

**Social Change and Social Participation in a Planned City:  
The Case of Canberra**

**by  
Masao Nobe**

**A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in  
The Australian National University**

**April, 1990**

While I gratefully acknowledge the advice and assistance of many people, the research for and writing of this thesis are entirely my own work.

Masao Nobe

April, 1990

## ***Abstract***

This thesis investigates social networks and social support in Canberra. More specifically, the study addresses two main areas of interest. First, particular attention is given to the pattern of social networks and social support formed in the city and its variations among four study areas. Second, the study focusses on the effect of occupational and residential mobility on social networks and social support. To gather empirical evidence on these issues, a sample survey of 394 women in four study areas of Canberra was conducted in 1986-1987.

The analyses of these data yielded the following chief findings in relation to the two questions:

1. Residents in Canberra led a more sociable life than had been generally assumed. They associated with neighbours or friends more frequently than with relatives.
2. All things considered, residents in Canberra did not have good access to primary group support. Nevertheless, relatives were the most important primary group, especially in dealing with long-term problems. Neighbours were a significant source of support in short-term situations.
3. Disruptive effects of occupational mobility were found in relation to very limited types of social relationships.
4. In terms of social interaction, a decline of neighbourhood relationships was offset by the development of kinship and friendship relationships in the course of time in Canberra. With regard to social support, only the anticipation of social support from relatives increased with the length of time in Canberra.

The pattern of social networks and social support in Canberra was assessed from the three perspectives of the "Community Question", into which Wellman (Wellman,

1979; Wellman and Leighton, 1979) integrated and summarised previous arguments on social networks and social support. These were "Community Lost", "Community Saved" and "Community Liberated". While the Canberra community fitted in with the "Community Liberated" perspective with regard to social networks, it was consistent with the "Community Saved" perspective in connection with social support. The thesis concludes from findings 3 and 4 above that occupational and residential mobility did not disrupt or weaken social relationships to a great extent, so that people accommodated themselves successfully to new social circumstances. Compared with occupational and residential mobility, the presence of local relatives and the stage of the life cycle were major forces affecting informal social participation. Particularly, the presence of local relatives stood out as being the most influential factor; living near relatives greatly increased the likelihood of developing kinship interaction and social support from relatives. Implications of these findings were also discussed.



## ***ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS***

Before coming to the Australian National University in 1984, I carried out an interview survey as a member of the Tokyo Metropolitan University research team focussing on the social participation of Japanese married women in the suburbs of Tokyo (Takahashi and Nobe, 1982). In Australia, I planned a similar interview survey to enable me to understand a foreign society, using this for my Ph.D. research.

I would like to proffer my thanks and gratitude to the many people who gave me considerable assistance during the course of my study.

I would like to thank the head of the Department of Sociology at the Australian National University, Dr Owen Dent, and the entire staff of the department for their support and encouragement.

I would also like to express my gratitude to my supervisor, Dr Alden Klov Dahl for his valuable guidance and advice during my Ph.D. study. He taught me urban sociology and research methods, stimulated my interest in social networks and social support, and gave me many suggestions to improve the quality of my thesis. I also owe special thanks to my advisers, Dr Owen Dent and Dr Larry Saha. Dr Dent's advice and instruction at the interview survey and computer analysis stages were very helpful. He never failed to include constructive criticisms and suggestions. Without his support and tolerance, I would have never finished this study. Based on the experience of his survey in Canberra, Dr Saha gave me invaluable advice and helped me to "shape" my research interests. Furthermore, he often gave me encouragement and I now see how privileged I was to study urban sociology under these persons, each one of whom is an expert in his own sphere. Any shortcomings and inappropriateness which are in this thesis are my own responsibility.

However, apart from my supervisor and advisers, there are other people to whom I am indebted.

Before conducting the massive interview survey, I personally interviewed

government officials and community leaders, whom I cannot name, to collect general information on Canberra. They were generous in granting me time for interviews even to the extent of inviting me to dinner for further discussion. I not only acquired necessary information, but also enjoyed association with them.

Many people contributed to the improvement of the questionnaire. Dr Alden Klov Dahl (supervisor), Dr Ian Gray, Ms. Manjula Waniganayake (fellow Ph.D students), Mrs. June Adams (research assistant), Mrs. Pat Hacket (English teacher at Canberra College of Technical and Further Education), Ms. Brenda Thompson (the National Capital Development Commission), Mr. J. Sedgwick, Mrs. B. Sedgwick, Mr. R. Thorman and Mrs. A. Thorman were kind enough to comment on earlier drafts of the questionnaire.

It is important not to forget the 394 residents of Canberra who provided the material for this thesis, freely giving up a considerable amount of their time.

Ms. Jo Hanrahan, who studied Japanese socio-linguistics as a M.A. student at the Australian National University, gave me an interesting insight into Australian culture. Some ideas of developmental stages in Canberra were originally suggested by Mr. Colin Randall of the National Capital Development Commission. I collected the data and extended these. Ms. Jo Hanrahan, Ms. Mandy Scott, Dr Alastair Greig (fellow Ph.D student) and Dr Ian Gray helped me refine the English in this thesis by answering my questions on English expressions. Dr Don Rowland provided kind comments after reading a draft of Chapter 2.

Financial support for hiring professional interviewers was provided in part by a research scholarship from the Australian National University and by the Australia-Japan Foundation.

## *Table of Contents*

|  | <u>Page No.</u> |
|--|-----------------|
| <i>Declaration</i>                               | ii              |
| <i>Abstract</i>                                  | iii             |
| <i>Acknowledgement</i>                           | v               |
| 1. Introduction                                  | 1               |
| 1.1. Social change in Western societies          | 1               |
| 1.2. The community question                      | 4               |
| 1.3. Aims and scope of the study                 | 7               |
| 2. Some features of Canberra                     | 12              |
| 2.1. Introduction                                | 12              |
| 2.2. Geographical features                       | 12              |
| 2.3. Demographic features                        | 12              |
| 2.4. History                                     | 16              |
| 2.5. Administration                              | 18              |
| 2.6. Urban planning policies                     | 19              |
| 2.6.1. Dispersed pattern of settlement           | 20              |
| 2.6.2. Neighbourhood unit                        | 20              |
| 2.6.3. Social mix                                | 22              |
| 2.7. Stages of development                       | 23              |
| 2.8. Occupational mobility                       | 24              |
| 2.9. Residential mobility                        | 26              |
| 2.9.1. Population growth                         | 26              |
| 2.9.2. Component of population growth            | 28              |
| 2.9.3. Gross internal migration                  | 30              |
| 2.9.4. Duration of stay                          | 33              |
| 2.9.5. Reasons for moving                        | 35              |
| 2.10. Summary                                    | 35              |
| 3. Some sketches of social networks in Canberra: |                 |
| A personal perspective                           | 44              |
| 3.1. Introduction                                | 44              |
| 3.2. Kinship relationships                       | 45              |
| 3.3. Neighbourhood relationships                 | 47              |
| 3.3.1. Neighbours                                | 47              |
| 3.3.2. Next-door neighbours                      | 53              |
| 3.3.3. Evaluation of the neighbourhood unit      | 56              |
| 3.4. Friendship relationships                    | 57              |
| 3.5. Workmate relationships                      | 58              |
| 3.6. Community organisations                     | 59              |
| 3.7. Summary                                     | 60              |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| 4. Study methodology  | 63  |
| 4.1. Introduction   | 63  |
| 4.2. Selection of study areas   | 63  |
| 4.3. Selection of respondents   | 67  |
| 4.4. Interview schedule   | 68  |
| 4.5. Interview procedure  | 69  |
| 4.6. Main variables and their measurements                                | 70  |
| 4.6.1. Social networks  | 70  |
| 4.6.2. Social support   | 73  |
| 4.6.3. Occupational status  | 75  |
| 4.7. Summary  | 76  |
| 5. The study areas: Populations and respondents                           | 81  |
| 5.1. Introduction   | 81  |
| 5.2. Description of residents in study areas                              | 81  |
| 5.3. Description of respondents   | 85  |
| 5.4. Summary  | 98  |
| 6. Network ties in a planned city   | 101 |
| 6.1. Introduction   | 101 |
| 6.2. Review of Australian studies   | 102 |
| 6.3. Data and methods   | 104 |
| 6.4. Findings   | 105 |
| 6.4.1. Social networks in Canberra  | 105 |
| 6.4.2. Variations among the study areas                                   | 106 |
| 6.5. Discussion   | 107 |
| 6.6. Conclusions  | 110 |
| 7. Social support in a planned city                                       | 115 |
| 7.1. Introduction   | 115 |
| 7.2. Review of Australian studies   | 116 |
| 7.3. Data   | 117 |
| 7.4. Findings   | 117 |
| 7.4.1. Social support in Canberra   | 117 |
| 7.4.2. Variations among the study areas                                   | 118 |
| 7.5. Discussion   | 120 |
| 7.6. Conclusions  | 127 |
| 8. Effects of occupational mobility on social networks and social support | 130 |
| 8.1. Introduction   | 130 |
| 8.2. Review of previous studies   | 131 |
| 8.2.1. Presentation of hypotheses   | 131 |
| 8.2.2. Empirical evidence: Kinship relationships                          | 132 |
| 8.2.3. Empirical evidence: Other types of interpersonal relationships     | 134 |
| 8.2.4. Implications of previous research                                  | 134 |
| 8.3. An integration hypothesis  | 137 |
| 8.4. Analytical method  | 140 |
| 8.5. Measurements of variables  | 142 |
| 8.6. Results  | 146 |
| 8.6.1. Frequency of contact   | 146 |
| 8.6.2. Social support   | 157 |
| 8.6.3. Effects of degree of mobility                                      | 163 |

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| 8.7. Discussion  | 164 |
| 8.8. Conclusions   | 166 |
| 9. Length of residence and informal social participation | 175 |
| 9.1. Introduction  | 175 |
| 9.2. Presentation of hypotheses                          | 177 |
| 9.2.1. Previous assumptions                              | 177 |
| 9.2.2. Kinship relationships                             | 178 |
| 9.2.3. Neighbourhood relationships                       | 180 |
| 9.2.4. Friendship relationships                          | 182 |
| 9.2.5. Workmate relationships                            | 183 |
| 9.2.6. Hypotheses  | 185 |
| 9.3. Review of previous studies                          | 186 |
| 9.4. Analytical method and data                          | 188 |
| 9.5. Results   | 194 |
| 9.5.1. Frequency of contact                              | 194 |
| 9.5.2. Social support                                    | 197 |
| 9.6. Discussion  | 199 |
| 9.7. Conclusions   | 204 |
| 10. Conclusions  | 210 |
| 10.1. Introduction                                       | 210 |
| 10.2. Main conclusions                                   | 210 |
| 10.3. Other findings                                     | 217 |
| 10.4. Some implications of the findings                  | 223 |
| Appendix The letter and the interview schedule           | 228 |
| A.1. The letter sent to those in the sample              | 228 |
| A.2. The interview schedule                              | 229 |
| <i>Selected References</i>                               | 279 |

*Tables*

|   | <u>Page No.</u> |
|---|-----------------|
| 1.1. Changes in industrial structures   | 2               |
| 1.2. Population growth in capital cities  | 3               |
| 2.1. Population characteristics of Canberra and Australia   | 15              |
| 2.2. Father-to-son mobility in Australia, 1965  | 25              |
| 2.3. Population growth in ACT   | 27              |
| 2.4. Components of growth in the population of ACT  | 29              |
| 2.5. Persons aged 15 years or over who changed usual residence  | 31              |
| 2.6. Comparison between ACT and Australia in persons<br>aged 15 years or over who changed usual residence                       | 32              |
| 2.7. Persons aged 15 years or over: Duration of stay at usual residence   | 34              |
| 2.8. Persons aged 15 years and older who changed usual residence:<br>Reasons for moving by types of move, 1987 statistical year | 36              |
| 2.9. The Australian Capital Territory: A brief chronology   | 43              |
| 4.1. Reasons for non-interviews in dwellings approached   | 70              |
| 5.1. Characteristics of residents in study areas  | 82              |
| 5.2. Respondents' family type by study area   | 88              |
| 5.3. Average length of residence of respondents by study area   | 89              |
| 5.4. Places respondents spent their teenage years by study area   | 90              |
| 5.5. Respondents who had relatives in Canberra by study area  | 90              |
| 5.6. Educational attainment of respondents by study area  | 91              |
| 5.7. Occupational status of respondents by study area   | 92              |
| 5.8. Occupational status of spouses by study areas  | 93              |
| 5.9. Employment status of respondents by study area   | 94              |
| 5.10. Employment status of spouses by study area  | 94              |
| 5.11. Characteristics of respondents in study areas   | 97              |
| 6.1. Average frequency of contact of Canberra respondents in a year   | 105             |
| 6.2. Average annual frequency of contact by study area  | 106             |
| 6.3. Average annual frequency of contact in Detroit and Canberra  | 107             |
| 6.4. Average frequency of contact in a year for Canberra respondents<br>with relatives in and out of the city                   | 109             |
| 7.1. Expectation of "very much" help by source of support in Canberra   | 118             |
| 7.2. Expectation of "very much" help by source of support<br>in the HiNorth study area  | 119             |
| 7.3. Expectation of "very much" help by source of support<br>in the LoNorth study area  | 119             |
| 7.4. Expectation of "very much" help by source of support<br>in the HiSouth study area  | 120             |
| 7.5. Expectation of "very much" help by source of support<br>in the LoSouth study area  | 120             |
| 7.6. Expectation of "very much" help by source of support in Detroit  | 121             |
| 7.7. Expectation of "very much" help by source of support<br>in Belconnen in 1973-74  | 122             |
| 7.8. Expectation of "very much" help by source of support<br>for those with relatives in and out of Canberra.                   | 125             |

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| 8.1. Relationship between sixteen-point ANU1 prestige scale<br>and four occupational groups  | 142 |
| 8.2. Frequency of contact with relatives, neighbours, friends<br>and workmates   | 143 |
| 8.3. Percentage of respondents who had access to social support,<br>and percentage distributions and mean scores<br>for social support scales                        | 145 |
| 8.4. Frequency of contact with relatives<br>by statuses of origin and destination  | 147 |
| 8.5. Frequency of contact with neighbours<br>by statuses of origin and destination   | 148 |
| 8.6. Frequency of contact with friends<br>by statuses of origin and destination  | 149 |
| 8.7. Frequency of contact with workmates<br>by statuses of origin and destination  | 150 |
| 8.8. Total frequency of contact by statuses of origin and destination  | 151 |
| 8.9. Multiple regression solution<br>for estimating frequency of contact with relatives  | 155 |
| 8.10. Multiple regression solution<br>for estimating frequency of contact with neighbours  | 155 |
| 8.11. Multiple regression solution<br>for estimating frequency of contact with friends   | 156 |
| 8.12. Multiple regression solution<br>for estimating frequency of contact with workmates   | 156 |
| 8.13. Multiple regression solution for estimating total frequency of contact   | 157 |
| 8.14. Score of social support from relatives<br>by statuses of origin and destination  | 159 |
| 8.15. Score of social support from neighbours<br>by statuses of origin and destination   | 160 |
| 8.16. Score of social support from friends<br>by statuses of origin and destination  | 161 |
| 8.17. Multiple regression solution<br>for estimating social support from relatives   | 162 |
| 8.18. Multiple regression solution<br>for estimating social support from neighbours  | 162 |
| 8.19. Multiple regression solution<br>for estimating social support from friends   | 163 |
| 9.1. Frequency of contact with relatives, neighbours, friends<br>and workmates   | 189 |
| 9.2. Percentage of respondents who had access to social support,<br>and percentage distributions and mean scores<br>for social support scales                        | 190 |
| 9.3. Zero-order relationships and correlation coefficients<br>between dependent variables and independent variables<br>in multiple regression (Frequency of contact) | 192 |
| 9.4. Zero-order relationships and correlation coefficients<br>between dependent variables and independent variables<br>in multiple regression (Social support)       | 193 |
| 9.5. Standardised partial regression coefficients (Frequency of contact)   | 195 |
| 9.6. Standardised partial regression coefficients (Social support)   | 197 |
| 9.7. Means and standard deviations of variables<br>used in multiple regression   | 208 |
| 9.8. Table of Pearson product moment correlation coefficients  | 209 |

***Figures***

|  | <b><u>Page No.</u></b> |
|--|------------------------|
| 2.1. Map of Canberra                                       | 13                     |
| 5.1. Age composition of respondents by study area          | 86                     |
| 5.2. Age composition of spouses by study area              | 97                     |
| 5.3. Respondents' gross annual family income by study area | 95                     |



## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1. SOCIAL CHANGE IN WESTERN SOCIETIES

This is a study of residents in several different locations in Canberra. Of primary concern are their social networks and social support. These will be examined in this present study in relation to ideas about recent changes in modern Western urban society.

Western society has seen a remarkable development in industrialisation in the past 150 years. The industrial/occupational structure has altered in parallel with this development. Technological development as well as the division of labour in industrial societies has fostered secondary and tertiary industry and produced new occupations. By and large, this changing structure of the economy has increased the range of non-manual occupations and lessened the number of manual occupations. In addition, owing to the demand for skilled manpower, there is an emphasis on filling occupational positions on the basis of merit and achievement. Accordingly, the class or status hierarchy is more fluid and open in industrialised societies than in traditional societies. In a truly meritocratic society, open access to higher status positions would allow more able people to rise from lower positions, and less able persons or those less motivated would be more likely to end up in lower positions, irrespective of their parents' position. The degree to which modern societies conform to the true meritocratic society varies, but nevertheless occupational mobility, up and down, is a key characteristic of an industrial society.

Technological development in industrialised societies, in addition, has created new industries and innovations and these have often led to the construction of new factories and offices, even in previously undesirable areas. To maximise efficiency in production and business, development in industrialisation requires rapid allocation of

the labour force among factories and offices which spread geographically around an industrial society. These attempts at "rational" location of the labour force often lead to much more frequent geographical mobility by employees in the labour market. Historically, the geographical movement of labour has resulted in urbanisation in most cases. People have become more and more concentrated in urban areas because the centralisation of factories and offices has been believed to make work more efficient and more productive. Moreover, urbanisation is often accompanied by movement of the labour force from the primary sector to the secondary and tertiary sectors, one facet of change in the industrial/occupational structure. In sum, for individuals technological development has often meant a high rate of residential movement and a short length of residence in one locality.

**Table 1.1. Changes in Industrial Structure  
(percentage)**

| year               | 1947  | 1954  | 1961  | 1966  | 1971  | 1976  | 1981  | 1986  |
|--------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| industrial sector  |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| primary Industry   | 17.6  | 15.1  | 12.4  | 10.8  | 9.2   | 8.8   | 8.1   | 7.3   |
| secondary Industry | 37.1  | 38.9  | 38.8  | 38.8  | 34.3  | 31.0  | 28.2  | 24.4  |
| tertiary Industry  | 45.3  | 46.0  | 48.8  | 50.4  | 56.6  | 60.2  | 63.7  | 68.3  |
| total              | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Source: The Censuses of Population and Housing between 1947 and 1986.

In Australia specifically, considerable changes in industrial structure have occurred since the end of the Second World War. The change in the structure of the labour force between 1947 and 1986 can be seen from Table 1.1. The labour force in the primary, secondary and tertiary sector accounted for 17.6, 37.1 and 45.3 per cent respectively in 1947. The proportion of the labour force in the primary sector has decreased constantly since 1947, falling to 7.3 per cent by 1986. There was a slight rise in the proportion of the labour force in the secondary sector between 1947 and 1966, but thereafter it shrank to 24.4 per cent by 1986. In contrast, the proportion of

the labour force in the tertiary sector increased steadily, and by 1986 accounted for 68.3 per cent of the labour force, forming the majority of the industrial structure.

The change in the structure of the labour force as well as the more fluid class hierarchy has brought about high *intergenerational* occupational mobility in Australia since the Second World War. Using a conventional non-manual, manual, and farm division of occupations, by 1965, 41.6 per cent of men were in a different occupational stratum from that of their father (Broom and Jones, 1969a). International comparisons suggest that Australia has been characterised by one of the highest mobility rates among Western nations (Broom and Jones, 1969a; Yasuda, 1971, pp. 180-222; Abercrombie *et al.*, 1984, p. 197).

High rates of residential mobility have also been reported for Australia. For example, approximately 16 per cent of persons aged 15 years or older changed their residence between June 1, 1986 and May 31, 1987 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1988). In addition, Australians have increasingly been gravitating towards the capital cities. Table 1.2 shows the population concentration in the capital cities from 1947 to 1986. It is clear from the table that the capital cities have grown steadily in population. In comparison with others, Canberra stands out with its dramatic population increase.

**Table 1.2. Population Growth in Capital Cities  
(persons)**

| year | Sydney    | Melbourne | Brisbane  | Adelaide | Perth   | Hobart  | Darwin | Canberra |
|------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------|---------|---------|--------|----------|
| 1947 | 1,484,004 | 1,226,409 | 402,030   | 382,454  | 272,528 | 76,534  | 2,538  | 15,156   |
| 1954 | 1,863,161 | 1,524,111 | 502,320   | 483,508  | 348,647 | 95,206  | 10,856 | 30,315   |
| 1961 | 2,183,704 | 1,914,011 | 621,770   | 588,093  | 420,283 | 115,932 | 12,326 | 56,449   |
| 1966 | 2,542,207 | 2,230,793 | 778,193   | 771,561  | 559,298 | 141,311 | 21,671 | 107,138  |
| 1971 | 2,935,937 | 2,503,022 | 869,579   | 842,693  | 703,199 | 153,216 | 38,885 | 142,925  |
| 1976 | 3,021,982 | 2,604,035 | 957,745   | 900,432  | 805,747 | 162,062 | 46,655 | 196,538  |
| 1981 | 3,279,500 | 2,806,300 | 1,096,200 | 954,300  | 922,040 | 171,110 | 56,478 | 226,450  |
| 1986 | 3,364,858 | 2,832,893 | 1,149,401 | 977,721  | 994,472 | 175,082 | 66,131 | 248,441  |

Source: The Censuses of Population and Housing between 1947 and 1986.

Among other consequences, increased occupational and geographical mobility has

been thought to influence the pattern of social networks and the availability of social support. In the context of these kinds of changes, it is not surprising that the pattern of social networks and social support in contemporary cities has been a major subject of sociological research. Theoretically, it has been assumed that occupational and geographical mobility weakens social relationships and that weak ties result in alienation. Concern about alienation contributed to sociologists' interest in social networks. Empirically, researchers revealed recently that social networks are instrumental in helping individuals to deal with life events of a stressful nature, and more generally, are beneficial to the well-being of urban residents (House, 1981, 1986, 1987; House and Kahn, 1985; Cohen and Wills, 1985; Kessler and McLeod, 1985; Sampson, 1988; Lin and Encel, 1989). For instance, Croog *et al.* (1972) reported that primary groups are more common sources of assistance for patients than formal institutions, apart from contact with physicians. Williams *et al.* (1981) found that social support moderates the impact of stressful events on mental health. Bloom (1982) suggested that social support has direct effects on coping with breast cancer and indirect effects on adjustment to this. These uses of social relationships have turned sociologists' attention to social networks and social support. In essence, from Toennies (1887) to Litwak and Szelenyi (1969) to Wellman (1979) and beyond, sociologists have studied social networks and social support in response to questions about the effects of the industrial transformation on urban residents. Wellman integrated and summarised these arguments into three perspectives on the "Community Question".

## 1.2. THE COMMUNITY QUESTION

Community has often been identified with neighbourhood in sociology. It has been assumed that a significant part of social relationships are organised in local geographical areas. Much research, therefore, has focussed on neighbourhood

relationships in the search for community in contemporary cities (Wellman, 1979, pp. 1202-03). Ignored for some time have been the effects of the rise of efficient mass communication and transportation systems (e.g., the telephone and the automobile). These have enabled urban residents to have intimate social relationships beyond their neighbourhoods. On the assumption of locality-based social relationships, a failure to detect local solidarity led to the conclusion that the community had decayed.

Some social scientists, however, argued that researchers should be concerned with social networks rather than with any special locality for the definition of community and that "community" should be distinguished from "neighbourhood" (e.g., Bott, 1971, pp. 58-61; Wellman, 1979, pp. 1202-03, 1982, pp. 62-65; Wellman and Leighton, 1979, pp. 363-67). This insight led to a "network analytic perspective" in which researchers explore the incidence and form of social networks irrespective of whether they are confined to the local neighbourhood or not.

This new view has been articulated most eloquently by Wellman in arguing that the "Community Question" had set the agenda for much sociological debate since the latter part of the 19th century. He identified three possible answers to this question: "Community Lost", "Community Saved", and "Community Liberated".

The "Community Lost" argument dates back to classical theorists including Toennies (1887), Durkheim (1893) and Simmel (1902-03). Moreover, this argument is the basis of the 1920s-1930s theoretical writing of the dominant "Chicago School" of urban sociology (Wirth, 1938). These early sociologists maintained that increased industrialisation, bureaucratisation and urbanisation resulted in a "decline of a community". Primary relationships in the local community (e.g., neighbourhood) had been replaced by secondary relationships (e.g., bureaucratic organisations) which were more instrumental and effective than primary relationships in achieving most goals.<sup>1</sup> According to this argument, this social transformation had made people isolated and rootless. The process was reinforced by developments in transport and communication technology which motivated people to become less dependent on their

neighbourhood.

The "Community Lost" argument has significantly affected the urban planning policy in the U.S.A. There have been extensive community development programmes which were aimed at ending alienation for the regeneration of the close neighbourhood community. One of such programmes is Perry's neighbourhood unit concept (Perry, 1929), which will be detailed in Chapter 2.

These early sociologists, however, were not able to provide a great deal of empirical support for their arguments. As a result subsequent sociologists were stimulated to empirically explore social relationships in cities. And, from subsequent research, two other views emerged.

One was the "Community Saved" view, which argued that neighbourhoods and immediate kinship solidarity continue to flourish in modern urban society. This argument was supported by empirical research which showed the continued existence in cities of kinship relationships (e.g., Sussman, 1953, 1959; Axelrod, 1956; Young and Willmott, 1957; Sussman and Burchinell, 1962; Gans, 1962a) and close neighbourhood relationships (e.g., Dotson, 1951; Greer, 1956; Bell and Boat, 1957; Litwak, 1961; Gans, 1962a, 1962b; Fellin and Litwak, 1963). Fellin and Litwak (1968), reviewing these studies, suggested differentiated roles between formal organisations and primary groups in modern society. While formal organisations can cope with uniform tasks, flexible and unanticipated events can best be dealt with through primary groups such as relatives and neighbours. Thus, relatives and neighbours were said to perform significant roles in the provision of social support even in a highly bureaucratised society, one characterised by mobility, heterogeneity in the urban neighbourhood, and impersonality.

The other view that emerged was the "Community Liberated" view, which suggested that primary ties in contemporary Western societies "form sparsely knit, spatially dispersed, ramifying networks, instead of being bound up within a single densely knit solidarity" (Wellman, 1979, p. 1205). According to this perspective, the

development of efficient and inexpensive transportation/communication facilities had made it possible to maintain dispersed social ties (Webber, 1963). These relationships provided important sources of sociability and support (e.g., Kadushin, 1966; Granovetter, 1973; Laumann, 1973; Shulman, 1976; Fischer, 1976, 1982; Walker, 1977; Wellman, 1979; Tsai and Sigelman, 1982). The community was said to be "liberated" in that primary ties were no longer restricted to the neighbourhood of an urban resident, but free to extend anywhere in an urban area or further into the nation.<sup>2</sup> This "Liberated" perspective assumed that both formal organisations and primary groups brought together different but complementary means for achieving social goals in the same fashion as the "Community Saved" perspective. However, the "Community Liberated" argument differed from the "Community Saved" argument: the former regarded dispersed primary ties as prevalent and important sources of sociability and support; the latter emphasised the survival of local kinship and neighbourhood relationships.

In testing these arguments, Wellman (1979) conducted an intensive analysis of intimate personal networks in East York, a suburb of Toronto. His data provided little support for the "Community Lost" argument, as East Yorkers had many social relationships, particularly within kinship groups. The same data reflected more favourably towards the "Community Saved" argument. However, neighbourhood ties were not very dominant there, and friendship relationships extended throughout the metropolitan area. In Wellman's view, this data fully supported the "Liberated argument", because it showed that the residents tended to organise their social relationships as differentiated networks and not as solidarities.<sup>3</sup>

### 1.3. AIMS AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

In a world characterised by increased occupational and geographical mobility, the processes of social adaptation to new environments are particularly significant. It is

not uncommonly believed that occupational and residential mobility cut off individuals from intimate relationships, resulting in disruption and attenuation of significant social ties ("Community Lost" perspective). However, very few researchers have examined the patterns of social networks and social support in Australia, or related these to occupational and residential mobility (e.g., Saha, 1975, 1985; Jones, 1980; Pryor, 1980).

This thesis has two main aims. The first is to examine the pattern of social networks and social support in a modern city from the viewpoint of the "Community Question". With regard to the first aim, the author will develop the following two hypotheses:

The social networks in Canberra would display the "Community Liberated" pattern (Chapter 6).

Residents in Canberra would have good access to support from relatives, and neighbours would be less important providers of support (Chapter 7).

The second aim is to assess the effects of occupational and residential mobility on social networks and social support. In relation to the second aim, the author will develop the further two hypotheses:

Whereas downward mobility would disrupt persons' social networks and social support in Canberra, the same would not apply for upward mobility (Chapter 8).

While length of residence would have a negligible impact on kinship relationships, it would have a significant effect on neighbourhood, friendship and workmate relationships. More specifically, short-term residents would have greater social interaction with neighbours and workmates, and depend more on them than



long-term residents. Conversely, friends would play a more important part for the former (Chapter 9).

The respective hypotheses will be tested by relevant data in each chapter.

Canberra was the area in which the study was carried out. For much of the recent past it has been a rapidly growing city. More importantly, Canberra is a highly planned city. This makes it ideal for comparing different areas, using a quasi-experimental design (Campbell and Stanley, 1963). An interview survey focussing on the social participation of 394 women was carried out between November 1986 and March 1987. (This survey henceforth will be called the Canberra Survey.) This thesis reports the analysis of these data.

There were several reasons for focussing on women's social participation. Firstly, it has been widely reported that some groups of women in Canberra (e.g., women with young children) were socially isolated, particularly those in the newer, outer suburbs, which were not well-provided with community facilities and services of various kinds. Secondly, although it was theoretically possible to interview a wide range of people, it seemed more reasonable to focus the research so as to gain more detailed information about a more limited section of the population. For these reasons, it seemed more useful to concentrate on women's social participation in Canberra.

It should be noted that although findings from this study have many implications for a better understanding of contemporary urban life, further studies would be required to assess the degree of generalisation applicable to other Australian cities.

In terms of organisation, the next chapter, Chapter 2 discusses some key features of Canberra relevant to the study. As a way of gaining better insight into Canberra, the author lived with an Australian family in the city and observed first-hand how urban residents associated with their relatives, neighbours, friends and workmates. The results of this participant-observation are reported in Chapter 3. Aided by this study, the author developed the questionnaire and conducted the Canberra Survey.

