He got his transfer, and was very much happier

with his new job.

Two families aimed to stay in Whyalla after one month, but were undecided by six months. The first of these, family F4, like the last family, came from South Wales. They occupied the house formerly tenanted by family F35, who left partly because of the undesirability of the neighbourhood. However, at one month, this family appeared to be settling extremely well. By six months they were saying they wanted to look around before deciding where to settle, as they were not so keen on Whyalla. The husband had always lived in the country, with plenty of open space, and he was looking forward to doing the same again. His wife said she would "settle anywhere". On the whole though, they seemed reasonably well satisfied with Whyalla.

The other family was family F58, whose initial intention was "to stay for three years. If we can't settle down by then, we'll move on". By six months, their future hinged on whether or not the wife could settle. If she managed to find her niche, they aimed to get a home of their own. By the 1975 Spot Check, they were still at the same address in Whyalla, so they had not bought a home, but on the other hand, her sister was also living in Whyalla, so presumably she was feeling more settled. The initial choice of Whyalla was to "go it alone", since they each had siblings in other parts of Australia, but there was no doubt that the wife was particularly eager at the thought of her sister coming to live in Whyalla.

The reverse of this last category refers to the families who were undecided one month after arrival in Whyalla, but had decided to stay by the time six months had elapsed. One of these, family F9, subsequently moved to Dampier, and has already been discussed, leaving four other families. Two of

these, families F7 and F30, were members of a group of four families, including family F39 mentioned above, and family F26, who arrived together. At one month, the first wife was not overenthusiastic about Whyalla. She was missing her friends and neighbours; and she said they were going to "wait and see" before deciding whether or not they were going to stay. She said that people do not stay long in Whyalla "because BHP is the only thing here. If BHP goes on short time, everything suffers. The whole community is dependent upon BHP. The other plants make pieces for BHP ships, and so on. They are not truly independent. We would stay if there was more diversity here. People do not stay; they go". By six months, her only real regret about Whyalla was "the lack of good shops", and her husband had "nothing but good" to say about Australia in general, and Whyalla in particular, "except BHP". Later, they bought a house in Whyalla, and the wife's view was that: "We're settled here now". They gave the impression of being one of the best-settled families in the study.

There is no doubt that there is a great deal of validity in this wife's comments about Whyalla, and she has pin-pointed one of the major shortcomings of Whyalla, namely the extreme dependence of the whole community on BHP.

Family F30's aim was to give Whyalla six months, and then possibly take up the opportunity offered by one of the husband's colleagues in Sydney. Later, they were looking for a house in Whyalla, but still had half an eye on the Sydney offer. They were still house-hunting at six months, though the wife had her eye on a house in Hackham, on the southern outskirts of Adelaide, "for $18,000" which she very much liked, but her husband said nothing about looking for a job there. There is

an impression they would like to move to Adelaide, where his mother and brother live. By the Spot Check, they also had bought a house in Whyalla.

Family F38 had early reservations about Whyalla, but the wife also said that it "might be because we haven't got our furniture yet; just the bare boards, and we don't own this house". By six months, they seemed on the whole quite satisfied with Whyalla. The husband was especially happy here, and they were building a house, in which they were living by the time of the Spot Check.

The last of this group is family F53. The household was divided at one month, with the husband reasonably happy, but his wife and elder daughter (6) not so keen. By six months they gave the impression of liking Whyalla. The husband had no desire to go back to Britain, since he was very much better off financially in Whyalla, and they were looking forward to buying a house. At the Spot Check, they were still living at their Trust house address.

The remaining 29 families all said at one month, and again at six months, that their aim was to stay in Whyalla. Four of them, including family F31 mentioned earlier, had bought houses in Whyalla by the time of the Spot Check. Together, these families give a general impression of increasing satisfaction with Whyalla "in spite of all the snags". Some of them, like family F2, had apprehensions until the wife could get work. Being a skilled seamstress she had problems getting a job, but did so eventually, and so they felt very much more prepared to accept Whyalla. Family F3 saw Whyalla as being "so much better than we expected". They wanted somewhere quiet,

after the hustle and bustle of Merseyside, and Whyalla more than met this requirement.

Family F37 had two children when they arrived and the wife was pregnant. By six months she had collected a circle of friends, and was leading a much fuller life, and felt correspondingly happier. By contrast, the wife from family F19 quickly established a close friendship with a family who returned to Sydney. By six months the husband was keen on staying in Whyalla, but his wife was not so sure; probably because she had still been unable to reestablish a friendship on a scale comparable with this original one.

Also by six months family F11 gave the impression of settling well. In fact, they had settled in a way few other families had managed, and there is little doubt that the wife's widowed father, and siblings, living in Whyalla had a great deal to do with this. Family F10 came to Whyalla with the idea of using it as a base, but by six months they both felt quite satisfied with Whyalla. The husband said: "I think its great".

By six months, family F14 said they were surrounded by "people who want to go back" to Britain, but the wife said: "We won't ever go back. We've nothing to go back for. We are better off here than we ever were back home".

At one month, family F51 saw themselves as likely to stay in Whyalla. By six months they appeared to be one of the most settled families here. Asked if they were going to stay; "Oh yes, I expect so". They have a house they like, furniture they like, and they have just bought a new car. Family F42 said their original aim had been to "give it a couple of years" while they found out what Whyalla was like, and then they intended to go and settle down somewhere. In the husband's

words: "I wouldn't be surprised if we stay in Whyalla". Family F6 said at one month that their aim was to stay "for two years at least". Both like Whyalla, but the husband is not so keen on his job. Overall, they did not know if they would stay on in Whyalla, but aimed to "certainly be here for at least another six months", and whatever they decide to do they "certainly won't go back" (ie to Britain). They said that in any case, they could not afford to leave at that stage, but this did not prevent them from "exploring the possibilities elsewhere".

In family F29, the wife seemed much more prepared to stay in Whyalla than did her husband, in spite of him having a brother already living there. He was decidedly curious about other parts of Australia. His wife's view was that her "only regret was that we didn't come here two years ago". Overall, they give the impression of staying in Whyalla for the time being, but it would not be in the least surprising if they made a spontaneous move elsewhere.

The last families to be considered all bought houses in Whyalla, including the only one who bought a house in the older part of Whyalla. Like family F8, family F46 bought within the first month of being in Whyalla, but unlike the other family, they were still there at the time of the Spot Check, and by six months appeared to be extremely well integrated into the neighbourhood.

Family F43 were looking at houses one month after their arrival in Whyalla, and "after a great deal of 'humming and harring'" they decided to go ahead and buy a Housing Trust single unit. The decision was contingent upon the decision to stay in Whyalla, and the decision at the time was "to stay for

2 - 5 years". The wife was satisfied with Whyalla, and her husband was satisfied with his job, so there was every indication they would stay.

The last family, family F26, said Whyalla seemed "a strange place" but by one month they seemed to be settling well, and had already negotiated to build a house. The husband's view was that he came to Whyalla "because the pay is good, the job's there, and I'm better off than I was in Britain". As a declaration of his intention to stay, he brought his car, all his furniture, and his father with him (effectively all their extended family). All that was missing from their previous home was the bricks and mortar, the neighbours and their pet dog. All three were renewed in Whyalla.

What has been examined so far is whether or not the families were going to stay in Whyalla. Not a great deal has been said about the criteria determining the decision, though some of the possible causal attributes were mentioned. The remainder of this chapter is devoted to a discussion of these, though the next section will firstly examine one further objective, namely whether the families were going to use their capital to buy a house, or to go back to Britain for a holiday.

(c) A British holiday, or buying a home.

Fourteen of the families in the study discussed the possibility of returning to Britain for a holiday, and for five of them the decision rested between using the money either to buy a house, or to return to Britain. Details of these attitudes are given in Appendix XXVI. Family F5, for example, originally planned to buy a house, but at six months these plans had been shelved for the time being, and the proceeds from

the sale of their British house were in the bank. The interest from this was going to pay for a trip back to Britain "the holiday after next". Family F33 had planned to buy a car and furniture when they arrived, and had set money aside for them. The residue was for (a) a deposit on a house, or (b) the fares back if they did not like it here.

Family F49 would have liked to buy a house, but it would have made them too heavily committed. Now they have a two-sided situation, since the aim is to save up more money first, which also means more money to pay their costs back to Britain, should this be their answer.

Family F56 initially planned to have a British holiday "after six years". By one month this had become a holiday "after a couple of years; at least, that's what we think now, but maybe we won't when the time comes". Family F14 had similar ideas, and said they would like, at some stage, to go back to Britain for a holiday; "That's what most people seem to want to do".

The wives in families F48 and F53 both expressed a desire to go back to Britain for a holiday, but neither of their husbands was particularly keen. Family F25 said they came with sufficient money to be able to return to Britain if they did not like it. Then, having found they did not like Whyalla, they felt if they went elsewhere first it would cost so much money that they would not have enough left to be able to pay their fares back, so they paid up and returned then and there - a sort of 'getting out while the going is good' philosophy.

Closely associated with this question of a home versus a British holiday, or just returning to Britain, is the question of homesickness, and this factor will now be examined.

(d) Homesickness

Homesickness is one of those phenomena most people understand, but few can define. Richardson (1961) uses a rather vague definition from Frost (1938) in which he says that it is a milieu or situation reaction. In fact, Richardson (1961, 1974) describes it as a type of nostalgia - a view with which few of the migrants are likely to agree. Nostalgia has pleasant connotations, whereas homesickness is a far more painful reaction to a clear omission from the families' present circumstances. Richardson (1974) does say though that: "It is clear that the occurrence of homesickness is difficult to predict because it is dependent upon the interaction of so many personal and situational factors". He goes on later to say that more wives than husbands report experiences of homesickness.

Details of experiences of homesickness amongst migrants in this study are given in Appendix XXVII. Among the 59 families still in Whyalla at the end of one month after their arrival there, only 12 people, from ten families, reported feelings of homesickness, and of these, eight were women and four were men. Richardson (1961) found 28% of the men and 64% of the women in his study said they experienced homesickness sometimes or often. The relative figures for this study are 6.8% and 13.5%. These are substantial differences, but Richardson's data are from questionnaire responses, whereas the incidence in this study only obtains if it was mentioned spontaneously by the family concerned. There are other instances where homesickness could be implied from the remarks made, although it was never specifically mentioned.

There are two possible reasons why homesickness is

experienced more by the wives than by the husbands. One of these was suggested by the wife from family F37, who said she used to get homesick at first, mainly because she was so bored and had nothing to do. She did her housework "in an hour" instead of all day, as in Northern Ireland. This view was supported by the wife from family F59 who said she was homesick in Whyalla, but not in Victor Harbour, "because now I have so much to do". There seems little doubt that having initially very little to do engenders feelings of boredom, and eventually homesickness. This is further exacerbated when two such wives get together and reinforce one another's feelings. It is noticeable in the study that wives experiencing homesickness do discuss these feelings at length with one another. What is not so clear is whether their homesickness is as advanced *because* they mix with one another, or whether it is a natural affinity amongst people sharing the same feelings. What is clear is that families like family F10 who made the most of their opportunities for getting out and about actively avoided other families who made one another depressed by their continuous reminiscences.

Another feature was suggested from family F36, where the wife had found that the people who had promised to write had not done so, although she had written to them. Corresponding has a two-fold impact on homesickness. In the first instance, it represents a direct reminder of the missed members of the family and friends, especially when the families exchange audio-tapes, as they frequently do these days; and secondly the process of letter-writing itself ensures extended periods of thinking about the absent ones. The significantly larger number of women experiencing homesickness could be partly

attributable to them doing more of the letter-writing than their husbands. The husband in family F5 said he had an acute attack of homesickness when he got a letter saying what all their mates were doing in England.

The indications are that feelings of homesickness generally decrease over time, with some families experiencing intense feelings at the earliest stages, and others after a short delay. The wife in family F56 said it was worst while they were in the Woodville Hostel in Adelaide; "All those long quiet corridors" after the intense activity of the life on board ship. By the time they had been in Whyalla for six months they were saying how they did not like the people they met who are always so dreadfully homesick. At one month, the wife from family F53 was having problems of homesickness and wanted to go back to Britain. At six months, the wife from family F14 said this wife had now got over her homesickness. At the same time she herself was beginning to feel homesick, being at that stage 4½ months pregnant, and hoping her mother would come out for a holiday. She also said that one of her neighbours had only begun to feel homesick when her mother visited them four years after their arrival.

Family F5 was one of only two where both the husband and the wife mentioned experiencing feelings of homesickness. What is interesting is not so much the way in which they were mutually supportive to one another during bouts of homesickness, but the way it appears the husband receives *more* succourance from his sister in Whyalla than from his wife. It is as though there is greater empathy between the siblings than between the marriage partners, when the siblings are close. In contrast, having siblings who were not close appeared to make no difference to

the feelings of homesickness experienced by the wife in family F53.

Two families experienced homesickness associated with specific events. In family F15, the wife showed increasing distress because of the strained relations between her parents and her sister, with whom they were living. Once again, it is difficult to determine whether the homesickness was already there, and the strained relationship between her sister and their parents merely provided a convenient point on which the feelings could be focused, or that the feelings were initially engendered by the situation, or possibly jointly facilitative. In the second case, it seems far more likely that the feelings exploded as a consequence of the tragedy of the wife's mother dying unexpectedly. It was suddenly brought home to the wife just how isolated and incapable of doing anything she was in Australia. It was all over before she knew anything about it, and there was no one from her extensive extended family within reach.

(e) Other aspects of staying in Whyalla

A rather different side of the question of staying in Whyalla concerns BHP's attitude towards personnel staying, and in this context it is quite interesting to look at the way BHP treats its staff in Whyalla, and in turn what it expects its staff will do there. Coupled with this is the way in which these staff react to Whyalla. In the first place BHP and the State Education Department share similar attitudes. It is reminiscent of the old British colonial attitudes and indeed this is probably where the idea originated. There the way to accelerated promotion was to volunteer for service overseas,

where the money and the prospects on return home were good, but there were also risks such as disease to be faced. Young executives wishing for promotion in BHP facilitate their progress by service in the Company outposts like Whyalla. To encourage them, they are given incentives like cheap housing. House rental for executives was somewhere between one third to one half of what the migrants were paying at the time - and the accommodation, carpeted throughout, was located in the older part of Whyalla, not in the Housing Trust areas. Other concessions available include petrol at approximately half the normal retail price.

What this means in effect is that the Company expects its staff to be prepared to spend some time in the provinces, but it also assumes that they would not be disposed towards staying there. In turn, there is a feeling among the staff that they are only in Whyalla until their turn for promotion arises. Doubtless many of them enjoy their Whyalla life to the full but their orientation is always towards eventually leaving Whyalla. This has a recursant effect on Whyalla, since it means that the middle stratum of its socio-economic pyramid (one which in most places is typically active in community affairs) is non-participant. Four of the families with whom the investigator stayed in Whyalla fell in this category, and three of them left Whyalla during the course of the study. As one of these families said: "All our friends have moved on". Two of them went to Melbourne, where they immediately bought houses, thereby emphasising the point made earlier by Spooner (1974) about the Australian predisposition to own the house in which they live. There is no doubt that families such as these see Whyalla as a transit town. For

them, this is precisely what it is.

This discussion has so far centred on a group of residents who represent a minority in Whyalla, but the last point is far more general in its application. Whyalla, by its over-abundance of rental accommodation encourages Australians who for one reason or another are unable to purchase a home of their own, and conversely it discourages those who would normally do so. Thus many of the Australians in Whyalla are typical of the itinerant minority, and the phenomenon of 'shooting through' is not uncommon. This latter is a term used to describe families who move to another state without notice, often leaving a house full of furniture bought on hire purchase and only partly paid off. The problems involved in bringing the culprits back to face charges are such that the companies concerned rarely bother.

6.7 Another problem of working for BHP

One final odd little problem that only one family mentioned represents what must be one of the most unusual practices that occur in industry today. It is astonishing that it still exists, and that no other family mentioned it. It concerns holidays. In BHP, the employee has to take his holidays "within a six-month period", and the period is determined by the employee's starting date with the Company. Thus family F22, who joined the Company on June 14th have to take their holidays within the six months of approximately June 15th to December 15th, so they can never have a summer holiday with their children.

7 CONCLUSIONS

7.1 Conclusions regarding expectations
7.2 Conclusions regarding labour turnover
7.3 Conclusions regarding the conduct of the study
7.4 The future for Whyalla

7.1 Conclusions regarding expectations

The opening remarks in the introduction of this report included the suggestion that most authors in the field of migration studies regard expectations more as a phenomenon that is tacitly implied, rather than one that needs to be rigorously defined. The reasons why this should be so quickly emerge from a study such as this one. The families in this investigation were asked quite categorically what were their expectations concerning Whyalla, and what it would be like living there. Many of the families suggested that they had really no idea what to expect. Some of them, like family F19, felt almost guilty about their lack of expectations; "We don't really know very much, do we?"

Although the families had yet to see Whyalla they had, at the time of their initial interviews in Adelaide, experienced at least some aspects of Australia. The same cannot be said of the remarks appearing in the correspondence included in Appendix XXV. Amongst the queries raised is one point, in the letter dated 17 October; "I have been told there are all sorts

of nationalities in Whyalla, but not a lot of Australians", and in the notes in Appendix XXII the writer is noted as being 'dumbfounded at having a Spanish neighbour on one side and a Greek on the other'.

What these seem to add up to is that the families in the project found great difficulty in explaining just what were their expectations, and secondly their subsequent reactions showed that they did indeed have quite clearly-defined expectations. Whether this non-mentioning of expectations is because they have never reached the level of conscious awareness, or whether they are in reality internalised 'feelings' for which language has not yet been sufficiently developed for them to be expressed, is a matter for conjecture.

There is some evidence to show that the families found the actuality went beyond the extent of their conceptualisations. Family F35 for instance said (Appendix XIX) that the availability of accommodation had been a premium deciding factor in favour of them coming to Whyalla. What they found in Whyalla profoundly shocked them, because they had no real conception of what the 'lower limit' could be.

In many respects, it is doubtful whether the families spend very much time in trying to conceptualise what their new life is going to be like. In general terms, they are looking for something better than their previous lives, and that is what they expect to find. In effect, what they mean by this is that it cannot possibly be any worse than it is in Britain now (ie at the time when they planned to emigrate) and they just hope that it will be better.

Perhaps one of the most noteworthy aspects of the families' expectations is the negative one of losing something they had

always taken for granted, such as their extended family networks. While at home they probably never see many of their relations who live round about except by chance, or at weddings or funerals; but as Duncan-Kemp (1961) said about the introduction of the Royal Flying Doctor Service in inland Australia; "Its not that you want a doctor, but its the feeling that you can get help if you need it that means so much". It is only when the families get to Whyalla, and their relatives are no longer there, that they suddenly find themselves bereft. It is almost as though the concept was dormant, and has suddenly woken up.

It is difficult to imagine that the families could formulate many radically new expectations for an ordinary everyday setting like Whyalla. It is much more plausible to think of expectations as always there, but coming to the surface only as the situation requires. Thus family F35 always had expectations about their accommodation, but their experiences in Whyalla led them to define the characteristics a little more clearly than before. By analogy with the concept of attitudes put forward by Fishbein (1967) and others, the factor remained constant; the change was in the loading associated with that factor. That is, the expectation was still the same, but its importance had been rated very much higher.

The effects of such a change in the qualitative features of an expectation can be seen in the subsequent behaviour of family F35. They moved in such a way as to bring about a more appropriate level of accommodation. The attitudinal changes that accompany such changes are perhaps analogous to Maslow's

(1943) hierarchy of needs, in which he postulates that when basic needs are satisfied, their manifest importance is minimised and other less primary needs come into prominence. Thus expectations are outwardly displayed only at those times when they are being obviously thwarted.

The original predictions were that if the expectations failed to be met in Whyalla, the families would move in such a way as to come closer to compliance with the expectations, and that the expectations themselves would be modified as a consequence of the actual Australian experiences; in other words, bearing out the contention by Weimer (1975) that problems of inference and expectation are problems of learning and knowledge. As far as the study went, the evidence is rather sparse, since few families left during the course of the study. Of such families, there are only three, families F48, F57 and F59, from whom it was possible to get personal indications of how they fared after their moves. A few further details may be deduced from three other families who moved, namely families F9, F35 and F45. At the time of the 1975 Spot Check, four of these families were still at the location to which they moved when they first left Whyalla, so it seems reasonable to assume that this second move had been such as to bring them closer into line with their original expectations. Family F35 felt that this would be the case just before they embarked on their move to Umba Cumba. Families F48, F57 and F59 all foresaw improvements as a consequence of moving, though in the last case, the family was planning to move to Woomera, but because of a series of unpremeditated events, they moved instead to Victor Harbour.

There the wife found the fulfilment of her expectations, but the move could scarcely be described as planned. The other two families left Whyalla firmly in the expectation of finding fulfilment, the first in Adelaide and the second in Albury. When the former family arrived in Adelaide, they found themselves faced with a set of unexpected problems sufficiently insurmountable to cause them to again start looking elsewhere, while the latter family turned up in Adelaide two years after they had left Albury, having also lived in Melbourne in the interim.

The behaviour of these last two families is analogous to hunting in a cybernetic system, whereby the expectations get into a state of continuous adaptation, and so the family ends up being constantly on the move - in effect, it becomes itinerant. It seems unlikely that such families have a steady state set of expectations; if they had, it is inconceivable that they would be constantly moving in order to achieve such a state. The more plausible alternative is that the expectations themselves are in a state of flux, and being constantly redefined at the termination of each move.

The second option that was offered for families who found their expectations were unfulfilled was to maintain their behaviour, but to change their expectations. Using again the analogy of the concept of attitudes just mentioned, this amounts to changing the values of the weights associated with the expectations, or in other words, changing their importance. The two most prominent examples of such changes were the wives from families F18 and F32, who were both firm in their convictions about returning to Britain one month after their arrival in Whyalla. In the case of the latter wife, other

families said that the whole topic had been "taboo" for some months; and yet in both cases there was a sudden about face. The first wife gave up her desire to go to work, and the latter set about revaluing those features she had been decrying for some time.

In addition to these two, family F39 said at both one and six months that they did not expect to remain in Whyalla, and yet shortly after the final interview they bought a house in Whyalla, and were still there, like the two previous wives, at the time of the 1975 Spot Check. The reorientation is symptomatised by the husband's remark that: "The biggest mistake that we made was not to buy a house as soon as we got here".

All that has been mentioned so far has been concerned with those families for whom Whyalla failed to measure up to their expectations. There are, gauged by the number of families who were still in Whyalla at the time of the Spot Check, a big proportion who were quite satisfied with Whyalla. These include at least three families for whom the wives said that their lives in Whyalla are no different from what they were in Britain. The wife from family F46 said (appendix IX) she expected "Whyalla won't be any different from Britain", and furthermore this is also how she saw her life in Whyalla. Others had more reservations in what they said initially, but said at one month that they had found Whyalla had lived up to all their expectations.

In summary, the overall deduction is that expectations are initially ill-defined. Furthermore, there is no need for them to be better specified, unless some contingency occurs that

abruptly raises the matter into the level of conscious awareness. In effect, they are taken for granted unless they require specific attention. It is rather like travelling a long distance in a car; the traveller is constantly surrounded by all the relevant features, but only attends to them when he is called upon to do the driving.

The families in the study were noticeably vague when it came to saying what they expected of Whyalla, and yet it was clear from their subsequent remarks that they did in fact have very precise ideas of what they anticipated it would be like. Nevertheless, it is also clear that some of the problems encountered in Whyalla were quite unexpected, and in some respects moving to other parts of Australia would be accomplished with a corresponding reduction in the level of uncertainty, though this would not amount to an elimination of all such features.

7.2 Conclusions regarding labour turnover

In the context of this investigation, labour turnover arises as a consequence of either the husband feeling dissatisfied with his job, or by one or more members of the family experiencing dissatisfaction with Whyalla. A third possibility is that the employee is given the sack. However, this is more by way of being a staff selection problem than one which comes within the scope of this investigation. Thus the pertinent aspects of labour turnover may be examined under two headings, namely :-

(a) features of working for BHP

(b) features of Whyalla

(a) Features of working for BHP

One of the points made in Chapter 5 referred to the protracted length of the lead time from when the husband was first accepted for BHP to when he arrived in Whyalla. Since this can extend from a period of months to well over a year, it is clear that the chances of one job being held open for one particular individual are small, and so it is quite possible for a husband to arrive only to find that his work is somewhat different from what had been implied during the course of his British interview. At least one of the husbands, from family F7, found himself in a position of doing work quite different from what he had expected, and this could well be one of the main causes of him leaving BHP. However, the reasons he gave were rather different, though one of these could well be one of the general causes of dissatisfaction that affected some of the other employees. In this instance, he said (Appendix XV) that one of the consequences of shiftwork on maintenance operations was that "you'd start a job, and the other shift would finish it. You never had a chance to see the job through". He found his new job very much more satisfying. When he had finished for the day he went home, and returned the following day to continue the job from where he left off. If it was urgent, he did overtime to finish it.

The husband in family F44 left the Shipyards to work for a smaller company. He disliked his BHP work because of its repetitiveness, "like assembling cars on a conveyor belt". He found his new work more satisfying because it was more varied and interesting.

The third cause given for leaving applied to the husband in family F35, who said his "face doesn't fit".

The common feature between these three husbands comes down to the fundamental difference between working for a large, as opposed to a small, organisation. The larger one tends to be geared more to production, with an associated reduction in the level of individual job satisfaction, while the smaller unit necessitates a far greater degree of flexibility and versatility by the individuals concerned. It amounts to a comparison between job simplification and job enrichment. Munro (1968) hints at the same problem when he refers to the changes brought about in BHP's Whyalla operations over the years. He says that; "The style of management could have been characterised as personal, informal and unbureaucratic ... the style has now changed". He refers to a comment by one of the foremen that: "I am no longer a name, but a number".

It seems self-evident that personnel who react against the style of larger organisations and who are in a position to move will inevitably do so, and the ongoing success of the smaller satellite sub-contracting organisations in Whyalla is proof that this is the case, otherwise their staff would be absorbed back into the main organisation that can offer considerably more in terms of long-term fringe benefits, such as superannuation schemes and assistance with house purchasing.

Three of the husbands who left BHP within the defined period of six months were classed as itinerant. There is a danger here of circularity in the arguement since the fact of their moving undoubtedly contributed to their classification as itinerant. Nevertheless, the supporting evidence for the typecasting comes also from their previous histories. Classing a person as itinerant is a case of labelling the effect rather than the cause, but since the question under analysis is

why people leave BHP, it is sufficient to class itineracy as their reason for leaving. However, it still leaves wide open the question of why they should be itinerant in the first place. The work history of one of the husbands so classed showed that he favoured short-term high remuneration contract appointments in preference to job security, but he also made the very astute point that, in the event of a reduction in the workforce, the job market would receive a sudden increase in men all with the same trade qualifications, which would cause problems in finding new work for those involved. In contrast, working for a little firm that got into difficulties would mean a loss of work for some employees, but not so as to cause a glut of tradesmen on the labour market, so it would not be too difficult to find another job.

The other two classed as itinerant were both employed as unskilled workers - a sector in the steel industry that traditionally experiences high labour turnover. There is a wealth of evidence in this study to underline the dissatisfaction of BHP's unskilled workers on the shop floor. This cuts both ways; in the first place many of them were dissatisfied with their work; but secondly, being unskilled meant that there were more opportunities for them to move to other parts of the organisation, and many such moves were to the subsequent satisfaction of the individual concerned. However, of the three who left BHP altogether, two were classed as itinerant, including the one given the sack, and for the third, it is difficult to gauge from the reasons given just why he left; especially as leaving meant he joined the ranks of the unemployed as opposed to moving to a better job. Driving was his main occupation in Britain, and it is possible

that he hoped he could engineer himself a driving job with BHP better from outside the Organisation than from within it. The views the family expressed were more towards leaving Whyalla than leaving BHP, but they were still in Whyalla at the time of the Spot Check.

In summary, the two main work causes for leaving BHP can be classed as a general dislike for working for large organisations (ie the dissatisfaction may be classed as one of the features characterised by large organisations) and secondly itineracy. Both factors, and especially the second one, should be identifiable at the time of initial recruitment. Of the two, no person classed as itinerant showed a cessation of this behaviour when going to Whyalla, whereas several men who had previously worked for much smaller organisations were successfully assimilated into BHP. This factor may have influenced the level of recruitment of ex-Forces personnel to work for BHP, since seven of the 62 husbands had served for extended periods in the Regular Forces, and a further three had similar service in the Merchant Navy. Together these represent 16.1% of the families in this study.

(b) Features of Whyalla

What has been said so far refers to the families who left BHP ostensibly because of their dissatisfaction with the Company. It is easier to substantiate such a reason when the families remain in Whyalla, but if they leave the City altogether, it could just as well be because of a dissatisfaction with Whyalla in general as opposed to BHP in particular. This differentiation is important from the Company's point of view since both contribute to the labour

turnover statistics, but the former is largely due to circumstances which are beyond the control of the Company. All that can be said at this stage is to point out those factors which appear to cause legitimate dissatisfaction with Whyalla. Having said that, one of the major problems in Whyalla is directly the responsibility of BHP, and it is a particularly iniquitous factor. It concerns the system mentioned earlier whereby minor organisations subcontracting work from BHP may not recruit employees currently working for the Company. The overall effects of this collusion are that if a specialised tradesman such as a boilermaker wants to leave BHP, he effectively has to leave Whyalla. In this respect, the family leaves Whyalla, although it may well be quite satisfied with the City in all other respects.

A second major problem with Whyalla is one that was mentioned by Munro (1968) and Sarre (1973), namely the lack of work opportunities there for women. This particularly effects younger families where the wife hopes to work for a while before commencing a family, and also sharply reduces the number of part-time opportunities available for wives in families where the children are growing up. This factor has a natural extension into the lack of opportunities available to young people in Whyalla. Apart from the numerical restraints, there is also concern about the lack of variety available. Family F41 made the point that they did not want their children to grow up and work for BHP, "but what else is there in Whyalla?" This factor appears to be of far more concern to families thinking of sons, rather than daughters. None of the families seemed prepared to move as a result of a specific concern about the opportunities available for their daughters

in spite of expressing high aspirations for them, but they were prepared to go for the sake of their sons.

The importance of another factor is difficult to evaluate, but all the indications point to it as one of the most significant features determining whether or not the families are going to stay in Whyalla, and that is the question of housing. The point has already been made that home ownership is a basic concept of the Australian way of life, whereas the conceptualisation of Whyalla is of rental accommodation. Certainly the majority of families came to Whyalla with the intention of buying a home of their own, and several saw a better opportunity for this in Australia than was the case in Britain. By contrast, few bought houses in Whyalla, and others still aimed to buy a house, but not in Whyalla. None of the migrant families who left Whyalla is known to have bought a home elsewhere, whereas of the 14 who left, six are known to have rented accommodation where they went; including one who bought a block of land. While the British families may not have bought houses when they moved, two of the three Australian families with whom the investigator stayed in Whyalla bought houses as soon as they left the City, and the third did so after a period of rental - thereby fulfilling the intention they declared long before they left Whyalla.

There remains a succession of little things which turn people against Whyalla, summed up by the wife in family F33 (Appendix XXIV); "When you try to sum up what is wrong with Whyalla, *all you have is a collection of little things, all seeming trivial in their own right*".

Apart from the first point, this section could be

summarised in the words of family F41 (Appendix XXIV); "Don't get us wrong; we like Whyalla. Its just that it hasn't got the things we want and are used to".

Putting the two parts together, one is left with the situation where, for the 61 families who actually went to Whyalla, at the end of their first six months: six families (9.8%) had left BHP, including four (6.6%) who had also left Whyalla. So at that stage 55 families (90.2%) still had husbands working for BHP. At the end of the interviewing stage, a check was made on the whereabouts of all the families, and it was found that now 15 husbands (24.6%) had left BHP, including eight (13.1%) who had also left Whyalla with their families, so this left 46 families (75.4%) where the husbands were still working for BHP. By the 1975 Spot Check, a further five families had left Whyalla, so by that stage a probable 20 husbands (32.6%) had left BHP (ie assuming none of those who left earlier had rejoined the Company) leaving a probable maximum of 41 (67.2%) still working for the Company; that is, when the newest arrivals had arrived in Whyalla 21 months earlier, and the earliest arrivals had arrived 42 months earlier. This represents an annual turnover of approximately 12.5%, or a complete turnover every eight years - a difficulty for BHP, but not really too significant a problem.