Chapter 4 describes the research design, including the procedure for selecting the four study areas and explains the sample design. Chapter 5 looks at the populations and respondents of the four study areas. Social networks in Canberra are considered in Chapter 6 in relation to the "Community Question". Chapter 7 focusses on patterns of social support. In Chapters 8 and 9 factors which affect patterns of social networks and social support are considered. The relationships between occupational mobility and social participation are the subject of Chapter 8, and the relationships between length of residence and social participation are the focus of Chapter 9. Chapter 10 draws broad conclusions from the data and explores implications of the findings.

Appendix provides copies of the research instruments.

## NOTES to Chapter 1

<sup>1</sup> Gusfield (1975) and Nisbet (1966) reviewed the relevant debates.

<sup>2</sup> Whereas Wellman (Wellman, 1979; Wellman and Leighton, 1979) formulated the "Community Question" solely in terms of social networks, Connerly (1985) interpreted it in a broad way with other community functions in mind. He stressed the importance of the concept of "community of limited liability" (Greer, 1962; Janowitz, 1967).

<sup>3</sup> After the first East York study in 1968 (Wellman, 1979), Wellman (1982, 1985) conducted the second East York study in 1977-1978. He sought to understand a small number of personal communities in depth, using lengthy interviews with a sub-sample of the original East York respondents.

## **Chapter 2**

### **SOME FEATURES OF CANBERRA**

#### **2.1. INTRODUCTION**

This chapter provides a social description of Canberra, focussing on eight aspects relevant to the research reported here: (1) Geographical features (2) Demographic features (3) History (4) Administration (5) Urban planning policies (6) Stages of development (7) Occupational mobility and (8) Residential mobility.

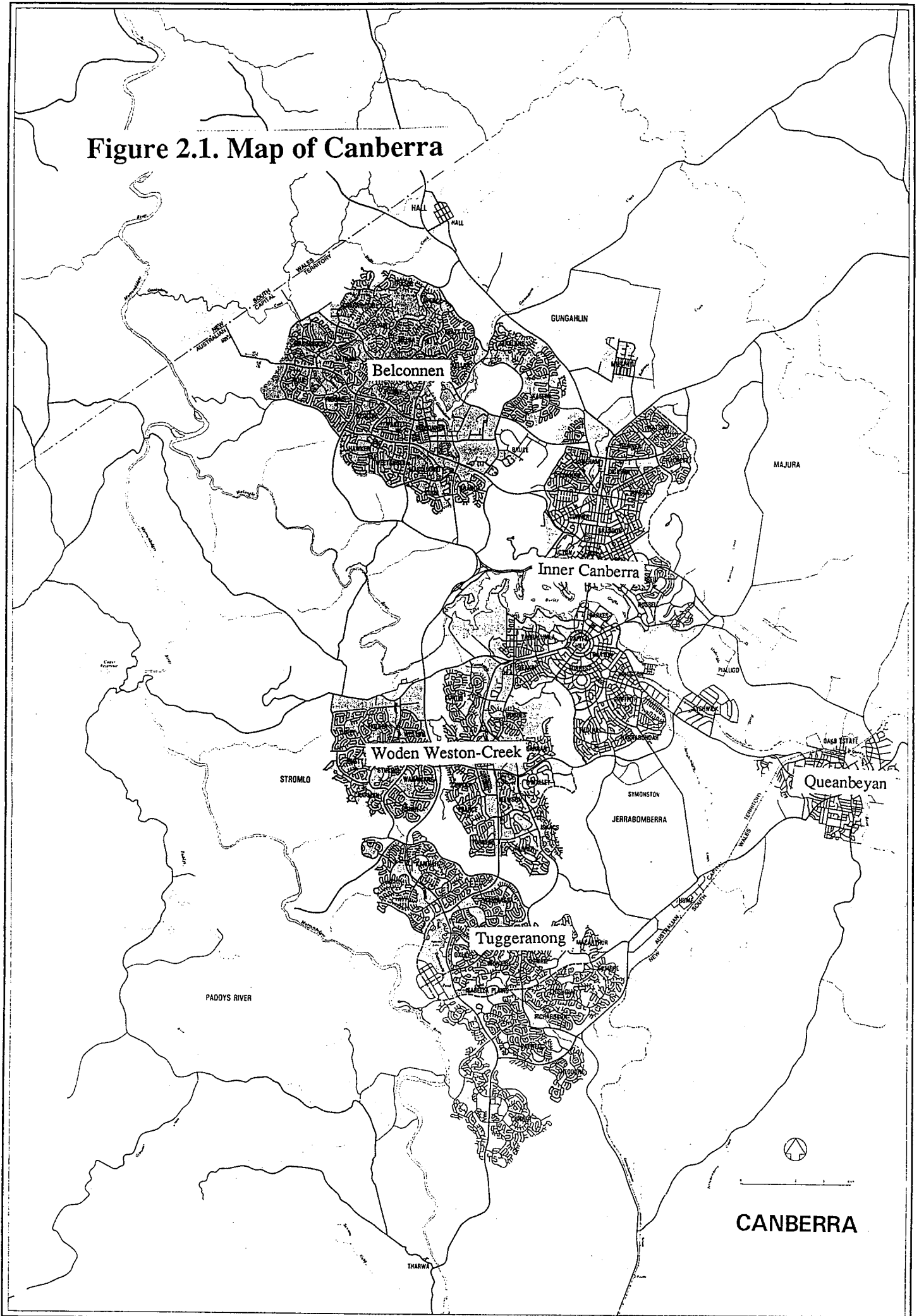
#### **2.2. GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES**

The Australian Capital Territory (ACT) is located on the southern tablelands of New South Wales and covers an area of 2,359 square kilometres. This region was ceded by New South Wales to the Commonwealth of Australia on January 1, 1911. As the southern portion of the ACT is mountainous, the main areas of settlement are limited to the city of Canberra in its northern part. Canberra today consists of four "towns": the original Inner Canberra (population 57,588 on June 30, 1986), Woden-Weston Creek (population 57,666), Belconnen (population 81,239) and Tuggeranong (population 49,478) (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1987). Furthermore, the New South Wales town of Queanbeyan (with a population of 22,698) is situated east of Canberra. This town, though in existence before Canberra, is regarded by many as virtually a dormitory suburb for Canberra (Figure 2.1).

#### **2.3. DEMOGRAPHIC FEATURES**

Canberra's population was about 250,000 at the time of the study, with the

**Figure 2.1. Map of Canberra**



population being spread over about 80,000 households (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1987).<sup>1</sup> There are four major features of the residents in Canberra particularly relevant to this study.

Firstly, Canberra is the Federal Capital of Australia, and as a result many people are employed in the Public Service and Statutory Authorities connected with the Federal Government. The 1986 Census showed that 53.5 per cent of the workforce was employed by the Federal Government and 0.9 per cent by local government. This contrasts with only 7.7 per cent for the Federal Government and 17.9 per cent for the local government in the whole of Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1987). Owing to the preponderance of the public service workforce, non-manual occupations historically have been over-represented in the occupational structure in Canberra, and for some time the Canberra economy and its population growth have been largely dependent on the public sector. The 1986 Census showed that managerial and professional occupations were responsible for 38.7 per cent of the total employed, and clerical occupations represented 26.6 per cent. The corresponding figures for all Australians were 30.0 per cent and 17.1 per cent respectively (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1987).

Secondly, the proportion of people aged 15 years and over who work outside their homes ("employed persons" by the Australian Bureau of Statistics definition<sup>2</sup>) has been higher than the Australian average for some time. To illustrate, the 1986 Census reported that the percentage of "employed persons" in Canberra was 67.7 per cent, compared with the national average of 54.4 per cent. More importantly, the female participation rate in Canberra is higher than the Australian average. The 1986 Census showed that 58.0 per cent of Canberra women aged over 15 were employed outside their homes ("employed women"), in comparison to the Australian standard of 42.3 per cent (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1987).

Thirdly, more people in Canberra have achieved higher levels of educational attainment than elsewhere in Australia. According to the 1986 Census, 19.6 per cent

**Table 2.1. Population Characteristics of Canberra and Australia**

|   | ACT  | Australia |
|---|------|-----------|
| <b><u>class-related characteristics</u></b>           |      |           |
| male 15+ *  |      |           |
| % managerial/(para)professional                       | 43.3 | 29.4      |
| % clerical  | 14.1 | 6.8       |
| % manual  | 36.4 | 52.4      |
| % female 15+ employed **                              | 58.0 | 42.3      |
| % male 15+ with degree or diploma                     | 23.3 | 9.5       |
| % female 15+ with degree or diploma                   | 15.9 | 7.7       |
| annual family income                                  |      |           |
| % less than A\$ 18000                                 | 14.5 | 29.8      |
| % more than A\$ 50001                                 | 22.8 | 9.4       |
| % occ. pvt. dwellings rented from gov't               | 13.1 | 6.6       |
| <b><u>other characteristics</u></b>                   |      |           |
| age composition                                       |      |           |
| % 0-14 years old                                      | 26.3 | 23.3      |
| % 20-39 years old                                     | 36.6 | 32.3      |
| family types ***                                      |      |           |
| % couple  | 25.9 | 30.6      |
| % couple & dep. child                                 | 11.4 | 9.7       |
| % couple & dep. children                              | 32.8 | 25.8      |
| % single parent & dep. child(ren)                     | 7.5  | 6.0       |
| % born overseas                                       | 23.3 | 20.8      |
| % residing the same residence in 1986 as in 1981 **** | 45.7 | 51.2      |

\* The total is the labour force. See *The 1986 Census Dictionary* (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1986b, p.93) for the term "labour force".

\*\* See *The 1986 Census Dictionary* (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1986b, p.93) for the term "employed".

\*\*\* The total is whole families. See *The 1986 Census Dictionary* (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1986b, p.74) for the definition of family.

\*\*\*\* The number of persons counted at home both on June 30, 1986 and on June 30, 1981 was divided by the number of persons counted at home on June 30, 1986. As the number under 5 years old was not subtracted from the total persons counted at home on June 30, 1986, the percentages are approximate.

Note: The total includes "not stated", "inadequately described" and "neither" categories.

Source: The 1986 Census of Population and Housing (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1987).

of the population over 15 years had a post-secondary diploma, a bachelor's degree or higher qualifications, compared to the Australian average of 8.5 per cent (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1987). In addition, more families in Canberra earn high incomes (Table 2.1). The 1986 Census indicated that families with annual incomes over A\$50,000 amounted to 22.8 per cent, though the national average was 9.4 per cent. This high level of educational attainment and income reflect the predominance of public servants in the city. In the light of these figures, it can be seen that Canberra has significant middle and upper middle class population components.

Fourthly, Canberra traditionally has been characterised by more families in the child-rearing stage of the life cycle, as compared to the whole of Australia (Table 2.1). This is evidenced by the age structure and family types. Residents aged "0-14" and "20-39" constituted a larger percentage in the former than in the latter. Moreover, the family type "couple and dependent child(ren)" accounted for a larger percentage of families in Canberra than in the whole of Australia.

These features of Canberra make it a suitable site for the research questions addressed here. Before looking at these questions in more detail, it is useful to consider briefly the history of Canberra and its other features.

## 2.4. HISTORY <sup>3</sup>

Before Federation in 1901, Australia was made up of six British colonies. New South Wales and Victoria were the two most prominent colonies in those days. Neither Sydney (the capital of New South Wales) nor Melbourne (that of Victoria) would accept domination in a federation by the other. To gain acceptance of the proposed federation scheme, a compromise decision was made to construct a new city for the Federal Government. It was agreed that it would be somewhere in New South Wales, at least 100 miles distant from Sydney, and that -- to compensate Victoria -- Melbourne would be the temporary seat of the Federal Government until the new



capital city was developed.

The area around what is now Canberra formally became the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) on January 1, 1911. In April 1911, the Commonwealth launched a world-wide competition for the design of its new capital to be built on virtually uninhabited grazing land which had been selected for the purpose. The competition was won in 1912 by an American architect and landscape designer, Walter Burley Griffin, a student of Frank Lloyd Wright. He laid out only an area of the Central Area, about 12 square miles of hill and plain country around the Molonglo River, as a setting for the Parliament House and other important government buildings.<sup>4</sup>

For some time after Federation, many departments of the Federal Government remained in Melbourne and it was not until 1927 that the first permanent residents arrived in Canberra. The Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia met for the first time in Canberra in 1927. The early development of Canberra was slow, being hampered by the Great Depression and the Second World War. Subsequently, the then Prime Minister, Robert Menzies, established the National Capital Development Commission (NCDC) in 1958 for the purpose of planning, developing and constructing Canberra, and it was not until the 1960s that Canberra's development dramatically increased. Since then public establishments (e.g., the National Library, the Mint and the High Court) and government offices have been built successively, on a large scale. The completion of the long-delayed artificial Lake Burley Griffin in 1964 marked an epoch in the history of the city construction. A great number of offices of the Federal Government were transferred from Melbourne to Canberra in the 1960s and early 1970s.

Because the original Griffin Plan was only intended to accommodate 75,000 people, the NCDC undertook a series of studies to establish long-term proposals needed to cope with Canberra's future population growth. The NCDC published *The Future Canberra* (National Capital Development Commission, 1965), and proposed that it should preserve the open character of the city by limiting the extent of the

existing districts and forming new residential districts in the surrounding rural areas. Three new towns, Woden-Weston Creek, Belconnen and Tuggeranong were developed under the dispersed settlement plan. The first settlement in Woden-Weston Creek started in 1963, in Belconnen in 1967 and in Tuggeranong in 1974.<sup>5</sup>

The NCDC, reviewing population and employment forecasts and conducting follow-up studies, revised the long-term strategy from time to time, although the Commission, up to its replacement in 1989, had maintained its basic strategy, the dispersed pattern of settlement.<sup>6</sup> *Tomorrow's Canberra* (National Capital Development Commission, 1970) amended the long-term outline plan for Canberra. This was known as the "Y-Plan", because the outline of the city suggested a linear pattern in the shape of a "Y" as a form of the city with open space between the three arms of the "Y". The plan proposed that new residential areas should be developed in the surrounding rural areas to accommodate increased population and that Canberra should consist of a series of self-contained "towns" of 100,000 - 120,000 people (National Capital Development Commission, 1984a, p. 33). The Y-Plan was intended to form the framework of urban planning until the population level approached 400,000 - 450,000 (National Capital Development Commission, 1984a, p. 109). Ten years after the publication of *Tomorrow's Canberra* the NCDC released a publication titled *Metropolitan Issues: Public Discussion Paper* (National Capital Development Commission, 1980) and asked for public comments on the development. Reviewing the growth of Canberra, the NCDC concluded in *Metropolitan Canberra: Policy Plan and Development Plan* in 1984 that it should continue to develop Canberra by the dispersed settlement plan (National Capital Development Commission, 1984a).

## 2.5. ADMINISTRATION

Canberra has been administered by the Federal Government for most of the time since its founding.<sup>7</sup> At the time when the present study was carried out, the

administration of Canberra was chiefly through the NCDC and the (Commonwealth Government) Department of Territories. The former has been responsible for policy plans and development plans, land use policy, and planning approvals for private developers' applications. It also has been responsible for a range of public facilities, for client departments and authorities, and public housing.<sup>8</sup> The latter was the municipal administrator of Canberra, and had the responsibility for local transport, housing, and a variety of regulatory activities.<sup>9</sup>

Overall, it seemed that urban development and administration through the NCDC and the Federal Government had gained general public acceptance, and that this had led Canberra residents to be apathetic towards local politics. It has been said that the Commonwealth looked after Canberra residents so efficiently that they had found it unnecessary to interfere with a smooth-running organisation by pressing for self-government (Joint Committee on the Australian Capital Territory, 1975, p. 24; Atkins, 1978, p. 125; Saunders, 1984, p. 62). There were three reasons for this interpretation. First, though the bills for local self-government had been submitted to Parliament several times, they had never been adopted. Second, in a referendum held in November 1978, nearly 64 per cent of Canberra residents voted for no change of the local administrative system (Saunders, 1984, p. 62). Third, the *Canberra Chronicle* conducted a poll in which it asked its readers their opinion about self-government in 1988 (Canberra Chronicle, 1988). Out of 1207 replies received, 89.3 per cent of people were against self-government.<sup>10</sup>

## 2.6. URBAN PLANNING POLICIES

Employing long-term policies, the NCDC formed a scheme of urban development, constructed community facilities for various departments and authorities and regulated land use. Its three main policies were (1) a dispersed pattern of settlement, (2) neighbourhood units, and (3) social mix. These require further explanation.

### **2.6.1. DISPERSED PATTERN OF SETTLEMENT**

Since 1965, the NCDC has developed Canberra to cater for the long-term population growth by the dispersed settlement plan. The development by the dispersed settlement plan provided residents with amenities such as various types of open space (e.g., playing fields, parks and flood ways) and detached low-density housing. Municipal open space (active sports areas, parkland and floodway easements) in Canberra amounted to about 1,700 ha. and the minimum provision in planning for municipal open spaces was 4.0 ha. per 1,000 population. In addition, extensive open spaces (170,300 ha.) were reserved for the National Capital Open Space System (National Capital Development Commission, 1984a, pp. 68-69). The 1986 Census indicated that there were 79,561 dwellings in Canberra of which 82.0 per cent were detached houses (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1987). Development by this plan resulted in widely dispersed residential areas of low density with an abundant provision of open space.<sup>11</sup>

Dispersal of employment has also been a policy. The NCDC has distributed workplaces in all towns and coordinated population gains and employment provision in each new town. By providing for office space near residential areas, this policy was designed to reduce the distance and cost of the journey to work, to minimise traffic congestion and to increase the likelihood of people travelling and working in the same town (National Capital Development Commission, 1984a, p. 46).

### **2.6.2. NEIGHBOURHOOD UNIT**

The neighbourhood unit concept was originally formulated by Clarence A. Perry. He shared the view of the "Chicago School" and emphasised the impersonality of relationships in urban society. He suggested a scheme to relieve this impersonalisation. This scheme involved three defining characteristics of a

neighbourhood unit. These were:

1. A neighbourhood unit is a catchment area of a primary school.
2. The through-roads skirt neighbourhood units and the roads within each neighbourhood unit are local access streets.
3. Playing fields and open spaces are laid out for each neighbourhood unit, in addition to a small local shopping centre designed for daily shopping needs.

Neighbourhood units provide daily-life convenience to their residents. An aim of this town planning idea is to promote residents' involvement in their neighbourhood. That is, this scheme is designed to intensify neighbourhood relationships and foster community attachment by letting residents utilise common community facilities (Perry, 1929).<sup>12</sup>

To date, Canberra has been planned largely on the principle of the neighbourhood unit.<sup>13</sup> A neighbourhood unit is equivalent to a suburb in most areas. From this point of view, Canberra can be regarded as a collection of neighbourhood units. A typical neighbourhood unit in Canberra accommodates 3,500-4,000 residents and consists of 700-1,000 residential housing blocks (National Capital Development Commission, 1970, p. 69).<sup>14</sup>

Some community facilities and services are intended for use by residents in a single suburb, but others are arranged to cater for two or more suburbs. The group centre, town centre, district playing field (larger area of open space), post office, high school, hospital, library, police, ambulance, fire station and bus service are such supplementary facilities and services. More importantly, community facilities and services are organised into a hierarchical system. For example, a larger centre in the suburbs is a group centre. A group centre, which consists of retail shops with a fairly wide range of goods and services including a large supermarket and smaller convenience shops, is designed to cater for 3-5 suburbs. A much larger centre is a

town centre which is a complex of more retail shops including department stores as well as offices, minor industry and other community facilities. A town centre, which is constructed in each "town" (e.g., Belconnen and Tuggeranong), is the most important centre for the provision of community facilities and services in a town. A local shopping centre, a group centre, and a town centre constitute a hierarchy of shopping centres. Similar hierarchies exist for other community facilities and services such as schools, playing fields and roads (National Capital Development Commission, 1970, pp. 61-108; Moseley, 1974).

Owing to the neighbourhood unit principle, the appearance of residential areas and shops in Canberra differs noticeably from that in other Australian cities and larger towns. Elsewhere business centres have been developed according to demand. For example, corner stores, which have traditionally supplied goods out of normal shopping hours, are scattered in residential areas in most Australian cities. In contrast, the NCDC generally has designated one place for a small local shopping centre within a neighbourhood unit. All the shops in a neighbourhood unit are centred there and there are very few corner stores in Canberra.

### **2.6.3. SOCIAL MIX**

To try to minimise segregation by income and to encourage social mix, the NCDC has promoted a degree of homogeneity among suburbs but heterogeneity within suburbs (Stretton, 1970, p. 73; Adrian, 1986, p. 21). This policy has been carried out by ensuring a range of block sizes within each neighbourhood as well as by building Commonwealth-owned dwellings -- rented to low income people -- in almost all suburbs. Hence the suburb in which a person resides is not a reliable indicator of a person's social class, in contrast to other metropolitan cities in Australia and elsewhere in the world in which there is usually a strong correlation between residence and social class. Furthermore, this policy makes it difficult to identify high status or low status

suburbs. It may be true that a few suburbs have such reputations. For instance, Aranda, Weetangera and Hawker are regarded as high status suburbs in Belconnen; Faddon and Macarthur are thought to be high status suburbs in Tuggeranong. Except in Aranda, no rented Commonwealth-built dwellings for people with lower incomes have been constructed in these places. However, the number of such suburbs is very small (Neutze, 1978, p. 44).

Generally speaking, Canberra lacks marked differences among suburbs. Because of the neighbourhood unit principle and the social mix policy, most suburbs have been laid out from a roughly similar template and thus lack distinctive features. Moreover, brick, three or four bedroom houses on blocks of approximately one eighth of a hectare dominate the urban landscape in Canberra.

## **2.7. STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT**

The three new towns, Woden-Weston Creek, Belconnen and Tuggeranong, have been developed successively following the dispersed settlement plan. Since areas in the same stage of development tend to be in the same situation and to be confronted with the same kinds of problems, they are likely to have similar internal characteristics. This makes it possible to suggest stages of development for planned urban areas such as Canberra.

Overall, urban areas in Canberra have been characterised by three stages of suburban growth. The first stage is the town construction period. Community facilities and services are insufficient during this stage and do not satisfy the needs of residents. Because of this, residents have often organised community interest groups to demand community facilities and services from the government. Furthermore, a new area affords its residents many opportunities to cooperate with their neighbours for their community establishment. For example, the NCDC builds pre-schools and health centres, and such establishments are provided with tables, chairs, furniture, etc.

However, such equipment is often insufficient; Parents and Citizens Associations raise funds to provide further equipment (e.g., library books, toys and playground facilities) and to improve the landscape. Participation in community interest groups and many opportunities for cooperative work result in local community cohesion. The suburban development of Tuggeranong was in the first stage at the time of the present study.

The second stage is the period after a new town has been completed. Residents generally tend to be satisfied with local amenities, and take them for granted. They appear to lose interest in their suburb and to confine themselves to their private lives. Woden-Weston Creek and Belconnen were in this stage.

The third stage is a period when redevelopment occurs in established areas, or development of a nearby new town has repercussions for neighbouring areas. Community interest groups are organised to protest against undesirable effects of the development. Participation appears to encourage social integration in local communities again. Inner Canberra was in the third stage at the time of the present study.<sup>15</sup>

These arguments suggest the hypothesis that a higher level of local community integration should be observed in areas in the first and third stages than those in the second stage. The implication was that regional differences needed to be taken into account in selecting areas in Canberra for research on social participation. Doing so also allows the hypothesis to be examined using data collected in the four Canberra localities (see Chapter 9).

## **2.8. OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY**

One important question of interest concerned the consequences of occupational mobility in Canberra. However, data on occupational mobility for Canberra (based on random sampling) did not exist. In the absence of occupational mobility data for



Canberra, data on father-to-son occupational mobility in Australia as a whole provided a useful starting point. The most relevant data for present purposes was obtained by Broom and Jones (1969a) and is provided in Table 2.2.<sup>16</sup>

Three summary indicators of *intergenerational* mobility were calculated from these data. They are an index of mobility, an index of upward mobility and an index of downward mobility. An index of mobility represents the percentage of respondents who occupy a different occupational stratum from their fathers. This indicator was calculated by expressing the number of mobile respondents (the total sample minus the cases in the diagonal) as a percentage of all respondents. Another practical measure is an index of upward mobility. This is defined as the proportion of respondents who hold a higher stratum than their fathers; similarly, an index of downward mobility signifies the proportion of people decreasing in status. An index of upward mobility added to an index of downward mobility equals an index of mobility (Yasuda, 1971, p. 73; Boudon, 1973, p. 13). For Australia, the index of mobility, the index of upward mobility and the index of downward mobility in 1965 were 0.62, 0.37, and 0.25 respectively.

**Table 2.2. Father-to-Son Mobility in Australia, 1965**

| father                  | son | managerial/<br>professional | clerical | skilled<br>manual | unskilled<br>manual | total |
|-------------------------|-----|-----------------------------|----------|-------------------|---------------------|-------|
| managerial/professional |     | 180                         | 82       | 44                | 74                  | 380   |
| clerical                |     | 64                          | 42       | 34                | 53                  | 193   |
| skilled manual          |     | 19                          | 13       | 39                | 28                  | 99    |
| unskilled manual        |     | 105                         | 77       | 180               | 217                 | 579   |
| total                   |     | 368                         | 214      | 297               | 372                 | 1251  |

Source: Broom and Jones (1969a).

There was reason to believe that the occupational mobility structure in Canberra (as measured by the three indicators) differed from Australia as a whole. As pointed out previously, the dominance of the public service workforce led to the over-representation of professional, managerial and clerical occupations in Canberra. In addition, head offices of Federal Government departments were located in Canberra and thus there were many high government positions there. To obtain a non-manual position, especially a high government position, many competent persons and those more motivated are thought to have moved to the city. It seemed plausible to expect that upward mobility would be higher in Canberra than that for Australia as a whole. The occupational mobility table in Canberra obtained from the Canberra Survey will be presented in Chapter 8. A comparison with Table 2.2 will make it possible to evaluate the validity of the inference about occupational mobility in Canberra.

## **2.9. RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY**

Early this century, Canberra was a country town of about 1,700 people. By the mid-1980s, its population had risen to nearly 250,000, and it was the seventh largest city in Australia. This section is concerned with the process of population growth in Canberra with special reference to five aspects relevant to residential mobility: (1) population growth (2) components in population increase (3) mobility rates (4) duration of stay and (5) reasons for moving.

### **2.9.1. POPULATION GROWTH**

There have been eleven Censuses conducted between 1911 and 1986, and features of population growth since 1911 are presented in Table 2.3.<sup>17</sup> It can be seen from Table 2.3 that there has been a continuous population increase in Canberra since 1911. Closer examination reveals a sharp rise during the 1961-1976 period: the city

gained 37,000, 48,000, and 54,000 persons in the 1961-1966, 1966-1971, and 1971-1976 periods respectively. However, the city's growth slackened thereafter: its population increased by only 24,000 and 28,000 persons in the 1976-1981 and 1981-1986 periods.

**Table 2.3. Population Growth in ACT  
(persons)**

| year | population |
|------|------------|
| 1911 | 1,668      |
| 1921 | 2,572      |
| 1933 | 8,947      |
| 1947 | 16,905     |
| 1954 | 30,315     |
| 1961 | 58,828     |
| 1966 | 96,013     |
| 1971 | 144,063    |
| 1976 | 197,622    |
| 1981 | 221,609    |
| 1986 | 249,407    |

Source: Censuses of Population and Housing between 1911 and 1986.

The reasons for the population increase in the city can be found to some extent in the prevailing government policies of the time. As a result of the dominance of the government sector, changes in government policies have affected the level of economic and social activities in Canberra, with consequent effects on population.

For a long time after Federation in 1901, as indicated earlier, many departments of the Federal Government were located in Melbourne. Many of these departments were transferred from Melbourne to Canberra only in the 1960s and early 1970s, and the

accompanying relocation of public servants (and their families) to Canberra gave rise to a large increase in population during that period. Subsequently, existing departments were expanded and some new departments were created under the Whitlam government (1972-1975). The succeeding Prime Minister, Malcolm Fraser, imposed staff ceilings on the public service in an effort to restrain public sector spending, a policy which substantially slowed down the growth of the city (National Capital Development Commission, 1984a, p. 46-48).

### 2.9.2. COMPONENTS OF POPULATION GROWTH

Population increase occurs through internal migration from elsewhere in Australia, immigration from overseas and natural increase. A consideration of these components reflects the demographic features of the urbanisation process and the variations in growth elements in the intercensal periods in Canberra.

The three indicators used were: natural increase, net migration of the Australian-born, and net migration of the foreign-born. What we really need to know are the internal migration and the overseas-born immigration, but they are not available separately because these measures are complicated by the movement within Australia of foreign-born persons, movement overseas of foreign-born persons, and movement to and from overseas of Australian-born persons.<sup>18</sup> Nonetheless, the three indicators are sufficient to show broad patterns of the components of population change. Needless to say, the majority of Australian-born migrants would be internal migrants and a high percentage of foreign-born migrants would be international migrants (Choi and Burnley, 1974, p. 51).

Table 2.4 shows intercensal population growth allocated between the three demographic components in each intercensal period from 1911 to 1986.<sup>19</sup> The net migration of Australian-born people made a considerable contribution to population gain in Canberra, but its share has fluctuated quite widely over different periods. This

**Table 2.4. Components of Growth in the Population of A.C.T.  
(persons)**

| <u>1911 -1961</u>                   |             |               |               |                |                |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|
| period                              | 1911-21     | 1921-33       | 1933-47       | 1947-54        | 1954-61        |
| natural increase                    | 306 (33.8%) | 785 (12.3%)   | 3,348 (42.1%) | 5,313 (39.6%)  | 7,359 (25.8%)  |
| net migration of<br>Australian-born | 308 (34.1%) | 4,643 (72.8%) | 4,053 (50.9%) | 3,594 (26.8%)  | 11,926 (41.8%) |
| net migration of<br>foreign-born    | 290 (32.1%) | 947 (14.9%)   | 557 (7.0%)    | 4,503 (33.6%)  | 9,228 (32.4%)  |
| total                               | 904(100.0%) | 6,375(100.0%) | 7,958(100.0%) | 13,410(100.0%) | 28,513(100.0%) |

| <u>1961 -1986</u>                   |                |                |                |                |                |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| period                              | 1961-66        | 1966-71        | 1971-76        | 1976-81        | 1981-86        |
| natural increase                    | 8,408 (22.6%)  | 12,211 (25.4%) | 17,181 (32.1%) | 18,158 (75.7%) | 17,780 (64.0%) |
| net migration of<br>Australian-born | 19,047 (51.2%) | 24,630 (51.3%) | 26,586 (49.6%) | -1,454 (-6.1%) | 5,587 (20.0%)  |
| net migration of<br>foreign-born    | 9,730 (26.2%)  | 11,209 (23.3%) | 9,792 (18.3%)  | 7,283 (30.4%)  | 4,431 (15.9%)  |
| total                               | 37,185(100.0%) | 48,050(100.0%) | 53,559(100.0%) | 23,987(100.0%) | 27,798(100.0%) |

This is summarized as follows:

| <u>1911 -1986</u>                   |                |                |                 |                |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| period                              | 1911-47        | 1947-61        | 1961-76         | 1976-86        |
| natural increase                    | 4,439 (29.1%)  | 12,672 (30.2%) | 37,800 (27.2%)  | 35,938 (69.4%) |
| net migration of<br>Australian-born | 9,004 (59.1%)  | 15,520 (37.0%) | 70,263 (50.6%)  | 4,133 (7.9%)   |
| net migration of<br>foreign-born    | 1,794 (11.8%)  | 13,731 (32.8%) | 30,731 (22.1%)  | 11,714 (22.6%) |
| total                               | 15,237(100.0%) | 41,923(100.0%) | 138,794(100.0%) | 51,785(100.0%) |

Sources: The eleven Census enumerations of population by place of birth (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1987) and the *Demography Bulletins* annual series of births and deaths (Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, 1907) (after 1972 *Births, Australia* (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1972a) and *Deaths, Australia* (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1972b)). See note 19 of this chapter.

component was very significant in both absolute and relative numbers during 1961-1976, when the government offices in Canberra were being enlarged. It was responsible for nearly 50 per cent of the population increase during the period. As there was thereafter a sharp decrease of net migration of Australian-born, its contribution to population growth fell to -6.1 per cent during 1976-1981 but was restored to 20.0 per cent during 1981-1986. Instead of this element, natural increase was the most significant single source of population increase during the period of 1976-1986. This fact is relevant to an earlier point: there are proportionally more families in the child-bearing stage of the life cycle in Canberra than in Australia as a whole. It is important to note that the relative importance of natural increase was elevated by the shrinking of net migration of Australian-born rather than any shifts in the rate of natural increase. In reality, the natural increase was fairly unchanged during 1971-1986. In sum, while net migration of the Australian-born played a major role in the growth of the city between 1961 and 1976, population increase between 1976 and 1986 was due principally to natural increase.

### 2.9.3. GROSS INTERNAL MIGRATION

In order to assess population flow, a distinction between gross migration and net migration can be made. Gross migration denotes the sum of arrivals and departures; net migration is the excess of arrivals over departures. (Data on net internal migration were shown in Table 2.4.) Net migration indicates only volume and direction of the excess and does not show volume and direction of actual inward and outward migration streams. For example, low net migration takes place when there is little gross migration or when there is considerable inward and outward gross migration with similar numbers going in each direction (Rowland, 1979, pp. 6-9). In other words, these two indices are not always associated with each other.<sup>20</sup>

To deepen an understanding of population redistribution in Canberra, data on

gross internal migration are necessary. The annual Internal Migration Surveys (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1980) provide estimated figures of gross internal migration in recent years.<sup>21</sup> Data on gross internal migration have been published in their present form since 1979. Table 2.5 reports numbers of persons aged 15 years and older who changed their usual residence for three types of moves (moves within Canberra, inter-state moves from the city, and inter-state moves to the city) and their percentage during 1979-1987. It can be seen from the table that there is only a slight annual fluctuation in mobility rate for moves within Canberra. Each year 11.2 to 13.5 per cent of people moved within Canberra. However, the table reveals considerable variations of outward movement (departure from Canberra) from year to year. Its mobility rate reached a peak of 7.8 per cent in 1982, and then fell to a low point of 3.8 per cent in 1983. Compared with outward movement, inward movement (arrivals in Canberra) was quite stable with mobility ratios of 5.7-6.8 per cent. The range of fluctuation in this mobility ratio was only 1.1 per cent.

**Table 2.5. Persons Aged 15 Years or Over Who Changed Usual Residence ('000)**

| year ended   | move within ACT<br>(1) |         | move from ACT<br>(2) |        | move to ACT<br>(3) |        | excess<br>(3)-(2) |
|--------------|------------------------|---------|----------------------|--------|--------------------|--------|-------------------|
| 30 June 1979 | 19.5                   | (13.5%) | 9.5                  | (6.6%) | 9.4                | (6.5%) | -0.1              |
| 30 June 1980 | 17.8                   | (11.7%) | 8.4                  | (5.5%) | 8.7                | (5.7%) | 0.3               |
| 31 May 1981  | 18.9                   | (12.4%) | 10.9                 | (7.1%) | 10.4               | (6.8%) | -0.5              |
| 30 June 1982 | 18.3                   | (12.0%) | 11.9                 | (7.8%) | 9.5                | (6.2%) | -2.4              |
| 30 June 1983 | 22.2                   | (13.8%) | 6.1                  | (3.8%) | 10.5               | (6.6%) | 4.4               |
| 30 June 1984 | 21.9                   | (13.4%) | 11.3                 | (6.9%) | 11.3               | (6.7%) | 0.0               |
| 30 June 1985 | 18.8                   | (11.2%) | 9.6                  | (5.7%) | 10.8               | (6.1%) | 1.2               |
| 31 May 1986  | 21.0                   | (12.0%) | 11.9                 | (6.8%) | 11.4               | (6.1%) | -0.5              |
| 31 May 1987  | 22.3                   | (12.4%) | 10.3                 | (5.7%) | 12.5               | (6.5%) | 2.2               |

Source: The annual Internal Migration Surveys (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1980)

Numbers and mobility ratios of persons aged 15 and over who changed their usual residence in Canberra and Australia are provided in Table 2.6. These data indicate the total numbers and ratios of the movement of people within and to an area in each year. The percentages correspond to the total of the percentages in the first and third columns of Table 2.5. Mobility ratios in Canberra levelled off between 17.0 and 20.0 per cent, and those in Australia showed no marked fluctuation in level between 15.7 and 16.8 per cent in the 1979-1987 period. A comparison between the mobility ratio in Canberra and that of the Australian average reveals that people changed their usual residence in Canberra slightly more frequently than the Australian norm throughout 1979-1987. The mobile character of Canberra's population can also be shown by the percentage of people who reside in the same dwelling in 1981 and 1986. Table 2.1 showed that while 45.7 per cent of residents in Canberra lived in the same dwelling in 1986 as in 1981, 51.2 per cent did in Australia as a whole.

**Table 2.6. Comparison between ACT and Australia in Persons Aged 15 Years or Over Who Changed Usual Residence ('000)**

| year ended   | ACT<br>(1)+(3) in Table 2.5 | Australia      |
|--------------|-----------------------------|----------------|
| 30 June 1979 | 29.0 (20.1%)                | 1653.1 (16.0%) |
| 30 June 1980 | 26.4 (17.5%)                | 1757.0 (16.7%) |
| 31 May 1981  | 29.3 (19.2%)                | 1808.5 (16.8%) |
| 30 June 1982 | 27.8 (18.2%)                | 1751.5 (16.0%) |
| 30 June 1983 | 32.7 (20.4%)                | 1741.7 (15.6%) |
| 30 June 1984 | 33.2 (20.0%)                | 1916.4 (16.8%) |
| 30 June 1985 | 29.5 (17.0%)                | 1933.1 (16.7%) |
| 31 May 1986  | 32.4 (17.8%)                | 1853.0 (15.7%) |
| 31 May 1987  | 34.7 (18.5%)                | 1913.4 (15.9%) |

Source: The annual Internal Migration Surveys (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1980)



#### 2.9.4. DURATION OF STAY

The duration of stay at a person's place of usual residence can be used as another indicator of internal migration over a long term. Table 2.7 was compiled from the annual Internal Migration Surveys (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1983), but the period for which the data are available is further limited to 1982-1987. Two points merit discussion here.

First, a comparison of the duration of occupation of residential accommodation between Canberra and Australia demonstrates that persons who had resided at their current residence for less than 5 years constituted a higher percentage in Canberra than the Australian norm in 1982-1987, which likewise supports the proposition that people in Canberra were more mobile than in the rest of Australia.

Second, as noted before, many public servants were transferred from Melbourne to Canberra in the 1960s and early 1970s.<sup>22</sup> It appears that most of these (public service) migrants had already established themselves in Melbourne and considered Canberra as a temporary place of residence, at least initially. However, this view subsequently changed for several reasons. For example, as head offices of government departments were located in Canberra, senior posts were concentrated in Canberra as well, and there were more opportunities for promotion and higher salaries.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, over time the social networks of Canberra residents came to include more local relatives. For example, unlike the earlier years, some Canberra residents came to have retired parents living in the area, some of their sons and daughters have married and settled in the city, and so on. Another consideration is the fact that the government, in order to attract and retain public servants to staff Commonwealth Government departments, created better community facilities and services than could be found elsewhere. The net result of all of this can be seen in Table 2.7: the percentage of people aged 15 and over who lived at their current usual residence for over 15 years has gradually increased in Canberra since 1982, while at

**Table 2.7. Persons Aged 15 Years or Over: Duration of Stay at Usual Residence ('000)**

**ACT**

| duration of stay<br>at usual residence of |                |                |                |                |                |
|---|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
|   | 30 June 1982   | 30 June 1983   | 30 June 1984   | 30 June 1985   | 31 May 1986    |
| - 4 years                                 | 74.5 (48.7%)   | 74.8 (46.6%)   | 84.1 (50.0%)   | 76.0 (43.0%)   | 86.3 (47.4%)   |
| 5-14 years                                | 59.9 (39.2%)   | 59.6 (37.2%)   | 55.3 (32.9%)   | 64.3 (36.3%)   | 57.4 (31.6%)   |
| 15+ years                                 | 18.7 (12.2%)   | 25.9 (16.1%)   | 28.8 (17.1%)   | 36.6 (20.7%)   | 38.2 (21.0%)   |
| total                                     | 153.0 (100.0%) | 160.4 (100.0%) | 168.3 (100.0%) | 176.9 (100.0%) | 181.9 (100.0%) |
| -----                                     |                |                |                |                |                |
|   | 31 May 1987    |                |                |                |                |
| - 4 years                                 | 90.0 (47.8%)   |                |                |                |                |
| 5-14 years                                | 57.5 (30.6%)   |                |                |                |                |
| 15+ years                                 | 40.4 (21.5%)   |                |                |                |                |
| total                                     | 188.1 (100.0%) |                |                |                |                |

**Australia**

| duration of stay<br>at usual residence of |                  |                  |                  |                  |                  |
|---|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
|   | 30 June 1982     | 30 June 1983     | 30 June 1984     | 30 June 1985     | 31 May 1986      |
| - 4 years                                 | 4824.2 (44.1%)   | 4906.8 (43.9%)   | 5137.9 (44.6%)   | 5160.1 (44.1%)   | 5100.5 (43.2%)   |
| 5-14 years                                | 3286.6 (30.0%)   | 3393.7 (30.3%)   | 3399.6 (29.5%)   | 3493.0 (30.0%)   | 3604.1 (30.5%)   |
| 15+ years                                 | 2829.3 (25.9%)   | 2883.0 (25.8%)   | 2980.0 (25.9%)   | 3042.6 (26.0%)   | 3096.1 (26.2%)   |
| total                                     | 10940.2 (100.0%) | 11183.5 (100.0%) | 11517.5 (100.0%) | 11695.8 (100.0%) | 11800.0 (100.0%) |
| -----                                     |                  |                  |                  |                  |                  |
|   | 31 May 1987      |                  |                  |                  |                  |
| - 4 years                                 | 5281.5 (44.0%)   |                  |                  |                  |                  |
| 5-14 years                                | 3576.5 (29.8%)   |                  |                  |                  |                  |
| 15+ years                                 | 3141.4 (26.2%)   |                  |                  |                  |                  |
| total                                     | 11999.4 (100.0%) |                  |                  |                  |                  |

Source: The annual Internal Migration Surveys (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1980)

the same time the duration of stay in the whole of Australia shows a constant trend throughout 1982-1987.

#### **2.9.5. REASONS FOR MOVING**

The annual Internal Migration Surveys collected information regarding the reasons why persons aged 15 and over changed their usual residence during the previous twelve months. Reasons have been classified in different ways from time to time, which makes chronological comparison difficult. Accordingly, only the most recent figures are presented in Table 2.8 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1988). Furthermore, for simplicity, only four main reasons for moving were tabulated. The survey shows that the highest proportion of people moved within Canberra for "housing" reasons. In the year ended 31 May 1987, this reason was responsible for 44.8 per cent of shifts within Canberra. In contrast, "employment" was the most important reason for inter-state movement. Persons who moved to Canberra from another state or territory for this reason constituted 66.4 per cent; similarly, 48.5 per cent of migrants in the counterstream gave this as a motive. Moves in Australia followed the same pattern as moves in Canberra, though the proportion of the Australian average was lower than that of Canberra. Overall, moves for "housing" were predominantly intra-state migration, while "employment" was the dominant motive for inter-state migration.

#### **2.10. SUMMARY**

This chapter has described some characteristics of Canberra, and in the process presented some initial hypotheses for testing. The major points reported here may be summarised as follows:

- (1) Canberra's settlement region consists of four districts; Inner Canberra,

**Table 2.8. Persons Aged 15 Years and Older Who Changed Usual Residence: Reasons for Moving by Types of Move, 1987 Statistical Year ('000)**

**ACT**

|                                 | moved within ACT | moved into ACT | moved out of ACT |
|---------------------------------|------------------|----------------|------------------|
| had to move/<br>forced move (a) | 2.4 (10.8%)      | *              | *                |
| employment                      | *                | 8.3 (66.4%)    | 5.0 (48.5%)      |
| location (b)                    | 3.2 (14.3%)      | 2.0 (16.0%)    | *                |
| housing (c)                     | 10.0 (44.8%)     | *              | *                |
| others                          | *                | *              | *                |
| total                           | 22.3             | 12.5           | 10.3             |

**Australia**

|                                 | moved within State | moved into State | moved out of State |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| had to move/<br>forced move (a) | 175.2 (10.2%)      | *                | *                  |
| employment                      | 181.9 (10.6%)      | 86.4 (44.7%)     | 86.4 (44.7%)       |
| location (b)                    | 295.0 (17.1%)      | 45.1 (23.4%)     | 45.1 (23.4%)       |
| housing (c)                     | 551.6 (32.1%)      | 6.0 (3.1%)       | 6.0 (3.1%)         |
| others                          | 516.3 (30.0%)      | 53.4 (27.7%)     | 53.4 (27.7%)       |
| total                           | 1720.2             | 193.1            | 193.1              |

- (a) Move due to circumstances beyond the mover's control, the principal reasons being the sale by the landlord of a rental property, lease not renewed, resumption or demolition of properties and natural calamities.
- (b) Location includes the following categories: closer to work/school etc., better area, and closer to family/friends.
- (c) Housing includes the following categories: larger house, smaller house, other features, to buy own home, and other.
- \* subject to sampling variability too high for most practical uses.

Source: The Internal Migration Survey (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1988)

Woden-Weston Creek, Belconnen, and Tuggeranong.

- (2) Canberra is a government city containing many public servants in white-collar occupations. In consequence, the Canberra population distinguishes itself from the Australian population by its prevalence of middle and upper middle class people.
- (3) Local government had not been established when the Canberra Survey was conducted in January 1987. At the time of the study, as had been the case since 1911, the Federal Government ruled the city, with the NCDC and the Department of Territories administering the city for the most part.
- (4) Canberra has been built following policies of dispersed settlement patterns, neighbourhood units and social mix.
- (5) Development in Canberra can be characterised by three stages of suburban development: the developing stage, the established stage and the redeveloping stage.
- (6) Canberra saw a dramatic population gain in 1961-1976 in response to transference and expansion of government employment. This population gain was due principally to internal migration, i.e., migration to Canberra from elsewhere in Australia. The population increase thereafter slackened in 1976-1986 and natural increase contributed overwhelmingly to the population growth.
- (7) People in Canberra moved within or to the city more frequently than the Australian average. Compared with the Australian average, Canberra has long been characterised by short-term residents. Despite this, the number of long-term residents has gradually increased recently.

In view of these features, Canberra cannot be described as a "typical" Australian city. Yet, Canberra is a good example of the rapidly growing city, which is likely to become more prevalent in the future. At the same time, as a (virtually completely) planned city, Canberra affords an opportunity for social research (e.g., using quasi-experimental designs) possible in few other cities in the world, and hence the city provides a unique opportunity to better understand social life in contemporary cities.

## NOTES to Chapter 2

<sup>1</sup> Canberra's population as of June 30, 1986, was 249,407, and the number of households, 79,561 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1987).

<sup>2</sup> For the definition of labour force status, see *The 1986 Census Dictionary* (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1986b, p. 93).

<sup>3</sup> See "The Australian Capital Territory: A brief Chronology" on page 43.

<sup>4</sup> In the Canberra Plan, Griffin was under the influence of Ebenezer Howard (1902), an Englishman, who proposed the Garden City with advantages of both urban and rural life (National Capital Development Commission, 1970, p. 8). See also Self (1988).

<sup>5</sup> The dispersed settlement plan was chosen mainly because development by this strategy harmonises with the original Griffin Plan and makes it possible to preserve Griffin's ideal that Canberra should be a Garden City in a landscaped setting (National Capital Development Commission, 1984a, p. 1).

<sup>6</sup> After the dissolution of the NCDC, its functions were divided between an Interim Territory Planning Authority and the National Capital Planning Authority.

<sup>7</sup> A local government was established in Canberra in 1989 and the administration system has changed.

<sup>8</sup> The NCDC did not have the power to issue an eviction order for the purpose of development; the choice of moving was left to residents, though in some areas developers provided many "inducement" to encourage reluctant residents to move from

prime redevelopment sites.

<sup>9</sup> Other functions in Canberra were managed by independent agencies, such as the ACT Schools Authority, the Capital Territories Health Commission, and the ACT Electricity Authority.

<sup>10</sup> Because only persons interested in this topic were likely to respond, the validity of the survey results is open to question.

<sup>11</sup> The new local government arrangements incorporate a commitment to preserve the "open spaces" nature of Canberra. Against the dispersed settlement plan, there emerged, by the 1980s, a recognition that the dispersed settlement in Canberra costs a great deal. Day (1984, 1986) and Adrian (1986), therefore, recommended the urban consolidation programme. See Nobe (1990).

<sup>12</sup> There were some arguments about the neighbourhood unit principle. For example, while Mumford (1966) argued for the concept, Dewey (1950), Jacobs (1961), Isaacs (1966), Keller (1968, pp. 125-47) and Mann (1968, pp. 171-82) are critical of it.

<sup>13</sup> However, the NCDC argued that the neighbourhood unit principle was employed in Canberra not to promote social interaction, but simply because it offered a useful system of providing community facilities and services (National Capital Development Commission, 1970, p. 83). Incidentally, through-roads in Perry's neighbourhood unit scheme are referred to as distributor roads or arterial roads in NCDC terms (National Capital Development Commission, 1970, p. 71-73).

<sup>14</sup> The NCDC confirmed by discussions with various community leaders in Canberra that people found the neighbourhood unit principle inflexible. Because of this drawback, the NCDC based the early Tuggeranong development on the concept of

"territorial unit". A territorial unit was several times larger than a neighbourhood unit, to make the layout of areas more flexible (Moseley, 1974). A typical example of a territorial unit is Kambah in the north of Tuggeranong. This suburb looks like a gathering of four conventional suburbs. However, it has become evident from its implementation that a territorial unit has two drawbacks. First, a territorial unit is too spacious to engender a sense of an identity with the local area. Second, its shopping centre hierarchical system cannot fully meet the demands of residents. These two disadvantages made the NCDC discarded the idea and return to the original neighbourhood unit concept in later Tuggeranong development. This information was obtained by an interview with an NCDC official on January 18, 1988.

<sup>15</sup> Evidence which supported the arguments about the stages of development were collected by means of interviews with government officials and community leaders, and are presented in Nobe (1990).

<sup>16</sup> This occupational mobility table is the only published table on the basis of the ANU1 scale. Occupation was coded into one of four categories by collapsing the ANU1 scale further into four classes, according to Broom and Jones' proposal (Broom and Jones 1969b, p. 651). Respondents whose father or husband was engaged in farming were excluded from the table.

<sup>17</sup> It should be noted that intercensal years were divergent before 1961 though since then the Census has been conducted regularly over five year periods.

<sup>18</sup> The Census of Population and Housing has started to ask questions about population flow since 1971. Enumeration of people in these Censuses provided the numbers for internal migration and overseas-born immigrants (Rowland, 1979; Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1984; Maher, 1984, pp. 144-47). However, similar questions were not asked in the Censuses before 1966 and as a result the



corresponding figures are not available for this period. The lack of data compels us to use net migration of the Australian-born and net migration of the foreign-born.

<sup>19</sup> The estimate of the components of Canberra's population increase followed Merrett's procedure (Merrett, 1977). The eleven Census enumerations of population by place of birth (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1987) and the *Demography Bulletins* annual series of births and deaths (Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, 1907) (after 1972 *Births, Australia* (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1972a) and *Deaths, Australia* (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1972b)) are source materials for this estimate. Natural increase was computed from the *Demography Bulletins*. The births over deaths which were registered in the city during intercensal period were summed. Net migration of foreign-born was estimated from the Censuses. Comparison of consecutive Censuses makes it possible to calculate the additions to numbers of persons in Canberra who were born overseas. An increase in the number of persons who were born overseas is regarded as net migration of foreign-born. Net migration of Australian-born is estimated as a residual by taking away the natural increase and the net migration of foreign-born from the net increase of the number of persons in the city. Incidentally, great expansion of metropolitan boundaries have often been made in the Censuses since 1911. Natural increase in such areas is underestimated, if the above-mentioned method is applied (Merrett, 1977, pp. 35-36). However, the boundary of Canberra has not been changed in the Censuses since 1911. As a result, the natural increase of Canberra was estimated fairly accurately by this method.

<sup>20</sup> Analysing intercensal population movement between 1966 and 1971, Rowland showed that inter-state population flow was balanced by counterstreams of similar volume in Australia (Rowland, 1979, pp. 32-60). Thus, he claimed that internal migration there had not significantly changed the regional distribution of population in recent years (Rowland, 1976). The massive inter-state population movement to Canberra between 1961 and 1976, which contributed to its rapid population growth, is

an exception to this tendency.

<sup>21</sup> Comparing their estimates with results of the Census of Population and Housing, Di Iulio (1984) casts some doubt on the accuracy of their estimates.

<sup>22</sup> These public servants were transferred compulsorily. They were given a choice of moving or losing their jobs.

<sup>23</sup> This point was suggested by one of the public servants who moved to Canberra from Melbourne in those days.

**Table 2.9. The Australian Capital Territory: A Brief Chronology**

|         |   |
|---------|---|
| 1911    | On January 1, Canberra formally became the Federal Capital Territory (FCT). Its population was 1,668.   |
| 1912    | Walter Burley Griffin won the world-wide design competition of the city.  |
| 1915    | 72.5 square kilometres at Jervis Bay was added to the FCT.  |
| 1927    | Parliament was opened in Canberra.  |
| 1929    | The Great Depression.   |
| 1930    | An Advisory Council was established comprising three departmental heads and three elected members, plus the Civic Administrator.  |
| 1938    | The FCT was renamed the Australian Capital Territory (ACT).   |
| 1939-45 | World War II.   |
| 1947    | Canberra's population reached 16,905.   |
| 1954    | Canberra's population reached 30,315.   |
| 1956    | A Joint Parliamentary Standing Committee on the ACT was established.  |
| 1958    | The National Capital Development Commission (NCDC) was constituted.   |
| 1959    | The Academy of Science building was opened. The Defence Department transfer from Melbourne began.   |
| 1961    | Canberra's population reached 58,828.   |
| 1962    | Development of Woden, the first of Canberra's satellite towns, began.   |
| 1963    | The Jubilee Year of Canberra's foundation. The Law Courts and Printing Office were opened, together with new retail and office blocks in Civic. There was a rapid increase in the number of hotels and motels, and in headquarters of organizations being opened in Canberra. |
| 1964    | Lake Burley Griffin was completed and filled.   |
| 1965    | A strategy to accommodate a projected population of 250,000 by about 1980 was published in <i>The Future Canberra</i> . The Canberra Theatre Centre, the Mint and a new building for the Bureau of Mineral Resources were built.  |
| 1966    | Canberra's population reached 96,013.   |
| 1967    | Development of Belconnen, Canberra's second satellite town, began.  |
| 1969    | The Woden township extended to include Weston Creek.  |
| 1970    | The NCDC published <i>Tomorrow's Canberra</i> which presented a success story of development (1958-70) and outlined plans for linear-city growth and for redevelopment (Y-Plan).  |
| 1971    | Canberra's population reached 144,063.  |
| 1972    | The Woden Plaza, a shopping complex in Woden Town Centre, was constructed.  |
| 1973    | The Department of the Capital Territory took over from the Department of the Interior.  |
| 1974    | The Advisory Council was replaced by a fully elected Legislative Assembly. Development of Tuggeranong, Canberra's third new town, began.  |
| 1976    | Canberra's population reached 197,622.  |
| 1978    | The Belconnen Retail Mall in Belconnen Town Centre was opened.  |
| 1980    | The NCDC reviewed its planning policies and raised major issues in the <i>Metropolitan Issues Report</i> .  |
| 1981    | Canberra's population reached 221,609.  |
| 1983    | The Department of Territories and Local Government took over from the Department of the Capital territory.  |
| 1984    | The NCDC published <i>Metropolitan Canberra</i> , announcing decentralization of employment and retail outfits in accord with the Y-plan. The Department of Territories took over from the Department of Territories and Local Government.                                    |
| 1985    | Civic redevelopment began.  |
| 1986    | Canberra's population reached 249,407.  |
| 1987    | ACT Administration, a part of the Department of Arts, Sports, Environment, Tourism and Territories took over from the Department of Territories.  |
| 1988    | Tuggeranong Town Centre was constructed. New Parliament House was opened.   |
| 1989    | Development of Gungahlin, the fourth new town, is to begin.   |

Sources: Atkins (1978), National Capital Development Commission (1984a), and *National Capital Development Commission Annual Reports* between 1958 and 1988 (National Capital Development Commission, 1958).

## Chapter 3

# SOME SKETCHES OF SOCIAL NETWORKS IN CANBERRA: A PERSONAL PERSPECTIVE

### 3.1. INTRODUCTION

In an effort to learn more about social life in Canberra, I arranged to live with an Australian family in Canberra from November 25, 1985 to November 8, 1987. During this period, I participated in various community activities in the city. My chief aim was to observe and learn as much as possible about how people interact socially with their relatives, neighbours, friends and workmates, and to try to understand how they think and feel about their association with these people, insofar as this can be inferred from what they do and say. As I had only a limited knowledge of other societies, my socialisation in Japan was the yardstick by which I interpreted social life in Canberra. To characterise the way of life in Canberra by comparison with Japanese society may be helpful for Australians as well as for me, for this will make Australians aware that manners of association which Australians take for granted are not always ubiquitous. From my participant-observation, several features of modes of association in Canberra emerged. The purpose here is to point out these characteristics.

However, there were problems that should be considered. My participant-observation was limited to the extent that I was unable to become familiar with a complete cross-section of Canberra society. First, I lodged with a family in which both husband and wife were public servants. Through them I developed other personal relationships, so the people I mixed with were mostly middle class public servants. Second, though I interviewed several working class people, their broad Australian accents made it difficult for me to understand them. For these two reasons, relationships among only middle class public servants will be reported here.

Incidentally, Australia is a pluralist society populated by people with a very wide range of ethnic origins and a corresponding wide range of customs and acceptable behaviour. Accordingly, it should be noted that only one facet of Australian society is reported here.

### 3.2. KINSHIP RELATIONSHIPS

Relatives help each other in various ways in both Japan and Australia. My participant-observation made me aware that Japanese have different views of such support from people in Canberra. The norm in Canberra will be examined here by comparison with the Japanese norm.

Japanese are consciously aware of their "Japanese family system". The idealistic "Japanese family system" is the stem family. The domiciliary unit consists of a man, his wife, his unmarried siblings, his eldest son, his eldest son's wife, his eldest son's children, and his unmarried sons and daughters. According to this norm, the eldest son usually remains in the "main family" and succeeds to most family property and his younger brothers have a separate home and establish a "branch family". This division of property is based on the idea that the main family should always be responsible for any emergencies which occur to any family in the group. On the one hand, as grants of property to branch families are often inadequate for subsistence, they are often obliged to depend on their main family. On the other hand, branch families contribute to the prosperity of their main family. Bonds between main family and branch families are provided by continuous relationships of economic dependence and by mutual obligation to give assistance in emergencies (cf. Dore, 1958, pp. 91-120).

The Japanese constitution, based on the "Japanese family system", was changed in 1946, and Western influence has given birth to individualism among Japanese. These two events planted the seeds of a change in the notion of the "family", and the effects of this change are being felt in daily life. Three instances will be shown to

indicate this point. First, many eldest sons refuse to live with their parents, and as a result the stem family pattern has become less dominant. The percentage of stem families fell to 20.6 per cent in 1980 (Arisue, 1984, p. 170). Second, greater importance has been given to emotional ties between husband and wife (Yonezawa, 1987, pp. 161-62). Third, it is generally thought that all children have an equal responsibility for their parents, and rights to inherit parental property. Despite these changes, the idea of the "Japanese family system" underlies the behaviour of Japanese. Because of this idea, there is a lot of give and take between relatives in Japan, and Japanese take this for granted. In addition, relatives provide a significant mechanism for dealing with the hazards of life. In other words, nuclear families are not so independent in actual practice as they are notionally among Japanese, even though they live separately.

Relationships between parents and their married children are governed by another norm in Anglo-Saxon societies. According to Sussman (1953) and Sussman and Burchinell (1962), Americans, especially middle class Americans, believe that parents are freed from responsibility for their children after the children get married and make a new separate home; children thereafter are on their own and should fend for themselves. Continuing dependence on parents is regarded as testimony to the weakness of children, or failure of parents to provide adequate training for independence.

The couple whom I boarded with introduced me to five of their friends. They were married women of middle class status, the majority class in Canberra. I sought their opinions on social support from their relatives. Although there may be some doubts about the universal validity of their responses, they seem to show where the general weight of the norm lies. They supported the notion that married children should cope with their personal matters by their own efforts independently of their parents and their siblings, except in the case of unforeseen circumstances, and thought that receiving aid from their relatives is undesirable without such efforts.<sup>1</sup> In sum,

while social support from relatives is institutionalised in Japan, married people are expected to cope largely by themselves in Canberra.

### 3.3. NEIGHBOURHOOD RELATIONSHIPS

#### 3.3.1. NEIGHBOURS

The word "neighbours" has many meanings. For present purposes, I use the term here to refer to "the people who live within about five minutes' walk (excluding workmates and relatives who happen to live near-by)". In this section, I will discuss six aspects of such "wider" neighbourhood relationships.

In the first place, providers of community facilities and services in Japan will be compared with those in Canberra. Such facilities and services are provided by the mutual support of residents as well as by the government in Japan. For this purpose, a mutual support group called *Jichikai* (or *Choonaikai*) is formed in almost all urban areas in Japan.<sup>2</sup> These residential groups were organised in 92.6 per cent of all 471 Japanese cities in 1969 (Kikuchi, 1973, p. 134). The joining unit is not a person, but a household, and about 300 such households form a *Jichikai*. Its joining is quasi-compulsory to the extent that it covers quite a number of residents in an area (more than 70 per cent on an average) and many residents take participation in it as a norm. Its uniqueness lies in the fact that it is a multi-purpose and multi-functional group. Kikuchi (1973, 1977) listed its six functions.