7,3 Conclusions regarding the conduct of the study

It is inevitable that an investigation such as this one should fall short of the ideal. It would have been better for

the inclusion of several additional features, some major, and others not so important. Taking them in the order in which they would occur in the study, they were :-

(a) a preliminary interview

(b) a Stage I equivalent of the Whyalla Questionnaire

(c) additional personality profiles; (i) of the families who left, and (ii) of families in Britain equivalent to those who emigrated

(d) a follow-up on all the families in the study.

(a) A preliminary interview

The expectations of the families in this study were assessed *after* they had reached Australia, and while none of them had any experience of Whyalla, at least they had a foretaste on the strength of at least some Australian experiences. A preliminary interview before they had left Britain would have given a much purer assessment of what they thought Australia in general and Whyalla in particular were going to be like.

(b) A Stage I equivalent of the Whyalla Questionnaire

The Whyalla Questionnaire was designed to examine what the families thought of Whyalla, and it was matched with the Item Value Questionnaire, designed to rate the importance of the same factors. The latter was administered in Adelaide, before the families had any experience of Whyalla, and again after they had been there for six months. A similar double administration of the Whyalla Questionnaire would have allowed an initial quantitative assessment of what the families imagined Whyalla was going to be like.

(c) Additional presonality profiles

The criterion laid down at the commencement of the study was that the personality test should be administered six months after arrival in Whyalla, and one consequence of this was that no assessment was available for those families who left Whyalla before six months had elapsed, except for the one family who moved to Adelaide. This problem received an extra blow because one of the families who left at six months after their arrival was the only family to refuse to complete the Questionnaire. Thus profiles were available for only one of the four families who left Whyalla reasonably soon after their arrival. Between them, the four would have made a small but valuable additional contribution to the data available.

Much more significant in quantitative terms would be the personality profiles of a sample of families of equivalent socio-economic status in Britain. This would have allowed valid comparisons to be made between the families who emigrated, and equivalent non-emigrating families. This could shed some light on the characteristics of emigrants versus non-emigrants. The comparison that was made in this study involved people who were all descendents of earlier migrants. If there are discernable differentiating characteristics, and these characteristics are inherited, then they would not show up in the comparisons that were made.

(d) A follow-up on all the families in the study

The Spot Check in December 1975 showed that other movements had occurred amongst the families included in this study. Valuable information could be gained by following them up, and ascertaining why they had made the moves, and also what had

subsequently happened to them.

7.4 The future for Whyalla

At the time when this study commenced, a rosy future was predicted for Whyalla, and in 1972 the South Australian State Government produced the Whyalla Planning Area Development Plan, wherein the population was expected to increase to 55,000 by 1991, compared with the June 1971 Census figure of 31,568. Since then, several other factors have emerged. The first of these was the announcement (Whyalla News, 26.5.72) that: "Plans for teacher training in the City seem almost destined to founder with the recently announced cuts-back in State finance". This plan had long been heralded as the basis for a new lease of life for Whyalla, in that at last there would be facilities available in Whyalla for occupations that were not geared to the requirements of BHP, as well as providing a much-needed centre for the region surrounding Whyalla. This has left a situation where there are *no* complete post-secondary education facilities for residents wishing to pursue vocational courses other then those provided by the College of Further Education, which is geared mainly towards apprenticeship courses and extra-mural activities. The final death-blow to these plans coincided with the fermenting of interest in the proposed satellite city of Monarto, which now also shows signs of fading into obscurity.

A further blow came in 1977 with the announcement of the impending removal of the Whyalla campus of the South Australian Institute of Technology. This led to a letter (Advertiser, 1.4.77) pointing out that: "Living in Whyalla, as

in any other country area of South Australia, makes us very aware of the ridiculous concentration of the State's facilities (ie for post-secondary education) in Adelaide, and the insensivity of the metropolitan dweller to our needs".

There has long been a crying need in Whyalla for the establishment of diversity in its industries, to counter the lopsidedness arising from the undue preponderance of BHP. An outstanding opportunity occurred when the question of establishing a petro-chemicals industry at Redcliffs, just across the Gulf from Whyalla was mooted. The proposed site had little to recommend it when compared with what Whyalla had to offer, but the City Council has only itself to blame for the fact that little or no interest was shown in the possibility of locating the complex on the vacant area north-east of the City, beyond the BHP precincts (cf Hornsby, 1974).

The last and most important feature of all concerns the attitudes of BHP itself towards Whyalla. BHP exists as a commercial operation in the fullest sense of the words. Its previous history has shown the way in which the Company's interests have adapted over the years towards an ongoing concentration on the operations which provide the best return on the shareholders' investments. In recent years it has been abundantly clear that oil is a far more profitable operation than steel or its associated operations. With only so much capital to put into its operations, the Company naturally concentrates on those areas which will show the best return; and the steel industry frequently returns a loss. Under these circumstances it is hardly surprising that the Company does little to improve or streamline its steelworks operations, and one consequence of this is that the families are quite right

when they point to the inefficiency and outmodedness of BHP's Whyalla operations.

The Shipyards are a likewise unprofitable branch of the BHP operations, and another which is capital-intensive, showing only very limited return on that capital. Their future was not bright at the end of the study, and several families were already actively looking elsewhere because they foresaw no future for the Yards. Unfortunately for the employees, the Shipyards, being the largest in Australia, are also a political football in the respect that they are a strategic asset in the event of a national emergency. In effect, BHP has held the Federal Government to ransom for years for a subsidy when things are not looking good. The BHP Chairman's remarks (June, 1976) about the Company having no moral obligations to keep open the Shipyards go a long way towards substantiating these opinions.

Subsequently, the Government on Friday 13 August 1976 announced its intention to withdraw the 35% subsidy to the shipbuilding industry. Throughout the ensuing consternation, BHP said very little. Presumably this admirably suited its plans in giving it an avenue whereby the Whyalla shipbuilding operations could be allowed slowly to fade away. The obvious answer for a long time has been for the Federal Government to take over BHP's Whyalla Shipyards operations and establish a national industry, along the lines of the Australian Aircraft Corporation.

On purely psychological grounds, the application of a 35% subsidy acts as a positive disincentive for BHP to make any efforts to improve the efficiency of their Whyalla Shipyards operations, and it seems strange that there was no effort by

the Government, either Federal or State, to put the Shipyards on a more secure financial footing. With a good proportion of the workforce only too well aware of what was going to happen, it is surprising that so little was done. The most inexplicable features are the lack of reaction either by the City Council, with a large vested interest in the future of the Shipyards, and the State Government, for whom Whyalla represents a veritable electoral stronghold.

It seemed inconceivable at the time that a city such as Whyalla could slowly die, but it now appears uncomfortably like the truth. Quite unwittingly, this study, at this stage, looks like having been conducted in the City at the time when it was at its zenith.

At the time when the study was under way, Whyalla was the largest urban concentration in South Australia outside the Adelaide metropolitan area. Such a substantial position made it seem invulnerable, but in 1871 Moonta Mines was also the largest urban concentration outside the Adelaide metropolitan area. Pryor (1962) states that: "By 1870 the population of the township and district (ie Moonta) had risen to 10,000, of whom 6,000 lived on the (copper) mining leases", but, "In the financial year ending June 30, 1919, the Company had lost £53, 265". In this, and the following four years, the Company lost a quarter of a million pounds (sterling). The demise of the community followed. Pryor makes the point that "scores of cottages were pulled down because, although nobody would buy them as dwellings, something could be realised from the sale of the roofing iron and timber ... The population dwindled rapidly as miners left to find work on the mining fields in other parts of Australia".

By the June 1971 Census, the population of Moonta was 1,120, and Moonta Mines was too insignificant to be quoted in its own right. Perhaps Whyalla will go the same way, finishing up as a minor country town, like Port Augusta or Port Pirie. The only really viable alternative lies in what the late Fred Shumacher (formerly chief economic adviser to the National Coal Board in Britain) called 'intermediate technology'. That is, the solution lies in making little things that suit the area, not big city type technology that is only applicable to big cities, because of the expenses arising from the transport infrastructure associated with small displaced centres such as Whyalla. (The solution would be, for example, to make transportable homes, bricks, bread, and so forth, in Whyalla).

Meanwhile, Whyalla is marking time, and the astute are getting away while the going is good, and as from the time when its name was changed from Hummock Hill in 1914, the pallor of BHP hangs over Whyalla in much the same way as it does physically in Plate 24.

Plate 24 Whyalla

The pallor of BHP hangs over Whyalla

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Appendix I The basic questions for the initial (Stage I) Interview

Name (Method of travel to Australia) Air / Sea

(Where going to work in Whyalla?) Steelworks / Shipyards

1. "Why leave the United Kingdom?"
2. "Why come to Australia?"
3. "Why the choice of Whyalla?"
4. "What did you think Australia was going to be like?"
5. "How long do you intend staying?" (in Whyalla and/or Australia).
6. "What do you think Whyalla is going to be like?"
7. "If you hadn't chosen Australia, to which country would you have gone?" - ie Why choose Australia?
8. "Do you have any property left in the United Kingdom?"
9. "Do you have any family left in the United Kingdom?"

Husband	Brothers / Sisters / Parents
Wife	Brothers / Sisters / Parents

10. "Where do you come from in the United Kingdom?"
11. "Do you know anyone here?" (ie in Australia and/or Whyalla).
12. "How did you find out about Australia/BHP?"
13. "Did you have a car in the United Kingdom, and can either of you drive?"
14. "Have you ever been abroad at all?"

Note: The interview was *based* on this set of questions. As far as possible, the interview took place for both husband and wife together, and the complete interview was conducted verbally, with the minimum number of notes being taken at the time - these consisted mainly of making a record of the factual information.

The questions were not given in the order shown, but in a random order, dictated by the course the interview was naturally following. The aim was to include all the questions, not to preserve the sequence.

Appendix II The Zuckerman Interest and Preference Test (The Sensation Seeking Scale)

INTEREST AND PREFERENCE TEST (FORM IV SSS)

DIRECTIONS: Each of the items below contains two choices, A and B. Please indicate ON YOUR ANSWER SHEET which of the choices most describes *your* likes or the way *you* feel. In some cases you may find items in which both choices describe your likes or feelings. Please choose the one which *better describes your likes or feelings*. In some cases you may find items in which you do not like either choice. In these cases, mark the choice *you dislike least*. PLEASE DO NOT LEAVE ANY ITEMS BLANK.

It is important you respond to all items with only ONE CHOICE, A or B. We are interested only in your likes or feelings, not in how others feel about these things, or how one is supposed to feel. There are no right or wrong answers as in other kinds of tests. Please be frank and give your honest appraisal of yourself.

1 A. I dislike the sensations one gets when flying.
B. I enjoy many of the rides in amusement parks.

2 A. I would like a job which would require a lot of travelling
B. I would prefer a job in one location.

3 A. I would like to hitchhike across the country.
B. Hitchhiking is too dangerous a way to travel.

4 A. I do not find gambling worth the risk.
B. I like to gamble for money.

5 A. I can't wait to get indoors on a cold day.
B. I am invigorated by a brisk, cold day.

6 A. I like wild 'uninhibited' parties.
B. I prefer quiet parties with good conversation.

7 A. I can't stand watching a film that I've seen before.
B. There are some films I enjoy seeing a second or even a third time.

8 A. Using 'four letter words' in public is vulgar and inconsiderate of the feelings of others.
B. I sometimes use 'four letter words' to express my feelings or to shock someone.

9 A. I find a certain pleasure in routine kinds of work.
B. Although it is sometimes necessary, I usually dislike routine kinds of work.

10 A. I often wish I could be a mountain climber.
B. I can't understand people who risk their necks climbing mountains.

11 A. I dislike all body odours.
B. I like some of the earthy body smells.

12 A. I get bored seeing the same old faces.
B. I like the comfortable familiarity of everyday friends.

13 A. I like to dress in unusual styles.
B. I tend to dress conservatively.

14 A. I am only interested in travelling in civilized parts of the world.
B. I would like to travel to strange, out of the way places like the upper Amazon or Antarctica.

15 A. I like to explore a strange city or section of town by myself, even if it means getting lost.
B. I prefer a guide when I am in a place I don't know well.

16 A. I dislike people who do or say things just to shock or upset others.
B. When you can predict almost everything a person will do and say, he or she must be a bore.

17 A. I usually don't enjoy a film or play where I can predict what will happen in advance.
B. I don't mind watching a film or play where I can predict what will happen in advance.

18 A. I have tried marijuana or would like to.
B. I would never smoke marijuana.

19 A. I would not like to try any drug which might produce strange and dangerous effects on me.
B. I would like to try some of the new drugs that produce hallucinations.

20 A. I would prefer living in an ideal society where everyone is safe, secure and happy.
B. I would have preferred living in the unsettled days of our history.

21 A. A sensible person avoids activities that are dangerous.
B. I sometimes like to do things that are a little frightening.

22 A. I dislike 'swingers'.
B. I enjoy the company of real 'swingers'.

23 A. I find that stimulants make me uncomfortable.
B. I often like to get high (drinking alcohol or smoking marijuana).

24 A. A person should change jobs from time to time simply to avoid getting into a rut.
B. A person should find a job which is fairly satisfying to him and stick with it.

25 A. I order the dishes with which I am familiar, so as to avoid disappointment and unpleasantness.
B. I like to try new foods that I have never tasted before.

26 A. In a good sexual relationship people never get bored with each other.
B. It's normal to get bored after a time with the same sexual partner.

27 A. I enjoy looking at home films or travel slides.
B. Looking at someone's home films or travel slides bores me to tears.

28 A. I like to try new brands on the chance of finding something different or better.
B. I stick to the brands I know are reliable.

29 A. I would like to take up the sport of water-skiing.
B. I would not like to take up water-skiing.

30 A. Most adultery happens because of sheer boredom.
B. Adultery is almost always the sign of a sick marriage.

31 A. I would like to try surf-board riding.
B. I would not like to try surf-board riding.

32 A. I find people who disagree with my beliefs more stimulating than people who agree with me.
B. I don't like to argue with people whose beliefs are sharply divergent from mine, since such arguements are never resolved.

33 A. I would like to take off on a trip with no pre-planned or definite routes, or timetable.
B. When I go on a trip I like to play my route and timetable fairly carefully.

34 A. I prefer the 'down-to-earth' kinds of people as friends.
B. I would like to make friends in some of the 'far-out' groups like artists or 'hippies'.

35 A. I would not like to learn to fly an aeroplane.
B. I would like to learn to fly an aeroplane.

36 A. Most beards are unsightly.
B. I like to see men wearing beards.

37 A. I would like to go scuba diving.
B. I prefer the surface of the water to the depths.

38 A. I would like to meet some persons who are homosexual (men or women).
B. I stay away from anyone I suspect of being 'queer'.

39 A. I prefer modern jazz or classical music to more popular or light classical music.
B. I prefer popular or light classical music to modern jazz or classical music

40 A. I like to drive in open convertibles.
B. I do not like to drive in open convertibles.

41 A. I would like to have the experience of being hypnotized.
B. I would not like to be hypnotized.

42 A. The most important goal of life is to live it to the fullest and experience as much of it as you can.
B. The most important goal of life is to find peace and happiness.

43 A. I would like to try parachute jumping.
B. I would never want to try jumping out of a plane with or without a parachute.

44. A. I enter cold water gradually giving myself time to get used to it.
B. I like to dive or jump right into the ocean or a cold pool.

45 A. I do not like the irregularity and discord of most modern music.
B. I like to listen to new and unusual kinds of music.

46 A. I prefer friends who are excitingly unpredictable.
B. I prefer friends who are reliable and predictable.

47 A. I am not interested in experience for its own sake.
B. I like to have new and exciting experiences and sensations even if they are a little frightening, unconventional or illegal.

48 A. When I go on holiday I prefer the comfort of a good room and bed.
B. When I go on holiday I would prefer the change of camping out.

49 A. When I go in an ocean or lake I like to stay close to shore.
B. Sometimes I like to swim far out from the shore.

50 A. I often enjoy flouting irrational authority.
B. I am generally respectful of lawful authority.

51 A. The essence of good art is in its clarity, symmetry of form and harmony of colours.
B. I often find beauty in the 'clashing' colours and irregular forms of modern paintings.

52 A. I enjoy spending time in the familiar surroundings of home.
B. I get very restless if I have to stay at home for any length of time.

53 A. I like to dive off the high board.
B. I don't like the feeling I get standing on the high board (or I don't go near it at all).

54 A. I like to date members of the opposite sex who are physically exciting.
B. I like to date members of the opposite sex who share my values.

55 A. Heavy drinking usually ruins a party because some people get loud and boisterous.
B. Keeping the drinks full is the key to a good party.

56 A. I sometimes like to do 'crazy' things just to see the effects on others.
B. I almost always behave in a normal way. I am not interested in shocking or upsetting others.

57 A. The worst social sin is to be rude.
B. The worst social sin is to be a bore.

58 A. I look forward to a good night of rest after a long day.
B. I wish I didn't have to waste so much of a day sleeping.

59 A. A person should have considerable sexual experience before marriage.
B. It's better if two married persons begin their sexual experience with each other.

60 A. Even if I had the money I would not care to associate with flighty persons like those in the 'jet set'.
B. I could conceive of myself seeking pleasures around the world with the 'jet set'.

61 A. I like people who are sharp and witty even if they do sometimes insult others.
B. I dislike people who have their fun at the expense of hurting the feelings of others.

62 A. Almost everything enjoyable is illegal or immoral.
B. The most enjoyable things are perfectly legal and moral.

63 A. A good painting should shock or jolt the senses.
B. A good painting should give one a feeling of peace and security.

64 A. There is altogether too much portrayal of sex in films.
B. I enjoy watching many of the 'sexy' scenes in films.

65 A. I do not enjoy discussions where people get so 'heated up' they end up insulting each other.
B. I enjoy a heated intellectual arguement even if people sometimes get upset.

66 A. I feel best after taking a couple of drinks.
B. Something is wrong with people who need alcohol to feel good.

67 A. People who ride motorcycles must have some kind of an unconscious need to hurt themselves.
B. I would like to drive or ride on a motorcycle.

68 A. People should dress according to some standards of taste, neatness and style.
B. People should dress in individual ways even if the effects are sometimes strange.

69 A. Sailing long distances in small sailing craft is foolhardy.
B. I would like to sail a long distance in a small but seaworthy sailing craft.

70 A. I have no patience with dull or boring persons.
B. I find something interesting in almost every person I talk with.

71 A. Skiing fast down a high mountain slope is a good way to end up on crutches.
B. I think I would enjoy the sensations of skiing very fast down a high mountain slope.

72 A. I prefer people who are calm and even-tempered.
B. I prefer people who are emotionally expressive even if they are a bit unstable.

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Appendix III(a)

'WHYALLA' QUESTIONNAIRE

NAME DATE

Most of the questions below contain several alternative words. Would you please draw a ring around the one which best describes you. For example, if, in question 1, you consider that you live close to the shops, then put a ring round 'close', as follows :-

very close to (close to) medium distance from far from very far from

1 Do you live
very close to close to medium distance from far from very far from
the shops?

2 Do you
frequently occasionally rarely never
drive a car?

3 Are you buying a house in Whyalla
soon possibly don't know yet unlikely never ?

4 Do you have definite plans for the future? yes no

5 Does the wife of the family go to work? yes no

6 Are you going to stay in Australia?
definitely possibly don't know yet unlikely definitely not

7 Are
most of some of none of
your neighbours friendly?

8 Does the husband
always most of the time occasionally infrequently never
enjoy his work?

9 Do you own a car? yes no

10 Will you stay in Whyalla, or go elsewhere in Australia?
definitely possibly don't know yet unlikely definitely not

11 How would the husband rate his earnings?
very good good moderate poor very poor

12 Do you live
very close to close to medium distance from far from very far from
your childrens' schools?

13 Do you live
very close to close to medium distance from far from very far from
work?

14 How would you class Whyalla's bus service?
very good good satisfactory poor very poor

15 Do you live
very close to close to medium distance from far from very far from
children's playground facilities?

16 Approximately how far away are your nearest relatives? (eg, are they in Whyalla, in Perth, in the UK, etc)

17 Do you have an
excellent good average poor very poor
garden?

Please turn over

18 Do you have
plenty of some enough little no
leisure time?

19 Are the entertainment facilities in Whyalla
excellent good average poor very poor ?

20 Is the countryside around Whyalla
excellent good average poor very poor ?

21 Do you have
plenty enough little nothing
to do at work?

22 Would you class Whyalla as
very close to close to medium distance from far from very far from
holiday resorts?

Thank you

Appendix III(b) Table of mean values for answers to the Whyalla Questionnaire (For questions, see Appendix III(a)

Question	Husbands	Wives	
1	1.50	1.29	
12	1.13	1.31	
13	2.42	1.74	Significant*
15	1.91	2.18	
22	2.64	2.75	
17	2.42	2.29	
19	1.61	1.74	
20	2.13	2.25	
10	1.71	1.75	
6	0.88	0.92	
11	1.35	1.25	
14	3.05	2.75	
8	1.30	1.25	
3	1.96	2.00	
18	1.23	1.50	
2	0.46	2.00	Significant*
21	0.73	0.87	
7	0.30	0.42	
4	0.61	0.65	
5	0.79	0.77	
9	0.17	0.38	

*Significant difference, $p \leq 0.05$; t-test, two-tailed test. n = 48 (ie 24 husbands and 24 wives)

NAME DATE

DIRECTIONS : Each item below is followed by a row of numbers, from 10, indicating that the item is very important, down to 0, indicating that the item is if no importance
Please choose the number that best indicates the value of the item to you and draw a ring round it
For example, if you think the answer to number one is '6', then draw a ring round it as follows :- (6)

1 Living close to the shops
10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0

2 Being able to drive a car
10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0

3 Buying your own house
10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0

4 Having definite plans for the future
10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0

5 The wife being able to work
10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0

6 Staying in Australia, as opposed to going to another country
10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0

7 Having friendly neighbours
10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0

8 The husband enjoying his work
10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0

9 Owning a car
10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0

10 Living in Whyalla, as opposed to elsewhere in Australia
10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0

11 The husband earning good money
10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0

12 Living close to the childrens' schools
10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0

13 Living close to work
10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0

14 Having a good bus or train service
10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0

15 Having playground facilities nearby
10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0

16 Having relatives living not far away
10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0

17 Live close to a big town
10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0

Please turn over

18 Having a good garden

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0

19 Having money in the bank

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0

20 Having plenty of leisure time

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0

21 Having good entertainment facilities (such as the cinema, clubs, etc)

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0

22 Having good countryside around you

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0

23 Having plenty to do at work

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0

24 Being close to holiday resorts

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0

Add any other items that you feel are important, but have not been included in the above list

Appendix IV(b) Table of mean values for answers to the IVQ
(For questions, see Appendix IV(a)
(i) Stayer families

	Husbands		Wives		Family Sum		Family difference A		Family difference B	
	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
1	5.33	5.44	7.11	6.89	12.44	12.33	-1.78	-1.44	1.78	2.11
2	9.44	9.89	7.11	8.56	16.56	18.44	2.33	1.33	2.33	1.33
3	7.44	6.22	7.67	6.67	15.11	12.89	-0.22	-0.44	1.56	1.56
4	9.00	8.00	7.78	6.33	16.78	14.33	1.22	1.67	1.22	1.67
5	3.11	5.44	4.33	5.44	7.44	10.89	-1.22	0.00	1.89	2.22
6	8.11	6.44	6.56	5.44	14.67	11.89	1.56	1.00	3.11	2.78
7	8.44	7.56	8.89	7.22	17.33	14.78	-0.44	0.33	1.78	0.78
8	10.00	9.00*	10.00	9.33	20.00	18.50*	0.00	-0.50*	0.00	0.75*
9	9.00	9.56	8.22	8.56	17.22	18.11	0.78	1.00	1.00	1.00
10	7.13*	5.25*	6.44	4.44	13.75*	9.25*	0.50*	1.25*	2.50*	2.00*
11	9.22	8.63*	9.11	8.22	18.33	16.88*	0.11	0.33*	1.22	1.44*
12	6.44	6.33	8.00	8.00	14.44	14.33	-1.56	-1.67	2.22	2.22
13	5.67	6.33	7.56	6.78	13.22	13.11	-1.89	-0.44	2.78	1.11
14	8.33	6.78	9.11	7.89	17.44	14.67	-0.78	-1.11	1.67	1.78
15	8.11	7.33	8.33	7.67	16.44	15.00	-0.22	-0.33	2.22	2.56
16	3.89	3.78	4.00	4.67	7.89	8.44	-0.11	-0.89	1.44	1.56
17	3.44	4.67	3.78	5.89	7.22	10.56	-0.33	-1.22	3.00	1.67
18	7.56	6.78	7.89	7.11	15.44	13.89	-0.33	-0.33	1.89	1.00
19	8.44	8.11	9.11	8.33	17.56	16.44	-0.67	-0.22	1.56	0.89
20	8.44	8.00	7.78	8.00	16.22	16.00	0.67	0.00	2.00	1.11
21	8.56	7.89	8.33	7.78	16.89	15.67	0.22	0.11	1.56	1.22
22	7.56	7.67	8.56	7.89	16.11	15.56	-1.00	-0.22	2.11	2.00
23	7.89	7.22	7.56	7.56	15.44	14.78	0.33	-0.33	1.00	1.22
24	4.44	3.67	5.89	5.44	10.33	9.11	-1.44	-1.78	2.56	2.22

Note: 1 = mean scores before arrival in Whyalla
2 = mean scores after six months' residence in Whyalla

A Family difference is (Husband-Wife)
B Family difference , regardless of the sign.

n = 9, except in those instances marked with an asterisk (*), where n = 8.

Appendix IV(b) (ii) Leaver families

	Husbands	Wives	Family Sum	Family difference A	Family difference B
	1	1	1	1	1
1	9,33	8.33	17.67	1,00	1.00
2	9.67	8.67	18.33	1.00	1.00
3	9.00	8.33	17.33	0.67	1.33
4	8.33	7.33	15.67	1.00	2.33
5	4.67	3.33	8.00	1.33	2.00
6	8.00	8.00	16.00	0.00	0.00
7	9.67	9.33	19.00	0.33	0.33
8	10.00	9.33	19.33	0.67	0.67
9	8.67	7.67	16.33	1.00	1.00
10	7.00	4.00	11.00	3.00	3.00
11	9.33	9.33	18.67	0,00	0.00
12	8.00	8.33	16.33	-0.33	1.00
13	8.33	9.00	17.33	-0.67	0.67
14	9.00	6.33	15.33	2.67	4.00
15	8.33	8.67	17.00	-0.33	0.33
16	1.67	3.33	5.00	-1.67	1.67
17	8.33	7.00	15.33	1.33	1.33
18	7.00	7.33	14.33	-0.33	1.67
19	9.33	9.00	18.33	0.33	0.33
20	9.33	9.00	18.33	0.33	0.33
21	8.67	7.67	16.33	1.00	1.00
22	8.67	8.00	16.67	0.67	0.67
23	7.67	8.67	16.33	-1.00	1.00
24	7.33	6.67	14.00	0.67	2.67

Note: In all instances, n = 3

Appendix V Details of the initiating factors for emigration of the families in the study

The families have been grouped roughly into categories, according to the type of reason put forward. However, reasons for some families fall into more than one category and so the division serves mainly to split up the total of families involved, rather than delimiting them in some hard and fast way. Families throughout the project have been numbered from F1 to F62.

(a) Timing because of marriage

F1(See also F48 in Section (k))
Wife "always wanted to come" to Australia - ever since her sister came to Whyalla five years ago. Decision to emigrate arose before they got married, then applied to a general BHP advertisement.

F2 He thought of Canada. She had two brothers in Whyalla, and they came to Whyalla as soon as possible after marriage. They had thought a lot about coming, but any indecision was resolved when he was on strike for 18 weeks.

F3 He gave up an earlier flight because of marriage. The Company for whom he worked was due to close down in the near future, and the threat of redundancy was the motivating feature initiating the emigration enquiries.

F4 Threat of closure and redundancy came through while he was making tentative enquiries just before marriage. The threat caused the interest to become serious.

(b) Timing because of children

F5 Original aim was to follow sister 12 months after she came. As it happened, the TV broke down one night, and she was pregnant as a result. Thus the timing was set by the birth of this child.

F6 Thought of coming for some time, then decided to make sure they got here before either of their children started school.

F7 Original application suspended because of pregnancy. Let the whole project lapse, then saw BHP advertising again.

F8 First had BHP interview five years ago. Got interested again when the advertisement appeared, and "wrote off to

the next BHP advertisement to appear after the baby was born".

F9 First accepted by BHP two years ago, and deferred through pregnancy. Resurrected the idea when the baby was born, and approached BHP since he knew they were "always short of labour".

F10 Final decision to come was an "on the spot" decision, led up to over a period of two years, though timing associated with birth of the second child.

(c) Timing because of death of a parent

F11 Husband's father died of cancer, after being ill for five years. The family elected to stay for the remainder of his life, then when he died, they decided to see his mother settled safely first.

F12 Were coming two years ago. They had opened negotiations with BHP when the husband's father had a heart attack, so they postponed their plans to help him sort out his affairs first.

F13 They started looking seriously about coming after her father died; ie they felt no further ties restraining them from coming. They felt they couldn't come whilst he was on his last legs, especially as he'd lived with them ever since he lost his wife.

F14 They had been thinking of coming for some time, but her father had been very ill, and they didn't want to leave while he was ill. In the end, they started to think seriously when he died.

(d) Timing connected with redundancy

F15 Continuing threat of redundancy caused them to seek the initial information about the possibility of moving to Australia. Eventually galvanised into action with the BHP advertisement for boilermakers.

F16 She had "always wanted to come" but he was reluctant. It became a further thought when he became redundant, after 14 years (since leaving school) with the same Company. One

day he came home and said: "I think we'll have a go at going to Australia", and here they are.

F17 Out of work, and wanted a job at his trade (electrician), and BHP was the *only* place in the world advertising for them.

F18 Out of work for six months, because of redundancy, and not easy at 55 to get another job.

F19 Decided to leave the UK because of the possibility of redundancy in two years' time, when the mine closes down, meaning they would have to move elsewhere in the UK, with no *guarantee* for a job. Thus decided to leave the UK altogether.

F20 He had been made redundant through the closing down of the Company he worked for. They were walking past Australia House in Glasgow, when he said to his wife; "Let's go in and see". They were told about BHP and decided to give it a go.

F21 He had been made redundant in his home town. He was working again, but not at his trade; to do so, he would have to move. One of his mates at work gave him a press clip for BHP, and so he wrote off and applied for it.

F22 They first tried to come to Australia in 1964 when he first came out of the army but decided they'd prefer to get settled in the UK first. Then they looked again in 1966. On September 26, 1971, he was told he was going to be made redundant, so they went straight to Australia House in Bristol.

F23 He tried for the first time while he was in the Army, but couldn't get trade papers, so could only come as unskilled labour. The second occasion was on leaving the Army, when they planned on coming under their own steam as "Under 40, but had to have £1,500; over 40 had to have £1,750" - coming that way, they were assured of an SA Housing Trust house in Elizabeth, but had to find your own job on arrival. There things rested until the wife saw the BHP advertisement and persuaded him to apply. He had been made

redundant, and the offer had two essential "+'s"; guaranteed employment and a house.

F24 Thought of coming eight years ago, then applied to the Immigration authorities when made redundant.

F25 There was a rumour that the Company for whom he worked was due to close down at some stage in the future, but with the work situation in the area, they decided that if it did close, they would have to move from the area, so they "might as well make it a good one". The idea crystallised when a BHP advertisement appeared in the paper.

F26 Ongoing threats of redundancy decided them to clear out while the going was good.

(e) Timing because of strikes

F27 They first applied to come two years ago, but the wife was pregnant and "got cold feet". Then decided to wait until the baby was a little older. Eventually put in a second application, as a result of a BHP advertisement in the paper, when he was nearing the end of a six-week strike.

(f) Following relatives to Australia

F28 He wanted to come with his sister, at the age of 17, but his parents had decided they were too young. Eventually he and his wife followed his *wife's* brother, on this brother's recommendation. This decision was also initiated with her parents' coming out to Australia, once the brother was able to accommodate them.

F29 It appears as though his brother's favourable opinion (living in Whyalla) acted as an initiating feature, though it is difficult to see why they did not leave earlier - especially as he had already spent two years in the Army, doing his National Service, at Maralinga, in outback South Australia.

F30 The decision *when* to come was decided by (a) being generally fed up with his work (he had worked for 15 years, since leaving school, with the previous employer), and (b), his brother's obviously liking it in Adelaide, and (c), the coincidental appearance of the BHP advertisement.

F31 Were going to follow his sister to New Zealand, but could not get sponsorship (ie more than four children). (See also family F32 in Section (g)).