1. guarding the residential area jointly (fire prevention, crime prevention, cleaning roads, paths and parks, etc.)
2. improving the residential environment (administration and maintenance of sewers, street lights and roads)
3. supplementing local government services (conveying news from local

government to residents, collecting insurance payments and donations)

4. functioning as pressure groups (making petitions and demands to government)
5. promoting mutual friendship (holding athletic meetings, festivals, and helping at funerals, etc.)
6. integrating residents

Each *Jichikai* carries out some of these functions which vary according to the needs of the residents and the condition of the area. The first three functions can be classified as provision of community facilities and services. As they do not cover all fields of community facilities and services, others are provided by the government. A mutual support group of neighbours takes partial charge of the provision of community facilities and services, sharing this function with the government in Japanese urban areas.<sup>3</sup>

This Japanese urban situation is in striking contrast to that in Canberra. Residents in Canberra think that because they pay rates and taxes to the government, the government should provide the community with facilities and services needed for residential life. Moreover, neighbours usually do not work together to deal with problems that arise in day-to-day living. If they have complaints about community facilities and services, they contact the government instead of improving them by mutual co-operation. To illustrate, Mrs. T said, "Because there were no flowers in an open space near my house (in Belconnen) and the area looked very dreary, I rang up the Department of Territories to ask for the planting of some flowers there. They planted flowers several days later." The first three functions of *Jichikai* are carried out by the government in Canberra.

When residential problems arise in Canberra, residential action groups are sometimes organised, but such groups are usually intended to petition the government rather than to co-operate with one another to provide community facilities and services.



This function of residential groups in Canberra would be performed by *Jichikai* in Japan and corresponds to its fourth function.

In the second place, we will examine how difficult it is for residents to develop informal ties with their neighbours in urban Japan and in Canberra. In Japan the formal institution in the neighbourhood, the *Jichikai*, holds general meetings for its residents regularly, runs festivals of the local shrine, and organises work teams to arrange community facilities and services not provided by the local government. Furthermore, as indicated, this group embraces a considerable number of residents in an area. In addition, the association sometimes exerts tacit coercion on inhabitants to get them to work together with their neighbours. Though a *Jichikai* is not managed under the principle of Western democracy, it provides an immediate means of initial acceptance within the neighbourhood. Because the *Jichikai* provides people with a means of breaking the ice, many people easily develop informal ties with their neighbours which are of emotional and material value to them in urban areas in Japan (Dore, 1958, p. 287).

Sometimes groups are organised within particular suburbs in Canberra. Such groups may include a community centre management committee, a Parents and Citizens Association, a playgroup, etc. However, joining them is voluntary and each covers only those residents who are interested in its activities. Therefore, they are not as effective as *Jichikai* in linking neighbours in an area with one another. No residential groups in Canberra provide the kind of framework in which informal relationships are fostered to the same extent as by *Jichikai* in Japanese cities.

In the third place, owing to the importance of a mutual support group of neighbours, the majority of Japanese people mix with their neighbours almost involuntarily without thinking, and accept such participation as the norm. This is especially so in the "traditional areas (downtown areas)" (Kikuchi, 1973, 1977).

In contrast, the government furnishes community facilities and services in Canberra, where there is an overwhelmingly high proportion of managerial,

professional, and clerical workers. These three occupational groups accounted for some 65 per cent of employment in Canberra, compared to the Australian average of 47 per cent (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1987). Because of this, many people in Canberra are sufficiently well off financially to prefer purchasing services rather than turning to others for help. The lack of need for dependence on neighbours contributes to an attitude in Canberra: non-interference of neighbours is the norm that prevails among its residents.

In the fourth place, there are important factors which foster social interaction in Canberra. My participant-observation indicated that one factor of great importance in forming some social relationships between parents stems from the activities of children. It is important to note that children provide their parents with a considerable number of opportunities to associate with other parents in their suburb.

First, children usually join playgroups near their home. A playgroup is a gathering of children aged approximately from two to five years old. Playgroups meet in private homes, in community centres or in other premises, and offer children opportunities for various playing experiences (A.C.T. Playgroups Association, 1986). While a child plays with other children in play-group sessions, his/her parent sits together with other parents to watch the children as there are no paid minders in such groups.

Second, children usually go to a pre-school or primary school in their suburb.<sup>4</sup> Parents go to Parents and Citizens Association meetings held once a month, though the number who attend is small.<sup>5</sup> Parents and Citizens Associations run canteens for pupils. Some of the parents who do not work outside the home volunteer to help in its operation at school about once a month together with other such parents.

Third, children invite some of their classmates to their birthday parties. For example, a daughter of the S family, aged 10, was asked to parties by 15 of 30 her classmates within a year; she went to the birthday parties of half of her classmates. Parents take their children to parties and leave. When the children are collected by the

parents after the party, they often stay for a cup of tea and talk for an hour or so.

Fourth, a child of this age usually has several close friends. Parents often allow their child to stay at his/her friend's home overnight and invite his/her friends to stay at their home, particularly on weekends or holidays. Staying out is common among school children in Canberra. The daughter of the S family, for example, stayed away from home at least once a month. Parents want to foster sociability and independence in their children.

Fifth, it is common in Canberra for parents to send children to sport or music classes outside school hours, e.g., swimming, horse riding, ballet, singing, and violin classes.<sup>6</sup> When parents take their children to such classes and watch their children performing, they often have an opportunity to meet other parents. The popularity of such classes reflects the middle class culture of Australians.

These are just five examples of how children provide their parents opportunities to meet other parents and to establish friendships in the neighbourhood. Parents who form close associations keep in constant contact with each other about their children. Having children is a significant factor which stimulates the development of social networks, particularly neighbourhood relationships in Canberra.

In the fifth place, as children's area of activity tends to be geographically restricted to local area for the most part, the fact that 53.5 per cent of the workforce were employed by the government and government-related organisations in Canberra in 1986 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1987) has an effect on neighbourhood relationships. As the rank of a public servant indicates salary level, people can gauge others' family income and living standard with some precision. I often heard such conversations as "He serves in the public service as a plumber. His hours of duty are short and he is very ill-paid." and similar remarks. In addition, it is difficult for parents to avoid donating to the Parents and Citizens Association on the pretence of poverty, because other parents know their financial status in most cases. People have a good knowledge of their neighbours' circumstances, because public servants are a

major group in the workforce in Canberra, and this can have a subtle effect on neighbourhood behaviour.

In the sixth place, high unemployment has increased the incidence of vandalism and burglary in Canberra recently. On the average more than 50 break-ins were reported in a week in March, 1984 (Castle, 1984a), and burglary in the ACT more than doubled in the period 1979-80 to 1984-85 (Canberra Chronicle, 1986d). It became obvious that traditional methods of policing (by the police force alone) was inadequate in halting the spiraling crime rate. In response, the police appealed to the public to form Neighbourhood Watch committees (Castle, 1984b, 1984c), whereby neighbours co-operate with one another to attempt to reduce the incidence of burglary. Its major activities are (Australian Federal Police, 1984):

1. Marking valuable household items with an identification number with a marking instrument.
2. Residents are encouraged to identify and report criminal activities in their area. Co-operation among residents is emphasised here.

This programme has proven successful in protecting houses against theft in Canberra (Canberra Chronicle, 1986d; Australian Federal Police, 1986a). For instance, the incidence of break-ins in Kambah fell by 58 per cent and the number of calls to the police from residents rose by 26 per cent in 1985 after the introduction of the programme there, according to the Australian Federal Police (1986b). As a result, this programme gained public favour and was formed in almost all Canberra areas. It was suggested that people put a great emphasis on non-interference among neighbours in Canberra. However, the diffusion of Neighbourhood Watch indicates that the increase in crime has changed this attitude towards neighbours. The crime problem has been making residents more co-operative with their neighbours than before.<sup>7</sup>

When residents form the Neighbourhood Watch committee in an area, they need to

do some work together. The police divide Canberra districts into areas of approximately 600 households in which to implement the Neighbourhood Watch programme (Australian Federal Police, 1984, p. 8). At the request of residents the police call a public meeting to inform residents in the selected area of the introduction of the programme and of the procedures for forming the group. A meeting is usually attended by 150 to 250 residents. Participants donate money to buy engravers and to issue newsletters, and pass the marking instruments from one household to another.

However, after they engrave an identification number on expensive household goods, there is no need for ordinary members to take a part in the programme. Only leaders (an area co-ordinator and zone leaders) gather once a month, prepare newsletters and deliver them to each household. Therefore, the initial enthusiasm of inhabitants lasts only a few months, according to leaders of Neighbourhood Watch. In spite of the tendency to stagnate, the Neighbourhood Watch offers residents an opportunity to meet their neighbours. Leaders of the programme I interviewed valued this unexpected effect highly. To sum up, Neighbourhood Watch led residents to form acquaintances with some neighbours.

### **3.3.2. NEXT-DOOR NEIGHBOURS**

As the association with next-door neighbours has a direct effect on family life, it bears detailing here. It may be useful at this stage to give an example of association with next-door neighbours.

The S family had lived in the northern part of Inner Canberra for five years. Both husband and wife worked in the public service and held administrative positions. They had a primary-school aged daughter. Adjacent to the house of this family were five other houses. Adjacent to those on either side there were two houses which shared a common back-fence. The fifth was directly across the street. The S family associated with only three families out of the five.

The J family, a couple with a baby, lived in the house on the right of the S family. The husband was an Italian plumber. The S family kept closer company with that family than with the other next-door neighbours. The S family received invitations from them on special occasions, such as a christening, birthdays and Christmas parties. Similarly, the S family invited the J family to their home on special occasions. Furthermore, Mrs. S sometimes went to a swimming pool with Mrs. J at night. However, Mr. S said, "Our interests are different. My family is interested in opera and ballet, but the J family watch soap operas and football matches. Therefore, our relationship is not so intimate." He described their relationship as "there when you need them, but they do not live in your pocket". Mrs. J did not go out to work and stayed at home to care for their baby. As she kept an eye on the house of the S family during the day-time, this gave the S family a sense of security.

One of the neighbouring families (the A family) who lived in one of the houses at the rear of the S family happened to talk with the S family over the back-fence one day when they were gardening, and asked them to afternoon tea. This family had children and this common situation led both families to begin to socialise. Thereafter both families continued to invite each other to afternoon tea occasionally.

The house on the left of the S family house was occupied by two single men. The S family greeted the men only when they encountered them in the street. The S family had no social interaction with the remaining two families, though they had a rough idea of the nature of their work because of the time they left home, the fact that a taxi was daily parked outside one of the houses, and from talk with other neighbours.

The nature of neighbourhood relationships in Canberra is thought of as something that can safely be left to the individual's personal choice, and is subject to individual variation. Despite this, some general statements about social habits can be made by citing the results of my participant-observation.

When a family moves in, some of the neighbours, particularly next-door neighbours, often invite them in for a cup of tea. While some residents are eager for

social life with their neighbours and try to develop neighbourhood relationships by joining such tea parties for newcomers, others are indifferent to getting to know their neighbours in this way.

It is generally thought that not all neighbours are on such friendly terms; some have no contact at all with their next-door neighbours. There are some who have no occasion to contact their neighbours. The two single men in the house on the left of the S family seemed uninterested in any neighbourhood socialising; such people tend to cultivate relationships outside their residential area. An older retired couple may find it difficult to get on with working married couples with children, because they have little in common. Also there are some who find such intimacies irksome, though this is mainly due to individual personalities. This attitude may be found among some ethnic families.

My participant-observation suggested that the frequency of contact varies with the season. Gardening and playing with children in the garden are good occasions to start talking over a fence. During winter the garden needs little work and people rarely play or eat out of doors because it is too cold. Thus, people meet their next-door neighbours less frequently during winter in Canberra.

In spite of frequent contact with next-door neighbours, such relationships often do not seem to be as close as those with workmates and friends. This is evident in the statement of Mr. S that his family is not on intimate terms with the J family. This is because there are few shared interests or topics of conversation. Only physical proximity prompts one to form relationships with next-door neighbours. Hanging out the washing, gardening, playing in the garden, for instance, are likely to bring one into immediate contact with neighbours.

Support from next-door neighbours prevails in Canberra. I observed many people watering gardens and collecting mail when their neighbours were away, and borrowing cooking items, even though one does not have deep intimate relationship with such neighbours at ordinary times. In spite of this occasional contact, the

non-interference norm prevents residents from depending on their neighbours when serious matters are concerned. Mrs. F admitted that she is involved in this type of network of mutual support with her neighbours, but added that she was reluctant to ask any large favours of them, such as child-minding. To sum up, next-door neighbours play an important part in the provision of low-level, easily-reciprocated services.

### 3.3.3. EVALUATION OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD UNIT

The concept of neighbourhood units has been an important component of the planning philosophy adopted in Canberra. The neighbourhood unit has a great deal of social significance. Its proponent, Clarence Perry, intended to divide a mass society into smaller units and to heighten social interaction by providing community facilities within a unit (Perry, 1929). My participant-observation makes possible some comments on the effectiveness of this idea.

Because of this neighbourhood unit system, residents who have already made some connections in their neighbourhood increase and strengthen informal relationships in their suburb. These connections are made possible by children's activities and participation in local groups, etc. A remark by Mrs. S, a married woman, illustrates this point. "Whenever my daughter and I go shopping, we meet about ten parents of her classmates. As she tells me when we pass them, I greet them and sometimes stand talking." It is clear that the use of community facilities in her suburb increases her relationships, and having children makes it easier to socialise with neighbours. The urban planning design is an effective means of strengthening neighbourhood ties for those residents already in contact with their neighbours.

However, there are other inhabitants who do not have these opportunities to become involved with their neighbourhood. Single persons living in a group house and working couples without children who are not involved in local groups are a case



in point. Such people are not inclined to be interested in local affairs, and tend to seek relationships outside their residential area. It is unlikely that such people increase their acquaintances in the neighbourhood by shopping in the local shops (cf. Mann, 1970). Despite the neighbourhood units, the lack of opportunities and the lack of interest hinders such persons from developing neighbourhood relationships. In sum, the neighbourhood unit can have an effect on developing neighbourhood relationships, but its degree varies from one person to another.

### **3.4. FRIENDSHIP RELATIONSHIPS**

The term "friends" is used here to refer to "any friends other than workmates, relatives, and neighbours". Various circumstances guide people into such relationships. They may make such friendships with persons at school early in life, at previous workplaces, at voluntary groups, through their own children, etc. By definition, friends do not reside in the neighbourhood, and as a result it is unlikely that one meets friends by chance. Factors other than physical proximity operate when they meet. Those who form such friendships are like-minded, and share interests or topics of conversation. Homogeneity brings one into contact with friends, despite long distance. Owing to this homogeneity, one is on more intimate terms with friends than with neighbours. In this respect, friendship relationships are similar to workmate relationships. People tend to invite friends and workmates to celebrate birthdays and special occasions in their own homes.

Some people do not have access to support from their relatives, because relatives live overseas or long distances away, parents are too old, etc. Such people tend to develop friendships into relationships from which they can expect support even in the most serious situations. Mrs. M used to work with Mrs. L. Mrs. M changed her workplace, but continued to associate with Mrs. L. The grandparents of the M family were too elderly to help in emergencies. While working on the questionnaire of an

interview survey with me, Mrs. M said, "Mrs. L is my closest friend. If a member of my family became ill as is asked in the questionnaire (of the survey), she would help us."

### 3.5. WORKMATE RELATIONSHIPS

Most public servants in Canberra have a higher than average level of educational attainment. Moreover, many are engaged in the same tasks and serve at the same workplace for many hours. This situation leads workmates to pursue similar interests and therefore enjoy the same topics of conversation. These common attributes foster congeniality between workmates. Even though they do not spend a great deal of their leisure time with workmates, many public servants enjoy an intimacy with workmates. Workmates play an important role in public servants' association with each other.

People tend to socialise with their close workmates in their home more frequently than outside the home (e.g., a restaurant or a tavern). Invitation to the home is indicative of familiarity. A head of a section usually asks his workmates to his home to enjoy conversation. Also, a birthday party is often celebrated at home with workmates. A senior officer held dinner parties with his staff at home, and I took part in these dinners several times. Gossip about the workplace and their activities during their vacations usually made good topics of conversation at the dinner table. More importantly, parties are an important source of information about job hunting. They learn from their workmates when a position will become vacant, who are the interviewers for a position, and how applicants can influence the interviewers.

The last point may need further explanation. As noted, Canberra is different from other cities in that it is a government city. Head offices of the Federal Government departments are located in Canberra, and there are many high government positions there. Public servants with high levels of educational attainment have a good chance of achieving senior positions. It was shown that there are many competent persons in

Canberra. They aim at climbing the ladder of success and competition is very keen. When they apply for a position in the public service, their qualifications and past career record are important for gaining a high position. There are also ways in which an applicant can influence interviewers. Interviewers are usually high officials in a department to which they apply for a position, and applicants may attempt to influence interviewers through direct or indirect personal connections.

### **3.6. COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS**

People occasionally rely on voluntary groups to cope with some problems. There are two main types of such groups.

First, people may pay to obtain services from some community service agencies. Tuggeranong, Belconnen, and Woden Community Services and the YMCA provide residents with services such as family day care, child care, after school care, school holiday programmes, occasional care and volunteer services in return for payment. These organisations operate with government grants which enable them to make their services available at a reasonable charge. They employ many paid staff; for example, the Tuggeranong Community Service has a staff of nearly 80.

In addition, some community centre management committees conduct this type of service. Tillyard Community Centre Association in Charnwood, and Kaleen Community Association in Kaleen, for example, provide occasional care. However, the Community Services are different from community centre management committees in that the Community Services are large-scale and bureaucratic enough to cater for all residents in their town.

Second, there are informal baby-sitting groups in Canberra. Typically 20 to 30 parents with children form a group. Often up to ten suburbs may be covered by a baby-sitting group. When parents are away, for example, for a party or at the office and need a baby-sitter, they ring up one of its members who acts as secretary on a

rotating basis. This contact person arranges a baby-sitter for the parents, and in return the parents are obliged to look after other members' children for the same amount of hours on other days.

Community service and baby-sitting groups differ from *Jichikai* in that these groups are not based on a specific neighbourhood as they are in Japan and people are more likely to obtain services from wider areas.

### 3.7. SUMMARY

Based on my participant-observation, the Canberra community was considered in comparison to relevant social groups in urban Japan. This examination yields the following three points.

First, there is a norm in Canberra that expects married people to support themselves away from their relatives.

Second, neighbours play less important roles in providing sociability and support than they do in urban Japan.

Third, common values or topics of conversation are important in the formation of social networks in Canberra, and often the members of the networks do not live in the same neighbourhood. That is, friends and workmates -- who may be widely scattered around the city -- perform a significant sociability function in Canberra.

## NOTES to Chapter 3

<sup>1</sup> Ethnic background sometimes leads to conflicts between parents and their children, because of different norms. A married woman whose father comes from an East European country complained about her parents' interference in her marriage life. As a reaction to this experience, she strongly supported the norm.

<sup>2</sup> *Jichikai* and *Choonaikai* are the same residential organisations. Generally speaking, the groups are called *Jichikai* in the areas developed more recently. This thesis will use only the term, *Jichikai*, to avoid confusion.

<sup>3</sup> However, I am not suggesting here that because the provision of community facilities and services are insufficient in urban Japan, residents have to organise *Jichikai*. It may be possible to point out reasons why *Jichikai* are formed in almost all urban areas in Japan (cf. Dore, 1958, pp. 267-68). Some sociologists insist that the prevailing existence of *Jichikai* should not be interpreted as the remains of feudal customs, but as a Japanese pattern of culture (a Japanese way of life) (Oomi, 1958, 1962; Nakamura, 1964).

<sup>4</sup> According to the principle of neighbourhood units, a public pre-school and a public primary school are usually built in each suburb. The government prompts parents to send their children to a pre-school or primary school within their suburb, but parents are allowed to send their children to another pre-school or primary school. Some parents send their children to a pre-school or primary school in another suburb. The fact that each pre-school or primary school sets out its characteristics is one reason for this. For instance, Ainslie primary school emphasises music and Japanese education. Equally relevant is the fact that workplace location sometimes makes it more convenient for some parents to give their children a ride to and from a pre-school or

primary school in another suburb.

<sup>5</sup> When I went to a meeting of Ainslie primary school in central Inner Canberra on March 10, 1986, only 13 parents were present. Five out of 13 were men (fathers). This struck me as strange, because only mothers usually attend Parents and Citizens Association meetings in Japan.

<sup>6</sup> However, eagerness for juvenile education prevails only among middle class families in Canberra, according to my informants.

<sup>7</sup> The majority of residents support this programme. However, about five per cent of households refuse to join the Neighbourhood Watch because it violates privacy, according to an area co-ordinator in a Belconnen Neighbourhood Watch area.

## Chapter 4

### STUDY METHODOLOGY

#### 4.1. INTRODUCTION

In order to explore patterns of social networks and social support among Canberra women, a representative sample of women was required. Random sampling is the preferred method of sample selection. However, the random sampling of all women in Canberra was impossible, because of the limited resources. Instead, four study areas were purposively selected and respondents were randomly selected from each study area.<sup>1</sup>

In this chapter, there are two major areas of discussion which attempt to clarify the research design. In the first place, the selection procedure of the four study areas are discussed. Second, the sample design is explained. After describing the research design, some comments are made on the questionnaire.

#### 4.2. SELECTION OF STUDY AREAS

To investigate variations among social groups in different areas regarding social participation, four study areas were purposively chosen in the present study. In selecting four study areas, the author considered two points: (1) the appropriate size of a study area and (2) the criteria for selecting study areas.

First of all, it was necessary to determine the size of a study area. The local level, at which neighbourhood relationships are likely to develop and neighbours share common interests, may be a desirable unit of sample selection. However, such scope of neighbourhood interaction varies in size between research studies. For example, while Gans (1967, pp. 172-74) claimed that approximately a dozen houses in a block form the extent of neighbourhood interaction, Goldthorpe *et al.* (1969, p. 89) broadly

defined neighbours as persons living within ten minutes' walk of each other. This discrepancy indicates that scope of neighbourhood interaction is so varied that the proper size for sample selection cannot be deduced from examining prior studies; rather, it seemed reasonable to set areas of sample selection from a practical point of view.

A suburb in Canberra is divided into several collection districts (C.D.'s) for Census purposes and study areas were selected on the basis of the C.D.'s in the 1986 Census of Population and Housing. Canberra suburbs were not likely to vary in residents' socio-economic status because of the social mix policy. On the other hand, rented Commonwealth-built dwellings for people with low incomes tended to be concentrated in specific areas of a suburb and thus socio-economic status sometimes varies considerably among C.D.'s in a suburb. This means that a Canberra suburb is too large to be utilised as a unit of sample selection. Thus, a C.D. was a more appropriate unit than a suburb for this purpose. Furthermore, this sample selection design made it possible to inspect the latest demographic data on residents for each study area.

This design, however, involved a problem. On average, each C.D. consists of about 250 dwellings in Canberra, but C.D.'s in Tuggeranong tend to be smaller than in other Canberra towns; each being made up of about 180 dwellings. It was estimated that more than 250 dwellings would be necessary to interview about 100 persons in a study area (using the sample design which is explained in the next section). If a C.D. was large (250+ dwellings), the C.D. was utilised as a study area. If one was smaller than that, two adjacent C.D.'s with similar demographic attributes in a suburb were combined as a study area.

How to select four study areas was the other point considered. Because the features of study areas limit the generalisation of findings from a survey, mention should be made of the five criteria applied in the selection.

The first criterion was the stage of development. As was pointed out in Chapter 2,



Canberra had three types of districts: a developing district (Tuggeranong), established districts (Woden-Weston Creek and Belconnen), and a redeveloping district (Inner Canberra). These districts were thought to differ in the provision of community facilities and services, the kinds of local issues of significance, the degree of involvement in community interest groups, residents' attention to their area and the extent of their social participation. Limitations in both time and resources available made it necessary to restrict this study to a developing district (Tuggeranong) and an established district (Belconnen).

The second criterion was the year of settlement. Since there were wide variations in a district, this criterion was introduced to reduce extraneous variation. Two areas where people started to settle almost at the same time were chosen from each of the two districts.

The third criterion was socio-economic status. The aim of this selection design was to examine effects of socio-economic status on social participation. Many studies have discussed the relationship between socio-economic status of residents and their social participation. Axelrod's Detroit study serves as an example (Axelrod, 1953, 1956). He found a relationship between socio-economic status and informal social participation. The importance of socio-economic status was demonstrated also by Shevky and Bell (1955) who employed socio-economic status as one of the three dimensions to classify urban areas. As a result of these considerations, it was decided to select two contrasting study areas in socio-economic status from each of the two districts.<sup>2</sup>

The fourth criterion was type of housing. It was assumed that housing type had an influence on social participation of its residents. Greer's comparative research on two local areas in Los Angeles provides a relevant example (Greer, 1956). He demonstrated that people in a tract with more detached houses were involved in more local social relationships and formal groups than those in a tract with fewer detached houses.<sup>3</sup> Medium density houses and apartment houses were small in number in

Canberra. They constituted only 13.8 per cent of the total private dwellings at the time (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1987). Thus, areas with apartment houses were excluded from the research. This criterion was utilised to control effects of housing type on social participation.

The fifth criterion related to community centres. The Canberra Survey asked about participation in a community centre management committee and self-improvement classes, some of which were held in community centres. As responses to these questions seemed to be affected by geographical distance to a community centre, this factor was controlled. Areas with a community centre, or with a community centre within walking distance, were selected.

The most recent statistical data were used in selecting two study areas in Belconnen. They were the 1981 Census of Population and Housing (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1982) and *Canberra: A Social Atlas* (Adrian, 1983). The same was true for Tuggeranong, but since most of this town was developed after 1981, the 1981 Census could not be used. Instead, information was drawn from other sources. For example, talks with residents were particularly useful in locating suitable areas in Tuggeranong. However, in each instance the results of the subsequently available Census for 1986 could be used to evaluate area selection.

On the basis of these five criteria four study areas were selected by purposive sampling (see Kish, 1965, p.19). The result of the exercise led to the selection of the suburbs referred to as "HiNorth" and "LoNorth" in Belconnen and "HiSouth" and "LoSouth" in Tuggeranong. These pseudonyms are used to maintain confidentiality in the research, and indicate location in social and geographical space. For example, "HiNorth" was a higher status study area in the northern part of Canberra (Belconnen) and "LoNorth" a lower status area in the same part of the city. One C.D. was selected as a study area in HiNorth and LoNorth. In contrast, two adjoining C.D.'s formed a study area in HiSouth and LoSouth, because C.D.'s there were smaller. People commenced living in the HiNorth and LoNorth study areas in the mid-1970s.

Settlement in the HiSouth and LoSouth study areas started in the early 1980s.

Respondents' socio-economic status in the HiNorth study area, as implied, was largely higher than that in the LoNorth study area. This was confirmed from talks with informants as well as by the 1981 Census. Informants also suggested that residents' socio-economic status in the HiSouth study area was almost as high as that in the HiNorth study area and the LoSouth study area corresponded to the LoNorth study area in this respect.

There were no apartment houses in the four study areas. A community centre was less than one kilometre distant from any housing in each of the four study areas.

#### 4.3. SELECTION OF RESPONDENTS

The research focussed on women who were under 55 years of age and who were married or in a *de facto* relationship. It seemed reasonable not to dissipate limited resources in what would have been a rather inadequate attempt to cover a range of smaller subpopulations, such as single women, single parent women and older women. *De facto* relationships were included because they have become a relatively common form of conjugal relationship; the 1986 Census reported that 6.7 per cent of the total couples in Canberra admitted to being in a *de facto* relationship (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1987).<sup>4</sup>

A block and section map (*Maps of Canberra by Suburbs*, Department of the Capital Territory, n.d.) was used as the sampling frame of dwellings. After field inspections, apparently unoccupied dwellings were eliminated from the sampling frame. All the "occupied" dwellings were numbered and systematic random sampling was carried out so all numbered dwellings had an equal probability of selection.<sup>5</sup> The resources available for the research made it possible to hire professional interviewers so that approximately one hundred interviews could be completed in each of the four study areas.

Eighteen per cent of ineligible households were estimated on the basis of the 1981 Census and 25 per cent incompleteness, including refusal, was anticipated in the HiNorth study area. Accordingly, 160 households were randomly selected to obtain nearly 100 respondents. Thirty per cent ineligible households, together with 25 per cent incompleteness, was estimated in the LoNorth study area, using the 1981 Census. These estimates led to an initial random selection of 190 households. However, as the ratio of ineligible households was higher than anticipated, obtaining nearly 100 interviews turned out to be impossible, and in consequence all the dwellings were approached. There were no reliable data to estimate completion ratios in Tuggeranong which was developed quite recently. On the basis of the estimated ratios for the HiNorth study area, 220 dwellings were randomly selected in the HiSouth study area and 197 dwellings in the LoSouth study area. After starting interviews, it was found that people had just moved to houses in an eastern block of the LoSouth study area, and accordingly did not meet the eligibility criteria, which led to the exclusion of 17 selected dwellings in this block from the sample frame. As a consequence, 180 dwellings were approached in the LoSouth study area.

#### **4.4. INTERVIEW SCHEDULE**

A questionnaire was developed and revised a number of times before the final questionnaire was completed. Besides the interview schedule, a set of response cards was prepared to help respondents select their choice of answers. The interview schedule was developed from March to October, 1986.

Both the final questionnaire and the set of response cards were pre-tested, including pre-tests carried out by a professional interviewer. After instruction on use of the questionnaire, an experienced interviewer visited 20 houses in Giralang, a suburb in Belconnen, without previous appointments being made and completed six interviews. No major difficulties were identified, although two expressions were

changed at the interviewer's suggestion. The questionnaire and the set of response cards utilised in the Survey are presented in Appendix.

#### **4.5. INTERVIEW PROCEDURE**

Interviews for the Belconnen survey were conducted by McNaire Anderson Associates Pty. Ltd. Interviewers were six women between the ages of 30 and 45 years. An instruction booklet was written for them. Letters of request had been posted to the sampled houses a week before interviewing commenced. A copy of the letter is provided in Appendix. Interviewing began on November 11, 1986. All the completed interview schedules were collected every day and audited each night. When necessary, supplementary instructions were given to the interviewers. To minimise missing data, the author revisited respondents where the interviewers had missed some questions or where responses were unclear. The duration of the interviews varied widely, but the average length of time required was 35 minutes. Interviewing in Belconnen concluded on November 20, 1986.

Interviewing for the Tuggeranong survey was conducted by three interviewers who had been engaged in the Belconnen survey and three other interviewers. These were women in the same age range as the previous ones. Letters of request were dropped into post boxes at randomly selected houses a week before interviewing. Interviewing commenced on February 1, 1987. Twice a week the author collected completed questionnaires and inspected them on the same day. Any problems in the completed questionnaires were indicated to the interviewers by telephone. Based on the experience of the Belconnen survey, the interviewers were asked to request the telephone numbers of respondents. The author telephoned respondents whose questionnaires were incomplete, or revisited them if necessary. Interviewing in Tuggeranong concluded on March 30, 1987.

Table 4.1 shows the detailed outcome of approaches to dwellings in each of the

four areas. Finally, 394 interviews were completed.

**Table 4.1. Reasons for Non-Interviews in Dwellings Approached**

|                               | Belconnen                   |                             | Tuggeranong                 |                             |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
|                               | HiNorth<br>research<br>area | LoNorth<br>research<br>area | HiSouth<br>research<br>area | LoSouth<br>research<br>area |
| sampling frame: all dwellings | 260                         | 249                         | 359                         | 321                         |
| number sampled                | 160                         | 249                         | 220                         | 180                         |
| vacant house                  | 4                           | 2                           | 3                           | 1                           |
| unable to contact             | 4                           | 28                          | 29                          | 12                          |
| ineligible*                   | 22                          | 65                          | 19                          | 21                          |
| sick or absent from Canberra  | 4                           | 4                           | 2                           | 1                           |
| language problem              | 0                           | 4                           | 1                           | 2                           |
| refused                       | 35                          | 51                          | 62                          | 39                          |
| number interviewed            | 91                          | 95                          | 104                         | 104                         |

\* Ineligible includes the following categories: widowed, divorced, single women, women over 55 and no women at home.

## 4.6. MAIN VARIABLES AND THEIR MEASUREMENTS

To measure the degree of respondents' social participation, two types of data were sought in this research: data on social networks and social support. In addition, one of the most important independent variables in the present study is occupational status. These data merit comment.

### 4.6.1. SOCIAL NETWORKS

A social relationship involves a number of elements, including such important elements as (1) frequency of contact, (2) perceived intimacy and (3) exchange of items

or services.

From a methodological point of view, there are two views about the relationship between social networks and social support that are relevant. The first view identifies social networks with social support and attempts to characterise social networks using indices of social support available through various social relationships. Fischer's work is an example (Jones and Fischer, 1978; Fischer, 1982). The second view is to distinguish the social networks from the social support aspect of networks and to elicit observations of social networks using elements other than social support (i.e., frequency of contact, or perceived intimacy of a social tie). Thereafter, those ties which provide items or services can be identified from among all social ties, and a social support index can be constructed (Wellman *et al.*, 1973; Wellman, 1979).

The second approach has an advantage. People usually cannot -- or do not -- mobilise all social ties to achieve a particular goal. Only some ties are helpful when support is sought (Wellman, 1979, 1981, pp. 172-73 and pp. 179-81; Hall and Wellman, 1982, pp. 1-2). Distinguishing between social networks and social support makes it possible to assess the complexity of different ties and to evaluate their potential for support. Following the second approach, in the present study social networks were distinguished from social support, and both were explored independently to measure the nature of social participation of urban residents in their social environments.

There are many facets of social networks. Here the focus was on intensity of interaction within networks. Respondents were asked to indicate how often they would get together with relatives, neighbours, friends and workmates individually.<sup>6</sup> Respondents answered by indicating which of the following was appropriate in such cases: "at least once a week"; "a few times a month"; "about once a month"; "a few times a year"; or "rarely or never".<sup>7</sup>

The measures of intensity were based on a Detroit Area Study carried out by Axelrod (Axelrod, 1953, 1956), and these require some preliminary comment.<sup>8</sup> In

particular, the changing pattern of social relationships in modern society has produced extensive literature (e.g., Foley, 1952; Reiss, 1959; Hunter, 1975; Walker, 1977; Tsai and Sigelman, 1982). Despite this, only limited generalisations and comparisons are possible, because different types of indices have been used to measure the relational properties of interest. Accordingly, it is difficult to generalise findings beyond a single community. For example, data on frequency of contact (e.g., associating with neighbours at least once a week) cannot be compared with data on perceived closeness or intimacy of relationships (e.g., having five close neighbours) to reach more general conclusions. A few studies employed questions of successful previous research. An example is Hunter's survey (Hunter, 1975). He replicated Donald Foley's *Neighbours or Urbanites?* (Foley, 1952) in the same urban neighbourhood to determine the extent to which urban life had changed in the approximately 20 years since Foley had done his research.

In the present study, an effort was made to minimise this problem by using relevant questions from previous research to achieve a higher level of comparability. That is, questions from previous successful studies (e.g., Axelrod's Detroit Area Study) were used in an attempt to facilitate generalisations made on the basis of comparisons with previous studies.<sup>9</sup> Recently, Wellman (1979) and Fischer (1982) elaborated sophisticated methodologies for measuring personal social networks. Interval scale variables are required for multiple-regression analysis in Chapters 8 and 9, but data obtained by their methodologies are difficult to be transformed into interval scale variables. Because of this, their methodologies were not used in the Canberra Survey.

Sections of the questionnaire were pre-tested several times. The pre-tests indicated that questions used in Axelrod's Detroit Area Study created an ambiguity. The term "neighbours" indicated both next-door neighbours and people in the wider neighbourhood, but the interpretation of this term was left to respondents.<sup>10</sup> Hence, for this study "neighbours" were defined as "people who live within about five



minutes' walk (excluding workmates and relatives who happen to live near-by)". This definition was added to the original question in the interview schedule.<sup>11</sup>

Initially the four ordinal scale social interaction variables were obtained. To facilitate analyses, the variables were transformed into interval scale variables by converting each choice into estimated annual frequency of contact. The choice "at least once a week" was taken to indicate roughly 52 contacts in a year and a value of 52 was given to the response. Similarly, 24 was given to the answer "a few times a month", 12 to "about once a month", 2 to "a few times a year", and 0 to "rarely or never".

#### **4.6.2. SOCIAL SUPPORT**

There have been several methodologies for measuring social support (e.g., Litwak and Szelenyi, 1969; Wellman, 1979; Fischer, 1982). Replicating Litwak and Szelenyi's Detroit Study (Litwak and Szelenyi, 1969), Saha (1975, 1985) carried out a survey on the primary support structures in Canberra in 1973-1974. The Canberra Survey used the Litwak and Szelenyi's questions to compare its findings with those of Litwak and Szelenyi's, and Saha's. Litwak and Szelenyi had used three sets of hypothetical situations to investigate social support in Detroit. They included a short-term situation (i.e., one-day stomach ache), a medium-term situation (i.e., two-week appendix operation) and a long-term situation (i.e., three-month broken leg). Subsequently, Litwak and Szelenyi suggested that it would have been useful to have had an item which measured less than a day. In the Canberra Survey, the original Litwak and Szelenyi's questions were used, coupled with additional questions intended to measure less than a day.

Respondents were asked:

"Suppose you need to leave the house in an emergency for an hour or so when you were expecting an important delivery. If you miss it, you will have to pay an

additional delivery fee. Which of these persons (relatives, neighbours, friends and workmates), if any, would you ask to wait for the delivery while you were away?"

Respondents answered each of these primary groups by indicating "would ask" or "would not ask". A second set of questions asked:

"Suppose you had an upset stomach and were laid up for the day, how much help, if any, would you expect from these persons (relatives, neighbours, friends and workmates)?"

Respondents answered in respect of each primary group by indicating which of the following was applicable: "very much"; "some"; "little"; or "very little or none". A similar set of questions was asked regarding help if the respondent was recovering from an appendix operation and was laid up for two weeks. A fourth set of questions asked how much help would be expected if the respondent were hospitalised for three months with a broken leg. These four situations are different in time and the kind of emergency.<sup>12</sup>

The last three sets of questions were derived from Litwak and Szelenyi's Detroit Study (Litwak and Szelenyi, 1969). This replication was designed to generalise and integrate findings about social support.

The clear definition of neighbours was also added to the questions about social support. In addition, to make questions consistent with others in the questionnaire, the questions in Litwak and Szelenyi's Detroit Study were modified for this Canberra Survey. Litwak and Szelenyi's Detroit Study (Litwak and Szelenyi, 1969) grouped persons into three categories (relatives, neighbours and friends) to ask about primary group support. In contrast, classifying people into four categories, Axelrod's Detroit Area Study (Axelrod, 1953, 1956) asked about the frequency of association with

relatives, neighbours, friends and workmates. To classify social relationships consistently in the interview schedule, primary relationships were classified into these four categories in the primary group support questions.<sup>13</sup>

Incidentally, the Canberra Survey asked several sets of questions regarding social networks and social support. However, only two sets of question were used as dependent variables in this thesis to make its arguments consistent and integrated.

#### 4.6.3. OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

Two occupational prestige scales that have been used extensively in Australia are the ANU1 and ANU2 scales.<sup>14</sup> The developers of the ANU1 scale regrouped 342 occupational titles used in the 1961 Census (Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, 1961) into 16 broad categories to form a prestige scale. This 16 point scale was collapsed further to produce a six point scale (Broom *et al.*, 1965; Broom and Jones, 1969b; Broom *et al.*, 1976). The ANU2 scale, which is based on occupational titles used in the 1971 Census (Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, 1971a), is an occupational prestige ranking with higher scores indicative of higher status (Broom *et al.*, 1977, p. 84).<sup>15</sup> The rank order correlation (Spearman) between the ANU1 16 point scale and the ANU2 scale is 0.92 (Broom *et al.*, 1977, p. 112). Although the ANU1 and the ANU2 scales are interchangeable in many respects, occupations were coded according to both scales to facilitate comparisons with results of other research.<sup>16</sup>

To code occupations on the ANU1 and ANU2 scales, it is necessary first to code into the Australian Census Classification of Occupations and then to convert them into the ANU1 and ANU2 scales (Quine, 1986, p. 407). As the occupational code numbers of the list change in every Census, the 1971 edition of the list (Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, 1971a) was used for this purpose.<sup>17</sup> To make occupational coding consistent, the developers of the ANU2

scale prepared a detailed document (Broom *et al.*, 1974). This document was often consulted when necessary.<sup>18</sup>

#### 4.7. SUMMARY

This chapter has briefly described the research design for the study and discussed some aspects of questionnaire development. The main points may be summarised as follows:

- (1) The four study areas were purposively chosen. They were the HiNorth and LoNorth study areas in Belconnen, and the HiSouth and LoSouth study areas in Tuggeranong.
- (2) Women who were under 55 years of age and who were married or in a *de facto* relationship were randomly selected from each study area and were interviewed. Finally, 394 interviews were completed.
- (3) The possibilities for comparison with some of the previous research were enhanced by using (modified) questions (on social networks and social support) from Axelrod's Detroit Area Study and Litwak and Szelenyi's Detroit Study.

In the following chapters, data from the Canberra Survey will be analysed and reported, and some comparisons will be made with other relevant studies.

## NOTES to Chapter 4

- <sup>1</sup> The number of study areas was determined mainly by available resources.
- <sup>2</sup> Lewis (1975) selected three study areas in Canberra solely on the basis of socio-economic status. However, the stage of development in Canberra, in the author's view, is another important factor affecting levels of social participation.
- <sup>3</sup> However, housing type was only one of three independent variables in his research to explain different patterns of social participation.
- <sup>4</sup> None of the households in the sample were found to have more than one eligible woman.
- <sup>5</sup> This was performed with the SAMPLE function of SPSS.
- <sup>6</sup> Allan (1977) revealed that working class people's definition of friends is different from middle class people's definition and insisted that to rely on respondents' own labelling is to invite misinterpretation of relationships. To minimise the class-related different perception of friends, the Canberra Survey elaborated questions. For example, after asking about the frequency of contact with workmates, relatives and neighbours individually, the interview schedule asked about the frequency of contact with friends by saying, "And how often do you get together with any other friends?".
- <sup>7</sup> The actual form of the questions in the questionnaire is presented in Appendix.
- <sup>8</sup> As for the Detroit Area Study, see Sudman (1976, pp. 7-8).
- <sup>9</sup> Cross-cultural comparisons of association involve a complicated and difficult

problem, an intention of behaviour. People associate with others with an intention, but such an intention may differ from one country to another. For example, residents in Japan are expected to associate with their neighbours, irrespective of their preference. Their intention is different from that in Canberra where forming neighbourhood relationships is left to the individual's personal choice. This point was discussed in Chapter 3. Cross-cultural comparisons in this thesis do not attempt to reveal differences in intention for social participation, but focus on its quantitative aspects.

<sup>10</sup> With regard to the diversity of neighbourhood definition, see Fellin and Litwak (1968, pp. 79-80) and Lewis (1975, p. 28). Smith *et al.* (1954) reported different conceptions of neighbourhood size. Michelson (1970, p. 123) discussed the basic unit of neighbourhood homogeneity in social class.

<sup>11</sup> A revision was also made to the word "co-workers". As the pre-tests revealed that the term "workmates" is more common than the word "co-workers" in Australia, the latter was replaced by the former in the interview schedule.

<sup>12</sup> The use of hypothetical emergency situations to measure social support has a drawback. The perception of support may not always correspond to the actual support which is provided under an emergency situation. The alternative method is to ask about real support which was provided under an emergency situation in the past. This approach also has two weak points. This method not only can invite recall errors but also presents serious difficulties in standardising emergency situations. Hypothetical emergency situations were employed here to ask about social support with due regard to the fact that perceived support in hypothetical situations is based on past experience and is an index of the social interaction in which one is involved (Saha, 1975, p. 20). An important issue for future research would be to explore primary support structures in Canberra by asking about real support which was provided under emergency

situations in the past and to compare findings between that study and this.

<sup>13</sup> Axelrod (1953, 1956) afforded evidence to show that relatives continue to be important and Litwak and Szelenyi (1969) maintained that the various types of primary groups have their own field where they can perform tasks better than others. The Canberra Survey used questions in these two previous studies. The questions used may seem slightly old-fashioned and conventional. However, apart from the fact that it was intended to replicate prior successful studies, one could argue in favour of the questions that the significant problems raised by Axelrod, and Litwak and Szelenyi remain to be solved.

<sup>14</sup> As for the review and comparisons of Australian occupational scales, see Quine (1986). She also pointed out several problems involved in coding into the ANU1 and ANU2 scales.

<sup>15</sup> The ANU2 scale was published in 1977 and is still one of the most reliable occupational scales in Australia (Quine, 1986). A new version of scale (ANU3) was recently developed for use with the new Australian Standard Classification of Occupations (Jones, 1989).

<sup>16</sup> While occupational mobility was determined by means of the ANU1 scale in Chapter 8, the ANU2 scale was used in Chapter 9 where continuous ranking of occupations was needed.

<sup>17</sup> Classification of occupations in the public service is so complicated that an additional index is prepared for coders for each State and Territory. The index for Canberra (Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, 1971b) was frequently consulted in the coding work of the Canberra Survey. Moreover, new status and occupations have also appeared in the public service. The 1981 revised edition of

*Supplementary Index of Government Designations or Job Titles of Employees of Australian and State Government Departments and Authorities* for Canberra (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1981) was often referred to in the coding work.

<sup>18</sup> Coding of the data was carried out immediately after interviewing. Staff of the Computer Service Centre at the Australian National University typed responses on magnetic tape from the coding sheets. Error checks on coding included frequency tabulations to identify out-of-range codes and cross-tabulations to locate inconsistent codes. Corrections were made by reference to the original questionnaires.



## **Chapter 5**

# **THE STUDY AREAS: POPULATIONS AND RESPONDENTS**

### **5.1. INTRODUCTION**

Respondents were selected from each study area according to the sample design discussed in the previous chapter. Firstly, this chapter will outline the demographic attributes of all the residents in the four study areas. Subsequently, this chapter will examine the demographic attributes of respondents in the four study areas.

The description of all the residents in the study areas has two phases. The 1981 Census data was used to select the study areas in 1986 because the 1986 Census data had not been published. Accordingly, the first aim is to present the demographic attributes of all the residents in each study area using the 1986 Census. Secondly, characteristics of respondents are examined to clarify similarities and differences among the four study areas. The age range and marital status of respondents were restricted in the Canberra Survey. To estimate how closely the interviewed persons resembled the population of each study area, characteristics of respondents were compared with characteristics of the population. The results of this comparison will be presented in the last part of this chapter.

### **5.2. DESCRIPTION OF RESIDENTS IN STUDY AREAS**

Before examining the features of residents in each study area, residents in Belconnen (an established district) are compared with those in Tuggeranong (a developing district). Table 5.1 shows that the Belconnen population overall was of higher socio-economic status than the Tuggeranong population. In addition, the

**Table 5.1. Characteristics of Residents in Study Areas**

|  | Belconnen<br>population | HiNorth<br>research<br>area | LoNorth<br>research<br>area | Tuggeranong<br>population | HiSouth<br>research<br>area | LoSouth<br>research<br>area |
|--|-------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| population   | 81239                   | 965                         | 808                         | 49478                     | 1304                        | 1084                        |
| occupied private<br>dwellings                            | 24516                   | 259                         | 248                         | 14380                     | 389                         | 341                         |
| <b><u>class-related characteristics</u></b>              |                         |                             |                             |                           |                             |                             |
| male 15+ *   |                         |                             |                             |                           |                             |                             |
| % managerial/<br>(para)professional                      | 42.4                    | 44.9                        | 37.0                        | 39.5                      | 47.2                        | 34.3                        |
| % clerical   | 15.2                    | 22.0                        | 16.7                        | 14.9                      | 15.4                        | 14.6                        |
| % manual   | 36.3                    | 32.7                        | 39.2                        | 40.6                      | 36.2                        | 42.2                        |
| % female 15+ employed **                                 | 60.5                    | 63.0                        | 55.7                        | 61.0                      | 69.5                        | 65.6                        |
| % male 15+<br>with degree or diploma                     | 22.4                    | 26.5                        | 16.1                        | 18.1                      | 22.6                        | 14.9                        |
| % female 15+<br>with degree or diploma                   | 14.9                    | 18.2                        | 7.6                         | 11.8                      | 13.2                        | 11.8                        |
| annual family income                                     |                         |                             |                             |                           |                             |                             |
| % less than A\$ 18000                                    | 13.4                    | 9.7                         | 20.3                        | 12.6                      | 4.3                         | 12.0                        |
| % more than A\$ 50001                                    | 21.8                    | 18.8                        | 14.7                        | 18.4                      | 26.4                        | 11.4                        |
| % occ. pvte. dwellings<br>rented from gov't              | 10.6                    | 8.1                         | 27.8                        | 10.4                      | 0                           | 6.5                         |
| <b><u>other characteristics</u></b>                      |                         |                             |                             |                           |                             |                             |
| age composition  |                         |                             |                             |                           |                             |                             |
| % 0-14 years old   | 30.4                    | 41.0                        | 32.6                        | 35.6                      | 35.1                        | 32.8                        |
| % 20-39 years old  | 37.0                    | 37.5                        | 37.2                        | 42.1                      | 46.9                        | 49.1                        |
| family types ***   |                         |                             |                             |                           |                             |                             |
| % couple   | 21.4                    | 16.5                        | 16.8                        | 20.5                      | 26.4                        | 29.5                        |
| % couple & dep. child                                    | 11.4                    | 7.6                         | 13.0                        | 14.4                      | 20.2                        | 15.9                        |
| % couple & dep. children                                 | 38.8                    | 59.5                        | 31.7                        | 42.7                      | 41.2                        | 36.5                        |
| % single parent &<br>dep. child(ren)                     | 7.8                     | 4.2                         | 16.8                        | 6.9                       | 2.7                         | 6.3                         |
| % overseas born  | 22.4                    | 14.6                        | 22.2                        | 21.0                      | 20.3                        | 21.4                        |
| % residing the same residence<br>in 1986 as in 1981 **** | 51.0                    | 52.1                        | 46.7                        | 35.8                      | 0.6                         | 2.2                         |

Note: See the explanatory notes, Table 2.1, Chapter 2.

Belconnen population was more likely to be in a later stage of the life cycle. For instance, the 1986 Census showed that while 23.3 per cent of the Belconnen residents were aged 40 years or over, only 15.6 per cent of the Tuggeranong population were in this age range (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1987). These data illustrate some of the differences in residents' demographic attributes between Belconnen and Tuggeranong. The differences were probably due to the fact that young couples tend to take up residence in a developing district where housing is less expensive.

The occupational structure, educational attainment and family income of residents in the HiNorth study area shows similar distribution to those of the Belconnen population as a whole, except that there were more male clerical workers in the former (Table 5.1). An examination of the age composition and family type distribution in Belconnen reveals that families in the HiNorth study area were at a later stage of the life cycle than the Belconnen population as a whole. The settlement of HiNorth started in 1975, eleven years prior to the Canberra Survey. Families who settled there early were, at the time of the study, in a later stage of their life cycle, while some families moved out and were replaced by others. Overall, then, families in the HiNorth study area tended to be in a later stage of their life cycle than in any of the other study areas.

A greater number of Commonwealth-built houses rented to people with low incomes were constructed in the LoNorth study area; they made up 27.8 per cent of the total houses (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1987). As a consequence of the concentration of rented Commonwealth-built houses, there was a higher proportion of single parent and low income families in the LoNorth study area than any of the others. Table 5.1 shows that single parent families constituted 16.8 per cent of the total families, which contributed to the lower socio-economic status of the area. However, the differences in socio-economic status were smaller than expected, considering the many rented Commonwealth-built houses (Table 5.1). For example, while families with an income of over A\$50,001 constituted 18.8 per cent of families in the HiNorth study area, 14.7 per cent of the total number of families in the LoNorth

study area were in this income category, a difference of only 5.1 per cent. This is presumably explained by the in-migration of young couples, with relatively higher socio-economic status, who were attracted by inexpensive housing (Hobbs, 1987). It may be true that more people with low socio-economic status resided in this area, but in point of fact the area was characterised by demographic heterogeneity in that families were a mixture of poor families and average families in socio-economic status.

People in the HiSouth study area were of higher socio-economic status than the Tuggeranong population as a whole (Table 5.1). This is particularly evident in the higher proportion of male managerial or (para)professional workers and families with annual incomes of over A\$50,001 than the general Tuggeranong population. An examination of the age composition and family type distribution shows that families there were likely to be at an earlier stage of their life cycle than the Tuggeranong population as a whole.

Residents of the LoSouth study area were of slightly lower socio-economic status than the Tuggeranong population as a whole (Table 5.1). This is evident in the lower proportion of managerial or (para)professional workers than the Tuggeranong population. Moreover, the percentage of families who earned more than A\$50,001 was less than the Tuggeranong average. Nevertheless, the difference was not great, being only 7.0 per cent. Accordingly, the area was regarded as a typical developing area in relation to socio-economic status.<sup>1</sup> Families in the LoSouth study area tended to be at a much earlier stage of their life cycle than the average for the Tuggeranong population (Table 5.1).

HiSouth started to develop in 1983 (four years prior to the Survey) and LoSouth in 1982 (five years prior to the study) with the result that their settlement occurred almost at the same time. Despite this similar settlement period, the HiSouth study area was different from the LoSouth study area in socio-economic status and stage of the life cycle of their residents. Residents in the former had a higher socio-economic status and were at a later stage of the life cycle than those in the latter (Table 5.1). The

difference of socio-economic status is explained by the kinds of residents who occupied each of the study areas. That is, it appeared that many people in HiSouth were second or third home purchasers who sold their previous housing and moved to the suburb.<sup>1</sup> These newcomers had already achieved a higher socio-economic status. In contrast, a NCDC survey (National Capital Development Commission, 1984b, p. 5), which surveyed residents in LoSouth and a middle class suburb in Tuggeranong (like LoSouth) about their community life, revealed that over three quarters of residents in each of the two areas were first home purchasers. This accounts for a lower socio-economic status of the LoSouth study area. Because of the different kinds of occupants, residents in the HiSouth study area tended to have higher socio-economic status than those in the LoSouth study area.

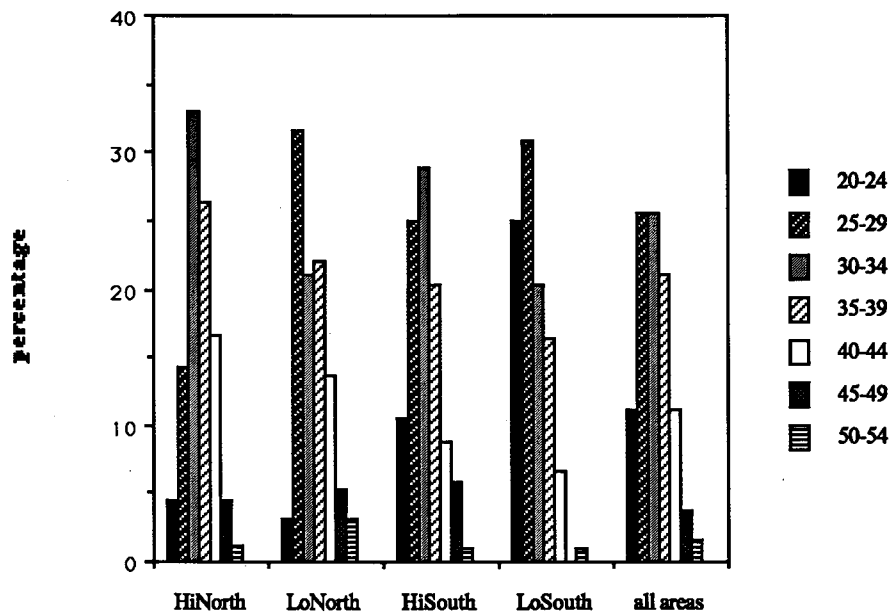
To sum up, the investigation of demographic attributes of the residents in the study areas yielded the principal features of each study area. The HiNorth study area was typical of an established district in socio-economic status with many of its residents at a later stage of the life cycle. The socio-economic status of the LoNorth study area was lower than that of Belconnen in general, but a closer examination indicated that the area was marked by demographic heterogeneity. The HiSouth study area showed higher levels of socio-economic status than the Tuggeranong average. The LoSouth study area typified a developing district in socio-economic status, although some indices showed a somewhat lower socio-economic status than those of the Tuggeranong average. Families in the LoSouth study area were likely to be at an earlier stage of the life cycle than those in the HiSouth study area.

### **5.3. DESCRIPTION OF RESPONDENTS**

Some information about respondents in each of the subsamples will be presented to provide a better understanding of their similarities and differences. Six characteristics provided a basis for comparison: (1) age composition (2) family type

distribution (3) average residential duration (4) educational attainment (5) occupational status of both respondents and their spouses and (6) family income. Respondents in the four study areas will be compared on these six dimensions.

**Figure 5.1. Age Composition of Respondents by Study Area**

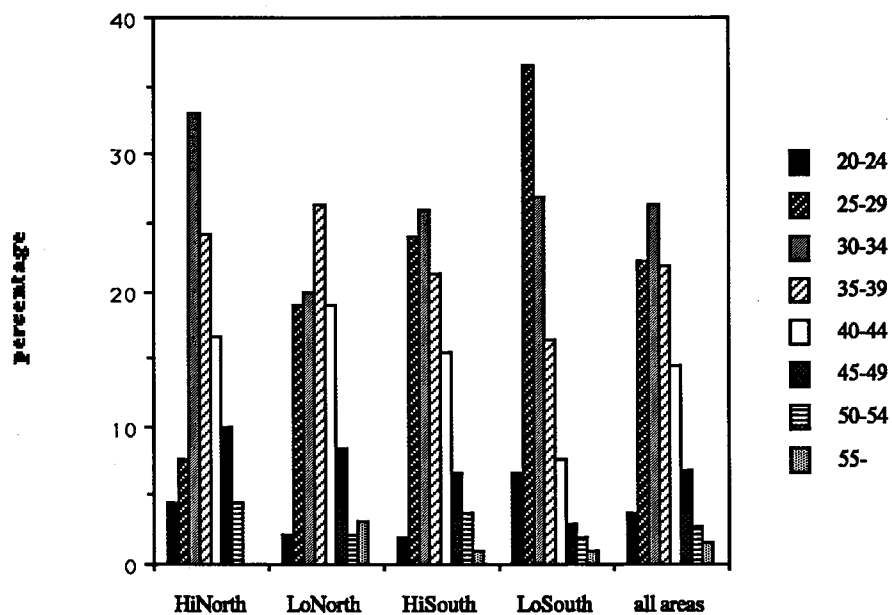


|              | HiNorth | LoNorth | HiSouth | LoSouth | all areas |
|--------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-----------|
| mean (years) | 34.7    | 34.0    | 32.8    | 30.0    | 32.8      |
| S. D.        | 6.0     | 7.1     | 6.7     | 6.3     | 6.8       |
| N of cases   | 91      | 95      | 104     | 104     | 394       |

First of all, regarding age composition of respondents (Figure 5.1), young respondents comprised a higher proportion in the LoSouth subsample than in the other subsamples. LoSouth respondents had the highest representation of respondents aged 20-29 among the subsamples (55.8 per cent), and the mean age of LoSouth respondents was the lowest among the subsamples. In contrast, the mean ages of HiNorth and LoNorth respondents were higher than those of the other subsamples,

although these two areas differed in the distribution of ages: the range of ages of LoNorth respondents was greater than that of HiNorth respondents. The mean age of HiSouth respondents lay between the two extremes.

**Figure 5.2. Age Composition of Spouses by Study Area**



|              | HiNorth | LoNorth | HiSouth | LoSouth | all areas |
|--------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-----------|
| mean (years) | 36.5    | 36.6    | 35.3    | 32.1    | 35.0      |
| S. D.        | 6.6     | 7.6     | 7.6     | 6.6     | 7.3       |
| N of cases   | 91      | 95      | 104     | 104     | 394       |

The age composition of spouses was similar in each location, reflecting the tendency for partners (marital or *de facto*) to be of roughly similar age (Figure 5.2). Young spouses comprised a higher proportion in the LoSouth study area. The age composition of spouses in the LoSouth study area had a higher representation aged 20-29 than did any of the others (43.2 per cent). In addition, the mean age was 32.1 years, which was by far the lowest of the subsamples. The mean age of HiNorth

spouses was almost as high as that of LoNorth counterparts though the latter had a wider distribution than the former. The mean age of HiSouth spouses was only 1.2 years lower than that of HiNorth spouses.

**Table 5.2. Respondents' Family Type by Study Area (percentage)**

|                                      | HiNorth | LoNorth | HiSouth | LoSouth | all areas |
|--------------------------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-----------|
| no child                             | 15.4    | 20.0    | 18.3    | 30.8    | 21.3      |
| 1 dependent child                    | 6.6     | 11.6    | 21.2    | 21.2    | 15.5      |
| over 2 dependent children            | 65.9    | 47.4    | 53.8    | 35.6    | 50.3      |
| dep. child(ren) and adult child(ren) | 7.7     | 8.4     | 2.9     | 8.7     | 6.9       |
| adult child(ren)                     | 4.4     | 12.6    | 3.8     | 3.8     | 6.1       |
| total                                | 100.0   | 100.0   | 100.0   | 100.0   | 100.0     |
| N of cases                           | 91      | 95      | 104     | 104     | 394       |

The family type distribution was similar to the age composition. Table 5.2 shows that the family type distribution of LoSouth respondents was dominated by the categories "no child" and "one dependent child", indicating earlier stages of the life cycle; these two groups constituted 52.0 per cent of the total families. The family type distribution of HiNorth respondents was dominated by the category "over 2 dependent children", which was responsible for 65.9 per cent of the total families. A similar tendency was seen in the HiSouth families, though it was not conspicuous; the category "over 2 dependent children" accounted for 53.8 per cent of the HiSouth families. The family type distribution of LoNorth respondents was widely distributed. On the one hand, the figure indicates that the family type distribution of LoNorth respondents had similar levels of "no child" and "one dependent child" categories to those of HiNorth and HiSouth respondents. On the other hand, it had a higher



representation in the "over one adult child" category, which suggests a later stage of the life cycle.