(g) Timing initiated by friends

F32 This family accompanied F31 (in Section (f)) and timing was by mutual agreement

F33 Returned home from holidays to find a letter from friends in Whyalla saying how good they think it is there. They had originally applied four years earlier, but cancelled plans because of family troubles. It was left to them to contact BHP again if ever they changed their minds, so wrote again to BHP on the strength of their friends' enthusiasm.

F34 Best friends had gone to Whyalla 18 months earlier, and kept writing "do hurry and come" letters. The final decision came after a school parents meeting where they heard of one of the neighbour's sons "with nine 'O'-levels, but the only job he could get was on a pop lorry". (ie, prompted by the threat of difficult employment problems for their children).

(h) Timing coinciding with leaving the Armed Forces.

F35 Aim was to go to New Zealand when he came out of the Army, but they couldn't get sponsorship to go there - no work. Then came across a half-page advertisement for BHP "in a paper we wouldn't normally buy", and sent off, without mentioning it to his wife. He got details by return, and they decided to go.

F36 They had the idea of coming about ten years ago, just after he'd converted from 12 to 22 years in the Royal Navy. Eventually set about negotiating to come when discharged.

(i) Timing initiated by the situation in Northern Ireland.

F37 He'd thought about coming when his second sister to come came nine years ago. Had thought again five years ago when he got married. Finally decided when a bomb scare caused them to be turned out of a cinema.

(j) Timing brought about by general boredom.

F38 He'd spent 11½ years in the Royal Navy. Used to find that "after six months in the UK, he'd get fed up, and apply to go overseas". Round about the time when he got bored, he saw the BHP advertisement in the paper, and applied for the job.

(k) Timing more a gradual build-up over time. (This section in effect gradually merges with the final section, Section (l); no apparent reason for the timing).

F39 They always intended to come to Australia, and had spent the whole of their married life with his parents with this in mind (ie for 3½ years). They had applied to come to Australia, and saw a BHP advertisement, to which they applied, five months after their initial Australian application.

F40 He said they'd been building up to it for a couple of years then one damp miserable day they saw a BHP advertisement in the paper and applied for it.

F41 They had been thinking of coming to Australia for about eight years. They gave up the idea when the wife became pregnant; then a second child. After that they failed to initiate departure because of a "lack of moral courage". In the end they made the break; they came home "one cold wet foggy night in January, and there was this advertisement for BHP". He wrote off for it because they felt they had now "built up a big enough store of moral courage".

F42 First thought of coming ten years ago, but found the wife was pregnant. After the fourth child, she was sterilised, but became pregnant again. They'd tried to come several times, but been stopped by the pregnancies. In the end, they were on their way from Manchester to see the Wimbledon Tennis Finals when the car broke down. She said that was "The final straw". When that happened, she said; "That's it; we're going to Australia".

F43 They were initially interested in coming to Australia

"about six years ago", but didn't follow it through because they had no money, and felt they had to have some before they would come 'on spec'. About 18 months ago, they decided they had met the finance criterion, and set about exploring the possibilities. Whilst doing so, they saw a BHP advertisement and so they applied. "The big deciding factor was the job to come to - and also the house".

F44 They had been thinking of coming for about three years. Then they saw a BHP advertisement, and "she decided it was time".

F45 It had taken him eight years to persuade his wife to come. In the end, he had seen the BHP advertisements as most frequently occurring, and while their reputation isn't good, it would at least provide a base from which to make up their own minds about Australia.

F46 They contemplated emigrating when he completed his service in the Royal Navy. However, before he'd finished, they found a house they liked and bought it. In the end, they were making general exploratory investigations when they saw a BHP advertisement in the paper. They followed it up at an exhibition on Australia in Nottingham, and decided to come.

F47 She had "always wanted to come to Australia". When they saw a BHP advertisement in the paper, she said; "Why don't you apply for it?" He did; and now here they are.

F48 They got the forms to come to Australia 18 months ago (shortly after their marriage) but didn't follow it up. Then on his aunt's (from Whyalla) suggestion, he approached BHP.

F49 They had been thinking of coming for about eight years - since the time of their marriage (its the second marriage for each of them), but they actually applied "about 2½ years ago", since between them they decided to at least "start a family" before coming. (Each has children by their previous marriages). Because of marital complications they couldn't get sponsorship, and paid their own way here when the contract he worked on was completed.

F50 They had been looking into the possibilities of emigrating for some time. He said he'd got a sheaf of correspondence "that thick" (about 3 cm). He'd taken over the bundle from a friend who'd gone to Zambia, including details of BHP, so he approached them, round about the time when they just couldn't stick living with his parents any longer.

F51 She had "always wanted to come to Australia", and in their enquiries were eventually put in touch, by one of the local people, with a family who had migrated to Adelaide. In turn, this family suggested they got in touch with BHP, and they asked about BHP at their migration interview.

(1) No apparent reason for the timing.

F52 They had been married for a year, and lived with her parents. They soon got fed up, and commenced proceedings for coming here, probably on the strength of the accounts given by her two cousins, one who had been in Adelaide, and one who had been in Whyalla and was busy saving up to go back there.

F53 Last summer, the wife's brother came to Britain with his wife and three children for six weeks' holiday. Her husband said; "If they can do that, with three children, and he's unskilled, a labourer, then I must be able to do better than I can in the UK, where I can afford only one week's holiday", so decided that, since he wanted to move, having been in the same Company for 15 years (ever since he left school) the move might as well be a big one.

F54 They had decided to come to Australia, and having made the decision, saw the BHP advertisement in the paper, offering a job and a house to go with it ("guaranteed" according to the advertisement). Her sister had also applied earlier to come to Adelaide (because she wanted to work as well as her husband) - and so probably provided a spur to this family.

F55 They decided they wanted to leave the UK because of the lack of opportunities for their two sons. They almost certainly followed the lead of her sister in Melbourne, and their aim was to go to Melbourne. They only applied to BHP "because someone had told them that was the quickest way to

get to Australia".

F56 They thought of going to Australia, then gave up the idea. Then they sent for details of going to Australia, only to see an advertisement for BHP a week later. They followed it up, but went about things in a rather dilatory manner, so eventually sailed 14 months after their initial approach to BHP.

F57 Went about it in a very systematic manner, and decided to come to Adelaide. (They have friends there at Christie's Beach, and also in Sydney). Then they found out about BHP *and a house*, which decided them to apply to go there.

F58 Several of the family are in Australia. Her father is paralysed with a stroke, and her mother will come to Perth when he dies. His mother died during their negotiations to come (leaving his 70-year-old father). In spite of this, the family's orientation seemed to be towards Australia, and they came. His sister is married to her brother, and they also emigrated to Whyalla, arriving there 7½ months later.

F59 They were fed up with waiting to get a council house of their own, and were making tentative enquiries about going to Australia when they saw the BHP advertisement. Her brother has also thought of emigrating, but "to get him moving, he needs a kick, rather than a push".

F60 They wanted a home of their own, and had never been able to afford one, even though they both worked, so they were really attracted by the BHP advertisement of "a job and a home".

F61 He's been 13 years at his previous job and seems just to have wanted a change. It seems reasonable to assume that the timing is solely attributable to the appearance of a BHP advertisement in the paper at a time when he particularly felt like moving.

F62 For this family, there is a suggestion that his prolonged stay in England - an extended 'visit' from Australia, where he came as a migrant with his parents some years earlier - was causing the Income Tax Authorities to get rather

interested in what he was up to. His return also followed shortly after his parents, who also returned to Whyalla from Britain - though his following seems more by way of seeking a safe haven.

Number of children	Answered BHP advert.	Would have 'spec'	Would not have come 'on spec'	Because of relatives there	Whyalla house	Whyalla job	Applied to BHP first++	Applied to BHP second+	Imm. Auth. suggested BHP	App. to come to Aust. first	Comments :-
0	*	*			*	*		*		*	BHP offer more attractive than Zambia
4	*				*		*				with 4 children, house more important - job a much simpler problem
3			*			*					Would not have come 'on spec', like his brother before him
5			*			*		*	*	*	
2	*				*	*		*		*	
2	*		*		2	1	*				Moved to Groote Eylandt - to job + house
2				*			*				
2		*		*				*		*	Knew from relatives that could get a job with BHP, even though turned down, so applied to go to Whyalla, with idea of seeking job on arrival
1								*		*	
1							*				
2	*				*	*	*				
2								*		*	
1	*						*				
2	*				*	*	*				
1				*							National Service at Maralinga
1	*				2	1	*				
2	*						*				
0	*						*				
3								*		*	
1	*				*	*	*				Choice of Whyalla - "just to get us out".
2		*						*		*	Never intended to go to Whyalla. Applied to BHP because told it was the quickest way out.
3	*						*				
0				*							
3					*	*		*	*	*	
4								*	*	*	
1					1	2				*	Whyalla as a base
1								*	*	*	
0	*							*		*	Wife wouldn't go to Durban (S Africa)
1					*	*	*				
1	*		*			*	*				
2	*		*			*	*				Decided on South Australia, then saw BHP advert.
3					*		*				Knew someone in Whyalla
3						*		*		*	
4					*	*		*	*	*	
2	*							*		*	
0	*			*	*	*	*				
0	*				*	*	*				
3								*		*	Knew could go to sister in Elizabeth (S Aust) if didn't like Whyalla; went to Elizabeth.
0				*							
2			*	*		*		*		*	Applied to Tasmania when sister there. Transferred to Whyalla when sister and her husband moved there.
2				*			*				
3				*			*				Also relatives in Adelaide, but Adelaide "too big and unfriendly".
0				*			*				Moved to Adelaide, to job and a flat.
2			*			*					
2	*		*		*	*	*				Moved to WA, to a job and a house
2	*				*	*	*				Out of work when initial application made.
0				*	2	1	*				Also relatives in Adelaide - hadn't thought much about the house; "it goes with the job".
4					*						
1	*						*			*	Moved to Victor Harbour. Wife followed when he'd found a house.
2	*				*	*	*				Lived in Salisbury, S Aust) whilst in the RAF.
2						*	*				Rejected BHP's offer at Port Kembla - too large a place.
0					2	1	*				Decided on S Australia, then found out about BHP.
2	*		*			*	*				
3	*				*	*	*				2 months after arrival, sister also came with her husband; they went to Adelaide because she wanted to work.
3								*	*	*	
5								*		*	
2								*		*	
	26	3	9	11	21	28	29	21	6	22	Sub-total of BHP 'assisted passage' migrants.
3				*							Sponsored by son in Whyalla.
2					*	*					Never intended to stay in Whyalla.
0				*			*				
2					*	*					
2	*						*				
	27	3	9	13	23	30	31	21	6	22	Overall totals

BHP recruited, non-'assisted passage' families

+That is, *after* the initial enquiries about coming to Australia had been made.

++That is, applied to BHP as the first move in the emigration process.

Appendix VII Mean values, number of subjects, and significant differences for the Cattell 16PF factors.

Factor	Husbands			Wives			Family sum			Family difference		
	WM	AM	Au	WM	AM	Au	WM	AM	Au	WM	AM	Au
A	5.40	6.50	7.09*	6.96	7.00	7.00	12.39	13.50	14.10	2.43	2.25	2.03
B	4.76	4.88	4.48	4.53	5.25	4.71	9.29	10.13	9.19	1.29	1.38	1.39
C	7.60	6.50	6.45^{+}	6.51	6.13	6.68	14.10	12.63	13.13	2.14	2.88	1.84
E	6.54	7.13	5.67	5.69	6.25	4.16$^{\#}$	12.18	13.38	9.84*	2.27	1.13	2.48
F	6.66	7.75	6.48	5.82	6.38	6.26	12.43	14.13	12.74	2.43	2.88	1.84
G	5.40	6.13	6.64	5.78	7.00	7.48$^{\#}$	11.14	13.13	14.13$^{\#\#}$	2.20	3.13	2.48
H	6.92	7.75	6.48	6.16	6.75	6.00	13.06	14.50	12.48	2.41	2.50	2.03
I	3.92	4.88	3.93	7.90	8.25	8.42	11.82	13.13	12.36	4.18	3.38	4.32
L	5.74	4.75	4.62^{+}	5.55	5.75	4.19*	11.22	10.50	8.81$^{\#}$	2.37	1.75	2.23
M	4.70	4.88	5.00	4.27	5.63	4.10	9.00	10.50	9.16	1.74	1.75	1.65
N	6.28	4.88	5.64	5.61	5.00	5.16	11.82	9.88	10.81	2.10	1.63	1.94
O	5.14	6.25	5.22	5.55	6.13	5.83	10.74	12.38	11.07	1.88	1.38	2.00
Q_1	6.60	6.50	5.22	4.82	4.88	4.26	11.45	11.38	9.48	2.76	2.38	2.45
Q_2	8.44	8.13	7.70	7.67	8.50	6.90^{+}	16.10	16.63	14.61^{++}	2.18	2.63	2.23
Q_3	7.36	7.25	7.68	5.94	6.38	7.03	13.35	13.63	14.71	2.57	2.88	2.19
Q_4	4.72	3.63	5.26	6.84	6.13	6.39	11.55	9.75	11.61	3.14	3.75	2.84
n	50	8	31	49	8	31	49	8	31	49	8	31

Notes: (a) In the first instance, differences were tested for significance using 1 - way analysis of variance; where differences were significant, paired comparisons were made using t-tests.

(b) Levels of significance for the analysis of variance :- $^{+}$= 0,05; $^{++}$= 0,025; *= 0,01; $^{\#}$= 0,005; $^{\#\#}$= 0,001.

(c) WM = Whyalla migrants; AM = Adelaide migrants; Au = Australians.

Appendix VIII Mean values of scores on the Zuckerman Interest and Preference Test, Form IV (SSS).

Factor	Husbands			Wives			Family sum			Family difference		
	WM	AM	Au	WM	AM	Au	WM	AM	Au	WM	AM	Au
I	11.20	10.63	9.73	6.50	7.75	5.22	17.70	18.38	15.00	5.10	4.13	5.33
II	9.00	8.13	7.36	5.80	5.38	4.03	14.80	13.50	11.33	3.30	4.50	4.07
III	7.50	5.75	5.07	5.20	4.75	3.81	12.70	10.50	8.83	2.70	3.38	2.77
IV	7.20	2.88	4.03*	4.00	2.88	2.32	11.20	5.75	6.37*	3.60	1.50	2.63
V	7.30	6.50	6.27	5.40	7.25	4.68+	13.20	13.25	10.85+	3.00	3.40	3.37+
n	10	8	30	10	8	31	10	8	30	10	8	30

Notes: (a) *Results significant using 1 - way analysis of variance ($p < 0.05$); where significant differences occurred, paired comparisons were made using t-tests.

(b) +n = 28 for these cells.

(c) WM = Whyalla migrants; AM = Adelaide migrants; Au = Australians.

Appendix IX Preconceptions of Whyalla

F1 Husband: no expectations really. Wife (mother spent 4 weeks with her sister in Whyalla): friendly, easy-going; half the population of Rochdale (nb but doesn't know the population of Rochdale)· large flies; 200 miles from Adelaide; knows the BHP Works are separated from the residential area, "not like Manchester where the houses are all round the works".

F4 Don't really know what to expect· expected Australia to be hotter.

F6 Husband (been to Australia before): self-sufficient and a long way from Adelaide. (nb his visual image is accurate, and seems to have a pretty good idea of what to expect - ie conceptually good).

F11 (Wife only, who has relatives in Whyalla): like a village or small town, where everyone knows everyone else; scrub around it; takes six hours to get there by bus.

F12 Husband: about the size of Colchester, so like Colchester (nb Colchester has twice the population of Whyalla); better social life; enclaves of migrants; no idea where the nearest place is. Wife: no expectations.

F13 This family was accurate about the size, layout and geographical isolation; worried at the idea of the heat; found Adelaide flat, and so far colder and wetter than expected; Whyalla a growing and developing community (nb this family did not stay in Whyalla).

F14 More entertainment than Middlesborough (five times the population of Whyalla); a barren place; no trees or vegetation, desert round about; countryside around "flat and uninteresting"; "know to expect the worst".

F15 Husband: thought "nothing at all" about it. Wife: "doesn't matter as long as its alright".

F16 Know the size and where it is, otherwise "you must wait and judge for yourselves". So far, found the people much friendlier; weather "marvellous", but cold at night.

Beyond that; husband: "haven't a clue", and wife: reservations about the heat, the flies and the insects; Australians "stand-offish" (though see earlier remark).

F19 Quite philosophical; guilt feelings about the question: "We don't really know very much, do we?"

F21 (Wife's mother been there, and sister there): expect it to be warm - surprised how cold it has been in Adelaide; found shop assistants marvellous.

F23 (Lived in Salisbury, S Aust): "like Salisbury, only worse".

F25 Husband: dusty, fairly modern; thought Adelaide would be greener. Wife thought Adelaide would be browner. Both thought Adelaide colder, dirtier and more dilapidated than expected. Expected a house "Like Higginbottom's brochures". (Did not stay in Australia).

F26 No idea what its going to be like; say you must be philosophical.

F27 (husband only): hot and dusty; noticed its colder, and people more friendly than expected.

F28 (Her brother is in Whyalla): hot in summer; frosts in winter; very wet when it rains; dust storms. "Are the Aborigines dangerous?"; thought they were all in Alice Springs (nb but don't know where Alice Springs is with respect to Whyalla or Adelaide); surprised to see Aborigines in Adelaide. Worried about snakes and spiders, also flies - do they bite? Brother's house has desert on the other side of the road.

F29 (He lived at Maralinga, and has a brother in Whyalla). Both seem to have a pretty good idea. Wife (lived in Cyprus) imagines it will be very much like inland Cyprus, hot, dry; surrounded by bush.

F34 Imagine Whyalla is going to be hot (in a desert); smaller (than Adelaide); better social life; a good place to live provided you're prepared to work hard; "don't really know what to expect". Found Adelaide "very different" from what was expected; "just marvellous".

F35 Like Singapore, wide and flat - or like Egypt - expect a cowboy town. Found Melbourne much colder than expected; people more cheerful and friendly than expected (including in the shops); not aloof and offhand as expected.

F37 Husband (mother been there, two sisters in Whyalla): knows the size and "you need a car there". Found Australia more cultivated and "less sandy" than expected; also cleaner and nicer.

F38 Know the size and where it is. Wife: hot and dry; near the edge of the desert. Don't really know what its going to be like. Impressed with Rundle Street; "like Oxford Street".

F39 Seem to have the best idea of what Whyalla is like. Described the layout accurately and where it is. Because of its location, it will be self-sufficient, with Adelaide as the nearest big centre, 250 miles away. Prices will be higher than Adelaide, and people will visit Adelaide to shop. Whyalla is isolated and surrounded by desert. Biggest regret; won't be able to climb into the car and see the countryside. Wife: scared stiff of red-backs, scorpions, snakes, and wondering if the car will make it to Whyalla without stopping for petrol (nb because they think there won't be any en route). (Views affected by seeing the film about the train crossing the Nullarbor, on colour TV). Imagined Australia hot and dry and a desert - was surprised how green Melbourne was, and at the number of old wrecks of cars people kept in their gardens, and how filthy the Yarra was.

F40 Know the size (same as Dunbarton) and where it is; have a good 'conceptual' idea of where it is. Impressions of Whyalla: really no idea, philosophical about it, and say you must be open-minded about these things; see for yourself, and make up your own mind. Told to expect dust storms, heat and desert. Surprised how cold it is at night; the easy life. Adelaide "looks beautiful".

F41 Expect a "town in the bush". Wife: "hasn't a clue what to expect. Didn't know the bus goes through Port Augusta,

though have friends there. Husband: industrialised, "like Consett". Have found Australia very 'Americanised' (stayed at the Gazebo, in Sydney); Adelaide very clean; everyone so friendly.

F42 Husband: like Murray Bridge. Wondering what Whyalla will be like but prepared to go and judge for themselves. Found Australia so far "like it was expected to be".

F43 Not really much idea what Whyalla is going to be like. Don't like Adelaide; the shops, the wide roads - like the films of the USA you see on TV (nb they don't like big cities); expect Whyalla to be much smaller; "like Totton" (Hants). Haven't seen anything yet "to show its Australia".

F44 "We really haven't thought of any one aspect - just it sounds OK, so we'll try it and see". "Bloody hot".

F45 Have only vague ideas about what Whyalla will be like, but hot. Were disappointed the Immigration authorities "had nothing on Whyalla". Got a Whyalla Almanac, but wife still said; "We haven't much information". We'll just wait and see. They saw shows in Perth, and "really liked Perth, especially the wonderful shops". They prefer Perth to Adelaide. (nb they did not stay but moved to Western Australia).

F46 Husband: "It will be good". Wife: "Whyalla won't be any different from the UK".

F48 Small. "We don't know much about Whyalla". "Too early yet" for impressions of Australia - "It doesn't seem as though we're here yet".

F49 Husband: "a dirty industrial town - like Newcastle (UK)", except not dressed up "in coats and mufflers"; outback outside Whyalla; dusty; hard-core roads - better suited to horses than other forms of transport; back of beyond; a shipyard cottage (wife has a sister in Whyalla). "The worst place in Australia" - a view based also on comments by her brother, who has been to Brisbane and Perth.

F50 Have read the literature, but little idea conceptually of what it is like. Like an outpost; scrub and desert; water

a key commodity. This family is very good on facts, but poor on impressions. Looked at Melbourne Airport and "couldn't imagine they weren't in England". Australia very "Americanised", not British influence.

F51 "We really don't know a great deal about it". People they'd been put in touch with in Adelaide gave them a much better idea than the Immigration Department. Found it warm in the day and cold at night; dry; surprised how green everything is, been told there is no grass in Australia.

F52 (Wife has cousins who lived in Whyalla). Imagine it will be flat; a sea of roofs as far as the eye can see; sea will be different from the UK; looking forward to the heat.

F53 (Wife has siblings in Whyalla, and others who have been there): very apprehensive about the heat; found it colder and wetter than expected so far; expects Whyalla will be dry.

F56 Dusty; bungalows, not houses. Is the sea there? Expect it to be desolate; surprised at the idea of so many entertainments there. Surprised to see green grass, expected everything to be brown.

F57 "Hot, dry and desolate", and know where it is.

F59 A "steel city", with water shortages and dust storms in high summer; hot; no TV; need a dog to keep away the snakes in the garden; a "typical old American town"; all old wooden buildings and very dusty. Impressed with Adelaide - looks and feels cleaner than London; more like a New Town, everything has been planned; surprised at the extent to which "nothing looks different - everything is the same in the supermarket".

F60 Read the Almanac; surprised at the number of "clubs and facilities". Don't really know much about Whyalla, except they expect it "to be small". Impressed by the friendliness in Adelaide.

F61 "like a desert with buildings in it"; apprehensive about the heat; don't really know where it is, and vaguely uneasy about it taking seven hours to get there by bus. Overall

philosophy: "to make the most of it".

Appendix X Initial IVQ; comparisons between Leavers and Stayers. (For details of the questions, see Appendix IV (a)).

	Leavers		Stayers		Difference	
	Husband#	Wife	Husband#	Wife	Husband#	Wife
1	8.83		5.33	7.11	3.50*	1.72*
2	9.17		9.44	7.11	-0.27	2.06*
3	8.67		7.55		1.12	
4	7.83		9.00	7.78	-1.17	0.05
5	4.00		3.72		0.28	
6	8.00		7.33		0,67	
7	9.50		8.66		0,84	
8	9.67		10.00		-0.33	
9	8.17		8.61		-0.44	
10	7.00	4.00	6.76		0.24	-2.76*
11	9.33		9.16		0.17	
12	8.17		7.22		0.95	
13	8.67		6.61		2.06*	
14	9.00	6.33	8.72		0.28	-2.39*
15	8.50		8.22		0.28	
16	1.67	3.33	3.94		-2.27*	-0.61
17	7.67		3.61		4.06*	
18	7.17		7.72		-0.55	
19	9.17		8.78		0.39	
20	9.17		8.11		1.06	
21	8.17		8.44		-0.27	
22	8.33		8.05		0.28	
23	8.17		7.72		0.45	
24	7.00		5.16		1.84*	

Note: #In the above table, where there is no significant difference between the husband's score and the wife's score, they have been combined to give the single mean score shown in the Husband column.

*Comparisons between Stayers and Leavers where the difference exceeds $\pm$ 1.5; for details, see text.

For Stayers, n = 9; for Leavers, n = 3.

Appendix XI Attitudes towards working for BHP

(Numbers in the notes refer to the interview at which the comment was made, eg '2' is the 'one month after arrival' interview).

(a) Skilled, Steelworks

F4 2 "Alright"

F6 Power House. It is difficult to get him to say what he thinks of his job. 3 He's got a transfer to the Pellet Plant. He said he had to work hard and make a nuisance of himself to get the transfer, which he wanted, to be able to do overtime. He "likes Whyalla, but not the job"; but then "You've got to work, haven't you?"

F7 2 Originally applied as a fitter to come to the Shipyards, but decided against coming because the wife was pregnant. Arrived to find he was going to the Steelworks instead. When told he was going to the Motor Shop, he assumed it was the Shop making ship's engines - he got a shock when he found it was the garage. He discussed his work placing with the Liaison Officer, who told him to stay put, since his work took him to all the different shops in the Company. He would then be able to pick out where he'd like to go. He feels somewhat cheated in his present placement. He's working a lot of the time, but the money's good. So, although the job's "not too bad, but not particularly interesting", he'll stay put for the time being. 3 He's stayed with the Motor Shops "because the money's good". However his wife says he won't stay working for BHP as he "doesn't like the Company"; eg it has "no canteen facilities". "On the shift system, you start a job and the other shift finishes it. You never get a chance to see a job through". 4 Left one week after 12 months with BHP.

F9 2 He very much likes his job. 3 He still very much likes his job, but he's thinking of applying for another one in the Company (as Assistant Personnel Officer).

F10 Motor Shops 2 He made the point that several people had

left since he arrived (four weeks ago). 3 He's been offered two transfers - to the Bloom Mill, and to the Town Shops (Pellet Plant) - but turned each one down. 4 He left BHP 10 months after joining.

F14 2 They're busy and he's working hard.

F17 Electrician. 3 Seems to like his job.

F19 Maintenance fitter, Town Shops. 2 He likes his work. 3 He's settled very well indeed in his job. He says; "I'm working with a 'belting set of mates' - the best I've ever had", so he thoroughly enjoys his work.

F21 Pellet Plant - reputedly the dirtiest job in the whole complex. 2 Nevertheless, he doesn't complain about the hardships - the dirt and the heat on the plant.

F22 2 He doesn't like his job. He's used to light engineering, and wants to transfer to a light engineering department. He's applied to move, but "It is not Company policy to move people about". 3 Still doesn't like the job, and still after a transfer. 4 Wrote to Head Office in Melbourne, and got a transfer three days later; then after 16 months, made a leading hand.

F23 3 Not too happy with his work. He says there's no promotion for migrants - that is, the management and foremen are all Australians.

F24 2 He likes his job - virtually the only place in Australia where he can do his real work - boilermaker on stainless steel boilers. 3 Passed the promotion examination for 'leading hand'.

F25 2 BHP wanted to move him from the Instrument Shop to the BOS plant, and he "saw what was coming" (ie he was going to get the dirty job). It appears he "just didn't fit". In the end, he returned to the UK.

F29 3 He's hypersensitive about the places where he has to work. The dangers attendant on his job seem to dwell on him; "BHP is a dangerous place to work, you know".

F30 1 Told at his initial interview that his qualifications were "too good for the job". 2 He says the job is "too

easy". 3 Still not very happy with his job, and is looking around for other opportunities.

F31 3 His principal objection to the job is shift-work, but he does like the money. Otherwise he likes his job.

F32 2 He's happy with his work here. He was always in ship-building in Britain, but just happened to go to the Steel-works here. He's a maintenance man and likes it; says it is clean and light work. 3 "This is the best job I've ever had". He's happy enough to potter along at a nice easy pace.

F33 3 Not very happy with his job.

F34 Maintenance fitter, Rolling Mill. 1 He "looks forward to working for BHP since", he says, "I've heard that the Company "looks after you (ie the employees) well"". 2 He doesn't like his job and has applied for a transfer to the BOS, but it was knocked back. "BHP is not a good firm to work for" (because of the way it treats its employees). 3 Been told to "go labouring" until his tools arrive, so he handed in his notice. He went to the Department of Labour and Immigration and told them what happened. The Liaison Officer came to see him and he was offered a transfer to the BOS the next morning; now a leading hand there.

F35 Motor Shops. 2 He's perturbed because (a) there's so little work, (b) everybody works so slowly, and (c) nobody will take decisions. 3 In the end, he was "profoundly miserable" where he worked, and eventually moved to another gang. Left the Company six months after joining.

F38 2 He likes his job. He says; "The work's filthy - but at least you can come home and have a shower and wash it off".

F39 Electrician, Pellet Plant. 2 "If I'm going to stay (in Whyalla) I'll have to be somewhere other than the Pellet Plant which 'makes you filthy'".

F40 Fitter. 3 He says he "Works hard, because he enjoys his work".

F41 Motor Shop. 2 He said it "was a filthy horrible job at first - I detested it"; but now he's settled in; "I like it

now". He said that as the new boy he "got all the nasty filthy jobs to do - which is only to be expected"; but now; "I've been accepted", and he fits in quite well. 3 His job's "alright - except for a 'new upstart of a shop steward'".

F42 Auto Shop. 2 He's still a bit mystified by his work. He's a fitter, and everyone with whom he is working is a mechanic, which makes him feel the odd man out. 3 Seems to like his job.

F43 1 In an impossible position in the UK; he didn't like his job, but the money was good. 2 He's still "learning the ropes". (He's a refrigeration electrician). He doesn't seem over-enthusiastic about it; "but the money's good". 3 He likes his job; he's very busy now.

F47 1 He's come here as a foreman. 2 He finds the job irritating. He seems to be on a knife-edge. 3 He's currently applied for a job as a shipping foreman, which seems to point to his looking for a change of environment.

F50 Motor Shops. 2 He's not very happy about where he's working; "It's just like the Army. I never could understand how the Army managed to exist - its so exasperatingly inefficient and this Shop is just the same". 3 He's asked for a transfer - made two unsuccessful attempts to transfer to the Loco Shops. 4 At just over six months, he got a move to leading hand in the Motor Shops, but he's still weighing things up; "We'll give it two years, and then we'll see". "Ten people have left (the Motor Maintenance Shops) in the last two weeks".

F52 3 He likes his job, especially now he's on shifts - more money.

F53 2 Getting on quite well. He had initial difficulties getting to know what was what. 3 He changed his job, and now "I'm very happy with my new job; its 'just what I've always wanted'".

F54 3 He wrote off for a job at the aluminium works at Gladstone (Queensland). He had an interview in Whyalla, but in the end decided he was "happier where I am". He

says he's contented with his job.

F56 2 He finds his job "a bit boring". "There's not much to do unless the plant closes down, and its 'working six days a week'!"

F57 2 He doesn't like his job. He's a fitter, brought out (to Whyalla) as a fitter, but now he's working a milling machine, and doesn't like it. He's reluctant to agitate too much for a move, as he may get transferred to the Pellet Plant - "The place where they're always fastest to knock off, because its so filthy - they're red all over from the dust". 4 Left the Company six months after joining.

F58 2 Seems happy with his work.

F59 2 He's uncomfortable at the slackness of his work, and says he may get another job outside BHP. 3 He's currently looking for another job. He doesn't like the sedentary existence at BHP. 4 Moved to Victor Harbour.

F61 2 He's had fun and games with his trade certificate - can only get a B licence. (He's an electrician). 3 He has problems at work. He's not very happy there. In Whyalla: "Socially its good, but its the work that gets me down. The job position will drive me home (to the UK) and nothing else would".

(b) Skilled, Shipyards

F1 1 Concerned about whether his trade qualifications will be recognised. 2 He had no problems getting them recognised; he says the job is "alright", in a voice that indicates its more than just satisfactory.

F2 2 He was originally allocated to the Steelworks, but when he arrived, he was transferred to the Shipyards (ie his 'real' job) because they were so short; so by sheer accident he's most satisfied and "got exactly what I wanted".

F3 3 Work alright here.

F8 He likes his job.

F15 2 He seems satisfied with his work.

F16 2 He's very pleased with his job; gives the impression of particularly liking it. (He works with F20).

F20 2 Its difficult to gauge his reaction. This is the first time he's worked on ships, and he says he can foresee it becoming boring and repetitive. He's at great pains to persuade me that it isn't that he doesn't *like* the job. He's happy with it, but redundancy is still sufficiently real for him to be prepared to count his blessings at having *any* work. (He works with F16).