The average duration of stay of Tuggeranong respondents at their present address was much shorter than that of Belconnen respondents (Table 5.3). Whereas respondents in Tuggeranong had been at their present address for 30.7 months on the average, those in Belconnen had lived there for 70.7 months. In all likelihood this was mainly due to the more recent settlement of HiSouth and LoSouth in the early 1980s. Settlement of HiNorth and LoNorth had begun in the mid-1970s. The net result was a shorter duration of residence at their present address among Tuggeranong respondents than among Belconnen respondents. However, the average length of residence of the Tuggeranong subsample in Canberra was longer than the Belconnen subsample. The average term of the former was 145.6 months and that of the latter is 139.2 months. These findings indicate many migrants from other Canberra regions to the Tuggeranong study areas.

**Table 5.3. Average Length of Residence of Respondents by Study Area (months)**

|                        | HiNorth | LoNorth | HiSouth | LoSouth | all areas |
|------------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-----------|
| <b>Canberra</b>        |         |         |         |         |           |
| mean (months)          | 138.8   | 139.6   | 148.0   | 143.1   | 142.6     |
| S.D.                   | 88.2    | 105.4   | 107.7   | 108.0   | 102.7     |
| <b>present address</b> |         |         |         |         |           |
| mean (months)          | 81.5    | 60.4    | 28.6    | 33.6    | 49.8      |
| S.D.                   | 47.8    | 53.3    | 12.2    | 17.8    | 42.1      |
| N of cases             | 91      | 95      | 104     | 104     | 394       |

Two other points support this inference. Firstly, more respondents in Tuggeranong spent their teenage years in Canberra than those in Belconnen (Table 5.4). That is, while 36.5 per cent of Tuggeranong respondents spent their teenage

years in Canberra, only 17.7 per cent of Belconnen respondents did. Secondly, more Tuggeranong respondents had their parents in Canberra than Belconnen respondents (Table 5.5). Tuggeranong respondents whose parents lived in Canberra amounted to 44.7 per cent, yet no more than 30.0 per cent of Belconnen respondents had parents in Canberra. These data suggest that a greater number of respondents in Tuggeranong were brought up elsewhere in Canberra and later migrated to Tuggeranong, probably after marriage.<sup>2</sup>

**Table 5.4. Places Respondents Spent their Teenage Years by Study Area (percentage)**

| places respondents spent their teenage years | HiNorth | LoNorth | HiSouth | LoSouth | all areas |
|--|---------|---------|---------|---------|-----------|
| Canberra                                     | 16.5    | 18.9    | 29.8    | 43.3    | 27.7      |
| other Australia                              | 75.8    | 64.3    | 57.7    | 44.2    | 59.9      |
| overseas                                     | 7.7     | 16.8    | 12.5    | 12.5    | 12.4      |
| total  | 100.0   | 100.0   | 100.0   | 100.0   | 100.0     |
| N of cases                                   | 91      | 95      | 104     | 104     | 394       |

**Table 5.5. Respondents Who Had Relatives in Canberra by Study Area (percentage)**

|             | HiNorth | LoNorth | HiSouth | LoSouth | all areas |
|-------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-----------|
| relative(s) | 58.2    | 55.8    | 59.6    | 65.4    | 59.9      |
| parent(s)   | 28.6    | 30.5    | 42.3    | 47.1    | 37.6      |
| N of cases  | 91      | 95      | 104     | 104     | 394       |

A first indicator of socio-economic status is educational level. An eight category choice was employed in the questionnaire for respondents to answer. They were

regrouped here to form a four category educational scale<sup>3</sup>:

1. primary school and 1-4 years of secondary school.
2. completed high school (5 or 6 years).
3. post-secondary study, trade or certificate course.
4. diploma or degree.

Table 5.6 shows that the HiNorth group stands out with the highest levels of educational attainment. Fifty-eight per cent of HiNorth respondents had tertiary education. In contrast, the LoNorth and LoSouth subsamples lay at the other end of the education spectrum: only 32.6 per cent of the LoNorth subsample and 37.5 per cent of the LoSouth subsample had completed tertiary education, and their distributions were similar. HiSouth respondents were intermediate between the two extremes with 46.2 per cent of them having attained tertiary education.

**Table 5.6. Educational Attainment of Respondents by Study Area (percentage)**

|   | HiNorth | LoNorth | HiSouth | LoSouth | all areas |
|---|---------|---------|---------|---------|-----------|
| primary                                 | 19.8    | 35.8    | 28.8    | 35.6    | 30.2      |
| secondary                               | 22.0    | 31.6    | 25.0    | 26.9    | 26.4      |
| tertiary excluding<br>diploma or degree | 19.8    | 18.9    | 15.4    | 21.2    | 18.8      |
| diploma or degree                       | 38.5    | 13.7    | 30.8    | 16.4    | 24.6      |
| total                                   | 100.0   | 100.0   | 100.0   | 100.0   | 100.0     |
| N of cases                              | 91      | 95      | 104     | 104     | 394       |

A second indicator of socio-economic status is occupational status of respondents. The 16 categories of the ANU1 scale were combined to form a six point prestige scale

(Broom and Jones, 1969b, p. 651).<sup>4</sup>

1. Professional -- upper professional/grazier, and wheat and sheep farmers/lower professional
2. Managerial -- managerial/self-employed shop proprietors/other farmers
3. Clerical -- clerical and related workers/members of armed services and police force
4. Skilled manual -- craftsmen and foremen
5. Semiskilled manual -- shop assistants/operatives and process workers/drivers
6. Unskilled manual -- personal, domestic, and other service workers/miners/farm and rural workers/labourers

In addition, the category "not working for salary or wages" was added to the scale.

**Table 5.7. Occupational Status of Respondents by Study Area (percentage)**

| occupational status | HiNorth | LoNorth | HiSouth | LoSouth | all areas |
|---------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-----------|
| professional        | 22.0    | 9.5     | 26.0    | 18.3    | 19.0      |
| managerial          | 1.1     | 2.1     | 4.8     | 3.8     | 3.1       |
| clerical            | 26.4    | 36.8    | 27.9    | 30.8    | 30.4      |
| skilled manual      | 0.0     | 2.1     | 0.0     | 1.0     | 0.8       |
| semi-skilled manual | 6.6     | 4.2     | 0.0     | 6.7     | 4.4       |
| unskilled manual    | 15.4    | 16.8    | 8.7     | 6.7     | 11.7      |
| not working         | 28.6    | 28.5    | 32.7    | 32.7    | 30.7      |
| total               | 100.0   | 100.0   | 100.0   | 100.0   | 100.0     |
| N of cases          | 91      | 95      | 104     | 104     | 394       |

Table 5.7 shows almost the same proportion of respondents engaged in full-time

home duties across the four subsamples. The occupational compositions of respondents in the HiSouth, LoSouth and HiNorth study areas were similar, but LoNorth respondents were less often in professional and managerial occupations.

Spouses' occupations were classified in the same manner. As Table 5.8 shows, distribution of occupations of spouses forms a distinct contrast. The occupational structure of spouses in the HiSouth study area was similar to that in the HiNorth study area. Both subsamples were relatively over-represented in professional and managerial occupations. In contrast to these subsamples, LoNorth spouses were less likely to have professional or managerial occupations than in the other subsamples. LoSouth spouses took a middle position in the proportion between the two poles.

**Table 5.8. Occupational Status of Spouses by Study Area (percentage)**

| occupational status | HiNorth | LoNorth | HiSouth | LoSouth | all areas |
|---------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-----------|
| professional        | 29.7    | 18.9    | 27.9    | 28.8    | 26.4      |
| managerial          | 18.7    | 11.6    | 19.2    | 9.6     | 14.7      |
| clerical            | 26.4    | 31.6    | 26.9    | 27.9    | 28.2      |
| skilled manual      | 12.1    | 13.7    | 12.5    | 17.3    | 14.0      |
| semi-skilled manual | 4.4     | 12.6    | 3.8     | 8.7     | 7.3       |
| unskilled manual    | 7.7     | 10.5    | 8.7     | 4.8     | 7.9       |
| not working         | 1.1     | 1.1     | 1.0     | 2.9     | 1.5       |
| total               | 100.0   | 100.0   | 100.0   | 100.0   | 100.0     |
| N of cases          | 91      | 95      | 104     | 104     | 394       |

The employment status of respondents and spouses was dominated by the status "government employee", though there was an exception in that respondents in the HiNorth study area were more likely to be employees of private companies than government employees (Tables 5.9 and 5.10). There were some variations among the

four subsamples in the proportion of people working in the government; for example, the HiSouth study area had the highest proportion of respondents with government jobs. Because the overwhelming majority of people were employed by the government, employment status gave no salient clues to the socio-economic status of each subsample.<sup>5</sup>

**Table 5.9. Employment Status of Respondents by Study Area (percentage)**

|               | HiNorth | LoNorth | HiSouth | LoSouth | all areas |
|---------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-----------|
| employee      | 29.7    | 25.3    | 17.3    | 26.0    | 24.4      |
| self-employed | 14.3    | 12.6    | 9.6     | 5.8     | 10.4      |
| government    | 27.5    | 33.7    | 40.4    | 35.6    | 34.5      |
| not working   | 28.6    | 28.5    | 32.7    | 32.7    | 30.8      |
| total         | 100.0   | 100.0   | 100.0   | 100.0   | 100.0     |
| N of cases    | 91      | 95      | 104     | 104     | 394       |

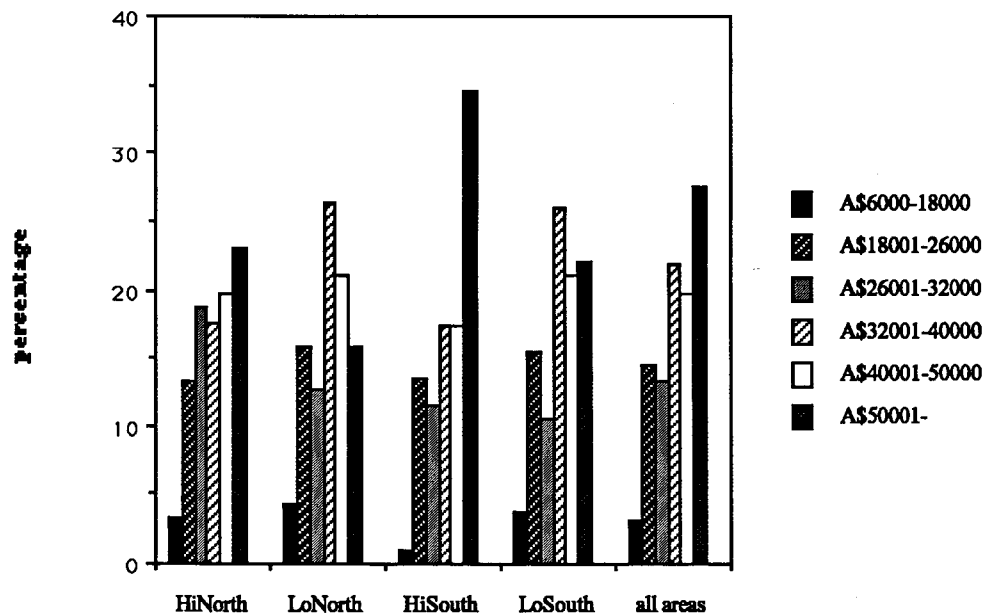
**Table 5.10. Employment Status of Spouses by Study Area (percentage)**

|               | HiNorth | LoNorth | HiSouth | LoSouth | all areas |
|---------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-----------|
| employee      | 30.8    | 23.2    | 34.6    | 34.6    | 31.0      |
| self-employed | 12.1    | 9.5     | 12.5    | 14.4    | 12.2      |
| government    | 56.0    | 66.3    | 51.9    | 48.1    | 55.4      |
| not working   | 1.1     | 1.1     | 1.0     | 2.9     | 1.6       |
| total         | 100.0   | 100.0   | 100.0   | 100.0   | 100.0     |
| N of cases    | 91      | 95      | 104     | 104     | 394       |

A third indicator of the socio-economic status of each location may be derived from family income (Figure 5.3). The average annual family income of the HiSouth

subsample gave the clearest sign of their higher socio-economic status. Compared with the other subsamples, the HiSouth subsample was over-represented in the "A\$50,001+" category (34.6 per cent). Furthermore, HiSouth respondents' average income was the highest among the subsamples. At the other end of the spectrum was the LoNorth subsample. LoNorth respondents were far behind the others in their average family income. The HiNorth and LoSouth subsamples, which had similar levels of average family income, fell somewhere in between the HiSouth and LoNorth subsamples.

**Figure 5.3. Respondents' Gross Annual Family Income by Study Area**



|              | HiNorth  | LoNorth  | HiSouth  | LoSouth  | all areas |
|--------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|-----------|
| mean (A\$)   | 40,523.0 | 37,978.0 | 44,974.7 | 40,194.2 | 40,984.2  |
| S. D.        | 15,983.0 | 14,233.7 | 17,423.9 | 15,019.3 | 15,869.3  |
| N of cases * | 87       | 91       | 99       | 103      | 380       |

\* Some respondents refused to say their income.

Overall, a consideration of the demographic attributes of the respondents yielded the following. Firstly, to characterise each study area by stage of the life cycle, the age composition and family type distribution were examined. Both HiNorth and HiSouth respondents were likely to be at a later stage of the life cycle among the subsamples. By comparison, among the subsamples LoSouth respondents were likely to be at an earlier stage of the life cycle. LoNorth respondents were marked by the diverse distribution of family types. Secondly, the duration of residence suggested that a large number of respondents in the HiSouth and LoSouth study areas have moved from other regions within Canberra. Thirdly, both HiNorth and HiSouth respondents had higher socio-economic status than the other subsamples. LoNorth respondents tended to have lower socio-economic status and to be at the other end of the socio-economic status scale. LoSouth respondents were interjacent between the two extremes of the socio-economic status.

To investigate the sections of the population interviewed, the demographic attributes of respondents (i.e., spouses' occupational status, respondents' employment status, educational level, family income and family type) were compared with those of residents (i.e., male occupational status, female employment status, educational level, family income and family type) in each study area. The demographic attributes of respondents were categorised in the same manner as in Table 5.1 and are presented in Table 5.11. The comparison between residents and respondents in each study area highlights two points.

Firstly, the socio-economic status of the respondents was higher than the average for female residents in each study area. This suggests that women with higher socio-economic status were interviewed. For example, respondents were more likely to have received a degree or a diploma than female residents aged 15 years or over in each of the study areas. Family income poses another example, particularly in the LoNorth study area. LoNorth respondents whose annual family income was below A\$18,000 were responsible for only 3.3 per cent (Table 5.11), while families with this



**Table 5.11. Characteristics of Respondents in Study Areas**

|   | HiNorth<br>respondents | LoNorth<br>respondents | HiSouth<br>respondents | LoSouth<br>respondents | all areas |
|---|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-----------|
| respondents   | 91                     | 95                     | 104                    | 104                    | 394       |
| <b><u>class-related characteristics</u></b>             |                        |                        |                        |                        |           |
| spouses *   |                        |                        |                        |                        |           |
| % managerial/<br>(para)professional                     | 48.4                   | 30.5                   | 47.1                   | 38.5                   | 41.1      |
| % clerical  | 26.4                   | 31.6                   | 26.9                   | 27.9                   | 28.2      |
| % manual  | 24.2                   | 36.9                   | 25.0                   | 30.8                   | 29.2      |
| % respondents employed                                  | 71.5                   | 71.6                   | 67.3                   | 67.4                   | 69.3      |
| % respondents<br>with degree or diploma                 | 38.5                   | 13.7                   | 30.8                   | 16.4                   | 24.6      |
| annual family income **                                 |                        |                        |                        |                        |           |
| % less than A\$ 18000                                   | 3.3                    | 4.2                    | 1.0                    | 3.8                    | 3.0       |
| % more than A\$ 50001                                   | 23.1                   | 15.8                   | 34.6                   | 22.1                   | 24.6      |
| % occ. pvte. dwellings<br>rented from gov't             | 5.5                    | 30.5                   | 0                      | 2.9                    | 9.4       |
| <b><u>other characteristics</u></b>                     |                        |                        |                        |                        |           |
| family types **   |                        |                        |                        |                        |           |
| % couple  | 15.4                   | 20.0                   | 18.3                   | 30.8                   | 21.3      |
| % couple & dep. child                                   | 6.6                    | 11.6                   | 21.2                   | 21.2                   | 15.5      |
| % couple & dep. children                                | 65.9                   | 47.4                   | 53.8                   | 35.6                   | 50.3      |
| % born overseas   | 18.7                   | 28.4                   | 27.9                   | 23.1                   | 24.6      |
| % residing the same residence<br>in 1986 as in 1981 *** | 61.5                   | 44.2                   | 1.0                    | 1.0                    | 25.4      |

\* The total is the population and includes "unemployed", "retired", "studying full-time", "keeping house/minding children" categories.

\*\* The total is the population and includes "D.K., N.A." category, but does not exceed five cases in each area.

\*\*\* They were inferred from the duration of residence at present address.

income amounted to 20.3 per cent in the LoNorth study area (Table 5.1). Many single parent families with low income lived in the LoNorth study area, but such single parent women were eliminated from the sample because the Canberra Survey limited the marital status of respondents. Moreover, only women under 55 years of age were interviewed. This limitation eliminated many women of retired families with lower income. Thus, the demographic heterogeneity of LoNorth respondents was not fully reflected in the survey sample. These two limitations eliminated women with low socio-economic status from the sample in the other study areas as well. As a result, the socio-economic status of the respondents was higher than that of female residents there.

Secondly, although the study limited the age range and marital status of respondents, respondents had the demographic attributes comparable to those of all the residents in each study area to a certain extent. For example, HiNorth respondents tended to have higher socio-economic status than LoNorth respondents, as predicted from the statistics of all the residents. The second point is also exemplified by the higher socio-economic status of HiSouth respondents compared to LoSouth respondents.

#### **5.4. SUMMARY**

This chapter has discussed some of the demographic attributes of all the residents and the respondents in the four study areas. The main points may be summarised as follows:

(1) The HiNorth and the LoNorth study areas were established areas. The HiNorth study area was typical of an established district. The LoNorth study area was characterised by a mixture of families with low and average socio-economic status. In contrast, the HiSouth and the LoSouth study areas were developing areas. The HiSouth study area was settled by families of higher socio-economic status. The

LoSouth study area typified a developing district in that it was occupied by young couples with lower socio-economic status.

(2) The demographic attributes of respondents were explored, and were compared with those of residents in each of the four study areas. Two conclusions were drawn as a result of the comparison. Firstly, there was a slight tendency for women with higher socio-economic status in each study area to be interviewed, owing to the restriction of the age range and marital status. Secondly, notwithstanding these limits, respondents had many demographic attributes which paralleled those of residents in each study area.

## NOTES to Chapter 5

<sup>1</sup> This point was suggested by a member of the South Tuggeranong Progress Association on May 16, 1987.

<sup>2</sup> This is evidenced also by the NCDC survey (National Capital Development Commission, 1984b, pp. 4-5). The survey demonstrated that nearly 80 per cent of residents of LoSouth and a middle class suburb in Tuggeranong (like LoSouth) formerly lived elsewhere in Canberra.

<sup>3</sup> This scale is based on the advice of Dr D. Anderson of the Research School of Social Sciences at the Australian National University.

<sup>4</sup> The Australian Bureau of Statistics developed a new occupational classification for the 1986 Census which gave more rigid and systematic definitions to occupations (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1986a). For details, see *The Census Dictionary* (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1986b, p. 114). Owing to the change in the classification system, the six point prestige scale based on the ANU1 scale is slightly different from the major occupational groups of the 1986 Census, and thus some care should be taken, for example, when we compare Table 5.1 with Table 5.8.

<sup>5</sup> A family day-care mother (attendant) was a common job among women in Canberra, where many women participated in the labour force. Because a family day care mother made a direct contract with each mother of a child, the job was classified as self-employed in the Canberra Survey.

## Chapter 6

### NETWORK TIES IN A PLANNED CITY

#### 6.1. INTRODUCTION

The changing pattern of social relationships in modern urban society has interested many sociologists as well as policy-makers, chiefly because of concern about consequences of weak social integration among people. The belief has been that lack of social connections leads to alienation and adverse effects for individuals and society. In this chapter the type of social networks formed in Canberra will be reported.<sup>1</sup>

Canberra has unique characteristics which distinguish it from other Australian cities, as noted earlier. The two distinctive features of Canberra bear repeating. Firstly, it will be recalled that Canberra suburbs were laid out following the idea of the neighbourhood unit. The neighbourhood unit has been the basis for physical planning. Moreover, the neighbourhood unit was proposed as design template (and philosophy) that would increase neighbourhood interaction (Perry, 1929). Despite some criticism, this philosophy has remained popular among urban planners and Canberra has been constructed with the rigid application of this concept. Secondly, Canberra has been characterised by a higher rate of residential mobility than other Australian cities. For much of its history, Canberra has been characterised by a significant proportion of residents who were born outside the city, whether elsewhere in Australia or overseas, or who had lived in other localities within Canberra.

These two unique features of Canberra make it significant and meaningful to investigate the social networks which residents in the city have established. More specifically, an investigation into the Canberra community makes it possible to assess the extent to which the neighbourhood unit can achieve its goal to foster

neighbourhood interaction. Findings from this analysis have relevance for future urban development.

The first purpose of this chapter is to examine network ties in Canberra. Wellman integrated previous arguments on communities into the "Community Question" (Wellman, 1979; Wellman and Leighton, 1979). As shown in Chapter 1, Wellman's work provides a useful theoretical frame of reference for community analyses, and accordingly the Canberra community was examined from this point of view.

The second purpose is to investigate social interaction patterns in different localities of Canberra. Other attempts to inquire into social participation in Canberra include Lewis (1975), Saha (1975, 1985), Klov Dahl *et al.* (1977a, 1977b), Pryor (1980) and Jones (1980), but to date only Lewis has addressed the possibility of regionally differentiated patterns of social interaction. The Canberra Survey purposively selected the four study areas which differed in the stage of development and socio-economic status of their residents. In other words, this research design made it possible to compare and contrast social interaction in different localities.

## 6.2. REVIEW OF AUSTRALIAN STUDIES

Previous research related to the "Community Question" has not always directly addressed the issues raised by the "Community Question". Typically only some aspects of the relevant problems have been considered. Each researcher has tended to have a different perspective on communities and a different interest in them. Accordingly it is not possible to carry out a rigid test of the three arguments concerning the "Community Question" by examining other researchers' findings. To illustrate, Kasarda and Janowitz (1974) focussed on attachment to the neighbourhood community, and ascertained whether the community was "saved" or not. Their research demonstrated that the attachment had been regenerated through society and suggested that the "Community Saved" argument was more valid than the

"Community Lost" argument. But, as their research did not consider social relationships which might extend outside the neighbourhood, it could not provide an opportunity to evaluate the "Community Liberated" argument, so that a definitive test was not possible. With this caveat in mind, prior Australian studies can be summarised.

American and British scholars have found empirical evidence for the vitality of kinship and neighbourhood relationships, which supported the "Community Saved" argument, as Wellman noted.<sup>2</sup> Stimulated by this research, sociologists have studied kinship and neighbourhood relationships in Australia. For example, Martin (1967) carried out an extensive survey in three areas in Adelaide which differed in social class composition. She showed that there was much kinship solidarity (family of orientation contact) at all class levels, though patterns varied significantly with social class. Bryson and Thompson (1972, pp. 109-29) reported that most families in a new working class suburb of Melbourne were in regular contact with relatives and they noted also a great deal of neighbourhood interaction. Generally, Australian researchers have found not only the wider kinship group to be an important part of nuclear families' social milieu but also produced evidence of the viability of neighbourhood ties.<sup>3</sup>

These studies, which highlighted the intimate nature of kinship and neighbourhood relationships, have provided support for the "Community Saved" argument rather than the "Community Lost" argument. Nevertheless, the "Community Liberated" argument cannot be dismissed on the basis of this research, because it has focussed largely on the persistence of communal solidarities in kinship and neighbourhood systems and failed to explore overall social networks.

Taking a step forward from investigating kinship and neighbourhood relationships, several Australian researchers have inquired into overall social networks. Social network patterns have been found to vary with class positions. Martin (1970) attempted to identify the kinds of social networks in which residents of

her three Adelaide suburbs were involved. Social networks in the middle class area ("Eastville") seemed to be dispersed over wider geographical areas (clustered network). In contrast, most residents in an older and more heterogeneous area ("Westville") appeared to be embedded within dense local social networks (community networks) and residents in the working class area ("Northville") had local ties which were of the loose-knit kind. More recently, Lewis (1975), studying predominantly a middle and upper middle class city (Canberra), found that primary ties formed dispersed, differentiated and loose-knit networks. These findings suggest that whereas social relationships in working class areas tend to be concentrated on the local neighbourhood, in middle or upper middle class areas residents maintain social network ties over more extensive geographical spaces.<sup>4</sup>

To sum up, relevant Australian studies indicated the following: firstly, Australian researchers have suggested kinship solidarity across social classes, but social class is found to affect social network patterns. Secondly, a high level of neighbourhood interaction has been found in working class areas, which is congruent with the "Community Saved" perspective.<sup>5</sup> In contrast, dispersed non-local social networks are found in middle and upper middle class areas and this bears evidence of the "Community Liberated" perspective. Accordingly, because the city in which the present study was carried out (Canberra) is a middle and upper middle class city, it seemed likely that its social networks would display the "Community Liberated" pattern.

### 6.3. DATA AND METHODS

This chapter focuses on one aspect of social networks, intensity of interaction within social networks. As noted in Chapter 4, respondents were asked to indicate how often they would get together with relatives, neighbours, friends and workmates respectively. Respondents answered by indicating which of the following was



appropriate in such cases: "at least once a week"; "a few times a month"; "about once a month"; "a few times a year"; or "rarely or never".

The four ordinal scale social interaction variables were obtained initially in the Canberra Survey. The variables were converted into interval scale variables by changing each choice into frequency of contact in a year. The choice "at least once a week" was construed as indicative of 52 contacts in a year and 52 was used as a numerical equivalent for the answer. Similarly, 24 was used as a numerical equivalent for the answer "a few times a month", 12 for "about once a month", 2 for "a few times a year", and 0 for "rarely or never".

## 6.4. FINDINGS

### 6.4.1. SOCIAL NETWORKS IN CANBERRA

Table 6.1 shows the average frequency with which the Canberra respondents as a whole associated with each category of primary group person. It is clear that the rank order of the comparative importance of the types of primary groups in Canberra was (1) friends (2) neighbours (3) relatives (4) workmates. Urban residents associated more frequently with neighbours or friends than they did with relatives outside their immediate family.<sup>6</sup>

**Table 6.1. Average Frequency of Contact of Canberra respondents in a Year**

|              | relatives | neighbours | friends | workmates | total frequency |
|--------------|-----------|------------|---------|-----------|-----------------|
| Mean (times) | 21.9      | 27.9       | 28.2    | 15.1      | 93.1            |
| S.D.         | 22.7      | 23.2       | 20.1    | 18.9      | 44.5            |
| N of cases   | 394       | 394        | 394     | 394       | 394             |

The total frequency of contact was calculated by adding the four kinds of frequency of contact. On the average, these urban residents got together with others 93.1 times a year.

#### 6.4.2. VARIATIONS AMONG THE STUDY AREAS

Somewhat surprisingly, there was considerable similarity in the associational patterns among the four study areas (Table 6.2). The friends, neighbours, relatives and workmates rankings held for the HiNorth, LoNorth and LoSouth study areas. The HiSouth study area displayed a slightly different pattern, wherein the rank order of comparative importance was (1) neighbours (2) friends (3) relatives (4) workmates.

**Table 6.2. Average Annual Frequency of Contact by Study Area**

|                   | HiNorth | LoNorth | HiSouth | LoSouth | all areas |
|-------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-----------|
| <b>relatives</b>  |         |         |         |         |           |
| Mean (times)      | 22.5    | 17.1    | 21.7    | 26.0    | 21.9      |
| S.D.              | 23.2    | 21.2    | 22.6    | 23.2    | 22.7      |
| <b>neighbours</b> |         |         |         |         |           |
| Mean (times)      | 28.9    | 22.8    | 29.6    | 29.9    | 27.9      |
| S.D.              | 23.2    | 23.5    | 22.9    | 22.8    | 23.2      |
| <b>friends</b>    |         |         |         |         |           |
| Mean (times)      | 29.4    | 26.5    | 26.9    | 30.0    | 28.2      |
| S.D.              | 20.1    | 20.8    | 19.8    | 19.8    | 20.1      |
| <b>workmates</b>  |         |         |         |         |           |
| Mean (times)      | 13.5    | 12.3    | 17.4    | 16.6    | 15.1      |
| S.D.              | 18.2    | 17.6    | 20.1    | 19.2    | 18.9      |
| <b>total</b>      |         |         |         |         |           |
| Mean (times)      | 94.4    | 78.7    | 95.7    | 102.5   | 93.1      |
| S.D.              | 42.3    | 45.4    | 46.4    | 40.9    | 44.5      |
| N of cases        | 91      | 95      | 104     | 104     | 394       |

Table 6.2 also shows the total frequency of contact in a year in each of the four study areas. The total frequency of contact in the LoNorth study area was the lowest,

and the urban residents in the LoSouth study area led the most sociable life. The HiNorth and HiSouth study areas fell midway between the two extremes.

## 6.5. DISCUSSION

There are five points which merit comment.

**Table 6.3. Average Annual Frequency of Contact in Detroit and Canberra**

|                   | <b>Detroit</b> | <b>Canberra</b> |
|-------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| <b>relatives</b>  |                |                 |
| Mean (times)      | 31.5           | 21.9            |
| S.D.              | 22.0           | 22.7            |
| <b>neighbours</b> |                |                 |
| Mean (times)      | 22.5           | 27.9            |
| S.D.              | 20.6           | 23.2            |
| <b>friends</b>    |                |                 |
| Mean (times)      | 19.4           | 28.2            |
| S.D.              | 22.4           | 20.1            |
| <b>workmates</b>  |                |                 |
| Mean (times)      | 10.9           | 15.1            |
| S.D.              | 17.0           | 18.9            |
| <b>total</b>      |                |                 |
| Mean (times)      | 84.3           | 93.1            |
| S.D.              | *              | 44.5            |
| <b>N of cases</b> | <b>749</b>     | <b>394</b>      |

\* Standard deviation was not available for Axelrod's data.

Source: Axelrod (1953)

In the first place, a comparison is made with Axelrod's Detroit Area Study (Axelrod, 1953, 1956), of which the questions were used in the Canberra Survey.<sup>7</sup> His data are given in Table 6.3 in contradistinction to those in Canberra.<sup>8</sup> As indicated in Table 6.3, the rank order of the comparative importance of the types of primary

groups in Detroit was (1) relatives (2) friends (3) neighbours (4) workmates.<sup>9</sup> In other words, Axelrod found that relatives constituted the most important primary group for the urban area he studied. This finding was consistent with the "Community Saved" perspective.

The associational patterns found by Axelrod contrasted sharply to those found in Canberra. As shown in Table 6.3, while the Canberra respondents mixed with neighbours or friends more frequently than the Detroit respondents, the former associated with relatives less frequently than the latter. In other words, kinship interaction was much lower in Canberra than in Detroit, but this was more than offset by frequent contact with neighbours, friends or workmates in Canberra.