F26 2 The job's "alright", though its hard to get an answer at all, so it seems reasonably satisfactory. 3 "As long as I've got a job, and a week's wages, that's all I want". His non-talking about it seems to indicate that his wants are being met in that direction.

F27 2 He says the work's "alright", but its rather difficult to make out what his 'real' feelings are. 3 He's still reasonably happy, though he's not too keen on his job (welder) in the January weather.

F36 He's reasonably pleased with his job, though he doesn't like it that they're presently on strike.

F44 Plater, Plate and Bar Dept. 2 He likes his job. 3 His job is "totally different from the job I had in the UK". He finds the repetitive work boring; "Like assembling cars on a conveyor belt". He asked for a transfer, and got a temporary job on a ship when the work ran down in the shop. That was more interesting at first, and he would have preferred to work there, but it also got boring after a while. 4 He left the Company 13 months after joining.

F46 3 He's not too happy in the Shipyards - general unrest, and a feeling that it is going to close down. 4 He moved to the Steelworks.

F49 Welder. 2 He's always worked for a small company. His philosophy is that if you work for a small company, and the company folds up, there's only a few looking for a new job;

but if the Shipyards closed down, there'd be hundreds of welders looking for work. He finds the work easy. 3 he left BHP, three months after joining.

F51 2 He has mixed feelings about his work - interesting, but slow with "long periods of waiting". (He's a shipwright).

F60 Seems to be content.

(c) Unskilled, Steelworks

F5 2 Started off as a general labourer; now a crane driver's dog man. 3 He still likes his job.

F11 1 He's "willing to try anything" at Whyalla. 3 He likes his job, and didn't mind working over Christmas.

F12 2 Rolling Mill; his job is scraping bloom off steel. He had trouble with contact lenses, so transferred to the pulpit, and then the overhead crane driver's job. He left BHP after four months with the Company. He would have stayed if he could keep his job as crane driver, but he was always having to go back in the pulpit "during meal breaks - and you'd be surprised how many meal breaks there are!" He applied for a transfer to Transport and was told by his own supervision that its impossible to get on that side. Enquiries to the Transport Department found that they had vacancies, but he was turned down. 3 In the end, he was so fed up that he handed in his notice, about four months after joining the Company.

F18 CMB Laboratory. 2 He likes his job.

F28 2 Labourer. He hopes to get a transfer (as a fork-lift driver). 3 He saw a vacancy for a trainee planner in the Survey Department and got offered the job on the last morning of his driver training programme, and was taken straight off the course. He now thoroughly enjoys his work, as a surveyor's assistant.

F37 2 Rolling Mill, scraping bloom off steel. He's not happy with the job; "Its not a very desirable job". He applied for a transfer, but says they won't let him have one, because they're so short of labour where he is. Both his brothers-in-law work in the Shipyards, so between them

he's hoping to get a transfer there. He says that where he is, he "hasn't a hope of getting a change". The only way he can do it is to hand in his notice, but he's "not going to let the Company beat me". He saw the Liaison Officer and the upshot was a transfer to the Shipping Department - to a job "more in line with my experience and abilities", which "I like very much", and he gets paid more.

F48 2 He's unable to get the sort of job he wants with BHP, either as a draughtsman (I've done a bit of draughting), or in a clerical capacity. He's working as a builder's labourer. (The only job that doesn't require shiftwork). He doesn't like the job. Then he left BHP and Whyalla.

F62 1 He's toeing the "correct line", since he feels if he upsets BHP and loses his job ("not that I ever have lost a job"), he may go to the bottom of the SA Housing Trust list. 2 He says he doesn't like his job with BHP, on the Coke Ovens. He says he can't take the heat and the gas; "I'm off sick at the moment because of the gas fumes". He had the sack from BHP, "because of victimisation".

Appendix XII Attitudes towards overtime and shiftwork.

(Numbers in the notes refer to the interview at which the comment was made, eg '2' is the 'one month after arrival' interview).

(a) Skilled, Steelworks

F4 2 He's been "working weekends" since they've had a car; (he works 'permanent days'). 3 He came in at 9,45pm and has to be back at work at 6.00am tomorrow. (nb he's only just in from work. They've had a plant shut-down, and he has to work long hours when it happens, which is not very often). He is now on a two-shift system, mornings and afternoons: however, both involve weekend work, which means that his weekends off do not always coincide with those of his wife. She is a bit apprehensive about the neighbours as when the light is on and the car is not there, they know she is on her own.

F6 3 He got himself a transfer from the Power House to the Pellet Plant. He wanted it because of the need to do overtime (nb more money), which was not available in the Power House.

F7 2 He works a two-shift (mornings and afternoons) system, and can work overtime at the weekends. Presently he is working seven days a week (the money's good). His wife's attitude was:- 'He was doing it in the UK, so it doesn't make any difference". 3 His main objection to the shift system is that; "You'd start a job, and the other shift would finish it. You never had a chance to see the job through. 4 He has left BHP and now works a six-day week, on straight days. He now earns less money, but he has more leisure time.

F10 2 He says the money is good, but he goes on shifts next week, which should be even better. 3 He has turned down two offers of moves, both of which involved changing to 'days'. He prefers shiftwork, since it creates the opportunity for three-day 'holidays' when they can just get into the car and drive off. 4 He left BHP for another job whose main advantage is a "straight" 40-hour week, with no

overtime. His gross earnings are less, but his 'straight' earnings are more, and he has time to get on with his own part-time business.

F14 2 Presently they are working overtime, which means he is glad because it means more money.

F17 3 He is now on shifts, which means difficulties in seeing his wife, but more money.

F21 2 He travels to work on the "BHP bus", but it always arrives late at the Town Shops where he works, so he daily loses time (and money). The management's attitudes is that you can "travel by other means".

F23 2 He says the shift system, week and week about, takes some getting used to after the UK monthly roster, especially going from mornings to nights. "You finish at 4.00pm on Thursday and start nights at midnight on Friday. It's not so bad going from nights to afternoons; you get a three-day break then".

F29 3 He is not on shifts but on weekend overtime. "We're well off here, saving money".

F30 2 He says; "The job is too easy", but he does not like the hours; 7.30am - 4.00pm. He used to work "9.00am on" in the UK, "and nobody worried if I was a few minutes late" - here; "You lose money if you're late". He says he does not like having to get up at 6.30am, but admits its a personal foible, rather than the job that is wrong.

F31 2 The shiftwork is his principal objection to the job. He is caught between two alternatives. He does not like shifts, but he does like the money. He would welcome the option of getting off at the weekends occasionally, to be able to go out with his family. He says; "Things creep up" like the Whyalla Show, but he could not go because he was working. He says the trouble is that he would lose his job if he asked to get off shiftwork altogether. Today (Saturday) he was on a twelve-hour, midday on to midnight shift, and will be doing the same on Sunday. Then he will be off until Thursday morning. They had thought of buying a house, which he could do on overtime, but he would find

it very hard to make ends meet on straight time. As it is, he can "save a bit each week" through the Credit Union.

F32 2 He is working shifts. His wife does not like the overtime at weekends, and is not very keen on shifts. (She does not like being on her own in the evenings).

F34 1 They left the UK in part because he had "been working permanent nights for three years", and they did not seem to be getting any further. 3 He is changing his job, but he is still on shifts, which he does not really relish, but no longer "seven on, two off" as before. He is working at weekends. He gets one weekend off in six, and Christmas "every seven years". He has had an offer from GMH of a job with permanent nights. He is prepared to take it, at 4½ nights a week, and weekends free.

F35 2 He says most of his workmates are bitterly disappointed if they cannot work Saturdays (double time) or a weekend. Some of them have worked four months without a day off. This is because they are so much in need of the money, like for example, the apprentice committed to hire purchase repayments on a $2,700 motor bike.

F38 2 He started with a motor bike, but came off at the Jenkins Avenue roundabout. In any case, he could not take his wife and two children on it. Now he has a car, and has to work overtime to pay for it. He has not been out with his family yet as he has not had the time. He has had one Sunday off in four weeks.

F39 2 His wife does not like shiftwork. She gets bored on her own with nothing to do, and she is rather frightened on her own at night. They are weighing the pros and cons of an air conditioner because he has to sleep during the day. He dislikes shiftwork; "The money is good, but I don't like it". 3 They have got an air conditioner.

F41 3 The plan is definitely to get enough money to buy a house; so he is "working as many hours as I can to get the money together"; so he works most weekends.

F42 2 He worked permanent nights for years in the UK, but he

is working days here, and his wife works shifts.

F43 1 He found himself in an impossible position in the UK; where he did not really like his job, but he could not move elsewhere because: "Although the job was bad, the money was good". 3 He is still "working Saturdays", but "The money's good".

F50 2 They are fully committed (with hire purchase) in setting up their home, and so he is "working six days a week". He is quite concerned about getting overtime - it is important to be able to make ends meet. However, he has turned down an offer of "working this weekend". 3 He has been working weekends as well, but is having a "weekend off" this weekend.

F52 2 He is working "days only" so far, but will be working nights. 3 He is on shifts now, "which means more money".

F53 3 He has now changed his job, and is on "permanent days", which he likes much better, except that he has to get up so early to start work. He is working every day this weekend "from choice".

F54 3 He is working this Sunday - "to make tent pegs for the holiday". But he finds he can save money here. The Whyalla pay is good because of the amount of overtime worked. For instance, his friend was offered less as a foreman with the Western Mining Company than he earns as a tradesman at BHP.

F58 Like many others, they suffered a set-back at Christmas, with the ban on overtime.

F61 3 He was "never short of money until I came here". He is on straight time, but says he could do with the money from shiftwork, because at the moment he cannot financially make ends meet.

(b) Skilled, Shipyards

F3 3 He "works a six-day week". He says: "You haven't any option - its part of your BHP 'contract' to work regular overtime, and all your mates want it, so its fixed up for "'regular Saturdays'".

F27 3 Because of the strike, the Shipyards are now working a two-shift system - mornings and afternoons. He is on afternoons, which means 4.00pm to midnight - which is not too bad, except that the overtime is on Saturday morning, 6.00am to midday - which means that at the most he gets five hours' sleep on Friday night.

F44 3 He "gets more money and works less hours" than he did in the UK. There he used to do three nights' overtime a week, until 7.00pm, whereas here he can "get to know Andrew - a boy needs a father about him".

F46 3 He disparages his workmates. "They sit down and plan a strike if they can't get work on Saturdays (ie overtime); although they don't need the money. It's a case of an 'easy come, easy go' existence".

(c) Unskilled, Steelworks

F5 2 He is working shifts. He says he likes it, because it gives him spells with his family. His wife is not too keen because she never knows where she is; having to keep the children quiet during the daytime when he is sleeping; "But I expect I'll get used to it". Presently, they are on two shifts, mornings and afternoons. He does not like three.

F11 2 He says he worked "16 years on nights" in the UK, because he wanted to give the family a fair start. His wife says: "We're getting somewhere quicker here than we did in the UK". She says she can "sleep peacefully on the night shift". She does not have to worry that people had that knowledge; "Here they wouldn't take advantage of it. (Not that they ever did before, but I always worried they might)".

F12 2 He does not like shifts (and his wife won't answer the door at night), but he does like the job. 3 They bought a dog so his wife will not be frightened by being on her own at night. His job specifications are very much 'days only'; so his wife can have him at home in the evenings.

F18 3 He would prefer not to be working quite so much, since he has been "working every Saturday morning for months".

He finds this irksome, because his son has gone over to shiftwork, and it makes it extremely difficult for them to have a weekend together. He has to work Saturdays and has Sundays off, whereas his son invariably has the opposite.

F28 3 He is working "permanent days", and Saturdays "every other week".

F37 2 He has the opportunity of overtime throughout the weekends, but prefers to have the day off. Thus he doesn't work overtime on Sundays, though he could if he wished to do so. Working would bring in quicker the things they want, but he is not desperate for them - "They'll all come in good time". 3 He has a new job, which he very much likes, and for which he gets paid more. He is presently working "seven days a week; 7.30am to 4.00pm during the week, and 7.00am to 3.00pm at the weekends".

F48 2 He does not want to work shifts at all, so he is a builder's labourer - the only job going for 'days only'. He is also out of favour with his mates, since he refuses to work overtime at all; "A five-day week is enough for me; money isn't everything in life". He says some of them are content to "work ten hours a day, seven days a week. What for? - The money, I suppose". 3 (Having moved to Adelaide) Both he and his wife work a five-day week, with occasional overtime.

Appendix XIII Attitudes towards earnings

(a) Skilled, Steelworks

F4 They have concentrated on getting their home together - which they say they have managed very much quicker than they would have done in the UK.

F7 "The money's good".

F9 In the UK, he was "earning good money", but he was not "keeping up with the expenses". They are "better off here".

F10 The money is quite good, and should be better when he goes on shifts.

F21 "The money doesn't go far here. Food is expensive". They are better off than they were in Scotland, but in spite of all their efforts, they cannot save here.

F29 They are well off here; saving money.

F31 He says he can "save a bit each week through the Credit Union".

F33 Although they get more *money* here, they are no better off, in real terms.

F34 "The money's rolling in; we reckon to save $1,000 in three months".

F35 The wife emphasised how they had "eaten very well" since they had been in Whyalla.

F39 The wife expected food to be cheaper in Whyalla than in the UK, but what she spends overall is very similar to what it was in the UK.

F41 They are better off than they were in the UK, since they can afford a car here; "which we couldn't in the UK".

F43 "The money is good".

F47 "In the UK, we earned much more than the average, and we lived and ate well, but we only just made ends meet. Here, the standard of living is very much higher".

F53 He says how much better off they are here; "We can put money aside, which we couldn't in the UK". "We don't have

to worry where the next penny's coming from".

F54 He is saving through the Credit Union.

F56 They have "saved a lot" since they came to Whyalla, but they are still not as well off as when they came.

F61 He says he cannot save, other than through the Credit Union, and that is not much. He has "never been short of money" until he came here.

(b) Skilled, Shipyards

F1 He is "earning good money".

F8 He earns much the same as he did in the UK, but they eat better here, and manage to save a bit.

F20 He can save - for the first time in his life; for which he is very pleased.

F26 "I'm better off here than I was in the UK". "We have a better standard of living".

F27 He says he is "better off here".

F44 He is financially better off here. They can save here.

F49 They "can't do as well as they expected" here. On the other hand, they are "saving money". They say they came to Australia "to advance", but that coming to Whyalla has not been an advancement. They get more money, but are not "better off".

(c) Unskilled, Steelworks

F11 "We're getting somewhere quicker here than we did in the UK".

Appendix XIV Opinions of the work rate

(Numbers in the notes refer to the interview at which the comment was made, eg '2' is the 'one month after arrival' interview)

(a) Skilled, Steelworks

F10 2 He says he works harder than he did in the UK; "You work hard at the things you like".

F22 2 He does not like the attitude to work here. He says most people he has met are lazy, and he does not like having to work so slowly.

F29 3 He works hard

F30 2 He says: "The job's too easy".

F32 2 He says Australians work very slowly. When he came here he was told to "slow down; we don't work like that here". He said he was working at his usual rate, with the perspiration pouring off him (nb on 7.6.73; that is, during the winter). 3½ months later, he still said the work is very easy compared with what he had known before. He remarked how several families have found the "slow" work rate irritating; but now he is "happy enough to potter along at a nice easy pace". Being on the maintenance side, he can "tinker" if he finds it is getting too boring.

F35 2 He is perturbed since, (i) "There's so little work", and (ii) "Everybody works so slowly". He says he does not like doing nothing most of the week, and especially when they "rig" overtime in the Shop for a Saturday morning; and go in, again doing nothing.

F34 1 Anticipate Whyalla will be a good place to be "provided you're prepared to work hard".

F47 2 He finds it hard to accept the slow pace. He says here "They get 1¾ hours to do the job. If they do it in 1½ hours, they knock off for ¼ hour. If they carried on, "It would overload the next stage". Then you find the next stage is working slowly, because "If we worked harder, the previous stage couldn't keep up". Its all so dead-pan".

F50 2 He feels frustrated at the slowness and delay in his work. "The boss doesn't mind; as long as I appear busy". "I've made a hoe and a rake at work. Nobody minds, as long as these activities don't interfere with the real business when there's anything to be done".

F57 3 He says they do not need to employ him for anything like the hours they do. He spends a lot of time reading books; "I've got an enormous amount of reading done". He is moving to what he hopes will be a less boring job.

F59 2 He finds the work very slow here; "People work so slowly here. "Don't do it today if you can put it off until tomorrow"". 3 He is uncomfortable at the slackness and boredom of the job, and he is looking for another job.

(b) Skilled, Shipyards

F27 2 He said the work atmosphere here was an agreeable surprise - "slow" work. He contrasted the work situation with the UK; where the management was "forever breathing down your neck".

F36 2 He says how they are so slow at work here; "It's "Right boys; knock off for a smoke", not for five or ten minutes as it is in the UK, but for *55 minutes*". Five months later he was still saying how little work he had to do.

F51 2 He has mixed feelings about his work. In the first instance, when people knew he was coming to Australia, they said he was "Damned mad; they'll flog your guts out". So he arrived in an agony of apprehension whether he could stick the pace. In fact, he does not think *anyone* works hard in Whyalla". He finds the work "intolerably slow, with long periods of waiting".

(c) Unskilled, Steelworks

F12 3 As a crane driver, he was always having to go back into the pulpit during meal breaks; "And you'd be surprised how many meal breaks there are".

F37 2 He says: "The job's very boring".

F62 2 He would not go back to GMH because of the tight work schedule: "If fitting an exhaust was timed for a minute and a half; you got 1½ minutes to do it. If you ran into snags, you left it, and the man at the end finishes it off; whereas at Luton (Vauxhall Cars, another General Motors organisation), if a job took three minutes, you could get nine to do it in, and nobody worried". He "got stuck into my work today, and finished it by lunchtime, so I spent a couple of hours wandering round the plant".

Appendix XV Attitudes of husbands who left BHP

(Numbers in the notes refer to the interview at which the comment was made, eg '2' is the 'one month after arrival' interview)

(a) Skilled, Steelworks

F7 3 His wife says he won't stay permanently working for BHP as he "Doesn't like the Company", eg it has no canteen facilities. (Though he did not give the impression of an active dislike himself). 4 Just as his year was up (ie so he got his $100 cash award for staying with BHP for 12 months), he saw there were two jobs advertised in the paper; at the Whyalla Bus Company, and at Major's (a heavy motor works, specialising in the repair of lorry engines). He told his wife that he would not bother with them, but he had to go by Major's to pick his daughter up from the brownies. The sight of Major's confirmed his aversion, but he went past again and went in to see them. The upshot was he got the job. He is full of the new job; saying that now he is earning less money than he did at BHP - this is slightly mitigated by being paid weekly, instead of fortnightly, "so we know where we are". But the most important aspect that he kept on stressing is that the job is so much more satisfying. At BHP, he was on shifts; "You'd start a job, and the other shift would finish it. You never had the chance to see a job through". Now he works straight days; and a six-day, rather than a seven-day week (hence less money; no shifts). When he has finished, he goes home, and comes back to continue the job the following day. If a job is urgent, he does overtime. He now also has leisure time.

F10 4 He left BHP ten months after joining them. He now works as the resident engineer at the Whyalla Bakeries. The main advantage is a straight 40-hour week, with no overtime. The beauty is that he has regular hours, and can get on with his own part-time business. In addition, he lives practically on the doorstep (more fortuitous than by design). He does not mind having to start at 5.00am. In

his case, time is the main criterion. He is not so worried that his gross earnings are now less than with BHP, though his 'straight' earnings are more.

F35 3 He was "profoundly miserable" where he was working, and his "face didn't fit". In the Forces, he always engineered himself a posting where he was reasonably independent; working on his own in a responsible way. His work at BHP certainly did not fit this image, but the job to which he is going does. He is going as the mechanic at the Mission at Umba Cumba, on Groote Eylandt. The attractions are the salary (and it is a tax concession area). There are six weeks annual leave, and the job offers status.

F57 3 They moved to Albury, "where the money's better". They wrote to say they thought their move was a good one; but they were back in Adelaide two years after leaving Whyalla.

F59 4 He moved to a refrigeration company at Victor Harbour. While he prefers his new job; he still has reservations. In its way, the job seems to suit him far better than did the BHP one, since it satisfies his itineracy, and is likely to take him into the Northern Territory.

(b) Skilled, Shipyards

F44 4 He has left BHP, to work for Whyalla Radiators (where he is a leading hand), 13 months after his arrival in Whyalla. He used to work in the Plate and Bar Department, "Fastening the bars to the plates; always doing the same task, 'like assembling cars on a conveyor belt'". He was used to varying work in the UK, and found the repetitive work boring. He is now working for a "small firm, with only about 12 people there" - subcontracted to make up sections of the ship. He says the work is very much more interesting, since they have to make a complete unit; involving a variety of (non-repetitive) work; and the satisfaction of producing a complete unit. He says he likes it very much there. He also works close to home, and can get home for lunch; and he only has to work an occasional Saturday - all for more money.

F49 3 He left BHP after three months, and moved to Perry Engineering in Whyalla. He has contemplated leaving Perry's and working for the other contracting firm that is working on the new Pellet Plant - on the grounds that they will pay more money. (His move from BHP was predicted from the first and second interviews, where he said that he had only really come to BHP as a means of reaching Australia; also he does not have a very major obligation to BHP since he paid his own way to Australia). He also said he preferred working for smaller companies. He gave the impression of favouring short-term higher paid contract work in Britain, and was looking for the same thing here.

(c) Unskilled, Steelworks

F12 3 He got so fed up that he left BHP, four months after joining them, and was unemployed for two weeks. He then worked casually for two weeks before joining the Whyalla Bus Company. He says the "money isn't too good", and gives the impression of still looking for something better.

F48 3 He left three months after arrival in Whyalla, and moved to Adelaide, where he works for the Chrysler Car Company. His job is adding various accessories to the engine, such as starter motors. He says his job is "very boring"; but he has "usually found that to be the case" in industry; so it appears he has had similar jobs before. He says the job for which he is really looking is "trainee General Manager".

Appendix XVI Women and working.

(Numbers in the notes refer to the interview at which the comment was made, eg '2' is the 'one month after arrival' interview)

F1 1 She would like to work. In the UK, they "lived on his wages, and banked hers". They would like to do the same here. She worked in an insurance office, and would like to do the same here. 2 She cannot get a job. She started by trying the insurance companies, and worked down the scale. She says they only want to take young girls straight from school. 3 She still has no job.

F2 2 She worked as a sewing machinest, and wants to do the same here. The best she can manage is an offer from one manufacturer that he will take her on a part-time basis if ever he is swamped with orders; meanwhile she has a temporary job. 3 She now has a permanent job with him.

F3 2 She has been unable to get a job. In the UK, she did five years training as an accountant. 3 She has got a job as a ledger clerk at Patterson's (furniture retailers). (When she arrived; "There were 17 vacancies for women, and 279 applicants").

F4 1 She is an orthopaedic nurse, and hopes to go back to nursing in Whyalla, but wants two to three months to settle down first. 2 She applied for, and got, a job at the Whyalla Hospital, two weeks after arrival. She "hadn't been there half an hour before they got me into uniform", when she went to make enquiries about working, not to get a job there and then. 3 She is still employed as a nursing auxiliary, because she cannot get registered.

F9 2 She would like a job to get her out and about, eg taxi-driver. 2 She is a Tupperware agent, which "allows her to meet people".

F11 2 She worked in the UK in light engineering - typewriter assembly. She would like to get back to it here, but the scope is severely limited. She has her eye on Titan Engineering. One of her friends works there, and will give

her the tip as soon as there is a vacancy. She says she has been totally unsuccessful so far.

F13 1 They are concerned about the possible lack of job opportunities for women, both for the wife and the teenage daughter.

F17 1 She was a comptometer operator in a bank in Britain. Can she work in a bank in Whyalla? 3 She has a job in the office in a supermarket.

F18 1 The elder daughter (age 16) worked in a shoeshop for a few months in Britain, and she wants to get a job here. 2 She has tried unsuccessfully to get a job here. She says one of her difficulties is her qualifications; "They ask me for my school qualifications, and then don't understand them when I say what they are". Otherwise they are always taken when she gets there. She has approached various shops, the supermarkets, etc, and "They have my name down on their lists". Her mother is also trying for an unskilled, or semi-skilled, factory job. 3 The daughter went to Adelaide, and got a job at a shoeshop there, but did not like the Adelaide hostel, so she returned to Whyalla. There, she turned down a job for $27.00 per week; "Why should I work for $6.00 per week?" (nb she gets $21.00 per week as unemployment benefit). She also said that the other girls were "taking it out of her". Today she started a new job in a newsagency. Meanwhile, her mother has decided she prefers the life of leisure, and has given up looking for a job.

F20 3 The wife is quite pleased that she got a part-time job, in the kitchen at the Westlands Hotel, "part waitress, part serving through the hatch". It is just right for her; "only two to three hours per night". Meanwhile, her husband hopes that their children (four girls) "will get a tertiary education", though he thinks that by the time they are ready to work, opportunities will be so much better in Whyalla anyway.

F21 1 She would like to get back to work. 3 Her concerns about Whyalla include ... (d) Lack of work opportunities for girls. Here, they can only "work in a shop", "In

Paisley, they could take their pick of industries; whether a secretarial/clerical role, or as a factory worker".

F23 1 They came to Whyalla just as the elder daughter (age 16) left school. She would like to work as a telephone operator. 2 The elder daughter is working at Woolworths. She enrolled at the Labour Exchange on the Monday (having arrived in Whyalla on the previous Thursday); on Tuesday, she had a telegram to go to a particular shop. It was not possible, using buses, to go that day, but they went first thing the following morning, but the vacancy had already been filled. Then they looked for vacancies in the local paper. They found one at the local boutique. It was just as easy to go as to phone, so they went there and got an appointment for the following morning. The next morning, they both went to the shop, passing Woolworths on the way. The upshot was the daughter went in, and asked to see the manager. When she asked if there were any vacancies, she was given a job on the spot. 3 The elder girl is fed up with Woolworths, and cannot see much scope for herself in Whyalla, so she is thinking of joining the army.

F25 1 She knows what the female labour position is like, but she does not want to go back to work yet - to her five-year apprenticeship subject of hairdressing. She would rather stay at home. (She returned to the UK, before four weeks in Whyalla).

F27 2 She anticipates returning to work at some stage, when the children are at school, but foresees that it will be difficult to get work. She is a shorthand typist. (In fact, she would have little difficulty if she is good. Businesses in Whyalla are looking for reliable shorthand/typists. Girls fresh out of school are poor spellers, typists, timekeepers, attenders; don't stay, etc, and are not really interested).

F28 2 They have considered leaving Whyalla altogether, because of the work situation, both for him (unskilled), and for his wife; but it raises problems regarding housing. 3 His wife had a job at Whyalla Welders, until the Company

retrenched its operations to Adelaide. Her second job was serving in a deli, but she gave up before the end of her probationary period, because she could not get on with the task of supplying "people she couldn't understand with food she'd never heard of". Although she did not like her husband having a job entailing shifts, she tried for one for herself, but he put his foot down, and said "No"; so she is still looking for a job.

F31 2 Buying a house depends on whether the wife can get a job or not, and whether they can reconcile themselves to the position regarding job opportunities for girls in Whyalla. "After all, the opportunities are :- School-teaching (which the eldest girl, age 15, would like), nursing, or shop-assistant. What else is there here for a girl?" 3 His wife has been trying to get a job. She is a comptometer operator. She had an interview with BHP, who would be glad to get somebody experienced, but she failed to get the job when one turned up, because of staff retrenchments, but she is still hoping.

F34 2 She is toying with the idea of setting up a shop with her sister when she arrives (ie taking over a small business). She has her name down with the Ministry of Labour for work; but not with BHP (because she does not like BHP). 3 She is still trying. She even tried to "get a job with BHP; but its impossible to get a job here". She says she has her own transport, but it does not make any difference.

F35 1 She is a two-year qualified teacher, but she wants a rest from teaching; having done it for the past five years; but she may go back to it later. She is not interested in Whyalla opportunities - just wants to be a housewife. 2 She is doing three afternoons a week with the remedial reading class. (Being two-year trained in the UK, she is treated "at arm's length" by the Education Department). She is working "to escape being bored" at home.

F36 2 She has looked around for a job ("I'm a cook"), but she cannot get one. She is further restricted because she refuses to work shifts. She says: "I've never left the

children, and I don't intend to start now, even though they are probably quite old enough". 3 Nothing has turned up so far (but she says she will succeed "sooner or later") mainly because of the long hours - spanning 7.30am to 9.30pm - eg for seven days a week. She also says the advertisements you see are mainly for 16½ - 17½ year olds; they are only looking for the cheapest labour.

F37 3 She has "noted the new hospital will be ready in two year's time" - ie when the second boy is ready to start school. At that point, she would like to go back to work, on a part-time basis - provided she can get someone to look after the baby. She seems quite keen on swelling the family income.

F38 3 She is presently thinking of becoming an agent for Tupperware. She says this will provide a means for getting to know a few more people.

F40 3 She has got herself a part-time job as receptionist at the squash centre.

F41 3 She is trying to work. She had four weeks doing two days a week at the supermarket, but gave it up because she did not like it. Then she tried for a job as a receptionist. She gave it up "on principal", because she did not get paid for her two days' training. She is presently on the short-list for receptionist at the Hospital.

F42 1 She worked as a telephonist in the UK, and wants to work here. The Recruiting Officer has warned her that it will be difficult to get a job in Whyalla, but she is willing to try. 2 She cannot work as a telephonist in Whyalla, because the switchboard is in Port Pirie. She also tried for a job as a nurse at the Hospital (she is a trained nurse). She got as far as being measured up for a uniform when she was offered a job as receptionist at the Westlands Hotel (a bit of typing, bit of receptionist, bit of switchboard, looking after the money) with more money, but it does mean shifts. Des's Taxis would also have taken her, but having only just arrived in Whyalla, she does not

know where the streets are; they have offered her the job in twelve months' time. 3 The husband works on days, and his wife works shifts. She stayed with Westlands Hotel for about six weeks, then left because of the hours - nominally 4.00pm to 11.00pm, but she often did not finish until 1.00am. She now does a similar job at the Foreshore Hotel; again 4.00pm to 11.00pm, but she rarely finishes after 11.00pm - generally 10.15 to 10.30pm.

F46 1 Her daughter (age 16) has left school, and wants to be a nurse. 3 Her daughter is a trainee nurse; and she is working 9.00am to midday, five days a week, as a receptionist for someone she met at a neighbour's barbecue.

F47 2 She organised a playgroup in the UK, and would like to do the same here, or be a teaching aid, or a clerical assistant, from when the second son goes to school (in two months' time). 3 She has been unable to get in any of the kindergartens. She has tried them all; "No vacancies".

F48 1 She hopes to work in a bank again in Whyalla. 2 She does not like the office job she has, and she cannot get a job in a bank. She was told they "only take on staff in November". Last year, the Whyalla banks "took ten new people between them". She tried all over the place, and all she can get is "this lonely, boring job over on the trading estate", taking ¾ hour to get there in the morning. 3 (In Adelaide) She has found the same sort of responses from the banks in Adelaide. They want people straight from school, when they are cheaper, and can be trained by the bank itself. She now works for Beneficial Finance. Their aversion to Whyalla seems to stem largely from her inability to get a job there, which in turn seems to be because she has no training or abilities outside a bank.

F51 3 She now has a job at the Copperhouse - the old people's residential home.

F52 1 She had a job as a supermarket checker in the UK, and liked it very much. She would like to do the same in Whyalla. She wants a job. She does not want to be bored, living at home all day. 2 She has "fallen into the ways"

here, and is not interested in getting a job. 3 She had a job for a few weeks, as a barmaid at the Westlands Hotel. They cut her wages in half when they found out she was under 21. Then while she was deliberating whether to stay at the new rate, they gave her the sack. She was not altogether sorry to leave - she got a bit fed up with having to be nice to customers, no matter what they said or did. In her words: "When I've got a job, I don't want to work; and when I haven't got one, I want one because I'm bored".

F53 3 She has a job - organising parties for selling products from an agent in Adelaide. It means she gets out and about quite a bit.

F56 2 She is working voluntarily on school meals, every other Thursday. She is sponsoring her younger sister (age 17) to come out; but privately she thinks it is a mistake; "There is no work for a girl here".

F58 3 She has been trying for a job. She spent three weeks working for the BHP unit at Mirambeena, but she got the sack "for refusing to work an extra hour", when she had already been on the premises for 13. One consequence of this is that she cannot work for BHP again.

F59 4 (At Victor Harbour) She works "casually" at the Crown Hotel, which usually means three times a week - in the evenings; as there is no child care centre at Victor Harbour. She finds she has met many more people since she has been able to get out to work.

F60 2 She has a job as a shorthand-typist with BHP. 3 She now works for a firm of insurance assessors in Whyalla. The Australian insurance representative came to see them about life insurance when they arrived, and said he would "pass the word around" when he heard she was looking for a job. She had an interview for her present job two days after she was accepted by BHP. They said they had no vacancies at the time, but offered her a job two months after her arrival in Whyalla. She says someone with her experience and dependability is sought after in Whyalla,

since the conventional mode for younger girls is to chop and change regularly, often leaving without another job to go to; and then they flit to Adelaide, for the bright lights, staying at a hostel there.

F61 2 The husband is not happy about the opportunities for his elder daughter in Whyalla. He hopes she will go to university - "to study languages; as that's what she's good at".

F62 1 She said she wants to work in Whyalla, but her husband does not want her to. 2 She has tried, unsuccessfully, for a job. 3 She is working "as a cook in the café in town" - a job she has only just obtained; after six months' trying (and her husband is out of work).

Appendix XVII Attitudes towards (children's) education

(Numbers in the notes refer to the interview at which the comment was made, eg '2' is the 'one month after arrival' interview)

F6 1 They wanted to be here before the children started school. 2 The school is 200 m away. 3 The older girl is getting on well at school and starting to read. The husband says: "They learn to read much faster here than he did". The wife would like to take the younger one to kindergarten, but "there's such a waiting list here".

F7 2 The wife is very pleased with the school *work*, but not with the schools. They assumed there would be less overcrowding here, but their boy was in a class of 40 in the UK, and 39 here. She does not like it; but in the UK, the eldest child (son) and the next (daughter) used to come home from school and watch TV. Here, he comes home and does his homework. Both *like* school here, and are much more interested. The wife thinks they are more advanced here than in the UK, and she says her son takes more interest in his books because here he *owns* them. In the UK, the third child would not get a place in school, because of overcrowding. (Here, there are schools, but they lack staff; hence class sizes - P. Ball (pers. comm.)).

F9 2 They are endeavouring to get the son into kindergarten, but are not very hopeful "because they've a long waiting list". The daughter (age 5) is disappointed at not being able to go to school (she is a month too young). 3 This daughter is at school. 4 (In Dampier, Western Australia) There is a "pre-school for the younger one (now age 3), and a new high school for the older one".

F11 3 The children are "doing fine" at school.

F12 2 They walk past Scott Street School "which I've heard is very good", and her son asks when he can go back to school. He used to go to kindergarten in the UK, and she would like him to go here, but "Its too far away when you haven't got transport", and also "You have to pay for him here".

F16 2 The two school-age children go to school just around

the corner. 3 The eldest girl "wasn't interested in school" in Scotland, but here she likes it, and works (which she would not do in Scotland). The wife says how wonderful education is here, and how much better the schools are; "If there's anything you want to know, anything you want to ask; don't hesitate to come and see us", ie the headmaster really makes the parents feel involved with their children's education, and makes them keep their children at it; and the children like the school as well.

F18 2 The son (age 6) started school here, and the mother says the teacher says he is settling in well. The second daughter (age 14) started in Year 2, which her mother says is putting her back a year. There was trouble because of non-payment of fees, and the wife says the maths teacher was always on at the daughter because of the non-payment, and the daughter does not like him. 3 The daughter is at a new school, which she says is "alright". She does not sound enthusiastic, but she doesn't enthuse about anything else either. The son has just had his first school report, and his parents are very proud of it. Asked how he likes school, he says he "likes maths".

F20 2 Asked how they found school here, all the children said they like it, and looked enthusiastic. 3 The children are all OK at school.

F21 1 They said they left Scotland partly because the older boy could go to kindy, but not the little girl (because of the crowding now). 2 The elder child is at school. The teacher said he had a speech impediment because she could not understand him. (He has a thick, fast-speaking Paisley accent). They live "close to the school". 3 The wife's concerns are ... (b) Lack of pre-school facilities for the children; (the kindergartens are so expensive; "We used to pay six shillings a week in the UK").

F23 2 The elder daughter is interested in typing at school. Two aspect of school have dismayed them; on arrival in September, the daughter is "75%" behind her peers, and they still have to pay 12 months' books, to cover the few weeks.

3 The younger daughter is going camping with a school party to Alice Springs ($97.00 for two weeks). The mother and this daughter go to evening classes; the daughter does shorthand, and her mother does crochet (only because her daughter will not go to the classes alone).

F24 2 The children are OK at school.

F25 1 The wife is concerned about pre-school activities, and would like to get their daughter into such a unit. (nb this family did not stay in Australia).

F26 3 The husband hopes for "better schooling" for his daughter, now they are in Australia.

F29 1 Why leave the UK? ... "standard of education is going down because of the influx of migrants into the UK". The daughter (age 4) has just started school. 2 The daughter goes to Pinnochio's (a private child centre) two days a week. 3 She goes to pre-school every afternoon.

F30 3 The children like school. The wife thinks they are getting on well. The husband says it is different here, so the children are bound to have to make adjustments, but they appear to have caught up "and overtaken" their peers.

F31 2 They hope the eldest girl will go to university. She is 14½, but has done three languages in the UK - French (including three weeks' student exchange), German and Latin, together with Russian in her spare time. Here she has a choice of French *or* Latin, with *no other language*. In this respect, they would have been better off to stay in the UK. Education featured prominently in their approach to Australia; they said they considered it very carefully, but the advice of the Commonwealth authorities in London was wrong in some respects. They have to pay more than they expected; eg all writing materials, as well as textbooks and sports activities, etc. Education cost difficulties arose as a result of thinking that secondary education is 'free' for a family of five, whereas it is not. Also the concessions have to be applied for *before* the fees are paid, as rebates cannot be obtained, whereas the schools want the fees *first*; otherwise no materials can be supplied to the children - an inefficient and incompetent system.

3 The children are getting on well at school. They all have good reports. The eldest girl has had to drop her languages as she can only do French *or* German - the timetable is such that both courses take place simultaneously. They had a chance to "choose school" on the strength of the languages, since Stuart HS is going to do Spanish. In the end, they chose Eyre HS and did French from the French/German choice. She is going to Woolshed Flat (between Quorn and Port Augusta) for a week's holiday and the second girl is going to Whaler's Bay (near Port Lincoln) for the long weekend. The husband said there are more short trips for children here than in the UK - the children used to go for continental holidays there; less long ones here - and cheaper.

F32 2 The wife is not impressed. She has the feeling that education is backward here; sports are all outside school hours, and have to be paid for as an extra. She says the size of classes are smaller here; "But parents go and listen in the classroom". 3 She still has reservations about the school system. Her elder child gets fractious because he has no other boys with which to play (age 5) - the reservations are tied up with the knowledge he would be at school now in the UK - hence, if he is not at school now, the 'shorter' education system here must necessarily be worse.

F33 2 Two children are old enough to go to school, and are settling well. 3 They have problems; the son (age 8) had been at junior school for 12 months before they got here in September. Here they put him in the lower school (infants) until the end of the year. He was bored to tears, and did nothing. He acted as an isolate all the time. Now he is back at primary school, and still does not fit in well because he has "done it all before". The elder girl "sits on the fence". She was "back a year" at school here; she says she has "done it all before, but its done differently here; so its the same as if its all new". In the UK, she was 18th out of 33; whereas here she is near the top of the class. Her mother says it is not because she is brighter, but because she has done it all before. The daughter is

going on a school trip to Adelaide at Easter.

F34 1 They had difficulties with education in Britain, They moved from Connah's Quay "a year ahead" to Bedlington, and the children "did nothing" there.

F35 1 One reason for leaving the UK was the "overcrowding" in schools. There are 1,800 children now at the school where the son (age 10) was due to go; whereas it was anticipated to be 2,400 when he got there. So the UK schools are:- overcrowded; no choice; large classes; no discipline; kids on drugs; pregnancy rate among the girls. They also mentioned an instance of only one white child in a class of blacks. (The son in family F30 is in a class with only one Australian child in it). 2 Both children settled in "like ducks to water"; the daughter (age 8) is "streaks ahead", and the son is far ahead in reading and arithmetic. 3 They are going to Umba Cumba, where their children "will be the only white children in the school!"

F36 2 The son (age 16½) has nine 'O' levels; getting on extremely well at school, except for maths - he did modern maths in the UK, now he has to learn algebra from scratch. Apart from that, he is way out on top. His father said the algebra business "nearly caused him (the son) to return to Britain", but he has got over it now. 3 The daughter is going to Canberra and Melbourne on a school trip (cost: $72.00).

F37 2 The older boy (age 4) was at school in Northern Ireland, but he cannot go here until he is five (in five months' time).

F40 2 The daughter (age 7) is settling well at achool (just around the corner).

F41 2 Both children like their schools. 3 The son spent the long weekend in Adelaide on a school trip. They are not happy about the daughter. She is bright, but because of her age she has gone back a year at school. This means that she is very bored and causing increasing difficulties about going to school. The son is OK because this is the first school to which he has been. They remarked about the

high turnover of staff, and said it was another good reason for moving to Adelaide; they think the children will get better schooling in Adelaide.

F42 2 The children are well settled in school. The son has been away for the weekend, and the daughter is going to Kangaroo Island for a week. "They do more for the children here, and the children feel more 'involved'".

F43 2 The daughter (age 9) is getting on well at school. She is near the top of her grade, and going up next year. 3 They are not happy about the daughter now. She was OK last year, but now she has a new teacher who lets them do what they like. The wife would like "a bit more organisation and discipline".

F44 3 The son is settling well and happy at the school across the road.

F46 2 The son was going to primary school, but the report says he is too good to spend the next year there, so he is going to high school. 3 The son is settling well; much better than his mother had expected. The younger daughter (age 7) has just started and is a bit slow; she cannot read properly yet.

F47 3 The mother is not happy about the way the son is working at school. He has been made to write out all his work again during the holiday, as he has made such a mess of his normal schoolbook. She blames it on the teacher being too slack with him.

F49 2 The daughter (age 12) is causing problems. Her attitude is that she is "going off to prison" when she goes to school in the morning. She finds it difficult to cope with her work, and she is finding the others are way ahead of her in most subjects. The headmaster says she is "putting a wall round herself" and making it that much harder for her to cope. Her mother says she often comes home in tears. 3 She is now settling much better (for now she has found her feet). She works hard and conscientiously, but she is frightened she will have to 'stay down' at the end of the year, because of her lack of

ability. The results seem to indicate she has nothing to fear. She still occasionally plays up at school, and her mother is not pleased. She says she works too hard, with the homework she does. Her mother says she is disgusted how it occasionally comes back unmarked, because the teacher "hasn't had time" to mark it.

F51 2 They are surprised how well the children have settled at school. 3 The son is going to Woolshed Flat; and Tasmania for two weeks for $110. The other boy has been to Adelaide for two weeks, to a swimming coach.

F53 2 The daughter (age 11) never did any work at school in Britain (because they didn't work, not because of the daughter) whereas she is behind in everything here, and finds it difficult to cope. Her mother is happier that she is working, rather than playing, at school. 3 Both children "going up a grade" this year, which is based on merit, rather than purely on age; so the mother is particularly pleased at the progress they have achieved.

F54 2 The children are not so fond of school; "We don't do anything; we only play". The parents say the primary school is like going back to kindergarten in the UK. 3 Children doing "alright".

F56 3 The elder daughter loves her school.

F61 1 The elder daughter has eight 'O' levels. Her father hopes she will go to university to "study languages". She is a hard worker who "almost had a breakdown" with her 'O' levels. The younger daughter is a harem-scarem that will not work at school. 2 Problems with the older girl; she is two years ahead in French; not a clue in maths; chemistry and history OK; but teaching herself German. She seems to have collided head-on with the system. She had a friend in Britain who was very clever, and acted as her leader. Here she has no 'guiding light' and is very hostile to the system. The younger girl landed on her feet. She enjoys school; she is behind in French, but her teacher keeps her back after school and coaches her individually to bring her into line. She has been lent her books as it is "just for one term". 3 Both have settled down. The elder girl is in

matric year, and the younger one is doing a commercial course. Her father says she is doing much better than she would have done in the UK; she is in a higher class and enjoying her work. He feels education is better here than in Britain.

Appendix XVIII Attitudes towards (adult) education

(Numbers in the notes refer to the interview at which the comment was made, eg '2' is the 'one month after arrival' interview)

F12 1 The husband wanted to know what opportunities are like "for improvement" in Whyalla - ie night school. 2 He finds he cannot go to night-school classes for plumbing because he "hasn't got his ticket". He has to get this from the EWS (Engineering and Water Supply Department), and he cannot do this without references from where he has worked as a plumber in Britain.

F23 1 The elder daughter went to evening classes for shorthand and typing, and hopes to continue in Whyalla. 2 In Whyalla, the second daughter goes to the classes, and her mother accompanies her and does crocheting.

F28 2 He was studying to be a draughtsman in Britain, through a correspondence course. He would like to study to be one here - but not as an apprentice at $30.00 per week.

F37 1 He is interested in finding out if he can do a tradesman's course at evening classes. He said he started one some years ago "but never followed it through".

F38 3 He is "at school" on Tuesday evenings for his electrician's 'A' licence (which will make him eligible for promotion). His wife is doing mathematics at the Technical College with her neighbour. She says it is hard work, but getting her brain functioning again, and it has also enabled her to enlarge her circle of friends.

F40 3 He goes to welding classes on Friday nights. He is a fitter, but often has to work with welders, and says he would feel a lot happier if he understood more of what was involved in welding; then his own job would be easier because he would understand the other man's problems. He also said he would like to go on and do more difficult 'advanced' topics, like learning mathematics. Both say they are handicapped by lack of education. eg the wife "had to leave school at 15, and go out to work", whereas her younger sister, now 16, aims to go to teachers college

- which she thinks she would be capable of achieving if she had had the opportunity.

F48 2 He wanted to do draughting, at evening classes, and leading to a trade 'licence', but he can only do it with the Company's blessing or backing; eg as an apprentice in the appropriate trade. (He has a GCE 'A' level in draughting). His wife is doing an evening course in shorthand. She says it is a strange set-up; eg in typing classes, you all go in together in the beginners' class irrespective of whether or not you have any previous experience. 3 She has continued her classes in Adelaide.

F61 2 (as F38) He can only get an electrician's 'B' licence, and needs an 'A' certificate for a supervisory position. (He was a foreman in Britain). He cannot get the licence in less than twelve months, and has to do the course and an examination for it. 3 Although the local Technical College offers the course, it has been suspended because there were only four applicants, and he cannot take the examination unless he is doing the course.

Appendix XIX Attitudes towards South Australian Housing Trust houses

(Numbers in the notes refer to the interview at which the comment was made, eg '2' is the 'one month after arrival' interview)

F1 1 They lived in a Manchester Corporation flat, which was filthy. 2 The wife has been painting some of the woodwork. She said it was so filthy from the previous tenants, who were evicted. Also the house was infested with cockroaches and they had to have in the pest exterminators. They arrived in Milpara on the Thursday, and got the house the following day "mainly because my sister went to the Trust offices and put pressure on them". The wife said they got the house they did, in the condition it was, because the Trust was fed up with her sister.

F2 2 They have just moved in, and he is renovating and decorating the house. He has removed the lounge room heater, and replaced it with one of his own choice.

F35 2 They are the sixth tenants in five years, and the previous ones "left it filthy". They had a battle royal with the Housing Trust inspector, who insisted it was thoroughly clean, but he relented a little when she stormed about the cooker and insisted on a new one. In the end, the Trust did something to rectify matters. One gets the impression that the SAHT inspectors work on a sliding scale; that is, a relative standard of maintenance, in that they aim to make the house better than it was before, rather than satisfying a minimum standard. Whatever the case, the family finds the neighbourhood undesirable; the house does not measure up to expectations, and they say the neighbours and neighbourhood have a poor reputation. "This end of ... Street is not a good place to live", and of course they cannot get a transfer. Accommodation availability was a premium for them, but they had no real conception of what the 'lower limit' could comprise.

F4 (took over the house vacated by family F35). 2 According to the wife; you "wouldn't get her out of this house".

She has seen a different style of house in Bevan Crescent, but much prefers this one.

F53 (same street as families F4 and F35). 2 On the whole they are happy with the house, which the wife said was spotless when they arrived - not a mark or a speck of dust on the floor or in the cupboards. Generally, they like the house, the garden (which is in good shape). 3 The wife finds the air conditioner frustrating because it blocks out the lower half of the (kitchen) window, and she cannot see what is going on outside. She "hates the house"; they are going to look at single units. She wants one "with big rooms and big windows". She does not like the small windows in the house they have. She has put curtains right across the lounge wall, giving the impression the window is much bigger than it really is.

F14 (Contrast with F35) 2 They were told to "make a list of everything wrong and we will put it right", which they did. Their problems were very much the same as those of family F35, and yet the Housing Trust were very much more cooperative; probably because of their less aggressive approach to the Trust. eg with regard to getting the house cleaned, they had no trouble at all. They were told that the Trust works on a policy of not replacing for example burned-out parts of the cooker, since they are liable to be burned out again in two to three months if the "wrong types" move in. Hence those that ask (nicely) get replacements, on the tacit understanding that if they ask for them, they are also likely to look after them. The wife also asked for overhead kitchen cupboards (as are standard fittings in later houses). She was told that all houses will eventually be fitted with them, and also all the driveways will be concreted - when the Trust gets round to it.

F5 3 The wife says she is satisfied with the house she has.

F6 2 They have a brand new house, with which they are very pleased. This is one of the newer styles, with larger windows.

F8 2 The wife was very unhappy about her Housing Trust house. They looked at several houses and decided to buy a single unit. The husband's view was that it was a Trust house, and so should be soundly built. They received a shock when they moved out of their unit, as they received a bill for $65.00 for redecorating, including the cost of repainting a room they had never used. This rather upset them and did nothing to endear the Housing Trust to them. 3 She likes the privacy of the iron fences, but would prefer a little more space between the houses, and to be able to get away from people seeing in their windows from the street (ie the 'open plan' frontages). They said they queried the redecorating costs, and had a reply two months after their letter, with a 'revised' bill for $37.00 - for doing just the rooms they had used.

F9 2 The wife likes her house. She says it is a well-kept house in a well-established area.

F10 3 For the time being, they like their house.

F11 3 The wife said: "I don't think I'd want to move to a house I'm buying; I like this one".

F12 2 Generally they like the house; "Except you can hear everything through the walls" - so they have to whisper to one another in bed.

F16 2 The wife is very pleased with her house. She really likes it, and says: "You can make it into a good house".

F21 3 Her neighbour is the only one left of the original tenants in the street. This family is "the third in 2½ years". The nextdoor neighbour is deaf, and: "You can hear them rowing through the walls".

F22 2 Both like their home, especially the wife.

F23 2 He does not like the way he pays $12.25 for his half of the unit, while his neighbour pays only $9.00 for his half; and another up the street only pays $8.00. nb he does not like the *system*, although he understands *why* the differential exists.

F25 2 He tried to accelerate his house allocation. He told

BHP he would leave if his house did not come through, only to be told BHP has no control over the Housing Trust, so apparently he started ringing up the Housing Trust every day. In the end, they did not like the house they were allocated. They said they had been given the impression they would be allocated a house like an RDC (a large private building company) house, "Not a council house". They said it was alright for those people who had got something better than they had had before; "If you lived in a tenement, then a SAHT house is a vast improvement, so naturally you'd be pleased; but if you'd had your own house like we had (we'd had it for four years), then it is very much of a comedown'. (nb they did not stay in Australia).

F29 3 He complained about paying "more rent for a second-hand house than my brother pays for a new one".

F43 (friends of F29) They make the same point as family F29. They think new houses should be more than old ones.

F30 2 They have put in for a single unit because the wife 'can't settle in this house".

F31 2 They got the next-to-the-last four-bedroom double unit to be built in Whyalla.

F34 2 They are having troubles, because the Trust say her Granny can only stay for three months.

F37 2 They do not like the heat in the house. The wife said: "Why can't they build houses for the climate, like they do in Malta?"

F38 2 The husband says his wife is pleased with the house, "especially the kitchen". He gives the impression the house *is* satisfactory to her *except* that it is not hers. She would be eminently satisfied if she could buy it.

F39 2 They said they particularly like the house (a corner one); a house with a brick 'feature' wall behind the gas heater in the lounge.

F40 3 The wife said she saw a lot of different houses through being invited out while she was in Milpara, and had horrors at the thought that soon one like it would be hers. As it

is, theirs has a different layout from any they had seen; much better, so she is more than pleased with what they have.

F42 1 They had been resettled on one of the new estates in Cheshire and had a brand-new council house - the rent had gone up three times since they moved in; from £3 to £6 per week, 3 They have a four-bedroom 'converted' house (a three-bedroom house with a built-on 'sleepout'). They have been told his mother may spend six months with them, within which time she ought to be able to get her own Housing Trust flat.

F44 2 They have curtains running the full width of the lounge wall (the same as family F53). 3 They say living in a Trust house is like living in a council house: "Its degrading".

F47 2 "The house is a good one".

F48 3 (In Adelaide) Although they were glad to get away from Whyalla, the wife misses her Whyalla unit: "This flat is so small by comparison".

F49 (letter, before arrival): "What are the (BHP) bungalows like?"

F50 1 Both are anxious to get into their house, though they did not realise it was a Housing Trust house; they thought it was a BHP house. 2 They have already found they cannot buy the (nearly new) unit they have. She "very much likes her new home", and appreciates getting it straight away, as opposed to four months' wait. The previous couple had to pay $95.00 for redecorations when they moved into a single unit; mainly because they had papered two walls.

F51 2 They are so taken with the house they have been allocated that they are going to stay in it, instead of buying a house. 3 They very much like the house.

F54 2 They are content with this house.

F56 3 Her only complaint about the (new) house is the lack of windows. She feels the Housing Trust designs do not have enough windows to allow adequate light in during the

daytime. Also the air conditioner blocks out the light, so it has to be taken out for the winter.

F58 2 She is very pleased with her (new) house, but frustrated that it is not their own - they cannot do what they like with the garden; and paper the walls, etc.

F59 1 They left the UK partly because they could not get a council house, though they had been waiting a long time.

F60 2 The wife is content with her house.

F62 3 The wife is pleased with her house.

Appendix XX Attitudes towards neighbours

(Numbers in the notes refer to the interview at which the comment was made, eg '2' is the 'one month after arrival' interview)

F1 3 The husband says his wife gets extremely bored. The situation is made slightly more difficult by the way she rejects 'conventional' overtures from the neighbours; "If my sister was here, she'd be in and out of their houses all the time, just like they are. But for myself, I couldn't stand it; I like to be on my own".

F2 2 They had overtures from the neighbours - who were a bit put out when their offers were rejected. 3 On a Friday night, the husband goes to the club, and his wife goes to see a friend, or the friend comes to see her.

F3 3 One of their friends takes them shopping.

F35 2 They do not really know anyone in Whyalla, and they cannot find the sort of people with whom they wish to associate. They say the neighbours and the neighbourhood have a poor reputation; " ... Street is not a good place to live". (The immediate neighbourhood is undesirable; it is unkempt and dirty, and the families (nearly all British) are likewise). They have partly solved their difficulties by going out as often as possible. 3 They hate where they are living - where the 14-year-old son beats up his father, and another neighbour smashes up his wife when they have a row. Their next-door neighbours are fed up, having had five years of it, and are going to leave.

F42 (who took over the house when family F35 left) 2 As with family F35, they get on well with the people next door (ie in the other half of their double unit). The husband said the previous family (F35) "left because of the neighbours", who the wife said are alcoholic (family F35 referred to them as always fighting, swearing and carrying-on). Through her work with the guides, the wife has managed to make friends with another wife in Whyalla, and her husband says the two families are good friends. Of the three

families who came together, this family and family F60 "get on well together", but find they really cannot "get on with" family F48. 3 The wife says her husband finds it difficult to live with neighbours, being used to living in the country with nobody nearby. They get on well with their immediate neighbours (like family F35) but not so well with the others. She again said they are alcoholic and "everything goes" when they are "blind"; having tremendous rows, shouting and banging about.

F53 (Families F35 and F4 occupied the same house; families F53 and F29 occupy houses further along the same street). 2 They like the neighbourhood. 3 Tomorrow they are going to Arno Bay with their next-door neighbours, who have a caravan there. They thought these neighbours had been here "for years and years", but it transpired they had only arrived three months before family F53; having come originally from Hull. (Family F53 comes from Leeds). These two families are very friendly, whereas the wife does not have a great deal to do with her brother in Whyalla, although they maintain contact. The wife says she "doesn't always agree with the way he (her brother) does things".

F29 2 The daughter goes to Pinnochio's (child centre) twice a week with a neighbour's little boy. The next-door neighbours have taken them to the beach in Whyalla, and "to a beach south of Cowell last weekend". 3 They have an arrangement with a neighbour to take their children to pre-school every afternoon, week and week about.

F5 2 They are friendly with the neighbours on both sides. The neighbour on one side is happy to play cards with them, and "we like playing cards".

F6 2 They "teed up" with Whyalla contacts as soon as they arrived, and one fortunate aspect is that one friend they knew is only just down the road, within walking distance. 3 The husband said he had his BHP interview at the same time as the husbands in families F21, F16 and F40, and they had all met up again in Whyalla (family F6 was the first arrival). He says the husband in family F16 was a friend of his years ago, when he was about 17, so it was a pleasant

surprise to find they were also coming to Whyalla.

F7 2 The wife gives the impression of being friendless. She says the neighbours are not as friendly here as in Britain. (This may partly be a consequence of arriving as part of a group (including families F26, F30 and F39), which prevented her from being thrown on the mercy of the neighbours). She says her little boy (age 4) is bored, and has nobody to play with - and his younger sister (age 2) is "too young to play with other children". 3 She said they had done more socialising in six months in Whyalla than they had done "in the last five years" in Britain.

F8 3 Their main friends are family F14, from their own part of Britain. They are "only just beginning to know" the neighbours. The lady next door has turned out to be very nice "now the ice is broken".

F9 2 The wife says that people ask her if she has "many English" neighbours; but she has an Australian on each side; one across the road, and the daughter has a little girl of her own age (3) just up the road with whom she plays, who is also Australian.

F10 2 The husband said they made friends with a Tasmanian family in Milpara, and now have another Tasmanian family next door. He said they "didn't come to Australia to join English societies", and they want to meet and mix with Australians. 2a (The husband in family F32 said that today family F10 is going to a party at the home of family F31, and that 'the group' are taking it in turn each week to organise a party). 3 They did not like the party at F31's home; "They all sat around saying; "Do you know? ... " and getting all upset and nostalgic about home". He says they were regarded as 'outcasts' because they live like Australians and are always going off to "nowhere in particular". It was a bit hard at first, when people felt offended when, having invited the family out, they turned down the invitation. He says they do different things from most people, and so like to mix with ones who are like them. He did not start his business in Whyalla until he found someone he could "get on with" and who likes the way of

life that he likes.

F11 2 The wife says how very friendly the neighbours are; coming over to see how they are getting on. 3 Here you can "lend things to a neighbour and expect to get them back without asking for them".

F12 2 The children have nobody with whom to play. At Milpara, the wife made friends with a family who now have a house too far away. This has left them with family F34 as the only people she knows. She would like children the same age as their own nearby. 3 Both seem rather shy by nature, and have "only two sets of friends" - family F34, and an Australian neighbour who seems to have done a great deal for them, including the perpetual use of his old car.

F14 2 They have undoubtedly been aided in settling in by family F8 (*qv*), who live just around the corner from them, and who have "done a great deal" for them. They also mix with family F44. The husband says they have not had much contact with the neighbours - their adjoining neighbours are Australians, and the wife has said "Hello" to them, and that is all. The neighbours on the other side "met" them last week, after they had been in for three weeks; "If we had known you had only just got here ...", and since then they have warmed up. They lent him a mower to cut the lawn, etc; but it takes time - they have been told Australians are like that.

F15 2 The wife is unhappy about the next-door neighbour's little boy and her daughter (age 3), because "they are always fighting". She prefers her daughter to play with the little girl across the road who is more docile, and it appears the wife is also more friendly with the little girl's mother. 3 She is friendly with her neighbours - an Australian on one side and a Maltese on the other, who do not get on with one another.

F16 2 The wife (Scots) has a Scots wife (three years in Australia) next door, and another (five years in Australia) across the road. This family is a strange couple, who do not really seem to mix at all.

F19 2 They had very friendly Australian neighbours, who did not like Whyalla, and the wife felt bereft when they returned to Sydney. They also have neighbours born and bred in Adelaide, who have not long been in Whyalla, but they prefer it to Adelaide. 3 As a consequence of good workmates, he has an acceptable social life, but his wife is in strife. She still feels lonely, and regrets the departure of the Australian family from across the road; who her husband said were "the only ones she felt she could just drop in on". He sees her main trouble as lack of mobility, but she has given up the idea of learning to drive because of 'lack of confidence'. She is rather shy and tends to 'bury herself' in the garden; which consequently looks magnificent. He wants to stay in Whyalla, but his wife is not so sure; probably because of her lack of friends, especially those you can "just drop in on uninvited".

F20 3 They mix well with the neighbours, and the husband from family F16 dropped in during the interview. The family appears well integrated into the neighbourhood, and it is definitely a 'neighbour dropping in' situation.

F21 2 The adjoining neighbours are deaf, and you can hear them rowing through the walls.

F22 3 They have plenty of friends here.

F25 1 They said they were not good socialisers at home, so do not expect an active social life in Whyalla.

F26 2 Family F30 have entertained, and been entertained by, this family; as also have family F39, who live opposite, and who came to Whyalla at the same time as they did.

F39 3 The wife was asked how she will get on when family F26, who live opposite them, move into the house they are building; and she said she "doesn't live all the time with them". Her husband said the four families still occasionally see one another; "We don't see them all the time. We're not like that; you fall out that way".

F27 2 To date (two months after arrival in Whyalla), they

have lived very quietly, having not yet spoken to their immediate neighbours. They did though go for a walk soon after moving into the house, and a neighbour from down the street stopped them and "took us in hand". 3 Through this neighbour, they met the person from whom they eventually bought a car. Their son (age 3½) was extremely shy and would not let his mother out of his sight, but here he "goes out and plays with other children down the street".

F28 2 The wife mentioned that the next-door neighbours are Italian, but said nothing more about them, so it is impossible to judge their reactions or interactions. 3 It is implicit in how, rather than what, she said, that she does not like her adjoining neighbours "at all", "They're Italian, and 'wouldn't be able to understand me, even if I did go round there for help'". She did not mention the neighbours on the other side.

F30 2 The children have settled in extremely well, and have "made lots of friends". There were twelve children playing in the garden earlier in the evening.

F32 2 They came to Australia with their neighbours so that they would know at least one family when they got here. 3 The wife has always been used to 'open house', with people coming and going all the time, but it doesn't seem to affect assimilation. They met family F30 at Milpara "because we've been through it, and know what its like". The elder child (age 5) gets fractious because he has no other boys to play with, since neighbouring boys are all old enough to go to school.

F34 2 The next-door neighbours' son had his 21st birthday party the day after this family moved in, and they were invited round. "We've made so many friends here".

F36 2 The wife misses her friends and neighbours here. She has nobody she can drop in on for a morning chat, or a cup of tea.

F37 3 The wife now has a large circle of friends who she can visit, and who visit her, so she is now feeling much happier about coming to Whyalla.

F38 2 The wife "doesn't like Whyalla" ... the lack of friends or neighbours, and the children "miss their grandparents", though it could be that she misses them more, since the children are mixing with their peers, whereas she is not. She says the neighbours are pleasant, but not forthcoming or obtrusive - one almost feels she would like them to be a little more open than they are. Neither mentioned family F33, across the road, who moved in just before them. 3 She says she has found it difficult to make friends, or to meet people, without a car. She still finds it difficult to "meet people of our own kind".

F40 2 They say that the next-door neighbour has been here two years. She is miserable and says there is nothing to do; she has no friends, and everything is so expensive. She is going back soon, and the wife says she is "in for a shock when she finds out what its like in Scotland now". They say they got besieged by Scots people, and were rather put off. They do not want to become too closely associated with Scots people; "They can't really tell me anything about Scotland". She says she would rather mix with English, Yugoslavs and Australians (Tasmanians); "who can tell me about the places where I have never been". They have also met up with family F16. 3 They had their picture in the Spencer Gulf Pictorial, showing them dining with their friends, a Yorkshire couple who have been in Whyalla for 12 years, and who are now their closest friends. They also mix with families F6 (who met them at Milpara), F16 and F21. These four wives regularly go bowling together.