In the second place, with respect to the "Community Question", it was hypothesised that people in Canberra would be involved in social networks of the "Community Liberated" kind. The "Community Saved" perspective was supported in part by the fact that Canberra residents tended to associate quite regularly with neighbours, even though kinship interaction was not as prevalent. The data provide more support for the "Liberated" position, however, because Canberra residents got together with friends more frequently than any of the other types of primary groups.

In the third place, modern transport technology has not removed all costs of distance and as a result distance between urban residents and their relatives often prevents daily meetings. This suggests that the location of relatives has a significant effect on the pattern of network ties.

To evaluate this proposition, the urban residents studied were divided into those with and without relatives in Canberra and the pattern of social relationships was examined for each group. For those with local relatives, the rank order of the comparative importance of the types of primary groups was (1) relatives (2) friends (3) neighbours (4) workmates (Table 6.4). This result indicates that the presence of relatives in Canberra increased frequency of contact with relatives to the extent that relatives constituted the most important primary group from the viewpoint of

frequency of contact (cf. Saha, 1975). In contrast, for the respondents without local relatives, the rank order of the comparative importance of the types of primary groups was (1) neighbours (2) friends (3) workmates (4) relatives (Table 6.4). That is, these people associated with friends more frequently than with relatives. It is interesting moreover to note that the respondents with local relatives interacted with friends more frequently than did the others. This result seems to suggest that distance from relatives affected not only frequency of contact with relatives but also that with the other primary group associates.<sup>10</sup>

**Table 6.4. Average Frequency of Contact in a Year for Canberra Respondents with Relatives in and out of the City**

|                          | relatives | neighbours | friends | workmates | total frequency |
|--------------------------|-----------|------------|---------|-----------|-----------------|
| relatives in Canberra    |           |            |         |           |                 |
| Mean (times)             | 34.1**    | 27.3       | 30.1*   | 14.4      | 105.9**         |
| S.D.                     | 21.4      | 23.2       | 20.0    | 19.0      | 44.8            |
| N of cases               | 236       | 236        | 236     | 236       | 236             |
| no relatives in Canberra |           |            |         |           |                 |
| Mean (times)             | 3.8**     | 28.7       | 25.4*   | 16.1      | 74.0**          |
| S.D.                     | 7.3       | 23.2       | 20.3    | 18.8      | 36.7            |
| N of cases               | 158       | 158        | 158     | 158       | 158             |

\* Difference between the two groups significant at  $p < 0.05$ .

\*\* Difference between the two groups significant at  $p < 0.01$ .

In the fourth place, the total frequency of contact in a year in Detroit was 84.3 times on the average (Table 6.3). The Canberra respondents got together with people 93.1 times a year, which is higher than in Detroit. Although a good deal of caution is required in interpreting comparisons made across different cultures, this suggests that Canberra residents were more gregarious than the Detroit residents studied by Axelrod.

It is often suggested that residents in Canberra are socially isolated, because the city is artificially planned on the principle of the neighbourhood unit. However, the comparison suggests that Canberra residents may not be as isolated as perceived. Furthermore, these results may surprise anyone assuming that a high rate of residential mobility in Canberra disrupts social relationships.

In the fifth place, there were some variations in the frequency of contact among the different study areas, although the general characteristics held for all the areas. One salient variation is that people in the LoNorth study area associated least frequently with neighbours and friends and their total frequency of contact was the lowest. The other prominent variation is that people in the HiSouth study area associated with neighbours more frequently than with friends, and their frequency of contact with friends was almost equal to that of residents in the LoNorth study area. It was shown in Chapter 5 that the four study areas were different in respondents' socio-economic status and stage of the life cycle. It is possible that these differences in the personal attributes of respondents among the study areas caused the variations in social relationships among the four study areas. The variations also suggest a possibility that either the composition of people in each area or the stage of development had an effect on social networks. This question will be pursued subsequently in Chapter 9.

## 6.6. CONCLUSIONS

The Canberra community was examined from the viewpoint of the "Community Question". In addition, variations among social groups in the different areas of Canberra were explored. These investigations yielded the following: respondents in Canberra socialised with neighbours or friends more frequently than with relatives, a pattern of association which was apparent in each of the four study areas. This suggested that the Canberra community was more accurately described by the "Community Liberated" perspective than either the "Community Lost" or "Community

Saved” models.

## NOTES to Chapter 6

<sup>1</sup> Four bibliographies (Wellman and Whitaker, 1974; Ratcliffe, 1978; Biegel *et al*, 1985; Wellman, 1988) provided background information for this chapter.

<sup>2</sup> For more comprehensive review, see Lee (1980, pp. 923-25), Adams (1970, pp. 585-86) and Hendrix (1979, P. 400).

<sup>3</sup> For a summary of studies of kinship relationships in Australia in the 1950s and 1960s, see Martin (1967, pp. 45-47). She claimed that researchers of those days regarded relatives as unexpectedly relevant and enduring.

<sup>4</sup> Class-related differences in network ties have been well documented in American and British studies. For example, Young and Willmott (1957), Gans (1962a, 1962b), Goldthorpe *et al*. (1969, pp. 85-115) and Bott (1971) highlighted the persistence of kinship ties among working class people. In contrast, Toomey (1970), Young and Willmott (1975) and Fischer and Stueve (1977), for instance, showed that middle class people maintained ties which extended from their neighbourhood. For the review of American and British studies on this point, see Allan (1979, pp. 109-11), Lee (1980, pp. 926-27), and d'Abbs (1982, pp. 27-31). Wellman (1982, p. 70) investigated the way in which East Yorkers' personal attributes affected the three contrasting patterns of the "Community Question".

<sup>5</sup> However, residents in Martin's working class area do not seem to fit rigidly into the scheme of the "Community Question" because their local ties were not marked by the density and multiplicity characteristic of the "Community Saved" position (Martin, 1970).



<sup>6</sup> My participant-observation suggested that friendship and workmate relationships were more intimate in their nature than neighbourhood relationships in Canberra. See Chapter 3 for more details.

<sup>7</sup> There are two differences in sample design between Axelrod's Detroit Area Study and the Canberra Survey. Firstly, whereas the former selected a sample from all the residents in the city by the random sampling method, the latter purposively selected the four study areas and selected respondents from the areas by the random sampling method. Secondly, Axelrod's Detroit Area Study included both males and females in his sample, only women were interviewed in the Canberra Survey. This difference might seem to cause a serious distortion to the comparison, but earlier research suggested that it does not. Fischer and Oliker (1983) showed that gender differences in personal relationships were small on the whole. The differences in sample designs, therefore, do not prevent us from comparing the main features of social interaction patterns, providing the comparison is made with the differences in mind.

<sup>8</sup> Axelrod's data were also converted into interval scale variables in the above-mentioned way. He combined "a few times a year" and "rarely or never" to form a new category "less often" in his article. The category "less often", thus, cannot be changed into frequency of contact in a year in the same method as the Canberra Survey. As an alternative, the number "1" was given to the category "less often". The other choices were treated by the same method as the Canberra Survey.

<sup>9</sup> It should be remembered that definition of "neighbours" differs slightly between the two surveys. Whereas the term was defined clearly in the Canberra Survey, the word was left ambiguous in Axelrod's Detroit Area Study. A comparison of findings between the two studies should be made with this in mind.

<sup>10</sup> This point will be discussed in detail in Chapter 9 by using the multiple regression analysis.

## Chapter 7

### SOCIAL SUPPORT IN A PLANNED CITY

#### 7.1. INTRODUCTION

As noted in Chapter 1, sociologists studying modern urban society have recognised the great utility of social networks for instrumental and emotional support (Croog *et al.*, 1972; Williams *et al.*, 1981; Bloom, 1982).<sup>1</sup> Informal help networks moreover have been found to be as effective means of providing community services in Australia (Bryson and Mowbray, 1981; Mowbray and Bryson, 1984) as elsewhere. In this chapter social support structures in Canberra are explored. Although help or support is sought first from a person's spouse and immediate family members, it has been argued that the resources available to the average nuclear family are not sufficient to deal with many of the demands requiring support or assistance in modern society (Litwak and Szelenyi, 1969). Accordingly, social support structures outside immediate family are the focus of this chapter.

The analysis in Chapter 6 revealed that neighbourhood and friendship relationships flourished in Canberra and this pattern fits in with the "Community Liberated" perspective. It does not follow from this that social support structures in Canberra will necessarily be consistent with the "Community Liberated" perspective. This is because most of the neighbourhood and friendship relationships may be of little use when support is sought. It cannot be assumed *a priori* that patterns of social support follow the same tendency as those of social networks.

The present chapter begins by examining social support structures in Canberra as a whole. This investigation will be carried out from the three contrasting interpretations of the "Community Question", which was outlined in Chapter 1. Thereafter, this chapter will go on to study social support patterns in different localities of Canberra.

## 7.2. REVIEW OF AUSTRALIAN STUDIES

There have been some attempts to investigate social support structures in Australia. Bryson and Thompson (1972, pp. 109-29) reported that most families in a new working class suburb of Melbourne found relatives helpful during a wife's hospitalisation. Moreover, they observed various kinds of help available from neighbours. Stivens (1985) studied kinship relationships among affluent middle class families in Sydney and found that kinship relationships were continuing sources of support among these families. A systematic attempt to study primary support structures of urban residents was carried out by Saha in his Canberra study (Saha, 1975, 1985). Replicating Litwak and Szelenyi's Detroit Study (Litwak and Szelenyi, 1969) in four western suburbs of Belconnen (then a developing district in Canberra), Saha found that relatives continued to be the chief source of assistance in times of need, and for those lacking local relatives neighbours and friends could not compensate for relatives.<sup>2</sup> This finding suggests that Litwak and Szelenyi's claim that primary group functions are differentiated cannot be generalised to all urban areas.

Two studies of primary support structures of the elderly warrant consideration. Brennen (1973, pp. 135-37) studied "Green Valley", a public housing estate in an outer Sydney suburb. His data clearly showed that support was more often forthcoming from relatives than from either neighbours or friends in serious emergency situations such as illness or financial difficulty, although neighbours provided support in minor situations, such as the borrowing of food and help with shopping. More recently, in his study of older people in Sydney, Kendig (1986, p. 98) found that relatives, particularly adult children, were the most common source of assistance across a variety of support situations (i.e., transport, home upkeep, gardening, shopping/errands, housekeeping, meals preparation, assistance when ill), and friends frequently provided support only in a less demanding task (i.e., transport). Both studies provided evidence of the importance of relatives as providers of support

and at the same time demonstrated the differentiated roles of primary relationships.

To sum up, Australian research has found kinship relationships an important source of support across social classes, and neighbours have been found to perform significant roles in the provision of social support in working class areas. This social support pattern, particularly in working class areas, is congruent with the "Community Saved" perspective. Thus, as Canberra is a middle and upper middle class city, it follows that Canberra's residents would be expected to have good access to support from relatives, and neighbours would be expected to be less important providers of support.

### **7.3. DATA**

As noted in Chapter 4, respondents were asked about the availability of social support in the four hypothetical situations (i.e., "one-hour wait for a delivery", "one-day stomach ache", "two-week appendix operation" and "three-month broken leg"). These four situations are different in time and kind. In the first problem, respondents answered to each of the primary groups (relatives, neighbours, friends and workmates) by indicating "would ask" or "would not ask". In the other three problems, respondents answered in respect of each primary group by indicating which of the following was applicable: "very much"; "some"; "little"; or "very little or none". These three sets of questions were originally used in Litwak and Szelenyi's Detroit Study (Litwak and Szelenyi, 1969).

### **7.4. FINDINGS**

#### **7.4.1. SOCIAL SUPPORT IN CANBERRA**

The first task was to characterise primary support structures in Canberra. Table

7.1 shows the percentage of the respondents who indicated that they would ask any of the primary groups to wait for a delivery and the percentage of the respondents who said that each of the primary groups would give "very much help" in the other three emergency situations.

**Table 7.1. Expectation of "Very Much" Help by Source of Support in Canberra (percentage)**

| support situations          | relatives | neighbours | friends | workmates |
|-----------------------------|-----------|------------|---------|-----------|
| one-hour delivery           | 25.6      | 69.0       | 27.7    | 7.1       |
| one-day stomach ache        | 20.1      | 13.7       | 18.3    | 3.3       |
| two-week appendix operation | 52.8      | 11.7       | 20.3    | 4.3       |
| three-month broken leg      | 69.0      | 10.9       | 22.8    | 4.6       |
| N of cases                  | 394       | 394        | 394     | 394       |

An examination of Table 7.1 highlights four points. First, neighbours played a dominant role in the short-term situation "one-hour wait for a delivery" because it stresses an emergency which makes face-to-face contact more imperative.<sup>3</sup> Second, where the "one-day stomach ache" problem was involved, relatives, neighbours or friends did not form the main source of assistance in this situation. Third, relatives were viewed as much more helpful than neighbours or friends when either of the two long-term situations was involved (i.e., "two-week appendix operation" and "three-month broken leg"). Fourth, of the four primary groups workmates were the least important source of support in all four situations.<sup>4</sup>

#### **7.4.2. VARIATIONS AMONG THE STUDY AREAS**

The question of differences among the four study areas was also important. And, differences in primary support structures among the four study areas were found

(Tables 7.2-7.5). Their outline may be summarised as follows:

1. Anticipation of support from neighbours was more likely in the HiNorth study area.
2. LoSouth respondents were more likely to expect support from relatives but less likely to expect support from neighbours.

**Table 7.2. Expectation of "Very Much" Help by Source of Support in the HiNorth Study Area (percentage)**

| support situations          | relatives | neighbours | friends | workmates |
|-----------------------------|-----------|------------|---------|-----------|
| one-hour delivery           | 23.1      | 78.0       | 22.0    | 6.6       |
| one-day stomach ache        | 17.6      | 19.8       | 25.3    | 6.6       |
| two-week appendix operation | 52.7      | 25.3       | 28.6    | 7.7       |
| three-month broken leg      | 79.1      | 20.9       | 29.7    | 8.8       |
| N of cases                  | 91        | 91         | 91      | 91        |

**Table 7.3. Expectation of "Very Much" Help by Source of Support in the LoNorth Study Area (percentage)**

| support situations          | relatives | neighbours | friends | workmates |
|-----------------------------|-----------|------------|---------|-----------|
| one-hour delivery           | 25.3      | 66.3       | 36.8    | 9.5       |
| one-day stomach ache        | 18.9      | 10.5       | 17.9    | 2.1       |
| two-week appendix operation | 47.4      | 9.5        | 23.2    | 6.3       |
| three-month broken leg      | 63.2      | 9.5        | 28.4    | 4.2       |
| N of cases                  | 95        | 95         | 95      | 95        |

**Table 7.4. Expectation of "Very Much" Help by Source of Support in the HiSouth Study Area (percentage)**

| support situations          | relatives | neighbours | friends | workmates |
|-----------------------------|-----------|------------|---------|-----------|
| one-hour delivery           | 26.0      | 76.9       | 26.9    | 5.8       |
| one-day stomach ache        | 18.3      | 13.5       | 18.3    | 1.9       |
| two-week appendix operation | 48.1      | 6.7        | 16.3    | 1.9       |
| three-month broken leg      | 61.5      | 4.8        | 15.4    | 1.9       |
| N of cases                  | 104       | 104        | 104     | 104       |

**Table 7.5. Expectation of "Very Much" Help by Source of Support in the LoSouth Study Area (percentage)**

| support situations          | relatives | neighbours | friends | workmates |
|-----------------------------|-----------|------------|---------|-----------|
| one-hour delivery           | 27.9      | 55.8       | 25.0    | 6.7       |
| one-day stomach ache        | 25.0      | 11.5       | 12.5    | 2.9       |
| two-week appendix operation | 62.5      | 8.7        | 14.4    | 1.9       |
| three-month broken leg      | 73.1      | 9.6        | 19.2    | 3.8       |
| N of cases                  | 104       | 104        | 104     | 104       |

However, the differences in the percentage between the four study areas and the total survey group were not great, though in some cases these were as much as 15 per cent. This indicates that the four study areas were basically characterised by the same primary support structures.

## 7.5. DISCUSSION

There are six points that merit comment.

Firstly, comparisons of findings are made with other studies which used the same



questions. The three sets of questions in Litwak and Szelenyi's Detroit Study were used in the Canberra Survey. However, the former was different from the latter in the classification of primary groups.<sup>5</sup> Litwak and Szelenyi's Detroit Study did not contain the category "workmates". This difference may seem to prevent us from comparing findings of the two surveys, but Table 7.1 showed that only about 4 per cent of respondents turned to workmates for help in the three situations examined. It follows that the addition of the category "workmates" did not greatly change the percentages of respondents who regarded the other types of primary groups (relatives, neighbours and friends) as of "very much help". Thus the percentages of respondents who regarded relatives, neighbours and friends as of "very much help" in the three common situations can be compared between the two cities.

**Table 7.6. Expectation of "Very Much" Help by Source of Support in Detroit (percentage)**

| support situations          | relatives | neighbours | friends |
|-----------------------------|-----------|------------|---------|
| one-day stomach ache        | 44        | 46         | 30      |
| two-week appendix operation | 75        | 45         | 40      |
| three-month broken leg      | 73        | 32         | 28      |
| N of cases                  | 300       | 300        | 300     |

Source: Litwak and Szelenyi (1969, p. 473).

Table 7.6 shows the percentages of the Detroit respondents who reported that each primary group would give "very much help" in each of the three situations. A comparison with Canberra reveals the following three features of primary support structures in Canberra. First, each of the three primary groups was a less important source of support in Canberra than in Detroit when all three situations were involved. This was particularly obvious for neighbours and friends. In Canberra, 10.9 to 13.7 per cent of the sample reported that neighbours would give "very much support" in

dealing with the three problems and nearly 20 per cent indicated that friends would. By comparison, in Detroit the expectation of help from neighbours ranged from 32 to 46 per cent and that from friends ranged from 28 to 40 per cent in the three situations. Secondly, the relative unimportance of neighbours and friends meant that relatives were the chief source of help in Canberra when the two long-term problems arose (i.e., "two-week appendix operation" and "three-month broken leg"). Expectation of help from relatives in Canberra approached that in Detroit in the most long-term emergency situation (i.e., "three-month broken leg"). In Canberra 69.0 per cent expected "very much help" from relatives in the situation of "three-month broken leg", while in Detroit the corresponding figure was 73 per cent. Thirdly, the Canberra respondents perceived neighbours as less helpful than friends in handling the three situations (Table 7.1). This was the reverse of Detroit, where friends were perceived as less helpful than neighbours (Table 7.6).<sup>6</sup> On the whole people in Detroit put greater reliance on network members than those in Canberra. However, this difference cannot be explored further, as Litwak and Szelenyi did not report their respondents' characteristics in detail.

**Table 7.7. Expectation of "Very Much" Help by Source of Support in Belconnen in 1973-74 (percentage)**

| support situations          | relatives | neighbours | friends |
|-----------------------------|-----------|------------|---------|
| one-day stomach ache        | 26.2      | 18.8       | 16.4    |
| two-week appendix operation | 39.0      | 20.2       | 21.9    |
| three-month broken leg      | 46.2      | 17.9       | 23.8    |
| N of cases                  | 526       | 526        | 526     |

Source: Saha (1975, p. 22)

Using Litwak and Szelenyi's questions, Saha (1975, 1985) conducted a survey in Canberra in late 1973 and early 1974. As his survey did not contain the question on

"one-hour wait for a delivery", a comparison was not possible for the first set of questions. By and large, his survey yielded the same findings as the present study, in respect of the other three sets of questions (Table 7.7). Closer examination, however, shows that the findings of the present research form a marked contrast to those of Saha's study: far more respondents in the Canberra Survey reported their relatives as of "very much help" than in Saha's study in the two long-term situations (i.e., "two-week appendix operation" and "three-month broken leg"). That is, 52.8 per cent of the respondents in the Canberra Survey expected "very much help" from relatives in the situation of "two-week appendix operation", while the comparable figure in Saha's survey was only 39.0 per cent. The difference of the percentages was greater in the situation of "three-month broken leg": those who expected "very much help" from relatives in the Canberra Survey amounted to 69.0 per cent, while no more than 46.2 per cent did in Saha's survey.

According to informants, at the time of interview more people had retired parents living in the neighbourhood and more had progeny who had married and settled elsewhere in Canberra than before. Saha did not present data on this point, but the Canberra Survey showed that 37.6 per cent had their and/or their spouse's parent(s) in Canberra. This is particularly striking in the LoSouth study area where 47.6 per cent of respondents had such persons. Help tends to come from immediate relatives; therefore, it is speculated that the increase in number of immediate relatives in Canberra caused the differences between the two surveys.

Secondly, social support structures in Canberra were examined from the viewpoint of the "Community Question", leading to the conclusion that primary support structures were not as well established in Canberra as in Detroit. This result provided support for the "Community Lost" view of modern urban society. However, the expectation of help from relatives in Canberra was close to that in Detroit in the two long-term situations (i.e., "two-week appendix operation" and "three-month broken leg"), and neighbours played a major role in handling the short-term emergency

situation (i.e., "one-hour wait for a delivery"). On balance, it seemed reasonable to conclude that the data more closely support the "Community Saved" position with a reservation. That is, respondents did not report behavioural manifestations of support, but expectations of support from primary group; therefore, it is possible that the former is different from the latter. This exploration could be the subject of additional studies.

A review of relevant Australian studies suggested that Canberra's residents would have good access to support from relatives, but neighbours would be less important as providers of support. The data from the study, however, supported the hypothesis only partially, in that relatives were key providers of support in the two long-term situations, although in the short-term emergency situation neighbours were much more likely to be chosen as the key source of aid, contrary to the hypothesis.

Thirdly, Litwak and Szelenyi (1969) maintained that the various types of primary groups have become differentiated in their own field where they can perform tasks better than others. As far as the three comparable situations were concerned, primary support functions were not differentiated in Canberra as distinctively as Litwak and Szelenyi's results might lead one to expect (Tables 7.1 and 7.6). That is, relatives played a dominant role in dealing with the two long-term situations (i.e., "two-week appendix operation" and "three-month broken leg"). However, neighbours were the chief source of support in the short-term situation (i.e., "one-hour wait for a delivery") in Canberra, though Litwak and Szelenyi did not ask primary group support in this situation and a comparison was not possible. This suggests that primary group functions were differentiated in Canberra, but not in the same way as Litwak and Szelenyi found to be the case in Detroit.

Fourthly, it is well known that industrialisation has increased residential mobility, and in consequence people are more likely to live separately from their relatives. In Canberra, 61.7 per cent of the urban residents studied had relatives in the city.<sup>7</sup> Canberra respondents were divided into those with and those without relatives in

Canberra and primary support structures were examined for each group.

Support which Canberra residents with local relatives expected from each type of primary group is shown in Table 7.8. Relatives and neighbours were the chief providers of support in the short-term situation (i.e., "one-hour wait for a delivery"). Forty-one per cent of the respondents said that they would ask relatives to wait for a delivery, and 65.3 per cent reported that they would ask neighbours. It is also clear from Table 7.8 that relatives were much more likely to be chosen as the key source of help in the most long-term situation (i.e., "three-month broken leg"). Seventy-seven per cent expected "very much help" from relatives in this situation.

**Table 7.8. Expectation of "Very Much" Help by Source of Support for Those with Relatives in and out of Canberra (percentage)**

|                             | relatives | neighbours<br>relatives in Canberra | friends | workmates |
|-----------------------------|-----------|-------------------------------------|---------|-----------|
| one-hour delivery           | 40.7**    | 65.3                                | 25.4    | 5.1       |
| one-day stomach ache        | 32.6**    | 14.0                                | 16.5    | 3.4       |
| two-week appendix operation | 63.1**    | 13.1                                | 17.8    | 4.7       |
| three-month broken leg      | 77.1**    | 13.1                                | 20.3    | 4.7       |
| N of cases                  | 236       | 236                                 | 236     | 236       |
| no relatives in Canberra    |           |                                     |         |           |
| one-hour delivery           | 3.2**     | 74.7                                | 31.0    | 10.1      |
| one-day stomach ache        | 1.3**     | 13.3                                | 20.9    | 3.2       |
| two-week appendix operation | 37.3**    | 9.5                                 | 24.1    | 3.8       |
| three-month broken leg      | 57.0**    | 7.6                                 | 26.6    | 4.4       |
| N of cases                  | 158       | 158                                 | 158     | 158       |

\*\* The difference between "local relative" group and "no local relative" group significant at  $p < 0.01$ .

For urban residents with no local relatives, when facing the short-term emergency

(i.e., "one-hour wait for a delivery"), neighbours were viewed as helpful in 74.7 per cent of the cases, while relatives were viewed as helpful in only 3.2 per cent of the cases (Table 7.8). On the other hand, for the most long-term situation (i.e., "three-month broken leg"), only 7.6 per cent of people reported that neighbours would be helpful whereas 57.0 per cent said that relatives would be helpful. This contrast suggests that when long distances between people and their relatives prevented daily meetings, differentiated primary group structures and functions were more likely to be utilised.

Despite this, in the long-term situation relatives were thought of as the most helpful, even when relatives did not reside in Canberra.<sup>8</sup> In other words, nuclear families exchange significant services with each other as well as retain considerable autonomy, as Litwak demonstrated in America (Litwak, 1960a, 1960c, 1965; Litwak and Figueira, 1970). Litwak referred to such a family as "the modified extended family". Development of transportation technology and the rise of efficient mass communication systems (e.g., the airplane and the telephone) have made this possible. Second in significance is the comparative unimportance of friends in providing support. Such technological innovations also have fostered social relationships which ramify beyond their immediate neighbourhood. Friends may be important sources of sociability (as discussed in Chapter 6). However, such ties were of little assistance in providing support in Canberra, irrespective of the kinds of situations with which they deal.

Fifthly, lower-status people are less likely to enjoy easy access to areas outside the immediate neighbourhood and, as a result, are more dependent on the locality for a few intimate ties (e.g., Young and Willmott, 1957; Gans, 1962a, 1962b; Goldthorpe *et al.*, 1969, pp. 85-115; Bott, 1971). Because Canberra is predominantly a middle and upper middle class city, neighbourhood interaction would be expected to be less frequent, and support from neighbours less available, than in Detroit. The analysis of the three comparable items indicated that neighbours were perceived as less helpful in

the former than in the latter, although neighbourhood interaction was more frequent in Canberra than in Detroit. This suggests that the concept of the neighbourhood unit may be important in promoting neighbourhood interaction, yet is not very useful for fostering the availability of support from neighbours.

Sixthly, there were some variations among social groups in the different areas in terms of primary support structures, although the general characteristics held for the four study areas. For instance, neighbours were most available for help in the HiNorth study area. It is possible that these variations emerged because the personal attributes of respondents (e.g., the presence or absence of relatives in Canberra, socio-economic status and stage of the life cycle) in each area affected the availability of social support. There is also a possibility that either the composition of people in each area or the stage of development affected social support availability. These possibilities will be considered in more detail in Chapter 9.

## 7.6. CONCLUSIONS

Social support structures in Canberra were examined in light of the "Community Question", and variations among the four study areas were explored. Respondents replied to the four hypothetical difficult situations by identifying the sources from which they would seek support. Two points emerged from the analysis of the data.

Firstly, taken all together, people in Canberra did not think that they had good access to primary group support. Nevertheless, relatives constituted the most important support group, particularly in dealing with long-term problems, even when they did not live in Canberra. Neighbours were also an important source of support, but their importance was confined to minor short-term support situations. These primary support structures were similar across each of the four different areas studied. Secondly, these data provided empirical support for the "Community Saved" position, with regard to primary support structures.

## NOTES to Chapter 7

<sup>1</sup> Summaries of this literature can be found in Dean and Lin (1977), Unger and Powell (1980), McCubbin *et al.* (1980, pp. 862-66), d'Abbs (1982), Wellman (1988) and House *et al.* (1988).

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter 3 for the norm in Canberra about social support among relatives.

<sup>3</sup> The importance of neighbours in providing support in the short-term emergency (i.e., "one-hour wait for a delivery") is consistent with the result of the author's participant-observation in Canberra. See Chapter 3.

<sup>4</sup> According to the author's participant-observation, workmates play an important role in job hunting in Canberra (cf. Granovetter, 1974). See Chapter 3.

<sup>5</sup> There are similarities and differences in sample design between Litwak and Szelenyi's Detroit Study and the Canberra Survey. Firstly, Litwak and Szelenyi's Detroit Study interviewed all the population in a new housing area who had certain specified attributes. The Canberra Survey purposively selected the four study areas and selected respondents from the areas by the random sampling method. The HiSouth and LoSouth study areas were similar to Litwak and Szelenyi's study area. Secondly, both the Detroit Study and the Canberra Survey interviewed only women.

<sup>6</sup> It should be remembered that the word "neighbours" in the Canberra Survey indicated people in a wider area than that in the Detroit Study, according to its definition. Despite this, the analysis revealed that neighbours were thought of as less helpful in the former than in the latter.

<sup>7</sup> Eighty-one per cent of the respondents in Litwak and Szelenyi's Detroit Survey had



relatives in the city in 1961. Saha (1975) found that merely 56 per cent of his respondents had relatives in Canberra in 1973-74. His research suburbs at that time were thought to be in a similar condition to LoSouth. In all the four study areas of the Canberra Survey, a somewhat higher percentage of respondents had relatives in Canberra than when Saha conducted his study 13 years ago.

<sup>8</sup> Three respondents said that their relatives who resided overseas would rush to them.

## Chapter 8

# EFFECTS OF OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY ON SOCIAL NETWORKS AND SOCIAL SUPPORT

### 8.1. INTRODUCTION

Modern industrial society has been characterised by a high rate of occupational mobility. The notion that occupational mobility disrupts and weakens social relationships has been held in sociology since Durkheim (1897). Sociologists have been concerned with the effects of occupational mobility on various social phenomena and there is a growing body of material exploring its consequences.<sup>1</sup> Yet there have been no direct tests of the relationship between occupational mobility and social participation in Australia.<sup>2</sup> This chapter considers effects of occupational mobility on social networks and social support, with special consideration of the social context in which occupational mobility occurs.

A brief review of two competing hypotheses (the dissociation hypothesis and the socialisation hypothesis) as well as the relevant empirical evidence will be presented in the second section. The social context in Canberra will be discussed in the third section. A hypothesis about the consequences of occupational mobility will be derived from the argument. The analytical model which Duncan proposed for separating the effects of occupational mobility from the effects of status will be examined in the fourth section. In the fifth section, there will be a discussion of the data and measurement of variables. The results of the analysis will be presented in the sixth section, and discussion of these results will appear in the seventh section.

## 8.2. REVIEW OF PREVIOUS STUDIES

### 8.2.1. PRESENTATION OF HYPOTHESES

The question of the impact of occupational mobility on interpersonal relationships has been controversial. The dispute arose from two different hypotheses: the dissociation hypothesis and the socialisation hypothesis. Different underlying social and psychological processes are assumed by these hypotheses.