F42 2 The Adelaide couple with whom they had been friendly on the ship came up to see them in Whyalla, because they were lonely and finding it difficult to meet people in Adelaide. They feel that, by contrast, family F42 have been able to make lots of friends.

F44 2 The husband works with the husband from family F8 (who lives not far away) and so he has an opportunity to associate with a workmate who arrived shortly before him. They have also been aided by the neighbours in settling in.

F46 3 They are obviously known in the neighbourhood - everyone talks to them.

F48 2 They still maintain relationships with family F60, who came out at the same time, and who live not too far away. 3 (In Adelaide) One of the noteworthy problems they have experienced is friendship. They know nobody in Adelaide, though each meets people at work. Neither of these sources brings them into contact with the "type" with whom they would like to be friends. The wife says she does not "think it has ever occurred to the people I work with that I know nobody here". Nor do they find the neighbours (in their block of flats) acceptable; "Though next door but one is not too bad". They spend a great deal of time in one another's company, either at home or out, and very little with anyone else.

F49 3 The wife goes to Westlands (the main shopping complex, similar to the Marion Shopping Centre in Adelaide) "for company". She says she never sees anyone where she lives. Her next-door neighbour is Greek, and the wife "hates it", and "she can't speak much English, although she's been here for eight years - but her husband likes it, so ...".

F50 (They live next-door to family F58. Both families moved in together, into a brand new double unit. This has meant a much higher degree of cooperation (than elsewhere in the study), and there is a great deal of mutual agreement regarding what to do with the garden (ie open plan frontages), and so forth). 2 The baby (age 14 months) plays with family F58's children (ages 3 and 5). The wife has joined the Badminton Club at the instigation of the wife in family F58. She has never played before, but she quite enjoys it, and it is a means of getting out and meeting others. (These two families being as close as they are, they have made correspondingly less efforts to widen their circle of acquaintenanceship than would have been the case if they had been on their own). There is some slight tension caused by the way the husband locks the flyscreen door when he comes in; family F58 see this as an active deterrent to people who would call in, being used to

knocking and walking in if it is obvious there is someone there. They say the husband seems to "want to be alone, but at the same time, he wants people to come". nb encouraging them to call, then locking them out. 3 They have their friends round about.

F58 2 The wife's main concern seems to be frustration at not having the social environment she had been used to in Britain. She admits that people are friendly here, but they are not close enough to any of them to call it a "circle of friends". She reacts strongly to the Tasmanian family across the road. They do not like the behaviour of their children, and the freedom with which they make use of their house and garden. Although theirs is an 'open house' concept, they expect a certain amount of respect, eg property respect; to be associated with it, and this just is not the case. Thus the Tasmanians' 'rules of conduct' are unacceptable to them. Family F50, by contrast, shows typical South Country reserve by comparison with themselves. They obviously feel the frustration of this social isolation. Where they come from in Gateshead, it was "home"; and "This isn't home". The wife says she cannot see that it ever really will be 'home' - ie a close circle of friends, the corner shop, etc. 3 They do not seem to have met anyone besides family F50, and this relationship seems to have further deteriorated since they were last interviewed.

F51 2 The wife says that the neighbours are reserved. Two women sat on their front doorstep "to weigh us up", but they have not been seen since. They have not had a great deal of contact with their immediate neighbours either. It was some time before they were spoken to, but she does know that her next-door neighbours are Australian. Nor do the children play with the immediate neighbours' children, but they play with others further down the street.

F52 2 She "loves the neighbours' swimming pool".

F54 3 They are looking forward to a long weekend trip to Andamooka with friends they have made here (the husband's leading hand. He comes from their part of the world, and

so they work well together).

F56 2 The wife has made lots of friends, including the elderly couple who came to meet them at Milpara (because of the arrival publicity). They have some Australian neighbours who "can't get back to Adelaide quick enough" because all their families are there. She does not like their liberal attitude to the children, though it may be just them, not every Australian family. She does not like the way people 'drop in' and stay around, but she did enjoy meeting the stranger at the supermarket who ran her home in the car and had a cup of tea with her. She is also very taken with her Spanish neighbour. 3 Her friends are: the German couple next door but one; the Yugoslavs down the road, and the Greek family. She spends so much time helping them to get established in the community that she has not got time to worry about it for herself. She has changed her stance on the question of children outside. She used to feel it was odd, but now has come to accept it as the 'natural' way here.

F57 2 They have been to see family F59 (who arrived with them) as they live within walking distance. The next-door neighbour was very good - helping to carry in furniture, etc, when they have bought from private houses. The neighbours lent them a washing machine until they got one, and gave them things for the baby. 4 (letter from Albury): "We have found it much harder to make friends here; which, I think, is due to the fact that the majority of people here have grown up here and therefore have their family and friends here, whereas in Whyalla the majority of people were in a similar position to ourselves, and so went out of their way to be particularly friendly".

F59 (arrived with family F57 (*qv*)). 2 They have seen family F57, as they live nearby. 3 The wife in family F57 said that friends had "gone off them" (family F59) because she was a real whingeing Pom. She seems to have had problems finding friends, and also their daughter (age 2); she has a little friend two doors away, but playing means either "she goes there, or he has to come here". She does not like

going there "because Pat talks too much, and I can never get away to do my own work". 4 (At Victor Harbour) She says she has made so many more friends here. She never made friends in Whyalla because (a) she did not have a car, and (b) she did not go to work. She said if she went out in Whyalla, she never encountered anyone she knew, whereas here she meets someone she knows whenever she goes out.

F60 (Families F4, F48 and F60 arrived together, and as they live close to one another, they maintain contact). 3 With both of them working, they get their socialisation at work, and are content to enjoy one another's company in the evenings and at weekends. She has a 'bosom friend' round the corner, to whom she goes and has long chats.

F61 2 They have found the neighbours very friendly. They found a basket of lemons on the doorstep on their second morning, and they got taken out for a barbecue on the beach at the long weekend. They have been lent a washing machine, lawn mower, kitchen table and chairs.

Appendix XXI Who mixes with whom?

(Numbers in the notes refer to the interview at which the comment was made, eg '2' is the 'one month after arrival' interview)

F1 2 He works beside the husband from family F49.

F49 2 The wife has decided family F26 is "not our type". Even so, she says they were very kind to them when they first arrived, and could not do enough for them. (Family F26 accommodated them in their caravan for a fortnight, until they got their house). The husband says four welders arrived at the same time: "A lad from Manchester (ie the husband from family F1), a Spaniard, and an Australian". 3 The wife is friendly with the wives from families F33 and F44, and one gets the impression that they reinforce one another's moans about Whyalla.

F26 1 They met family F7 at Waterloo Station, waiting for the same boat train to come to Australia. He also has a mate (the husband in family F49) who is in the throes of coming to Whyalla. 2 Family F30 has entertained, and been entertained by, this family; as also has family F39, who live just across the road from them. 3 In Britain, he worked side by side with the husband from family F49, and a mate who now lives in Sydney. They are glad family F7 is going to live close by; though this seems to appeal more to the wife than to her husband, who says that: "Bill (the husband) is alright, but he's not like a mate with whom you can work".

F39 3 The husband says the four of them who arrived together (families F7, F26, F30 and F39) still occasionally see one another - "We don't see them all the time. We're not like that; you fall out that way".

F7 3 The husband came in at 11.00 pm with the husband from family F26. In the meantime, the two wives had been together here. 5 (12 months) The husband from family F41 said the husband from family F7 had had a kangaroo through his radiator.

F44 2 The husband works with the husband from family F8, who lives not far away, and who arrived at approximately the same time. 3 The family also mentioned family F33, and the wife thinks that family F45 "are mad" to leave Whyalla as soon as they did (ie within four weeks of arrival). 5 (at 15 months) The wife from family F44 was at the home of family F49.

F8 3 Their main friends are family F14, from the same part of the world as they are.

F14 1 They met family F53 on the ship coming to Australia, but did not know they were coming to Whyalla until they left Melbourne (on the train). 2 They have undoubtedly been well aided with settling in by family F8, who live just round the corner, and have "done a great deal for us". They also know family F44. 3 They also know family F33.

F53 3 Family F14 say that the husband from family F33 has changed his job, and also that the wife has got over her homesickness.

F32 2 They took family F30 out from Milpara, to look at furniture "because we've been through it, and know what it is like". They were originally going to New Zealand with family F31, and they accommodated family F31 for three weeks, when they first arrived in Whyalla, until they got their house. They were also entertaining the wife from family F18 at this interview. 3 The wife from family F8 said she very much likes the mother of the wife from family F32.

F33 2 The husband works with the husband from family F8, who warned him that they would be interviewed. 2a (3 months) The wife from family F44 said the wife from family F33 is suffering from the heat. 3 They (wives from families F33 and F44, together with the wife from family F8) are all in the '5608' Club, an organisation set up by a group of families to raise funds to establish a new kindergarten in their part of Whyalla, the name coming from the local post code, 5608.

F18 3 The wife from family F32 says the wife from family F8

is now very much more settled.

F31 2 Both families, F31 and F32, were originally Commonwealth migrants destined for Sydney. This family, through an administrative mix-up, went to Sydney first, and then later travelled to rejoin family F32 in Whyalla.

F37 3 The wife was in hospital for her baby at the same time as the wife from family F26, but they have not met up since, although this wife "saw (the other wife) on the bus last week".

F45 2a Family F41 was in Milpara at the same time as family F45, and the husband from family F41 said the husband from family F45 was a "non-drinker, non-smoker and non-swearer; a generally quiet and reserved sort of person who 'wouldn't last' at the Shipyards. They'd soon find him out there".

F25 2a The husband from family F41 (who was in Milpara at the same time as family F25) said it was difficult to see why they were going back to Britain. 2 The wife said that Milpara regularly reduced her to tears (as it also did to the wife from family F45, in the room next door). She said Whyalla was alright for people like family F41, who had got something better than they had before.

F38 2 They did not mention family F33, who live opposite them, and who moved in just before them. 3 The wife has been talking to the wife from family F33, and the two wives go together to evening classes. This family travelled out on the same boat as family F51.

F51 1 They came out on the same ship as family F38. They saw the BHP labels on their luggage at Southampton, and sought them out. 2a (2 months) The wife from family F51 met family F9 at Milpara. 3 The wife referred to family F47, who she had met at a Christmas party; and also family F43 ("Who live opposite to Doris" - nb Doris is one of her close friends).

F9 2 This interview, in Milpara, was in the presence of the wife from family F51, and the family F56. The first, because her mother (in Britain) said that her brother lived next door to family F9; the latter because the wife from

family F56 used to go out with the sister and brother-in-law of the husband from family F9, 2a The wife says she knows well the wife from family F56. The family were also in Milpara at the same time as family F47.

F56 1 They "know nobody except family F52", who they met at the Adelaide hostel.

F47 3 The wife from family F51 said that the husband from family F47 had been warned for "fraternising with the work force".

F10 2a (2 months) The husband from family F32 said family F10 were going to a party at the home of family F31, and that each of 'the group' are taking it in turns each week to organise a party.

F57 2 They have been to see family F59 (who arrived with them) since they live within walking distance of one another. 3 The wife from family F52 is in this wife's netball team.

F59 4 (17 months) Asked why they did not go to Albury with family F57, the reply was "because of the others" (ie family F57). The wife did not like them, because she was always being asked to look after the baby, but there was always some reason why the other wife couldn't look after her children; as she says; "I like someone who goes both ways".

F43 3 They looked after family F48 when they arrived, and got no thanks for their troubles. It sounds very much like a clash of personalities. 4 They have bought a house next door to family F36.

F36 2a The wife from family F51 says the family's new house is next door to family F43, and they "don't get on at all". The wife has bought the galah from family F47.

F48 2 They still maintain a relationship with family F60, who came out at the same time as they did. Family F36 also offered to take them out when they were in Milpara, but the husband found himself "coldshouldered" by family F48, especially later, the way the husband from family F48

"looked through me" at the bus-stop. However, the son from family F36 often sees the wife from family F48 on her way to work, and keeps track of the news.

F60 1 They came by sea with two other families, F4 and F48, but they did not meet until on the coach from Outer Harbour taking them to the Adelaide hostel at Woodville. 2 These three families, all living close together, maintain contact. 3 This wife, and the wife from family F4, jointly disparaged the wife from family F48, for her isolationism and off-hand behaviour. 4 (6 months) The husband from family F51 says the husband from family F60 is called "The watcher" at work.

F4 Of all the families who came out together (F4, F48 and F60); F4 and F60 "get on well together"; F60 and F48 "get on together"; and F4 "can't really seem to get on with" F48 (so they are drifting apart from them). 3 The wife from family F4 was with family F60 this evening.

F29 1 They had their initial interview at the same time as family F43, and the husband was recognised by the wife from family F43 as "someone with whom I'd been at school". 3 The wife is teaching the wife from family F43 to drive.

F24 2 They made enquiries on the boat near Fremantle, and so found that family F54 was also going to Whyalla. 3 The husband's mother has written telling him that one of his brother's neighbours has also come out to Whyalla (family F58). 4 (10 months) Family F8 say that family F24 were "feeling the pinch" as a consequence of the protracted Shipyards strike.

F58 2 The wife said she could have wept when she saw Milpara, but did not seem to be dismayed by it, possibly because she knew she was going to get a brand-new house, and that they would be next door to family F50, who travelled with them. Strangely enough, she did not mention family F31, who live opposite them. 3 They have now met up with family F24; and relations with family F50 have somewhat deteriorated.

F50 2 This family arrived with family F58, and now the families have the two halves of a double unit. The husband

is teaching the husband from family F58 to drive.

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F6 3 The husband said that he had his BHP interview at the same time as the husbands from families F16, F21 and F40; and that they now had all met up again in Whyalla.

F21 3 There seems a strong likelihood that the wife's faulting of Australia is facilitated by the friends she has. In the first place, these comprise the group (F6, F16, F21 and F40) who all came as a result of the same interview in Glasgow.

F16 2 They have been down to the beach today, with family F20. The two husbands go to work together. 3 Yesterday the family walked to the top of Mount Laura with family F21. Their closest friends are family F21 - alternating week and week about as to who visits whom.

F40 2 They have met up with family F16; and family F6 met them at Milpara. 3 Family F6 tried to get them to share a holiday flat in Adelaide for their annual holidays, but the wife said she "doesn't think she could stand his (the husband from family F6) face for a fortnight".

F20 3 The husband from family F16 put his head round the door during the interview. He lives just round the corner.

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F42 2 The 'Adelaide couple', who got friendly with them on the boat, came up to see them last weekend. They flew up. Family F5 said that the Adelaide couple are still living in the hostel at Pennington, and that it is an awful place. All three families (the Adelaide couple, F5 and F42) arrived on the same ship. This family asked how family F5 were getting on.

F35 2 They expressed dissatisfaction with the children from family F42, who were in Milpara at the same time as they were, and saw the parents as a "hard drinking pair; he drinks himself to sleep, and she was 'always in the Gowrie' while they were at Milpara".

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F12 1 They and family F34 travelled out on the same Qantas flight. 2 She goes to visit family F34, who live within walking distance.

F34 2 The two husbands (from family F12 and F34) are toying with the idea of going into business together.

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F17 2 This family was interviewed at Milpara at the same time as family F22.

Appendix XXII Crosscultural reactions

(Numbers in the notes refer to the interview at which the comment was made, eg '2' is the 'one month after arrival' interview)

F11 2 The husband said how he had just 'struck up an acquaintance' with someone last night, who told him he used to work for BHP. He said he was German, and he emphasised this harmonious mixing of nationalities. The eldest child (daughter, age 16) has one Aborigine, one Yugoslav, one Australian, and two English friends; while she is a Scot; again emphasising crosscultural mixing "which is good for them". This daughter, and the son (age 13) also played with a French boy (age 15½) at Milpara. The wife said how there is no colour bar here like there is in the UK; and "getting worse in Glasgow", where coloured people "get on", and the whites are beginning to hate them for it. In Whyalla, there is not the same feeling "because there are too many nationalities living and mixing together to start with".

F10 2 They said they made friends with a Tasmanian family in Milpara, and now live next door to another Tasmanian family. They said they "didn't come to Australia to join English societies", so they want to meet and mix with Australians.

F13 1 They owned a house in Britain, which was sold for £13,500. The husband said they lost £4,000 on the deal because of a coloured family next-door. This is the first family to really say that one of their reasons for coming to Australia was the number of coloured people in Britain. They gave the impression that they really were averse to coloured people, and yet their coloured next-door neighbours "were the best neighbours we've ever had". They used to come round regularly each morning while the husband was away, to see that everything was OK.

F14 2 Their adjoining neighbours are Australian. They "met" them last week, three weeks after they had moved in; "If we'd known you'd only just got here ... ", and since then

They have warmed up. They lent them a mower to cut the lawn, etc; "But it takes time". They have been told that Australians "are like that".

F18 3 The husband mentioned how terrible it was about the two little girls (aged 11 and 4) abducted from the Adelaide Oval, and said that "The same thing happened not four miles from where we used to live (ie the Cannock Chase murders, where three girls were assaulted and strangled). (This episode is significant since it represents a departure from the 'you can't imagine such a thing happening in Britain' concept).

F21 2 While they were in Milpara, they heard that 20 Tasmanian families were coming to Whyalla. The wife's reaction was "What do they want to bring in all those foreigners for?" In other words, not only does she object to the immigration of other nationals, but she also sees herself as being a non-foreigner as far as Australia is concerned; quite apart from any considerations of the real nationality of Tasmanians. 3 She says; "There's more snobbery in Australia than there ever was at home".

F23 2 The husband mentioned how the management, foremen, etc are all Australians. That is, there is no promotion for migrants. (In fact at the lower levels of management, for example, foremen and leading hands, this is not true. It is true, however, of top management).

F25 2 The husband from family F29 said that one of the reasons why this family is returning to Britain is because the husband has been "working amongst Aussies who've taken it out of him" (that he's a 'Pommie').

F26 1 The husband originally worked in north west London, and then moved to Wales "to get away from the crush". It transpired that the original area was becoming "full of coloureds; taking all the houses and all the work". They left Britain because "the country's going downhill", and because there are "too many coloureds".

F28 2 The wife mentioned that her next-door neighbour is Italian. 3 Implicit in how, rather than what she said, is

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the suggestion that she does not like these Italian neighbours "at all". "Because they're Italian, they wouldn't be able to understand me, even if I did go round there for help".

F33 3 The husband spoke about the reactions of the Australians to the Poms; "I don't know how they'd get on if they had to live in Bradford".

F34 1 The wife said she is "not a racialist; not in some senses, anyway"; but said it was one of the last straws when they went to London - wherever they went, at the most there would be one white person serving them, all the rest would be coloured. They do not like the way "They can come over here (to Britain), drive around in cars, drink, gamble (back horses) and live on the dole" - whereas "They wouldn't look at me (the husband) when I tried to go on the dole for three weeks before coming here (to Australia)". The wife does not like the way they flood into the country in droves, and "go on the dole". They would not go to South Africa because the wife "couldn't stand the racism there". In her words, there are coloured people around where she used to live, but each kept to themselves; "tolerated" each other; but she could not live by South African rules, where one is so much inferior to the other.

F35 1 The wife mentioned the situation at school in Britain - only one white child in a class of blacks - even bringing Indians over from India to teach them their culture - and "paying them on the Burnham scale". (Said in such a way that indicates she strongly disapproves). 2 They "haven't been able to find any Australians" and are consequently very disappointed. 3 A feature of Umba Cumba (where they are going) is that their two children will be the only white children at the school there.

F30 2 There is only one Australian child in the son's class at school.

F40 2 They wife said that in Scotland they complain about the Indians, and the Pakistanis - how they "form cliques"; "But the Scots are doing just the same out here".

F44 4 (12 months, when he was a leading hand with the company Whyalla Radiators). The husband dislikes the prejudice extended towards him by his workmates who are all Australians. His wife says that now she "knows what it must be like (for the Pakistanis) in Britain"; that is, what it is like to be a "foreigner".

F49 2 The wife is dumbfounded at having a Spanish neighbour on one side, and a Greek on the other. She said she thought they ought to be allocated to areas, but her husband said that would lead to the formation of little cliques - "Its better to mix them all up together as they are". 3 This is one of the few families to specifically mention prejudice; "They (the Australians) resent us; just like we resented the Pakistanis". Though they see Australia as far more discriminating in its selection of migrants.

F50 2 The husbands from families F50 and F58 are both conscious of the lack of Australians working with them.

F58 2 The wife strongly resents the Tasmanian family across the road. She does not like the behaviour of their children - and the freedom with which they make use of this family's house and garden. Although they have an 'open house' concept, they expect a certain amount of respect, especially property respect, to be associated with this, and it is not the case. Hence the Tasmanians' "rules of conduct" are different and unacceptable to them. The husband says the "only thorn in the (work) system" is the Australian. He is a real whining Australian. The boss is Australian, and whenever the Aussie worker gets left out when there is a chance of overtime, he puts on his best Aussie whine and says: "What about the Aussie's? All these whingeing Poms getting the overtime", and wheedles himself in. This causes resentment amongst the others, and further exacerbates the general disfavour with which he is viewed.

F54 2 The husband says the prejudice here is not good. The situation is that the labourers are all Australians, and the tradesmen are all migrants. This engenders resentment

among the labourers. Also the staff are Australian, so the affinities are "across the gap". "We don't want them here, taking all the good jobs" type of attitude. As the husband says, the differential attitudes are there anyway, its just accentuated by the nationalism superimposed on top of it.

F56 2 The wife is very taken with the ways of her Spanish neighbour, who keeps wanting to buy her trinkets, and the material she bought on the way out, etc. 3 Her friends are: the German couple next door but one; the Yugoslavs down the road, and the Greek family. She spends so much of her time helping them to get established in the community that she has not got time to worry about it for herself.

F59 1 They rejected South Africa on racial grounds. The wife believes in equality. She has worked with coloureds and never minded, but felt her liberal views would land her in trouble in South Africa.

F61 3 The husband is working with a set-up where all the others are Australians, and he feels he is being penalised "for being a Pom". "The job (he is an electrician on the coke ovens) isn't worth the money, and the Australians get the money" But paradoxically, all his friends are Australians; but "If there's anything going, the Aussies get it. An Australian in Australia has a better chance than a Pom". Their daughter (age 17) now has a boy-friend, and it has been a shock to realise (a) she is growing up, and (b) the cross-cultural consequences of adjustment to the idea of a Yugoslav son-in-law.

Appendix XXIII Reception in Whyalla

F4 (From South Wales) They had "someone from Merthyr" come to visit them in Milpara - "one of the (City) councillors". (See also family F52).

F12 Nobody came to visit them in Milpara.

F14 The GNC representative came to meet them at Milpara, and took them to see their house. He also went to see them two weeks later. The representative told them he had "come off my own bat", as it was "usually two to three months before we get round to seeing you".

F15 Nobody came to see them in Milpara.

F16 While they were in Milpara, someone of, but not from, the GNC came to see them, and took them to see their house, and said; "You must be just round the corner from ... ", and took them around and introduced them - an entrée that led them to meeting a whole circuit of families. The representative's view was; "You want help now; not in two months' time". (ie when the GNC gets round to an 'official' visit).

F20 The husband found he knows someone in Whyalla who used to work with him some years ago. The friend contacted them as a consequence of this family's name appearing in the Spencer Gulf Pictorial.

F23 The GN councillor did not manage to catch up with them until they had been in their house for a month. He tried several times unsuccessfully - they were always out.

F36 They were very impressed by the welcome they received from the people who came to sort them out at Milpara, "especially the couple from Rochester" (Kent).

F39 Their name appeared in the Spencer Gulf Pictorial and as a consequence they were met by two Nottinghamshire couples from near from where they came. They were very good to them, taking it in turns to take them out shopping, for which they are genuinely grateful.

F42 Nobody came to see them in Milpara. In the end, they went for a walk and found the Whyalla Workers Club. They said

they were new arrivals, and the secretary invited them in, generally introduced them round, and helped them to make friends.

F43 The wife's opinion was that Milpara was "like a zoo". Three girls (see family F51, below) came round, and took her under their wing; took her out shopping, and so forth, for which she was extremely grateful; "If it wasn't for them, I'd be back in Adelaide already".

F48 Two of the wife's colleagues said that the lady from the GNC regularly called round to see her in Milpara, at about 9.00 am, causing the wife to be "dragged out of bed"; which she resented". In the end, the GNC lady "gave her up".

F51 The wife emphasised how much she had been assisted by the "'unofficial' Good Neighbour Council" - two women who felt that there was a need for helping assimilate new families, and who had gone to a GNC meeting. They said the main item on the agenda had been when and where for the next dinner, rather than what opportunities they had been able to provide for newcomers. So they set themselves up in an 'unofficial' capacity - with the collusion of one of the Milpara kitchen staff (hence, the three girls in family F43 above) regarding the arrival of newcomers. The wife said a man had called to see them the first night they arrived, saying he was from the GNC, and that he intended to see them; however, he had forgotten all about it, and had only remembered as he was driving past Milpara, and so he had dropped in then, but would visit them the following day. He never returned. Later, when they had been in their house for just over a fortnight, they had another GNC visit from a lady, who apologised for not calling earlier, but said she had "only just been notified" by the Adelaide office, of their arrival in Whyalla. However, the 'unofficial' GNC's were very good, and gave the family sound help and advice. 3 They don't see much of their 'unofficial' GNC contact these days, The wife says she tends to "move on" in her friendships.

F52 (From South Wales). They were also shown round by the City

councillor. (See also family F4, above).

F56 They have made "lots of friends", including an elderly couple from Acrington, who came to see them in Milpara, as a result of their arrival publicity.

F57 They made friends through introductions from the GNC representative.

F59 They were invited out, as a result of their arrival publicity.

F61 They found the value of the television announcement of their arrival. A colleague who had worked with the husband five years previously came to see them at Milpara, and took them home and fed them for a week. This action was completely self-initiated, and was a very great help to them.

Appendix XXIV Attitudes towards staying in Australia

(Numbers in the notes refer to the interview at which the comment was made, eg '2' is the 'one month after arrival' interview)

(a) Families who left Australia soon after arrival

F25 1 They had neighbours in Britain who came to Whyalla 17 months before them, but returned to Britain six months later because they "could not stick it". They advised this family not to buy a house in Whyalla because "you'll never sell it"; but this family's attitude about coming is: "You've got to make your own mind up, haven't you?" The choice of Whyalla was "just to get us out". They aim to stay in Australia "for good", but the ultimate decision "depends on what it is like" (both for Whyalla in particular, and Australia in general). 2 They are returning to Britain. Family F41 (in Milpara at the same time) said it was difficult to see why they were going back. "If you asked him, he said he liked Whyalla, but his wife didn't; and if you asked her, she said Whyalla was OK, but her husband didn't like it".
It is difficult to tell which one is really responsible for the decision to return. What seems more apparent is that this is a 'united front', bent on justifying the action. The original *reason* will probably never materialise. What can be seen is a chain of events which taken as a whole lead up to the rejection of Whyalla in particular, and Australia in general. Asked why, if they rejected Whyalla, they did not try elsewhere in Australia first, the answer was that they had come here with enough money put by to be able to return if they found they did not like it. But having found they did not like Whyalla, they felt that if they went elsewhere first, it would cost so much money that they would not have enough left to be able to pay their fares back; a sort of 'getting out while the going's good' philosophy.
At their original Adelaide interview, they said how much dirtier and colder it was than they had expected. In

Whyalla, they said how unkempt the streets are; no pavements, etc, and littered with broken bottles and cans - they counted 25 beer bottles in one street. The husband also said there was much less grass than they had expected, and his wife said how they had always taken the grass and the trees for granted back home, but now they realise how necessary they are to their lives, and how much they miss them. Then Milpara regularly reduced the wife to tears, and the food there was dreadful. She lost 2 kg; her daughter (age 2½) just over a kilogram; and her husband lost 4 kg since they had been there. They couldn't eat Milpara food; and deplored "the filthy washing conditions". Also they hated the heat (it reached 41.7°C (107°F) while they were in Milpara). They went down to the beach at 9.00 pm on a hot day, and "there were hundreds of people there". When they got back it was so hot they could not sleep, and then at 2.00 am it went so cold - they could not take it. They were put off by the way everyone drinks in Whyalla. They were invited out nearly every night, and the first night a woman said she would take them out "to show you Whyalla" - this consisted of drinking all night - "all anybody wants to do is to drink or play darts". They were unable to find anyone who shared their ideas of drinking in moderation, and, say, showed them around, instead of just taking them to their homes. They said most people they met did not seem to be overenthusiastic about Whyalla; they kept telling them; "You'll get used to it". Then when they were allocated a house, they did not like it. They said they had been given the impression that they would be allocated a house "like the RDC houses that are built, and bought through BHP, 'not a council house'". They said the house was alright for people, like family F41, who had something better than they had before; "If you lived in a tenement, then a SA Housing Trust house was a vast improvement, so naturally you'd be pleased; but if you'd had a house of your own like we had (we'd had it four years), then it was very much of a comedown". (This is something of a paradox, because they had rejected Whyalla *before* the house was allocated to them. The house they

were allocated had been lived in for eight years by a Scots couple who were returning to Scotland on medical advice. They were very happy in Whyalla, and had a beautiful garden; "But I didn't like the house" said the wife. "Then there were the bugs; flies all over the place". The wife hates the way you get flies all about you whenever you go for a walk outside "and all the moths and things". The washrooms used to get full of moths at Milpara, and they could not shut the windows properly in their quarters. Since then, they had moved to a motel, and walking up the hill, found the houses (privately owned) were better than they had previously encountered, and the view was quite pleasant. (It was almost as if, since deciding to go, they found Whyalla is not so bad as they had painted it; but they could still find details to reinforce their decision to return - like the flies, and the beerbottles). When they get back to Britain, they anticipate living with the wife's mother until they again get settled; but the husband does not envisage going back to his old job.
The wife gives the impression that she puts on a front of 'pleasantry', but underneath she appears to have a violent temper (as though she would fly off the handle at the least provocation, and so what seems to have happened is that she made a spontaneous decision to return to Britain, and subsequent actions have been such as to validate this decision). They now appear to be regretting their haste, but not so much as to alter their minds again. Part of their haste was because the wife "did not want to spend Christmas in Whyalla". The husband gives the impression he would like to spread out the timetable back to Britain, and do things in not so much of a rush. (The Personnel Officer said the husband's foreman reckoned that "he would have made it, but for her").

(b) Families who left Whyalla within six months after arrival there, and moved elsewhere in Australia

F13 1 They are going to Whyalla knowing that if they do not like it, they can return to the husband's sister at

Elizabeth. They returned to Elizabeth after less than four weeks in Whyalla.

F45 1 The family applied to come in response to a BHP advertisement, because the husband had seen the advertisements as most frequently occurring, and whilst *BHP's reputation is not good* ("But a company is what you make of it"), at least it would provide a base from which to make up one's own mind about Australia. If they do not manage to settle in Whyalla, they will *probably* look elsewhere in Australia, but a lot of the hopes are pinned on the success of Whyalla. 2 (Reported evidence). Apparently they were told in Britain that they would get a Shipyards cottage "as soon as you arrive". It never materialised. Then, after two days' work, he was 'laid off', because of the Painters and Dockers strike. This meant he had had four weeks' leave in Britain, followed by four weeks on the ship, and he arrived at Whyalla ready to get down to work again. He did 11 hours' work, and then was laid off. He then rang one of the companies whose representatives came aboard their ship at Fremantle (a company offering a house and a job), and asked if they still had vacancies. The upshot was that he handed in his notice on the Tuesday morning "because he had not got a house". He was allocated a house that afternoon, but said it was too late, he was going; and the family left for Perth the following Saturday.

F48 1 *They* give the impression they will not stay long in Whyalla. The implication is that they will use BHP as a base to look around. 2 Neither likes their job, and the wife is "not happy with Whyalla". In spite of these drawbacks, the husband does not see them leaving Whyalla "in under a year. We need to have a look round first". They are going to Adelaide next weekend to see what it is like, but they are reluctant to leave Whyalla because of the house. They are not too impressed with Whyalla, including his aunt who is "even more eccentric than I expected". (The son from family F36 said that the wife had told him they "won't stay longer than two years"; and the

wives from families F4 and F60 said the family "will go back to Britain 'after their two years'"). 3 The family has now been in Adelaide for three months. They had an interview with the Immigration Department representative in Whyalla, who told them he was about to move out of his two-bedroom flat in Adelaide that he rented from his father. They went to look at it; found the husband could get a job across the road at the Chrysler Car factory, and so took both. Their main aim had been "to get out of Whyalla". Their initial move to Whyalla had been mainly because they had an opportunity to start with a home and a job; and a base from which to seek out a more permanent home. The aversion to Whyalla seems to stem largely from the wife's inability to get a suitable job there. Their aim is to see something of Australia - Melbourne, Sydney, Brisbane. The choice of Adelaide, in preference to Brisbane, is because they knew they could 'take' Adelaide; and because of the home and the job - nb it is easier to get to Adelaide from Whyalla than if the jobs were in Brisbane. Asked if they were going to stay in Australia, the wife nearly said "No", but her husband said they would have a good look around and probably stay. They give the impression that the wife is firmly fixed in her resolve to return to Britain, but that the husband is not so committed.

F55 1 They applied to BHP because someone in Britain had told him that was the quickest way to get to Australia. The basic aim was for the husband to come and join his wife's brother in Melbourne. In the end, they went straight back to Melbourne from Adelaide, instead of going to Whyalla.

(c) Families still in Whyalla at six months; but who had left by the December 1975 Spot Check

F8 2 The family seems very happy and settled in Whyalla. The wife is particularly so. The idea was for Whyalla as a base, If they liked it, they would stay; otherwise they could move out from the base, and explore other possible venues. In the event, the job and the locality were acceptable; so they opted to buy a house in Whyalla. Their

present intention is to stay here permanently. 3 They very much like it here now. 4 The wife's parents (the family's *only* close relatives) were refused sponsorship. 5 They have gone.

F9 2 The husband's "best friend" is in Fremantle, where he went two months ago. Asked why they did not also go to Fremantle, the answer was "because of the security of a job and a house with BHP in Whyalla". Whilst they like what they have seen sufficiently to stay, the wife says they are not going to buy a house yet because they want to look around a bit first. 2a They "very much like it here", but the wife "prefers a big city"; and her husband's view is that they are "not here for ever". He still has his eyes on the possibilities of Perth. The aim appears to be to stay in Australia, but not necessarily Whyalla. 4 (via family F51; at seven months). The family has gone to Dampier (Western Australia), where the aim is to stay "for about two years"; then they may come back to live in Perth - or Whyalla - depending on what they think of Perth, and also (now) how they get on in Dampier. The wife from family F51 said the family "didn't seem to settle too well at first, but then seemed to get on much better", and the move seemed rather sudden and unexpected. Later they wrote to say that the aim was to stay in Dampier for two years, and then go to Perth, which they liked from their few days' stay there. (Dampier is a 'company town', with free medical and dental facilities, sending children to school in Perth, if necessary, and so forth. In other words, it is filled with incentives to induce people to go and work there. People who go there "go with the idea of making a fast buck", and then returning to 'civilisation').

F27 1 When asked if they intended staying, the husband said; "Oh, yes", as if it was a strange question to ask. He's not so sure about where he would go if they do not like Whyalla, but it would not be a place like Adelaide; "I'm not a city lover". 2 The wife says she really likes Whyalla, but has reservations (early September) about what it will be like when the weather gets hot. 3 They

anticipate staying in Whyalla, at least for the time being.

F34 1 They want to settle in Australia, but not necessarily in Whyalla. They have heard that many people do not stay; "If they go back to Britain after 18 months, they haven't really given it a fair go"; and also heard of people moving to other parts of Australia, and returning to Whyalla. 2 The wife is violently opposed to Whyalla; largely "because of the lies" she was told about what to expect. Because her three children said they like it here, and would rather be here than "back home', and her husband is equally satisfied, she plans to return to Britain, leaving them in Whyalla. At first, she "hated it", but now she "likes Whyalla". She has always been used to big cities, and prefers them. Where the family goes next hinges on several factors; her husband's satisfaction with his job; her sister's arrival (due shortly); her grandmother's coming, etc. In effect, it is anyone's guess whether they stay or leave. 3 The wife says she "hates Whyalla", in a generalised and non-specific way, and she is still threatening to return to Britain. They have sponsored her grandmother to come to Whyalla, so they are staying until she gets here. They desperately want to leave Whyalla and go to Adelaide; but will not go because the Immigration Authorities have to pass the accommodation before they will permit the sponsorship to go through. The wife is definitely going back to Britain four years after their arrival, "even if its only for a holiday". The intention now is to go back permanently, "But I could change my mind in that time".

F35 1 The aim is to give Whyalla a year, and if they do not like it, to give somewhere else in Australia a year first, and see what happens from there. 2 The husband has a general feeling of dissatisfaction, and his wife says she can see him going steadily downhill and becoming more and more unhappy "which is not like him". He is already looking for another job. The general impression is that Whyalla is the sort of place they were looking for, but the job and the neighbourhood leave a great deal to be desired.

3 The husband has left BHP, and is going to the Aboriginal Mission at Umba Cumba, Groote Eylandt. Two points have emerged; (a) he is profoundly miserable working for BHP, and his "face doesn't fit", and (b) they are dissatisfied with Whyalla. They also find South Australia "too cold. You should have seen our first electricity bill", especially compared with Singapore, where he has lived for more than six years, in recent years.

F36 1 Their initial aim was to go to Western Australia, but at their interviews, they were told that there is no work for them there. Their intention is to stay permanently in Australia. 2 Buying a house is an indication of their intention to stay. 3 On the whole, the parents seem well-satisfied with their lot, though the husband is not happy about the way he is presently on strike.

F41 2 They like it in Whyalla, but say they will not necessarily stay here unless there are better chances for promotion than appear to be the case at the moment (currently he is "about 40th" on the list). 3 The desire for a house is not to be able to have one in Whyalla, but rather in, say, Adelaide. They aim to get away from Whyalla - not for themselves, because they very much like it here, and would "stay if it was a hundred miles nearer to Adelaide". "There's nothing here but BHP, and I don't want my children to grow up and work for BHP". Adelaide is seen as a mecca; since it fulfills all the requirements, and they think their children would get a better schooling. They also remarked on the higher school staff turnover (another point to be taken into consideration regarding moving to Adelaide). "Don't get us wrong; we like Whyalla. Its just that it hasn't got the things we want, and are used to". In all, they seem a very perceptive family, and seem able to find the right reasons for their course of action.

F49 1 The wife said she "hated it" when she first went to live in Slough, but got used to it. They had "planned to go to Brisbane" as he had a mate there who said there were "plenty of jobs for welders". 2 The wife said she nearly

burst into tears when their aircraft came into land at Whyalla "on the edge of the bush". She turned to her husband and said; "You were going to bring me to a civilised place; not right on the edge of the bush like this". It made her very unhappy, and after an initial spending spree on furniture, they put on the brakes. In the first place, they "can't do as well as we expected on the money he's getting", and the wife has decided they are not going to stay. Their aim was to come to Australia and they selected Whyalla because of the accommodation; but their intention never was to stay in Whyalla. If it had exceeded their expectations, they would have been quite happy to stay. The husband had always hoped to travel around Australia, and his wife's dissatisfaction with Whyalla is reinforcing this wish. The impression is that he is very much happier with Whyalla than are his wife or step-daughter; and would be happy to stay; at least until he has more money. 3 The overwhelming impression is that the wife is not happy in Whyalla. The brakes are still on on expenditure; eg still bare floorboards. They went to Adelaide; but it "poured all the way there, and it rained all the time we were there". They had a very cold and miserable time at the caravan park, and it poured all the way back; including being held up by floods at Mambray Creek. The wife was in tears and was going to "catch the next plane home". Even so, they like Adelaide, and have made extensive enquiries about living and working there; and they like the look of Elizabeth. It appears she is prepared to try Adelaide; and her husband is applying for other jobs. The wife said she had not anticipated "having to be a pioneer". They may go to Adelaide and buy a house and settle there, but "not Whyalla".

F57 1 They elected to come to Australia, and had decided Adelaide was the best place. (Perth was better, but more isolated). Then they found out about BHP and a house; so elected to go to Whyalla. 2 They still feel they will move to Adelaide in one to two years. He does not like his job, but his wife likes Whyalla. Both seem prepared to accept it; but will not stay here. They want to go somewhere

bigger, with better facilities (eg transport, shops, entertainment etc). They initially wanted to come to Adelaide, and nothing has occurred to make them change their minds. 3 They are going to Albury - a larger and generally more attractive place. 4 (3½ months later; in a letter from Albury). 'We have settled in here very well, and feel that the way of life suits us better than that of Whyalla. We have just completed transactions for the purchase of a plot of land and this, I think, has made us feel more settled'. In September 1975, they were back in Adelaide, having also worked in the interim in Melbourne.

F59 2 They are not very happy, and feel that they will not stay in Whyalla. They look forward to returning to Britain. 3 Family F57 said; 'They (family F59) are not going to stay". They husband gives the impression he'd like to stay in Whyalla if he could get a job he likes more than his present one. His wife says they will go back to Britain "at some stage", but they certainly do not give the impression of being over-hasty in their departure. The husband has maintained his view that "the job's boring"; whereas Whyalla is alright. 4 (At Victor Harbour). He applied for a job at Woomera, but the car broke down at Port Germein, so he missed the interview. He had the offer of another interview two months later, but accepted the Victor Harbour job in the meantime. The wife is happy to stay living in Victor Harbour, she says it does not get so hot; "In Whyalla, I had to stay inside when it was very hot - couldn't go to the shops". She never went to the beach in Whyalla, but swims a lot now; but her husband still has his reservations. The basic aim is not "to stay", but while the wife would be happy to remain in Victor Harbour, her husband's views are in store until his two years are up.

(d) Families still in Whyalla at the December 1975 Spot Check

F1 1 They hope to stay, but not necessarily in Whyalla, if they do not like it. The general impression is that they would "go anywhere in Australia - or New Zealand" if they

do not like Whyalla. The wife's sister has told them how a lot of people decide to leave Whyalla, but once they get elsewhere, they come back again. 2 Whyalla is "alright"; and it seems they will stay. Paradoxically, the wife likes Whyalla more than her husband, although he is satisfied with his work, and she cannot get any. 3 Whyalla has satisfied their criteria, so they are content to stay.

F2 2 They would be happier with Whyalla if there was more work for women (ie for the wife); better transport, and better entertainment. 3 They have "settled in" here.

F3 2 They wanted somewhere quiet. Whyalla "closes down" in the evenings, but they do not mind. The husband said that the opinions in Britain of Whyalla had all been negative, and generally, opinions (mainly second-hand) were that Whyalla is not a good place to which to go. 3 They are "happy" with their lot, and see Whyalla as being "so much better than we expected".

F4 1 They do not necessarily intend to remain in Whyalla, since they "don't know what to expect" there. 2 They have set their roots in the new community, as opposed to identifying with the other families who arrived at the same time as they did. It certainly looks as if they will stay, at least for the time being. 3 They want to look around before deciding where to settle, and are not so keen on living as they are in Whyalla now. The husband always lived in the country, with plenty of open space, and he would like to do the same again, while his wife would "settle anywhere". On the whole though, they are well enough satisfied with Whyalla.

F5 2 They have settled remarkably well. This could be due to the stabilising influence of having his sister at hand; who has recently arrived from Tasmania. Both like it here. 3 They give the impression that they will stay; at least for the time being.

F6 1 The husband has relatives in Brisbane and Sydney. They came to Whyalla because Sydney is too large and expensive, and there is no work in Queensland. 2 They seem to be

settling reasonably well. The husband said they will stay "for two years at least". 3 Both like Whyalla, but he "does not like his job". Overall, they do not know if they will stay in Whyalla, but will "certainly be here for at least another six months"; and whatever they decide to do, they "certainly won't go back" (to Britain). They say in any case they could not afford to leave Whyalla yet, but this does not stop them "exploring the possibilities" elsewhere.

F7 2 The wife says that Whyalla is "alright", but she does not sound overenthusiastic; probably because of missing friends and neighbours. She says Whyalla is a "strange place", and they are going to "wait and see" before deciding if they will stay here. She said that people do not stay long in Whyalla "because BHP is the only thing here. If BHP goes on short time; everything suffers. The whole community is dependent upon BHP. The other plants here make pieces for BHP ships, and so on. They are not truly independent. We would stay if there was more diversity here. People do not stay; they go". They said the foreman was selling up after five years in Whyalla, and returning to Britain; and they found someone else who had sold up and gone back, but was back in Whyalla six weeks later. 3 They went to visit the wife's aunt, who has lived in Adelaide for 14 years, and in her present house for eight. She tried to persuade them to move to Adelaide, but she would not go and visit them in Whyalla. The wife's only regret about Whyalla is the "lack of good shops". Otherwise they are very happy, and the husband had "nothing but good" to say about Australia in general, and Whyalla in particular, "except BHP". 4 Having bought a house in Whyalla, the wife said: "We're settled here now". They give the impression of being one of the best-settled families in the study. The aunt thinks they are mad; "Who'd live in Whyalla?" but the family would not live in Adelaide, because they "don't like 'the big city'". As it is, the husband can "come home in ten minutes", so he comes home daily to lunch.

F10 2 The idea was to use Whyalla as a base, and decide what to do from there. The husband made the point that several people had left since they arrived (about four weeks ago); and that most of the 'short stayers' are from interstate. He said about migrants that if they stay for four years, then they seem to stay much longer. 3 Both seem happy with Whyalla, and the husband says: "I think its great". It appears to fulfil a need for them of a 'centre' from which they can achieve all they want to do.

F11 1 Asked how long they were going to stay, the wife said: "For ever" - in Whyalla, because Adelaide is "too big a city; too much like Glasgow". 2 The overall view is that they very much like it, and are settling well and want to stay. They are settled in a way that few other families have settled.

F12 1 Their aim is to settle permanently in Australia, and probably in Whyalla. 3 They seem geared to go to Adelaide. They want to stay in Australia, but not in Whyalla. The wife says she does not like Whyalla, but she "can't put it into words" why. The husband says they came to Whyalla to "get away from Britain", but "Whyalla is an 'overspill from England'". They are planning to visit their friends in Adelaide, and then the decision will probably be made. Adelaide is definitely seen as an answer to their problems - providing a job he likes, and a better social life for both of them.

F21 1 The wife has a sister in Whyalla, and Whyalla is the *only* place to which she would go. Her parents anticipate retiring to Whyalla, and her (single) brother, presently in Zambia, will probably also come. 2 The wife says the money does not go as far as they had expected, and they are keeping capital "in reserve" in case they want to go back; but in general terms, they seem to have settled in. 3 The wife says they will "give it a couple of years" and then see if they will return to Britain. Most of her conversation was by way of finding fault with Australia. Her friend, from Adelaide, is going back for a holiday, "but with a one-way ticket, and taking the children with

her. "What's the point of wasting money on a return, when we may not come back"". She sees her sister as "BHP through and through; but she can afford to be, because her husband's a foreman; and he doesn't get affected by the strike". She is also in a real dilemma about her parents; "It would really be a mistake for them to come ,,, , especially if we decided to go back".

F14 2 They are settling extremely well. The wife says; "I like it", and obviously means it. 3 The wife is a real contrast to the wife from family F21 (above). Both are surrounded (in a social sense) by people "who want to go back" to Britain; but this wife says; "We won't ever go back; we've nothing to go back for. We are better off here than we ever were back home".

F15 2 They say that at least for the time being they are quite satisfied, and will stay (in Whyalla). The wife says that a lot of people say you have to go elsewhere, because Whyalla is no good; but most of them have not been anywhere else to see or know if its any better. She says she likes Whyalla. 3 When asked if they were going to stay in Whyalla, the husband's reply was; "Your guess is as good as mine"; which seems to sum up their feelings pretty accurately.

F16 1 They originally 'chose' Adelaide, but got directed to Whyalla, because of the availability of work there. His foreman's son (in Britain) had been 2½ years as a plumber in Whyalla, and said; "Whyalla's alright, but I couldn't stand the stinking heat"; so now he's going instead to Canada. The bus driver (in Adelaide) also warned them against Whyalla. They think Adelaide "is great"; and their intention is to stay for good. 2 The wife is not so keen on Whyalla. She says she "likes large cities" and would therefore "much prefer Adelaide"; but her husband said he "wouldn't go to Adelaide". The wife from family F21 said this family "'only saw two pay days' before the strike - with four children, and working at the Shipyards. They are only going to stay for the two years, and then they are going back" (to Britain). 3 The husband said: "We won't

stay permanently in Whyalla". The wife says its partly because Whyalla is such a small place, and "I've always been used to a big city" (ie Glasgow). He likes Whyalla, especially now the weather is warmer. They would probably appreciate Whyalla more if he was "on full wages" (ie no strikes); but for the moment, his wife would "like to go to Adelaide". The overall impression is that this family will not stay in Whyalla (and that probably also means Australia). It seems almost certain they will return to Scotland. It is more a question of 'when', rather than 'if'; and it is equally apparent that they cannot go until they have the money, and this could take a long time.

F17 1 They "wouldn't want to live in a big city like Adelaide". 3 They "like it here" and reckon they are going to stay. They give the impression of a couple who would be better off in Adelaide. They seem determined to succeed, but appear to be trying to succeed in the wrong place; perhaps a trip to Adelaide will change their ideas.

F18 2 Together, the wife and her two daughters form a 'whingeing Pom' syndrome. The wife says there is nothing to do, and Whyalla is a terrible place; no corner shops; only one 'deli' (at One Stop); "and the bush". She said she had been warned beforehand; but had never realised it was "all bush. If you wanted to go anywhere else than Walsall, 'you could easily go to Brum'"; whereas here; "If you don't like Whyalla, you can go to Adelaide, but its so far away". But her husband likes it here. His responses are the same as those of the husband from family F32; a type of resignation and incomprehension. Both are satisfied with their work, and happy here. They can see their wives are not, but they are powerless to do anything about it. They would both like to stay.
The wife's attitude is; "I suppose I'll *have* to stay two years, but I'm going back". Her mind is quite made up. Her behaviour is interesting; having decided she is going back, everything is aimed at justifying this action. In spite of hating it in Whyalla, she will not go anywhere else; Adelaide, Port Lincoln, etc. The actions seem to be

geared towards maintaining the resolve. The overall family situation is deadlock. The husband would like to change the situation, but his view is; "I'm 55. I've only got ten years left to work, and people won't employ someone like that". If he moves, he would have extreme difficulty in finding a job and a home.

The son (age 6) appears happy, in spite of subtle pressures on him to believe Whyalla is a bad place; but the two daughters (ages 16 and 14) are a different problem. They are obviously highly sympathetic to their mother's attitudes, but they do not seem to have the same conviction. They are bored, and so forth, but give the impression that if anything occurred to gain their attention and interest, they would quickly accept the positive attributes. Their own experiences are such as to find fault with Whyalla, but to see positive attributes in Adelaide. 3 The wife is very much more settled and wants to stay in Whyalla; "I've got to think of my son, and he's doing well at school". The elder girl is returning to Britain; "To find a husband, and come back to Australia". She has now decided she likes it here. (She went to Adelaide, and stayed at a hostel; but did not like it, and returned to Whyalla). Overall, they are now much more reconciled to an Australian life.

Another wife says that the wife's "coming to terms with Whyalla" has a lot to do with this. She says she is still "going back to Britain in two years' time - for a holiday". She says that now she is beginning to like it here. She still has no job, but is beginning to enjoy a life of leisure; and her husband "really likes it here".

Adelaide's image for the daughters is a little tarnished, although Melbourne was "alright". On the whole, the family is now much better settled, and one cannot help feeling that the tide could swing still further if boy-friends appeared on the scene for the daughters.

F32 2 They prefer to buy a block of land in Adeliade, as they liked the look of Adelaide when they were there. They were originally going to New Zealand with family F31, but the latter were turned down because of their five children.

They do not want to buy a house in Whyalla, because they have heard you cannot sell them. 2a The wife has decided she is not going to stay. She had decided earlier that she did not like Whyalla, but was not going to say anything "because people think you're strange if you say you are not staying". She seems very cautious about her rejection of Whyalla; when it comes out, it appears that her experiences have been such as to confirm her worst expectations, and so to endorse rejecting Whyalla. As she says; "It is not that Whyalla is bad. I just can't pinpoint what it is, but I know it is not for me", whereas she knows that England is. They were going to Brisbane for a holiday, to see people they had met on the boat, but now this is in jeopardy because she wants the family to save money, in order to return to Britain in two years' time. She says; "We can afford £800 now, but you need at least £1,000 to put down as a deposit. The resignation and incomprehension is the same on her husband's face as it is on the face of the husband in family F18 (above). Both are satisfied with their work, and happy here; and both can see that their wives are not, but they are powerless to do anything about it. His wife said she "wanted to know if the grass was greener on the other side of the fence - and now I know it isn't". In spite of this, they have done a great deal towards settling - buying furniture, etc. She still says she wants "better opportunities for the children", so now she wants to take them back to Britain. 3 There has been a change in attitude, and it is fairly certain that one very important factor has been the wife's mother. She is presently in Whyalla, and returning shortly to Britain. She thinks Whyalla is marvellous, and cannot get back here quick enough. She has also put her daughter in the picture about what it is like now in Britain - prohibitive mortgage rates, etc. So now the family looks like staying in Whyalla, and buying land in Adelaide is no longer such an attractive proposition; but they still have not decided to buy in Whyalla. The wife still has some reservations about Whyalla, but on the whole the family is much more settled than before. 4 The wife from family F8 said how this wife's

attitude had "changed overnight". She said it had got to the stage where "going back to the UK was a taboo subject". She had written to friends and relatives saying; "We're definitely coming back at the end of two years, even if it means we have to live in a tent"; then suddenly; "We've bought a deep-freeze - Oh! We're not going back; we're staying".

F31 3 Apart from shiftwork; they are settling in well. They anticipate staying in Whyalla; at least for the time being.

F19 2 The wife says she still prefers Adelaide; but they are content here, and say they will stay here. 3 The husband wants to stay in Whyalla; but his wife is not so sure - probably because of her lack of friends.

F20 1 They intend staying in Whyalla if they like it. 2 The wife is not interested in returning to Britain. 3 They are very pleased with being here.

F22 2 The husband's attitude now is that he would actively rebuff any of his friends thinking of coming to Australia. Both he and his wife like Whyalla. He says he will "give the Company 12 months", and then he will move, since it is almost impossible to get another job in this "one-Company Town"; and this could well mean leaving Whyalla. It does appear though that they would like to stay in Whyalla.

F23 1 They were stationed at Salisbury (their second daughter was born there), but they have never been to Whyalla. However, they go there fully with the knowledge that they would like Adelaide, and be able to move there if they do not like Whyalla. 3 They seem to have settled extremely well.

F24 2 They intend staying here. They do not want to go back, and would rather go elsewhere in Australia first. On the whole, they enjoy Whyalla. 3 They are sufficiently satisfied to stay in Whyalla, at least for the time being.

F26 1 The husband said they had come to Australia because he had a friend who had come to Sydney three years earlier, and would not go back. He would not go to Sydney because it is "too big a city". 2 Although they see Whyalla as a

"strange place", they seem well settled here. 3 The husband says; "I came here because the pay is good; the job's there; and I'm better off than I was in Britain".

F28 1 They intend to make a living in Australia; if they do not like Whyalla, they will move elsewhere. 2 The husband says: "Lots of people think that Whyalla's not a very good place". They are thinking of leaving Whyalla because of the work situation for both of them. The overall impression is that they are not enamoured with Whyalla. 3 The wife's attitude is rather strange. She never says anything favourable about Whyalla; but on the other hand, she never really says anything against it, from *her* point of view. It is as though she was describing Whyalla in general terms, rather than how it affects her: "Another thing that's wrong is ... " She does not really like Whyalla because it is "too large. I like the bush. I'd like to live in the bush. I'd much rather we had a farm of our own out in the bush". They seem the sort of couple who will settle here for a while, but eventually move on. She much prefers Renmark to Whyalla - "I never liked big towns".

F29 1 The wife said; "We certainly won't go back to Britain. In other words: Yes, we're going to stay". 2 They are quite satisfied with Whyalla. 3 The wife seems more prepared to stay in one place than her husband. He is actively curious about other parts of Australia; "What is it like in Perth? in Dampier? etc. What are the job prospects like?" He gives the impression of suffering from acute agoraphobia; but his wife is settled, and happy with Whyalla; "My only regret is that we didn't come here years ago". She gives the impression that she would like to stay, and buy a house, like their friends (family F43) and her brother-in-law. But one of her husband's brother's friends has gone to Dampier, and her husband is very interested in the prospects there. Overall, they appear to be here for the time being, but it would not be surprising to hear they had made a spontaneous move elsewhere.

F30 2 They want to stay in Australia, but not necessarily in

Whyalla. They are prepared to give it a try and see what its like. The husband has the offer of a job in Sydney, but he is going to give Whyalla six months first, and then see. 2a They are settling well, and looking around for a house. There is still the Sydney possibility though; but things are going well, and he is satisfied. 3 They are still looking for a house in Whyalla, though his wife has her eye on Adelaide and has seen a house she very much likes "for $18,000 in Hackham", but her husband said nothing about looking for a job there. There is an impression they would like to move to Adelaide, where his mother and brother are.

F33 2 Their original intention was to come to Australia and eventually settle in Perth, since they had heard a lot of people were satisfied with Perth. 3 This is a puzzling family; so much so that at this stage it is virtually impossible to determine just what will happen to them, or what they will do. The family is very similar to family F44 (below). The wives project identical personalities and attitudes; and their husbands are equally like one another, though nothing like as vociferous as their wives. Between them, the wives have combined into a campaign of villification of Whyalla. In an evening's interview, there was a continuous 'knocking' of Whyalla for nearly the whole period. The wife tried hard to explain that there just was not any one thing you could pin it down to that caused the dissention; when you try to sum up what is wrong with Whyalla; "all you have is a collection of little things; all seeming trivial in their own right", and yet the two wives are members of the '5608' Club - a group setting out to raise money for the establishment of a local pre-school. What finishes off the wife is the heat; "I wanted to go to Canada; but no, he (her husband) wanted to come here; so here we are". Asked if they would go to Canada; "No. Go home the shortest way - and the quickest". "We were going to New Zealand if we couldn't settle here. But what's the point? What I miss here, I'd miss in New Zealand too. I gave up a good home, friends, relatives, etc. For what?"

They see the contrast (to Whyalla) in Adelaide - pavements; few iron roofs; good shops; cinemas; theatre; etc etc. As the wife says: "Its not that you need to go to all these places, but rather to know that they are there if you want to". But they cannot go to Adelaide with three children. It would mean buying a house; or rented accommodation. The former would tie them down too much, while the latter would be too expensive; but the wife would still like to go and get the feel of Adelaide, to see if she could settle better there. The paradox is that when they first arrived in Whyalla, the wife liked it. She still likes Whyalla - its having it in Australia that galls; and her satisfaction has steadily waned. By contrast, her husband could not stand Whyalla when he first got here; he "would have gone straight back quite happily"; whereas with time, he likes it more and more. "I've got my work to go to, and my mates at work. I'm doing something; whereas my wife's at home; bored and lonely".

F44 1 They have told their son (age 4) that he will not see his aunts and uncles, or grandparents, again. ie they are coming here to stay. They know nobody in Whyalla, but met someone who was there five years, then returned to Britain, because of their 'hole in the heart' baby. The wife's view was "go back because of the baby, and stay"; whereas her husband's view was "just for a holiday". In the end, they left, and had only been back in Britain for a month when the wife decided she wanted to come back to Australia. 2 The wife said: "We like it here". 3 Both seem disturbed by the slowness of everything here; the casualness and the "don't do it today if you can put it off until tomorrow". "Don't get me wrong; in hospital everything was marvellous, but everything was so casual. We had to wait three hours for me to be admitted". In a way, they see this as part of a Whyalla syndrome; "You can't pin it down, but there's something here that isn't quite right". They are not a "going out" family, and by comparison, "Adelaide has two more channels (on the television). Shopping is the same; I can't get what I want here. Its always "Oh! We'll order it - from Adelaide". What fool would want to stay here?"

They said the family down the road has been here for five years, and they are going back to Britain "only now, because they couldn't afford to go before". 4 Family F8 says the husband would go to Adelaide, but that if he did, his wife would "go home". Although it will be hard for them, they are definitely going back to Britain when their two years are up. They have already informed their parents, and the wife says how Australia (*not* just Whyalla) "is not for me". She says she knows other families who have really taken to Whyalla; "I can't understand why. I can't see what they see in the place, I'm sure, although I've tried". It is very much the wife who has a 'set' for returning, whereas it appears very much that her husband would be quite happy to stay.

F37 1 Asked how long they were going to stay; "In Australia? Indefinitely; but not necessarily in Whyalla. If we don't like Whyalla, we've seen another part of Australia (ie Adelaide); enough to know we could come here". 2 The wife said that, in general terms, she "doesn't like Whyalla", but she also says it "may be because we haven't got our furniture yet; just the bare boards; and we don't own this house". 3 On the whole, they seem satisfied with Whyalla, since they are building a "Jennings" house. The husband is especially happy here.

F39 1 They say they are going to stay permanently in Australia, but not necessarily in Whyalla. "We'll see what its like first". 2 The wife says that although they like Whyalla, they do not think they will stay. They want to use Whyalla more as a base from which to explore the possibilities elsewhere. They say they will "be here for a couple of years anyway". They like Whyalla alright; it is just that they have not yet decided to stay permanently, but they do not have any alternative venue in mind. 3 The husband says he still does not know if he will stay in Australia; "We never intended to necessarily come here permanently. I don't know that we ever would stay (here in Whyalla), even though I like it here now". He has picked up the undercurrent in Whyalla, and says there is "no

feeling of permanence about the place".

F40 1 They say if Whyalla is on a par with Adelaide, they will like Whyalla; otherwise they can come back to Adelaide, as they are very taken with what they have seen so far. They feel they want to stay permanently in Australia, and at least Adelaide will satisfy their criteria, even if Whyalla does not. 2 They like Whyalla sufficiently to stay, and are settling well. 3 In spite of the snags, they both enjoy Whyalla, and all in all, they are very settled here.

F42 1 They intend to stay permanently in Australia, but not necessarily in Whyalla. They are wondering what Whyalla is going to be like, because everyone they have met says it is a dreadful place. "We've heard nothing good about Whyalla, but we're prepared to try it, and see for ourselves". 2 On the whole, they seem to like Whyalla. The husband says it is a good place, but gives the impression he has some reservations. He says that Whyalla is nothing like the place described to him by the man at Murray Bridge; "Its a better; much better; place". 3 The husband said the original aim had been to "give it a couple of years" while they found out what it was like, and then they will go and settle down somewhere. In his words; "I wouldn't be surprised if we stay in Whyalla".

F43 1 They originally saw an advertisement for tradesmen in Western Australia. They got all the data, but decided it was not for them - too hot, humid, and expensive. They also rejected Queensland as too humid; and while doing it, they saw the BHP advertisement. They decided the climate was suitable, and they "had a job to come to; the job was the big deciding factor - and then also the house". 2 On the whole, they like it and feel quite satisfied. They have been looking at houses, with a view to buying one. Both agreed they "won't go back" to Britain. 3 After a great deal of humming and harring, they decided to go ahead and buy a single unit. The decision was contingent upon a decision of whether or not to stay, and the decision now is "to stay for two to five years". On the whole, they like

it here. The wife is satisfied with the place, and her husband is satisfied with his job. They seem well settled, and give every indication of going to stay.

F46 1 They have previously been used to moving every two years, so they "got itchy feet" after two years in Nottinghamshire. 3 In general, they are settling well.

F47 2 They say they are definitely staying, "We can do anything here; we can go down to the beach; go swimming; anything". They both think its wonderful here. 3 Currently, he's applied for a job as shipping foreman; which seems to imply he is looking for a change of environment; but he does not want a change of locality, as he has no plans for leaving Whyalla. All in all, they like it here, and hope to stay.

F50 2 The wife seems very happy here. She likes her new home; the climate; the school is just up the road. She gives the impression she will still be here in four years' time (ie when the baby is old enough to go to school); but she seems more settled than her husband. 3 They are looking around, but the wife still likes it in Whyalla. Overall, they give the impression they will stay somewhat longer than family F35 imagines. 4 (7½ months) The husband has been made a leading hand, but says he will be "seriously weighing things up at the end of two years. We'll give it two years, then see".

F51 1 Asked if they were going to stay, they said they did not know about Whyalla, but they want to stay in Australia. "If we don't like Whyalla, we'll look elsewhere". 2 They see themselves as staying in Whyalla. They were taken into the hills at Adelaide while they were there; and liked it, but said; "Adelaide's 'too big a city'". It seems the family is settling in and likely to stay. 3 Everything seems to point to this being one of the best-settled families in Whyalla. Asked if they are going to stay; "Oh yes; I expect so". They have a house they like; furniture they like, and have just bought a new car.

F52 1 "What's wrong with Whyalla that they all want to go

back?" (ie to Britain). 3 Both of them like it here. Whyalla is "home" to them, and they are sponsoring the wife's brother to come to Whyalla.

F53 1 The intention is to stay permanently, in Australia, if not in Whyalla. 2 The family seems divided, with the husband reasonably happy here, but his wife and elder daughter not liking it much. 3 On the whole, they seem to like Whyalla. They are certainly looking forward to buying their own house. The husband has no desire to go back to Britain. He says how much better off they are here.

F54 2 In general, they are happy, and settling well. 3 The husband wrote off for a job with the aluminium works at Gladstone, in Queensland, 550 km north of Brisbane. He had an interview in Whyalla, but decided in the end he was "happier where I am". On the whole, the wife says they really like it here.

F56 2 They both like it here. 3 The wife seems happy and contented. As she says; "Whyalla grows on you", and they are sponsoring her sister (age 17) to come, though privately the wife thinks it is a mistake, because "there's no work for a girl here". They like Whyalla, and as far as they can see now, they intend staying.

F58 1 The intention is to stay "for at least three years. If we can't settle down by then, we'll move on". 2 Where they came from (Gateshead) was 'home', "and this isn't home". On the other hand, they both give the appearance of settling well. 3 What they will do depends on whether the wife can settle. If she manages to find her niche, they will get a home of their own.

F60 1 They would like to stay "indefinitely" in Australia, if not in Whyalla. Whatever happens; "Its no good going back to Britain". 3 Both are very satisfied with Whyalla, and likely to stay.

F61 1 They said they weighed up the relative advantages of Sydney, Melbourne, etc, and decided Whyalla looked the best place - prices; cost of houses; etc. 3 they have been to Adelaide and "loved it", but the husband is "cornered".

They like it here in Whyalla, and want to stay, but the job ... On the other hand, he has considered moving to Adelaide, but his daughter is in the middle of her matriculation year. The same reason prevents them from going to Western Australia. He says; "The job position will drive me home, and nothing else would". The talk is of home, and home is Britain.

F62 2 The husband is the most itinerant person in the study. He initially came to Australia with his parents. They started at Elizabeth, then came to Whyalla, and finished up in Western Australia, before returning to Britain five years ago. The husband gives the impression of 'using' BHP to short-circuit the business of getting a house, and also as a working base while he looks around for the job he wants. If they cannot make a go of it here, they will go to Canada (which seems a bit odd. They could both get assisted passages to Canada, and the wife really wanted to go to Canada, whereas both fares had to be paid to come to Australia). However, he has a vested interest in Australia (having been here, and having his parents return just before he came back) so he wants his wife to "see Australia and make up her own mind first". Hence, staying is definitely 'open' at the moment. Whatever the outcome, they will not be returning to Britain. The wife is non-committal, talking in terms of "being here for six months" before making up her mind about it; but she did say "The cost of living's much cheaper than Tasmania". Since the BHP tie-up has fallen through, the husband is now talking in terms of "going west", though his wife says she used to work in Britain for a company that "50% owns" one of the tin-can manufacturing organisations in Adelaide, and she would like to go and work for them - a prospect even more desirable since she is now the breadwinner. However, her husband is not keen on going to Adelaide. Whatever the final outcome, the wife "likes Whyalla" and would be content to remain here, but her husband seems keener on moving.

F62a (Parents of the husband in family F62 (above)). The

husband said that "The man comes out to the job; but the woman 'counts the miles' as she comes, and thinks of what she is leaving behind. In the end, she wants to go back. She 'puts it down to the weather', but really she wants to get back to the relatives she's missed". So in the end, they went back to Britain; but when they got there, she found England had changed so much that she wanted to get back to Australia. "Now she's coming to settle, and is already 'gathering her things about her'".

Appendix XXV Correspondence from family F49 to family F26, while the former was negotiating to come to Australia

Letter 1, 2nd October

I write to get your views on your part of Australia ...

What are your views on Whyalla, and the food prices? Food goes up every week here. You are in one of the BHP bungalows - what are they like; and what are the differences in the bungalows that you buy? Can you pick your own time for buying your own house? Are you allowed to stay in the house you are allocated as long as you want to? If you get put out of your job, can you be put out of the house?

What weather are you having now? Have you been out there in the hot season yet? I have heard there are lots of spiders and flies - is this true? I hope I am not making you feel that I am expecting a bed of roses; for I am willing to take the bad with the good, but I still like to know ...

Letter 2, 17th October

Thank you for your most welcome letter, and what you told me does give us an idea of what to expect.

We will be coming to Whyalla by plane, as I don't like the idea of six weeks on the boat ... I must admit I am not a lover of flying. I have only been to Spain for a holiday - that was enough, but I have been told we would be there in 36 to 48 hours.

The shops and the supermarkets sound great. I didn't think they would have any supermarkets out there. Not only food, but everything else keeps going up back here. My husband likes what you say about work.

I know with a small child it is difficult to get out, but what is the social life like? We like a drink and a dance, although we have not done a lot lately, as we are saving our money. Are the people friendly? I have been told there are all sorts of nationalities in Whyalla, but not a

lot of Australians. Does your husband work on days or shifts? What is the lowest deposit you need to buy your own house; for we will have to start out by buying all new furniture? By the way, what is the furniture like out there? ...

Letter 3, 21 November

My brother is coming home at 12 o'clock tomorrow from Queensland. I don't know if I told you about him. He went last January and was there three months. He didn't like it, but his family, wife and three children liked it. They came home last July and did not like England. He said he would go to New Zealand. He's supposed to have gone there but didn't like it, so he went back again to Queensland. He even bought a house, but his letters were not very happy, and I've had one to say they arrive on Thursday. Since I have an empty room, all my family are taking it for granted that I would have them ...

I am not put off about coming to Whyalla by my brother. He said we are mad still to go, but I cannot get out there quick enough. It is very cold but sunny here. For November it is very good weather.

Do they decorate the shops in Whyalla for Christmas? Will you still have Christmas cake and pudding? I know you have poultry - what about a Christmas tree?

I would like you to let me know if the bedroom windows of your Housing Trust house are very big, as I have a new set of curtains with a bedspread to match. The curtains are nine feet long but only 72 inches wide. They are not worth bringing if they do not fit. How do you and your little girl get on in the hot weather? My little boy used to be miserable in the hot weather as he is a boy who sweats easily - so does my husband.

Letter 4, 7th December

I feel very hot just reading your letters. The weather sounds great, but as you say, not so good for those who have to work in it. My husband sweats a lot in an English

summer, so how he will get on over there I don't know.

Well, my brother came home, and he has resigned himself to staying in England, for he did not like anything about Australia*. So I said whatever he did, we would still have to find out for ourselves. My daughter (age 12) is not very keen, and whatever we say doesn't make any difference, but I admit it does worry me a bit. I wish she was younger like our son (age 3) - they don't know any difference. We've had a letter from BHP in Whyalla and we are none the wiser, for they say we will be hearing from BHP in London ...

I have got mum with me for the day. She is hard going for she does nothing but repeat herself, but we have all got to get old. She has a little cry when we talk about Australia, but she will get over me, for she has another 15 sons and daughters.

We are starting to put our decorations up and put the lights on the tree. Do you put trees and decorations up?

*By August 3rd, the following year; he said he was going to South Africa.

Appendix XXVI Attitudes towards returning to Britain

(Numbers in the notes refer to the interview at which the comment was made, eg '2' is the 'one month after arrival' interview)

F5 3 Another non-realised aim is to buy a house. The idea has been shelved for the time being. The proceeds from the sale of the British house are in the bank - the interest is going to pay for a trip to Britain the holiday after next.

F9 3 They are aiming at a holiday in Britain in 16 to 17 months' time; and talking as though this is much more than a pipedream.

F21 1 They are holding capital "in reserve" in case they need to go back.

F24 3 The question of buying a house has been shelved, at least for the time being, mainly because of their financial situation. They could afford to buy one now, but the wife says they prefer to keep a sufficient sum of money in hand to enable them to go back to Britain, should there be an emergency; for instance, with either of their families.

F25 2 They came with enough money to be able to return if they found they did not like it. Having found they do not like Whyalla, they felt if they went elsewhere first, it would cost so much money that they would not have enough left to be able to pay their fares back; a sort of 'getting out while the going's good' strategy.

F31 2 When they have had an opportunity to see how things go, they will decide (a) to buy a house; (b) go elsewhere in Australia; (c) go to New Zealand; or (d) return to Britain.

F33 2 They had planned to buy a car and furniture when they arrived, and had set so much aside for it. The residue was for (a) a deposit on a house, or (b) the fares back if they do not like it here.

F39 1 He regrets leaving money in Britain (because of devaluation). 3 The money is still there; "As I see it, it can't go any lower in value".

F44 4 (16 months) The wife says that they are "definitely going back" when their two years are up.

F48 3 The wife gives the impression of being firmly resolved to return to Britain, but her husband is not so keen.

F49 3 They would like to buy a house, but it would make them too heavily committed. It is a two-sided situation since the idea now is to save up more money first, which also means more money to return to Britain, should this be the answer.

F53 3 The wife wants to go to Britain for a holiday "in a couple of years", but her husband is not so keen.

F54 3 What is a more viable proposition (than the husband's parents coming out) is for the wife to go back to Britain with the baby, for a holiday in a couple of years' time.

F56 1 They are planning to have a British holiday "after six years", 2 Now they plan the holiday "after a couple of years - at least, that's what we think now; but maybe we won't when the time comes".

F14 3 They would like to be able, at some stage, to go back for a holiday; "That's what most people seem to want to do".

Appendix XXVII Homesickness

(Numbers in the notes refer to the interview at which the comment was made, eg '2' is the 'one month after arrival' interview)

F1 2 The wife is alright in Whyalla, but her husband has bouts of homesickness, but this should be assuaged as his parents are actively negotiating to migrate to Whyalla. (His father is 45).

F5 2 The husband said he had an acute attack of homesickness when he got a letter saying what all their mates were doing. He says he is also missing his parents, but he is missing his wife's parents more. He says he feels closer to them than to his own, with whom he did not get on particularly well. He said it helped a lot to be able to talk to his sister. (Apparently she also has bouts of homesickness). The impression is that both partners get feelings of homesickness. They are mutually supportive to one another, but it appears he receives more succourance from his sister than from his wife. There seems to be a greater empathy between siblings in these deep emotional situations - possibly because of the longer-standing relationship giving a greater understanding.

F14 3 The wife (4½ months pregnant. "We won't ever go back") says she is beginning to feel homesick, but has hopes her mother will come out for a holiday. She says one of the neighbours only began to feel homesick when her mother visited them four years after their arrival.

F15 3 The wife's unhappiness could be resolved in one of two ways. Either they return to Britain (which her husband would prefer not to do); or "If that's what you want, we'll have your parents here". ie she strongly desires reuniting with her parents; and her husband would prefer that to be here, rather than in Britain, since he likes Australia. The apparent trouble is between her mother and her sister, who are now not talking to one another, although her parents were persuaded to live with her sister. She feels solving this dilemma is her responsibility, though she also

says she is irked by being apart from her parents - for the first time in her life. She said her parents are "leaving it until after Christmas" before making up their minds whether they will come. In spite of all this uncertainty, she is still 'weaving a nest' about herself, as if she is impelled to work, to stave off inner feelings.

F20 2 The husband's brother (now age 54) came to Melbourne with his wife and three children. They spent the whole time in the Melbourne Hostel, and his wife was homesick all the time, so the family returned as soon as their two years were up, but her husband followed a year later. (The husband here said his brother must have done quite well, as he paid five adult fares back, and still returned with enough money to buy a (tenement) house and a car when he got back). When she eventually got back, the wife decided she wanted to return to Australia, but there was not enough money. Now they are too old.

F21 2 The wife's sister has been in Whyalla for nine years, and her mother has stayed with her. This wife is worried in case anything should happen to her parents. She said how they had money "in reserve" to pay for her to go back to Scotland, should she be needed because of a crisis in her parents' home. This singlemindedness of purpose would be understandable, except all these assertions were made *in her sister's presence*; who presumably is equally responsible for their parents. She said nothing during the conversation. It is almost as though her length of time away from Britain had eroded her perception of responsibilities.

F25 2 The Personnel Officer said the family would have to go back to Britain because the wife was telephoning her parents every night, and her husband "couldn't afford it".

F29 3 The husband says he gets homesick, but he "doesn't want to go back"; but he also has a brother in Whyalla.

F34 3 The wife says that being in Whyalla, and the desire to go back, have made her "closer to my family than I have been for years".

F36 2 The husband says his wife suffers from homesickness; missing her friends and neighbours. She says she has found that the people who promised to write have not done so, although she has written to them - nb a loss of communications with 'home' exacerbating the feelings of isolation.

F37 3 The wife said she used to get homesick at first; mainly because she was so bored and had nothing to do. She did her housework "in an hour", instead of all day, as in Northern Ireland.

F38 1 The husband's parents emigrated to New Zealand in 1965, and stayed there for 18 months, before returning because the wife was homesick. Since then she has done nothing but say New Zealand this, New Zealand that. Forever comparing New Zealand favourably with Britain; but when asked when they are going back, says; "Ah well ... " sighing wistfully, but not going. They were rather upset about this family coming to Australia.

F52 1 The wife has a cousin (plus wife) who lived in Whyalla for three years; but went back to Britain because the husband's mother and wife (who did not like it here) "persuaded him to go back" three years ago. Now they are paying their own way and coming back to BHP. The cousin's sister (plus husband) were also in Adelaide, but went back. They are now emigrating to New Zealand, plus her parents.

F53 2 The wife is having problems of homesickness, and would like to go back. She has a brother here, but he is beyond walking distance. Also her sister is coming out in three months' time, but she still feels just as homesick. 3 The wife from family F14 says she has now got over her homesickness; but she says she wants to go back for a holiday "in a couple of years", but her husband does not seem so keen.

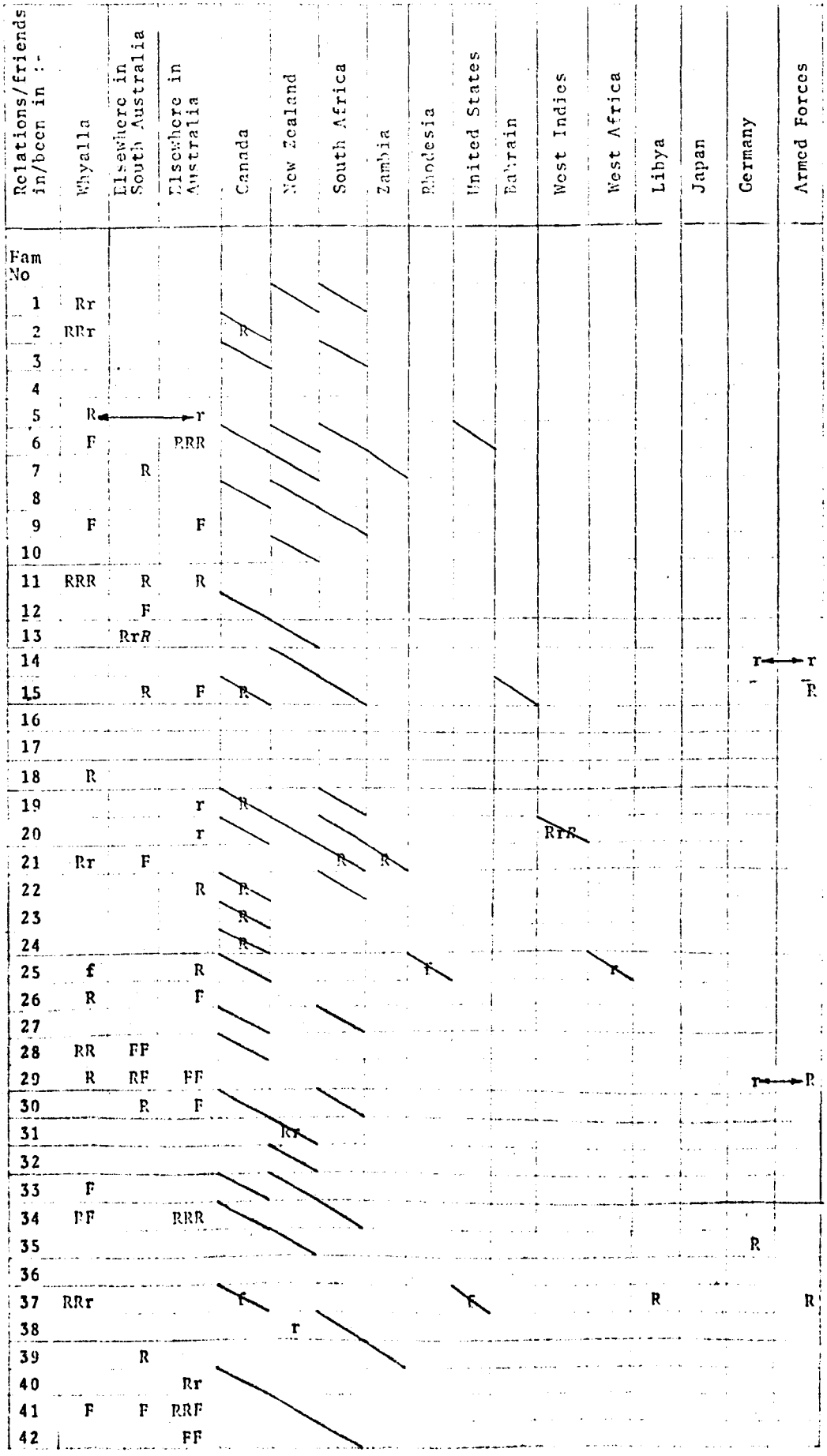
F56 2 The wife said she was dreadfully homesick at Woodville Hostel; "All those long quiet corridors", and she even cried at the dinner table one evening; everything had been so proximal on the ship. 3 They do not like the people

they meet who are always so dreadfully homesick. Dorothy, over the road, is homesick, and she wants to go back. Her father is coming out, so they are hoping that will get things sorted out; otherwise they will all have to go back. The wife also said she "cried when I got letters from Britain, let alone tapes".

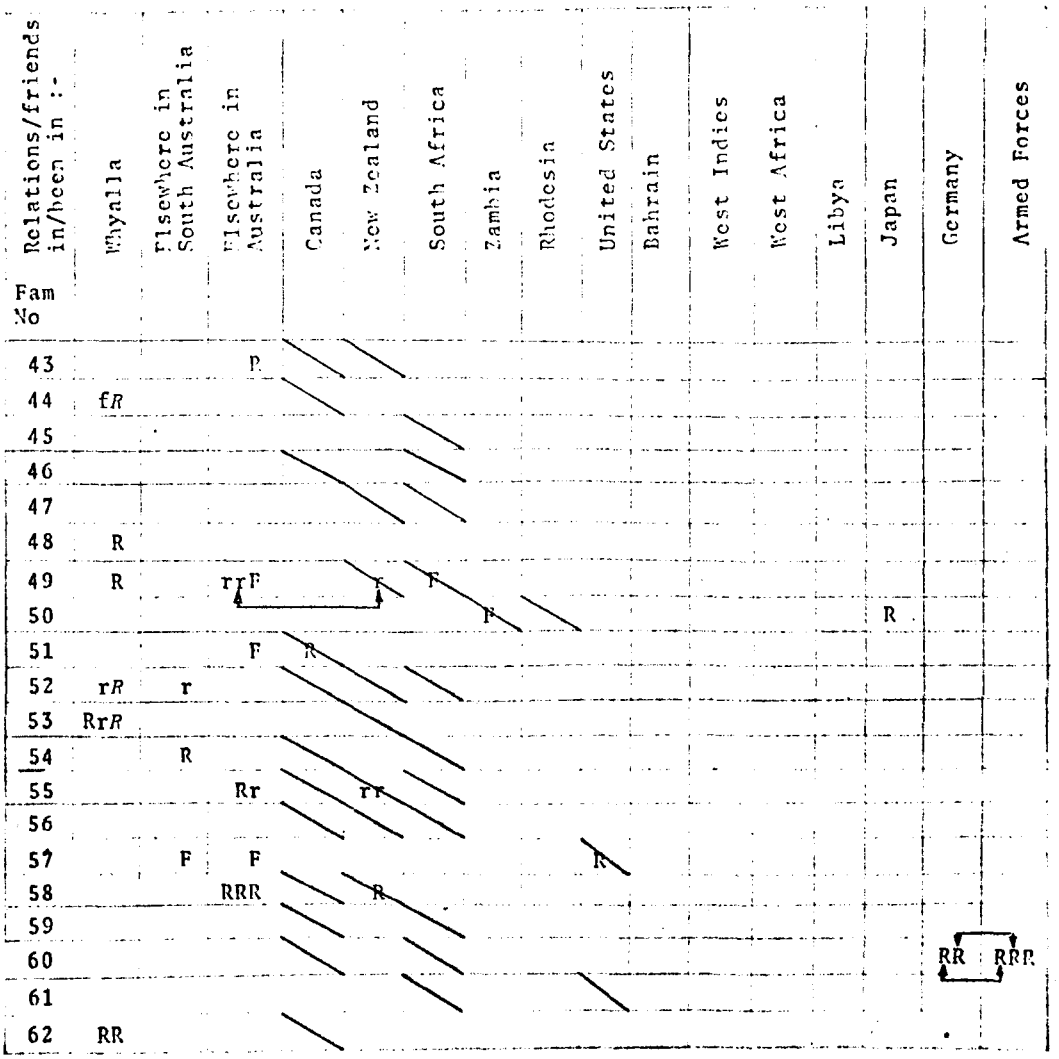
F59 4 The wife says she was homesick in Whyalla, but not in Victor Harbour, "because I have so much to do". But her husband is homesick because "everything has gone wrong since I've been here". ie his BHP job; the car breaking down on his way to an interview in Adelaide; his motor accident while working for the firm at Victor Harbour; and "lots of little things".

F62 2 Getting a job would probably go a long way towards helping the wife to get over her homesickness. Her husband says she "misses her mother".

Appendix XXVIII The dispersion of relations and friends experiencing residence outside Britain.



Appendix XXVIII Continued



Notes :-

R = relative there

F = friend there

r = relative been there, but is not there now

f = friend been there, but is not there now

R = relative has been there; is not there now; but is returning (There are no equivalent records for friends)

Indicates the family stated having rejected that country

connecting arrows indicate the same person was involved in each instance

Appendix XXIX Supplementary appendix on previous studies of emigration to Australia

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Factors affecting the realisation of expectations amongst British migrants coming to Australia

Appendix XXIX Supplementary appendix on previous studies of emigration to Australia

The aim of this appendix is to enlarge upon some of the details of previous studies of emigration to Australia. On the whole, no more than passing reference was made to such studies in the main body of the thesis, mainly because the quite specific nature of the families included in this study meant they represent a highly selected sub-section from the overall body of immigrants coming to Australia. This latter contains many people who could be included under the general heading of non-English-speaking immigrants. In their case, it was felt that while the language problem in itself may not be a definite causal factor of difficulties in assimilation, it is sufficiently large to obscure the relevant details. For this reason, the present appendix will concentrate on studies concerned with English-speaking migrants, and in effect this means studies of British migrants coming to Australia. This of course represents the main category from which families in this study came. However, it must be remembered that the study families came to Australia having arranged both work and accommodation before leaving Britain, and so knowing these would be available there on arrival. This choice of families was quite deliberate, because it was felt that such migrants would give a relatively 'pure' indication of feelings towards settling permanently in Australia. It is thus likely that the nominative attitudes of these

families would reflect different features from families in earlier studies.

Much of the earlier work on emigration to Australia was conducted at the University of Western Australia. It includes reports by workers such as Appleyard, Richardson and Taft. Of these, Appleyard is an economist, and as such did not work directly in the socio-psychological context of the present study, though many of his conclusions do have relevance. The other two collaborated closely, and while Taft's own work (for example Taft, 1961) was concerned with non-British immigrants, he had a definite influence on the approach used by Richardson, and so his involvement should not be overlooked.

Thus the major contributions of previous studies of British emigration to Australia, in this context, come from Richardson, particularly his 1961 monograph on "The assimilation of British immigrants in a Western Australian community", and his later book "British Immigrants and Australia: a psycho-social inquiry", published in 1974. In the case of the former publication, the stated aim was to develop a provisional 'scale of assimilation'. Briefly, the 'standard conceptual scheme' was that assimilation has three components, namely:-

satisfaction with the life in the adopted country

identification with the dominant national group

acculturation to the way of life of that group.

The key assertion is that these components are said to be interrelated as stages of a single process,

so that each stage of the assimilation process is a prerequisite for the occurrence of each subsequent phase. Thus, identification only occurs after satisfaction is achieved, and acculturation occurs only after the migrant is both satisfied and identified. Richardson sees the last stage, acculturation, as being similar in some respects to Taft's (1953) definition of assimilation as: "the process by means of which persons originally possessing heterogeneous frames of reference converge towards common frames of reference as a result of social interaction". The empirical examination of such constructs was conducted with a sample of British immigrants living in a satellite town about 20 miles (32 km) south of Perth in Western Australia. The monograph was subjected to a detailed criticism by Emery (1962), leading to a reply by Richardson, published in 1963. Emery's criticisms focused on both the methodology of the study and the nature of the conclusions that were drawn. For example, Emery makes the point that: "Unfortunately there is little attention given to the sociological settings within which these phenomena (ie the psychological phenomena, such as problems of identity, to which Richardson (1961) refers) are elicited and sustained". In this respect, the setting is partly analogous to that of the present study, in that as Emery (1962) says, Richardson's study was conducted with a community not contiguous with any *established* Australian community; "Since its inception, the majority of its inhabitants have been immigrants, and even many of the Australians have come from Eastern Australia". The same could be said, with even more

emphasis, about Whyalla.

In the 1974 book, Richardson again places great emphasis on the importance of the 'acculturation' factors as criteria for the successful assimilation of migrants, and the book is, in effect, an enlargement of the 1961 monograph. Dukes (1974), in his review of Richardson's book, was mildly critical, saying for example that some of Richardson's conclusions seem rather obvious, such as the proposition that those who are happy are more likely to stay than those who are not. On the whole, the two works are sufficiently similar to be considered together.

Emery (1962) criticises Richardson's basic constructs in two ways. Probably the most important criticism concerns this factor of acculturation, which Emery contends is conceptually more relevant to the notion of accommodation than acculturation. Richardson (1963), in his reply to Emery (1962), stated that accommodation usually means "a process of adjustment in which outward changes in conventional modes of behaviour are adopted with the object of reducing unnecessary conflict with the host culture *but with no assumptions as to the occurrence of any inner changes in beliefs, attitudes or values*. People more or less rapidly accommodate to new situations but acculturation usually takes longer because of the implied inner changes". He thus reduces Emery's argument to a definition of terms that has little to do with the *content* matter of the scale in question - the basis for the original criticism.

The second point concerns the overall question of the assimilation of migrants. As Emery (1962) implies, there seems to be no viable reason why an Englishman coming to Australia should only succeed in so doing if he ceases to see himself as an Englishman, but instead as an Australian. In this respect, Richardson's concepts appear to be based on a prerequisite of social integration, a notion owing more to ideological considerations than to scientific evidence. In an earlier study (Richardson, 1959) summarising results from his own previous unpublished dissertations, Richardson lists the objectives given by a sample of 80 married British workers intending to emigrate to Australia. These included such aims as better opportunities for the children, a higher standard of living, better opportunities for the little man in Australia, and so forth. Nowhere is there any evidence of a desire to *become* Australian - indeed there is no indication of evidence of any consideration being given to such an eventuality.

Appleyard (1964) stressed the economic motives for emigration, even if his most direct evidence for so doing came from a study of 23 families and nine single former migrants who were returning to the United Kingdom after spending varying periods in Australia. "The reasons they gave were basically economic in character - disappointment that their economic expectations had not materialised". He also added the rider that: "Even under the most satisfactory interview conditions, many migrants tend to conceal their real motives beneath a veneer of rationalisations .....

interviewers frequently reported that their questions on motives seemed to induce many respondents, especially young single persons, to ponder seriously *for the first time* the implications of their decisions to emigrate".

Even so, it seems highly likely that an economic motive was paramount in the desire to emigrate, and thus a later criterion stressing the importance of identification with the Australian way of life would seem to be almost tangential to the aims and aspirations of such immigrants. Emery (1962) illustrates this with the hypothetical case of the migrant who comes to Australia although he is not attracted to values such as those which govern the Australian way of life; "If he can satisfy his purposes without having to pay particular notice to the differences in the way of life, he will still continue to think of himself as an Englishman in Australia, and not actively seek experience of the Australian way of life". Many of the examples of South Australian Pioneers quoted in Cockburn (1925) saw themselves in such a light, but this did not cause their contributions to the development of South Australia in its initial stages to be underrated. Emery (1962) goes on to point out that where migrants are so motivated by relative material gain, rather than by the desire to live in a more congenial culture; "It would be very surprising if these sorts of differences made no difference to the subsequent course of assimilation". Cockburn (1925) clearly shows the extent to which economic motives were at a premium, and also the way in which the *ultimate* aim for many

of the Pioneers was not one of coming here permanently, but more as a means for achieving sufficient funds with which to return and live in comparative affluence in Britain. In effect, the main criticism that may be levelled at Richardson's work lies in the way in which he sees coming to Australia as necessarily being an end in itself, rather than as a means to an alternative end.

One of the paramount difficulties in studies of migration is the determination of a definition of successful emigration. It seems more meaningful to talk in terms of accommodation within the new community than of acculturation. A possible alternative strategy for measuring successful immigration is in the negative context of looking at those who return to their source countries, and examining their reasons for leaving the new country. One difficulty in this is the point made earlier by Appleyard (1964) concerning the unreliability of stated motives. This will be compounded by the respondents' desires to rationalise, on a post hoc basis, the reasons for leaving the new country. Nevertheless, the whole topic of migrant departures was the subject of a parliamentary inquiry by the Australian federal government into the departure of settlers from Australia (Zubrzycki, 1974). As a general comment, the Report mentioned that not every migrant who stays in Australia "is satisfied with the life here", and furthermore, "not everyone who leaves is seriously or even mildly dissatisfied". Apropos the intention to stay, the point was also made that there will "always be people who migrate with no

intention of remaining, but some of the most satisfied settlers in Australia to-day are those who originally did not intend to live here permanently".

The reasons for departure from Australia are categorised into firstly 'reasons other than dissatisfaction with Australia'. These include a 'commitment to the homeland'; Thompson (Appendix G of the Report) states that some Italians regard their trip to Australia *only* as a means of making money, and a very high proportion retain a commitment to their homelands for the duration of their stay here. Also included in this category are what are termed highly mobile skilled and professional migrants. Richmond (1968) studied British migrants returning home from Canada, and has referred to these highly mobile classes as 'transilient' migrants - migrants who appear to be equally at home in one country as another. He regards them as part of a growing body of "geographically and socially mobile individuals who move easily from one country to another within a common linguistic culture". He concludes: "We may sum up by saying that labour force migrants returning to Britain from Canada were not economic failures, social misfits or frustrated individuals. With the exception of a minority of older manual workers who had experienced some unemployment in Canada, the large majority (83%) of returning migrants were *satisfied with their life and experiences in Canada*".

The second category of reasons included

'homesickness and illness'. Homesickness is explicitly dealt with in the main body of the thesis (pp 374-377), and so will not be reexamined at this stage, beyond the references in the Parliamentary Report. Wilder-Okladek (Appendix I) investigated a total of 477 British migrants who departed permanently from Australia, and she found "58.8% gave non-rejection reasons for departure". The remaining 41.2% who gave rejection reasons most frequently mentioned they were departing because they were homesick or lonely; that they were experiencing financial difficulties; or that they disliked the Australian way of life.

The final category included what are classed as 'situational factors', including 'employment' - "It is not usually finding a job, so much as finding the *right* job in the *right* place which determines a migrant employees satisfaction, and very often his decision to stay or leave". The other factor was 'accommodation', regarded as not really a big problem "except in very low income groups".

In conclusion, Appendix F of the Report (a synopsis of consultations among Grant Scheme social workers) recommended that, concerning the migrants' expectations: "Where possible, encouragement should be given to reduce these to a realistic level before they made a firm decision to migrate. A tendency towards early disappointment in Australia sometimes produces an early decision to leave".

In summary, the studies mentioned in this appendix can be divided into two broad categories;

those that see emigration to Australia as an end in itself and so are concerned with the criteria for successful assimilation into the new society. The second category contains a greater emphasis on the examination of the reasons why migrants do not stay in Australia, and here much of the evidence points to the conclusion that emigration is more of a means to an end that does not *necessarily* result in a permanent stay in the new country.

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