The dissociation hypothesis proposes that occupational mobility cuts individuals from both their immobile peers in the status of their origin and the peers in the status of their destination, resulting in disruption and attenuation of social relationships. Occupational mobility leads to inhibiting and disruptive effects on interpersonal relationships (Vorwaller, 1970, pp. 481-82; Kessin, 1971, p. 4; Mirande, 1973, p. 19).<sup>3</sup>

This hypothesis has a rich history in sociology. It originated with Durkheim's notion of "anomie". He postulated that rapid social change, which made individual desires and expectations about life boundless and unattainable, created a state of no norms or conflicting norms. Although Durkheim did not discuss the effects of occupational mobility explicitly, his view comes near to the dissociation hypothesis (Durkheim, 1897). The dissociation hypothesis was expressed more explicitly by Sorokin (1959), who remarked that "in a mobile society, where its members are shifting from group to group, from place to place, ... man more often cuts off the ties which bind him to his native place, occupation, party, state, religion, family, citizenship, and so on. ... As a consequence, ... he becomes lonely as a socially unattached atom" ( pp. 522-23).

The dissociation hypothesis has been challenged by the socialisation hypothesis<sup>4</sup>, which postulates an adaptive outcome to occupational mobility. The socialisation hypothesis contends that occupational mobility *per se* does not weaken interpersonal

relationships. Drawing on the adult socialisation theory<sup>5</sup> and anticipatory socialisation theory<sup>6</sup>, this hypothesis proposes that mobile individuals modify their behaviour and attitudes through identification with immobile peers at the status of their destination so that mobile individuals may come to be accepted by immobile destination groups and adjust to their new status (Lane and Ellis, 1968; Vorwaller, 1970, p. 482; Bean *et al.*, 1973, p. 63). However, as adaptation does not occur immediately, mobile individuals are fully integrated neither with origin nor destination groups for some time.<sup>7</sup> In consequence, because both origin and destination groups affect mobile individuals' attitudes and behaviours<sup>8</sup>, their level of interpersonal relationships will be intermediate between those of these two immobile statuses (Blau, 1956, p. 291; Vorwaller, 1970, pp. 482-83; Bean *et al.*, 1973, p. 63).<sup>9</sup>

While many researchers have investigated its effects on relatives, few researchers have examined the effects of occupational mobility on other types of interpersonal relationships. Thus, empirical evidence about kinship relationships will be presented initially, followed by evidence about other types of relationships.

### 8.2.2. EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE: KINSHIP RELATIONSHIPS

Parsons (1949, 1953, 1954) argued that the demands for occupational mobility in an industrial society are inimical to the existence of kinship relationships and that the isolated nuclear family was a functional family pattern (see also Mead, 1948; Davis, 1949; Williams, 1951). Furthermore, it was believed that individuals who experienced occupational mobility would lose their kinship ties (Parsons, 1953; Schneider and Homans, 1955).

Many studies have provided empirical support for the dissociation hypothesis. Based on an anthropological case study, Garigue (1956) found that occupational mobility weakened kinship relationships, but suggested that other new kinship relationships were established to compensate for those attenuated. Curtis (1958)

found that occupational mobility decreased the frequency of kinship visiting. Willmott and Young (1960, pp. 81-86) showed that occupational mobility attenuated extended family relationships, but that women were less affected. Stuckert (1963) found that occupational mobility was detrimental to a married women's frequency of visiting, to identifying with the extended family, to using the extended family, and to the maintenance of a family unity. Adams (1967, 1968, pp. 33-91) noted strong evidence of the weakening of relationships with parents among downwardly mobile individuals, particularly among women. Bruce (1970) reported that people who experienced *intragenerational* mobility visited their siblings less often. Kessin (1971) found that upward mobility decreased the level of kinship contacts. Booth (1972) reported that occupational mobility reduced only the females' kinship ties. Jackson and Curtis (1972) observed mobility effects on infrequency of visiting relatives in one out of three communities they studied. Dyer (1972) showed that *intergenerational* occupational mobility is detrimental to extended family cohesion. Mirande (1973) revealed that upward mobility was associated with isolation from relatives. In line with the disruptive impact of occupational mobility, Ellis (1952) compared upwardly mobile career women with their non-mobile counterparts and showed that the former had more conflicts with parents than the latter.<sup>10</sup>

The validity of the socialisation hypothesis has been supported by some investigators. Litwak (1960a) found mobile married women, irrespective of the direction of their mobility, had levels of extended family contact that were intermediate between high and low stratum immobile individuals. Aiken and Goldberg (1969) found that husbands' occupational mobility had no disruptive effect on married women's kinship involvement but rather that kinship involvement was simply an additive function of prior and present socio-economic status.

### **8.2.3. EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE: OTHER TYPES OF INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS**

Warner and Abegglen (1955, p. 90) expressed their view in support of the dissociation hypothesis; they found mobile business leaders to be typically isolated. Ellis (1952) in the above-mentioned study reported significant differences between upwardly mobile career women and non-mobile career women regarding the number of intimate friends and the length of friendships. Curtis (1959a) did not find any difference in interaction rates with neighbours and friends between mobile persons and non-mobile persons, but observed statistically significant differences in interaction rates with workmates between upwardly mobile non-manual and stable non-manual. Interestingly, this difference was not observed among families where the head of the family was over forty years old. Ellis and Lane (1967) showed that lower-class youth entering a high-status university (upwardly mobile students) were isolated and alienated from interpersonal relationships. Kessin (1971) revealed that individuals moving upward two or more socio-economic levels were significantly less integrated in their neighbourhood and less affiliated with friends. Mirande (1973) demonstrated in the study mentioned earlier that upward mobility disrupted friendship relationships.

The validity of the socialisation hypothesis was supported by the research of Bruce (1970). He found that mobile persons did not visit neighbours and friends less frequently than stable persons, but that mobile individuals had friendships of shorter duration than stable individuals. He inferred from this that mobility inhibited friendship ties temporarily, but that mobile persons formed new interpersonal ties.

### **8.2.4. IMPLICATIONS OF PREVIOUS RESEARCH**

The relevant literature suggests contradictory findings with respect to rates and patterns of interpersonal relationships. Some researchers (e.g., Vorwaller, 1970, p.

485; Kessin, 1971, pp. 5-7; Mirande, 1973, p. 21) have concluded that there were no uniform effects of occupational mobility on social participation. The controversy over effects of occupational mobility may seem to be far from settled, but further considerations make it possible to detect some common tendencies.

First, various definitions of occupational mobility seem to have led to conflicting findings. While Bruce (1970) investigated effects of *intragenerational* mobility, other researchers studied impacts of *intergenerational* mobility. In addition, researchers have employed different measures of *intergenerational* mobility. Generally, for males there has been unanimity in using respondents' occupation and their fathers' occupation (Curtis, 1959a; Willmott and Young, 1960, pp. 81-86; Adams, 1967, 1968, pp. 33-91; Kessin, 1971; Mirande, 1973).<sup>11</sup> However, for females occupational mobility has been defined in two ways. Most researchers (Willmott and Young, 1960; Stuckert, 1963; Adams, 1967, 1968, pp. 33-91; Jackson and Curtis, 1972; Mirande, 1973) have used a combination of father's and husband's occupation as occupational mobility.<sup>12</sup> This definition differed from that of Litwak (1960a) and Aiken and Goldberg (1969) in that the latter measured occupational mobility by contrasting the occupational status of husband's father and that of the husband.<sup>13</sup>

A consideration of these inconsistencies in previous research suggests a resolution for some of these contradictory findings. The utility of the socialisation hypothesis with regard to kinship relationships was suggested by Litwak (1960a) and Aiken and Goldberg (1969) only, who determined occupational mobility in a different manner from the other researchers. It seems likely that their discrepant finding was due to their unique definition of occupational mobility.<sup>14</sup> That is, it is difficult to find empirical studies that refute the disruptive effects of occupational mobility on kinship relationships by the common definition (father-to-respondent mobility for male samples and father-to-husband mobility for female samples).<sup>15</sup> Incidentally, Bruce (1970) observed no disruptive effects of *intragenerational* occupational mobility on other types of interpersonal relationships and his finding formed an exception that

supported the socialisation hypothesis. Other researchers who have investigated effects of *intergenerational* occupational mobility on other types of interpersonal relationships have found evidence in support of the dissociation hypothesis.<sup>16</sup> In sum, the evidence suggests that *intergenerational* occupational mobility (father-to-respondent mobility for males and father-to-husband mobility for females) has often caused inhibiting and disruptive effects on both kinship relationships and other types of interpersonal relationships.

Second, previous studies have produced mixed findings about the relationship between the direction of mobility and the disruptive effects on primary relationships. Three types of contentions support the dissociation hypothesis. The first contention is that upward mobility disrupts social relationships. This has been documented by many studies (Ellis, 1952; Curtis, 1959a; Willmott and Young, 1960, pp. 159-67; Ellis and Lane, 1967; Kessin, 1971; Mirande, 1973). The second contention is that downward mobility shears away interpersonal relationships. Supporting evidence was provided by Adams (1967, 1968, pp. 33-91). The third contention is that both upward and downward mobility bring about isolation from interpersonal relationships, although this contention has not been demonstrated.

It is expected that the same occupational mobility may have different impacts on interpersonal relationships under the different social contexts in which mobility occurs. Different contexts make individuals interpret (or define) occupational mobility in various ways and react to it according to their perception. Because of this, social context was thought to be an important intervening variable which interceded between the three contentions (Germani, 1966, pp. 366-68; Wilensky, 1966; Merton, 1968, pp. 316-25; Kessin, 1971). Many researchers have neglected this point and have investigated the effects of occupational mobility on interpersonal relationships without considering the social context in which occupational mobility occurs. Because most researchers have not examined the social context of their study areas, it is not possible to resolve completely contradictions in findings about the relationship between the



direction of mobility and disruptive effects on social relationships. Thus, the question of the impact of occupational mobility on social participation remains unanswered and the construction of hypotheses incorporating social context suggests a way forward.

### 8.3. AN INTEGRATION HYPOTHESIS

Social context is a significant intervening variable which conditions the effects of social mobility.<sup>17</sup> Differentiated social contexts may result in divergent effects on the attitude and behaviour of a mobile person. An example is Simpson's comparative study of mobility effects in two contrasting social contexts (Simpson, 1970). He reported that upward mobility did not lead to normlessness (anomia) in achievement-oriented societies like the U.S.A., in which there is a great emphasis on upward mobility. In comparison, he found that upward mobility produced normlessness in ascriptive societies such as Costa Rica and Mexico. Another instance is Bahr and Caplow's research (Bahr and Caplow, 1968), which found that while downward mobility of skid-row men was accompanied by more disaffiliation, downward mobility did not result in disaffiliation of residents in a general low-income area.<sup>18</sup>

Previous research suggests that the disruptive effects on interpersonal relationships derive from at least two sources of social context (Simpson, 1970, p. 1003; Kessin, 1971, pp. 2-3). The first concerns the adult socialisation and anticipatory socialisation process. There are differences in association pattern among the various strata. Accordingly, mobile people modify their behaviour and attitudes through identification with immobile peers in the stratum of destination so that they may be integrated into the stratum of destination. When social context prevents them from acquiring and internalising new behavioural patterns and norms of the destination stratum, disruptive effects occur. The second cause of inhibiting effects is related to the social rejection of mobile persons by people in their destination stratum. Mobile

persons, particularly those upwardly mobile, will attempt to form connections with people in their destination stratum so that they may attain and secure their new status. When social context encourages the stratum of destination to stigmatise the stratum of origin and to reject mobile persons, disruptive effects take place. These considerations suggest that the social context in Canberra should be explored from these two points of view if the consequences of social mobility are to be better understood.

The history and occupational structure of Canberra were examined in Chapter 2. The investigation clarified characteristics with regard to the social context in Canberra. Canberra's labour force was dominated by the occupational groups, "professional, managerial, and clerical officers". These groups comprised 65.3 per cent of the labour force in Canberra, as compared to 47.1 per cent for Australia as a whole (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1987). Furthermore, because head offices of Federal Government departments are located in the city, many high government positions are available there. To obtain a non-manual position, particularly a high government position, many able and ambitious people are thought to have moved to Canberra. As a consequence, the percentage of people in Canberra who have undergone *intergenerational* upward mobility (from manual to non-manual occupations) is likely to be higher than in Australia as a whole. An index of upward mobility was calculated to test this argument. The Canberra Survey indicated that 43 per cent of respondents in Canberra attained a higher position, but the 1965 national survey indicated that the corresponding figure in Australia as a whole was only 37 per cent (Table 2.2 in Chapter 2).<sup>19</sup> In sum, the data suggest that upward mobility was more frequent in Canberra than in other areas of Australia. These characteristics seem to have created a value-orientation among Canberra residents. The author's participant-observation in Chapter 3 reported that not only is upward occupational mobility valued as an indication of success, but also that the Canberra society, in general, places great emphasis on upward occupational mobility. That is, the evidence suggests that Canberra is an achievement-oriented society in which upward occupational mobility is

expected and its acceptance is institutionalised (cf. Germani, 1966).

Different social and psychological processes may underlie upward and downward mobility. An emphasis on upward occupational mobility encourages upwardly mobile persons to identify with persons in the stratum of destination and to internalise their behavioural patterns and norms. Moreover, both the presence of many upwardly mobile people and an emphasis on upward occupational mobility facilitates greater social acceptance of upwardly mobile persons by immobile persons in their destination stratum. Therefore, the partial integration of upwardly mobile persons at their stratum of destination is to be expected. However, the same social context has the opposite effect on downwardly mobile persons. An emphasis on upward occupational mobility discourages downwardly mobile persons from unpleasant status comparisons between their origin and destination stratum. Therefore, downwardly mobile persons are likely to be frustrated and are more likely to reduce their interpersonal relationships. Level of aspiration depends on the reference group selected. Persons with a high level of aspiration, but who have failed or are restricted in achieving higher status, will be more likely to feel frustrated and as a result withdraw from interpersonal relationships. The concept of relative deprivation helps to explain this situation. In addition, in this kind of social context the social acceptance of downwardly mobile persons by immobile persons at the stratum of origin and destination may be reduced. Consequently, the disruptive tendency of downward mobility for interpersonal relationships is to be expected.

In the light of earlier research and the proposed relevance of the social context, the following hypothesis was used to examine the Canberra data. Whereas downward mobility disrupts persons' interpersonal relationships (relatives, neighbours, friends and workmates), upward mobility does not in Canberra.

#### 8.4. ANALYTICAL METHOD

Mobility effects on individuals' attitudes and behaviour should be distinguished from the joint effects of the origin and destination statuses. Individuals' present attitudes and behaviour are influenced by both prior and current statuses (Blau, 1956) and status effects need to be considered before examining mobility effects (Duncan, 1966; Blau and Duncan, 1967, p. 374; Hope, 1971, 1975, 1981; Sobel, 1981). Mobility effects, thus, are effects over and above those for which the origin and destination statuses are responsible. This distinction has not been made in previous research and accordingly controls have not been introduced for the effects of the past and present statuses. That is, former studies suffered greater drawbacks in their analytical designs. In such studies, if a mobile group departed from the immobile group with respect to social participation, the effect was associated with occupational mobility, without taking into account independent effects of the origin and destination statuses. In other words, previous studies have failed to separate mobility effects from status effects.<sup>20</sup>

Indicating the flaw of former analytical methods, Duncan (Duncan, 1966; Blau and Duncan, 1967, pp. 374-81) proposed a new strategy for the analysis of mobility effects. He proposed the use of dummy-variable multiple-regression analysis to demonstrate the effects of occupational mobility, irrespective of the effects of origin and destination statuses. Respondents were cross-classified in a  $j \times k$  matrix according to their prior and current statuses. A dummy variable regression equation was employed to compute the effects of origin and destination statuses. This method changed each category of an independent variable (origin and destination status) into a separate variable, and a dummy-variable was assigned to each category. If a respondent fell into a given category, the person was scored 1; otherwise the person received a value of 0. However, the entry of all dummies made from a given nominal variable would cause the equations to be unsolvable because the  $k$ th dummy variable

would be completely determined by the first  $k-1$  dummies included into the regression equation. Because of this linear dependence, one category in each independent variable was omitted from the equation. The lowest occupational group (unskilled worker) at origin and destination was assigned to these categories in the present study.<sup>21</sup> Partial coefficients for each occupational status at origin and destination as well as a constant term were calculated to best fit observed scores of a dependent variable by employing this multiple-regression analysis.

The additive model assumes that any variation in a given dependent variable is due to the additive effects of origin and destination statuses. Both a constant term and partial regression coefficients, which indicate the effects of each category of statuses, provided a basis for predicting the expected score along the same dependent variables for each of the mobility and stability subclasses. Predicted means were compared with the corresponding observed means in all the subclasses. If the additive model adequately fitted the data, the occupational mobility *per se* was assumed not to exert an effect on the dependent variable, which could be predicted simply by the origin and destination statuses. However, if the predicted means calculated on the basis of the model departed significantly from the observed means, this provided evidence for mobility effects. To summarise the patterns of departure, the difference between the observed and hypothetical means was calculated according to mobility categories (Duncan, 1966; Blau and Duncan, 1967, pp. 115-63 and pp. 371-400). In addition, the existence of mobility effects was assessed statistically by testing the significance of the increment in  $R^2$  associated with a model containing both additive and interactive effects, over that associated with a model containing only additive effects.<sup>22</sup> Duncan's model for examining mobility effects is commonly referred to as the "square-additive" model. His square-additive model has dominated much of the recent research of mobility effects.<sup>23</sup> Other independent variables, besides the statuses and occupational mobility, were not included into the model to compare findings of this study with those of previous studies (e.g., Vorwaller, 1970; Kessin, 1971).

## 8.5. MEASUREMENT OF VARIABLES

The independent variables of this analysis were occupational statuses. The *intergenerational* occupational mobility of the urban residents studied was determined by contrasting the occupational status of the father (or stepfather) of each, when the urban resident was about sixteen years old, and the occupational status of the respondent's spouse at the time of interview.

The ANU2 scale, a continuous ranking of occupations, may be categorised by a variety of methods to represent upward and downward mobility, but this would make this part of the analyses less comparable to other studies in Australia that have used the ANU1 scale (e.g., Broom and Jones, 1970). In contrast, the pre-categorised nature of the ANU1 scale makes the findings more comparable. For this reason, the ANU1 scale was used here rather than the ANU2 scale.

**Table 8.1. Relationship between Sixteen-point ANU1 Prestige Scale and Four Occupational Groups**

| sixteen-point ANU1 prestige scale                   | four occupational groups           |
|---|------------------------------------|
| 1. Upper professional                               | Class I professional or managerial |
| 2. Graziers, and wheat and sheep farmers (excluded) |                                    |
| 3. Lower professional                               |                                    |
| 4. Managerial                                       |                                    |
| 5. Self-employed shop proprietors                   |                                    |
| 6. Other farmers (excluded)                         |                                    |
| 7. Clerical and related workers                     | Class II clerical                  |
| 8. Members of Armed Services and Police Force       |                                    |
| 9. Craftsmen and foremen                            | Class III craftsman or foremen     |
| 10. Shop assistants                                 | Class IV unskilled workers         |
| 11. Operatives and process workers                  |                                    |
| 12. Drivers   |                                    |
| 13. Personal, domestic, and other service workers   |                                    |
| 14. Miners  |                                    |
| 15. Farm and rural workers (excluded)               |                                    |
| 16. Labourers                                       |                                    |

**Table 8.2. Frequency of Contact with Relatives, Neighbours, Friends and Workmates**

| frequency of contact in a year |                       | relatives | neighbours | friends | workmates |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------|------------|---------|-----------|
| 0                              | (rarely or never)     | 13.9%     | 24.1%      | 6.0%    | 20.9%     |
| 2                              | (a few times a year)  | 32.3%     | 7.6%       | 11.7%   | 32.3%     |
| 12                             | (once a month)        | 9.5%      | 9.2%       | 18.4%   | 15.9%     |
| 24                             | (a few times a month) | 8.9%      | 14.2%      | 25.3%   | 13.9%     |
| 52                             | (once a week)         | 35.4%     | 44.9%      | 38.6%   | 17.1%     |
|                                |                       | 100.0%    | 100.0%     | 100.0%  | 100.0%    |
| Mean                           |                       | 22.3      | 28.3       | 28.6    | 14.8      |
| S.D.                           |                       | 23.0      | 22.9       | 20.0    | 18.7      |
| N of cases                     |                       | 316       | 316        | 316     | 316       |

| frequency of contact in a year | total frequency |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|
| 2-25                           | 4.7%            |
| 26-50                          | 11.4%           |
| 51-75                          | 17.4%           |
| 76-100                         | 20.0%           |
| 101-125                        | 20.9%           |
| 126-150                        | 10.1%           |
| 151-175                        | 13.0%           |
| 176-208                        | 2.6%            |
|                                | 100.0%          |
| Mean                           | 93.7            |
| S.D.                           | 44.5            |
| N of cases                     | 316             |

Respondents were initially classified according to the sixteen-point ANU1 prestige scale (Broom and Jones, 1969b, p. 651). For the purpose of this analysis, the original groups were collapsed into the four groups used by Broom and Jones to study status consistency (1970, p. 991 and p. 994). The relationship between the four groups and the ANU1 scale is shown in Table 8.1. The respondents whose father was not alive when the former were 16 years of age, and/or whose spouse was unemployed, were taken out of the analysis. Furthermore, respondents whose father and/or spouse were engaged in farm occupations were excluded from the analysis

because of the difficulties of relating farm occupations to urban occupations. These criteria led to the exclusion of 78 cases, leaving 316 cases available for the analysis.

The two sets of data about interpersonal relationships analysed in Chapters 6 and 7 were used as dependent variables. The first set of data consists of individuals' frequency of face-to-face contact, categorised for each type of social interaction (relatives, neighbours, friends and workmates). Respondents were asked to report frequency of contact with relatives, neighbours, friends and workmates. Responses were (1) at least once a week (2) a few times a month (3) about once a month (4) a few times a year (5) rarely or never. This ordinal scale was changed into an interval scale by calculating the frequency of contact in a year for each respondent. Scores 52, 24, 12, 2, and 0 were given to the responses 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 respectively. In addition, these four scales were summed to form a scale of the total frequency of contact (Table 8.2).

The second set of data is related to the accessibility of social support from each type of primary group. Each respondent was asked which primary group of persons (relatives, neighbours, friends and workmates) she would ask to wait for a delivery if she were away for an hour or so. In addition, each respondent was asked how much help she would expect from relatives, neighbours, friends and workmates in the three hypothetical situations, namely "one-day stomach ache", "two-week appendix operation recovery", and "three-month recovery from a broken leg". The Canberra Survey contained these four sets of questions about social support as specified in Chapter 7. According to the dividing points in that chapter, their responses were classified into two categories. Respondents were given score 1 when they answered "would ask" to the first set of questions and when they answered "very much" help to the other sets of questions, and score 0 otherwise. These items were summed to construct a scale for each type of primary group, and in the end four support scales were formed. They were the relative support scale, neighbour support scale, friend support scale and workmate support scale. A scale of availability of social support



was constructed by using four dichotomous measures.

However, this scaling had a drawback. The analysis in Chapter 7 indicated that very few respondents regarded neighbours, friends and workmates as of "very much help" in the three long-term situations (i.e., "one-day stomach ache", "two-week appendix operation recovery", and "three-month recovery from a broken leg"). Therefore, scores of these three scales were J shaped.

**Table 8.3. Percentage of Respondents Who Had Access to Social Support, and Percentage Distributions and Mean Scores for Social Support Scales**

|   | relative<br>support<br>scale | neighbour<br>support<br>scale | friend<br>support<br>scale |
|---|------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| one hour wait for delivery<br>(who to ask)                | 27.2%                        | 68.0%                         | 27.5%                      |
| one day stomach ache<br>(very much or some help)          | 30.4%                        | 31.3%                         | 37.3%                      |
| two weeks' appendix operation<br>(very much or some help) | 70.6%                        | 37.7%                         | 50.0%                      |
| three months' broken leg<br>(very much or some help)      | 85.4%                        | 42.7%                         | 62.0%                      |
| scales of social support                                  |                              |                               |                            |
| 0 (low social support)                                    | 13.3%                        | 24.1%                         | 27.8%                      |
| 1   | 15.8%                        | 27.2%                         | 18.4%                      |
| 2   | 34.2%                        | 14.9%                         | 17.7%                      |
| 3   | 17.4%                        | 12.7%                         | 21.2%                      |
| 4 (high social support)                                   | 19.3%                        | 21.2%                         | 14.9%                      |
|   | 100.0%                       | 100.0%                        | 100.0%                     |
| Mean  | 2.14                         | 1.80                          | 1.77                       |
| S.D.  | 1.27                         | 1.48                          | 1.43                       |
| coefficient of reproducibility                            | 0.96                         | 0.91                          | 0.90                       |
| coefficient of scalability                                | 0.83                         | 0.75                          | 0.74                       |
| coefficient of minimum marginal reproducibility           | 0.75                         | 0.64                          | 0.62                       |
| N of cases  | 316                          | 316                           | 316                        |

To adjust these distributions, responses were divided into two categories in a different way. Respondents were given score 1 when they answered "would ask" to

the first set of questions and when they answered "very much" or "some" help to the other sets of questions, and score 0 otherwise. These items were added to constitute a scale for each type of primary group, the scores of which ranged from a low of zero to a high of four (Table 8.3). The distribution of the relative support scale was approximately normal, and the distributions of the neighbour and friend support scales did not depart sufficiently from normality to preclude the use of regression analysis. However, workmate support scale was still J shaped.

Multiple-regression analysis is based on the assumption that the variables analysed are normally distributed in the population. Because of its skewed distribution, the workmate support scale was excluded from the analysis.

Table 8.3 also shows the coefficients of reproducibility, scalability, and minimum marginal reproducibility of the three scales, demonstrating that each scale represented both a unidimensional and a cumulative concept. In addition to the Guttman scale analysis, a factor analysis was used to corroborate the unidimensionality of the three scales regarding accessibility of social support. For the three scales, only one factor with an eigenvalue greater than 1 emerged from the analysis. This fact indicates that the three scales with regard to accessibility of social support represented unidimensional concepts.<sup>24</sup>

## **8.6. RESULTS**

### **8.6.1. FREQUENCY OF CONTACT**

Table 8.4 shows the results in relation to frequency of contact with relatives, Table 8.5 frequency of contact with neighbours, Table 8.6 frequency of contact with friends, Table 8.7 frequency of contact with workmates, and Table 8.8 the frequency of the total contact with these four primary groups. The cross-classification of status of origin and destination in these tables indicates the mobility status of the urban residents

**Table 8.4. Frequency of Contact with Relatives  
by Statuses of Origin and Destination**

|   |       | husbands' SES |       |      |      |       |
|---|-------|---------------|-------|------|------|-------|
|   |       | I             | II    | III  | IV   | total |
| <b>Panel 1. Number</b>                              |       |               |       |      |      |       |
| fathers' SES  | I     | 55            | 30    | 11   | 17   | 113   |
|   | II    | 17            | 19    | 4    | 8    | 48    |
|   | III   | 29            | 18    | 15   | 11   | 73    |
|   | IV    | 33            | 25    | 13   | 11   | 82    |
|   | total | 134           | 92    | 43   | 47   | 316   |
| <b>Panel 2. Observed Mean Frequency of Contact</b>  |       |               |       |      |      |       |
| fathers' SES  | I     | 15.3          | 23.7  | 20.2 | 31.5 | 20.5  |
|   | II    | 11.6          | 25.5  | 39.0 | 17.8 | 20.4  |
|   | III   | 20.1          | 8.8   | 34.5 | 37.6 | 22.9  |
|   | IV    | 23.3          | 24.2  | 34.2 | 24.9 | 25.5  |
|   | total | 17.9          | 21.3  | 31.2 | 29.1 | 22.3  |
| <b>Panel 3. Predicted Mean Frequency of Contact</b> |       |               |       |      |      |       |
| fathers' SES  | I     | 16.6          | 20.0  | 29.5 | 27.9 |       |
|   | II    | 16.1          | 19.5  | 29.0 | 27.4 |       |
|   | III   | 17.7          | 21.1  | 30.6 | 29.0 |       |
|   | IV    | 20.9          | 24.3  | 33.8 | 32.2 |       |
| <b>Panel 4. Observed Minus Predicted Means</b>      |       |               |       |      |      |       |
| fathers' SES  | I     | -1.3          | 3.7   | -9.3 | 3.6  |       |
|   | II    | -4.5          | 5.9   | 10.0 | -9.6 |       |
|   | III   | 2.4           | -12.3 | 3.9  | 8.6  |       |
|   | IV    | 2.4           | -0.1  | 0.4  | -7.3 |       |

Increment for destination  $F = 5.18$  ( $p < 0.01$ )  
 Increment for interaction  $F = 2.41$  (N.S.)  
 Gross effects of origin  $F = 0.90$  (N.S.)  
 Gross effects of destination  $F = 5.44$  ( $p < 0.01$ )  
 Rcoefficient = 0.237

**Table 8.5. Frequency of Contact with Neighbours  
by Statuses of Origin and Destination**

|   |       | husbands' SES |      |      |      |       |
|---|-------|---------------|------|------|------|-------|
|   |       | I             | II   | III  | IV   | total |
| <b>Panel 1. Number</b>                              |       |               |      |      |      |       |
| fathers' SES  | I     | 55            | 30   | 11   | 17   | 113   |
|   | II    | 17            | 19   | 4    | 8    | 48    |
|   | III   | 29            | 18   | 15   | 11   | 73    |
|   | IV    | 33            | 25   | 13   | 11   | 82    |
|   | total | 134           | 92   | 43   | 47   | 316   |
| <b>Panel 2. Observed Mean Frequency of Contact</b>  |       |               |      |      |      |       |
| fathers' SES  | I     | 28.8          | 22.4 | 38.0 | 18.1 | 26.4  |
|   | II    | 25.4          | 30.0 | 29.0 | 22.8 | 27.1  |
|   | III   | 25.0          | 31.0 | 25.9 | 30.6 | 27.5  |
|   | IV    | 26.8          | 33.5 | 41.5 | 28.0 | 31.3  |
|   | total | 27.1          | 28.7 | 34.0 | 24.1 | 28.0  |
| <b>Panel 3. Predicted Mean Frequency of Contact</b> |       |               |      |      |      |       |
| fathers' SES  | I     | 25.8          | 27.3 | 32.4 | 22.9 |       |
|   | II    | 26.4          | 27.9 | 33.1 | 23.5 |       |
|   | III   | 26.2          | 27.7 | 32.9 | 23.3 |       |
|   | IV    | 30.2          | 31.7 | 36.9 | 27.3 |       |
| <b>Panel 4. Observed Minus Predicted Means</b>      |       |               |      |      |      |       |
| fathers' SES  | I     | 3.0           | -4.9 | 5.6  | -4.8 |       |
|   | II    | -1.0          | 2.1  | -4.1 | -0.7 |       |
|   | III   | -1.2          | 3.3  | -7.0 | 7.3  |       |
|   | IV    | -3.4          | 1.8  | 4.6  | 0.7  |       |

Increment for destination  $F = 1.41$  (N.S.)

Increment for interaction  $F = 0.47$  (N.S.)

Gross effects of origin  $F = 0.80$  (N.S.)

Gross effects of destination  $F = 1.54$  (N.S.)

Rcoefficient = 0.184

**Table 8.6. Frequency of Contact with Friends  
by statuses of Origin and Destination**

|   |       | husbands' SES |      |      |       |       |
|---|-------|---------------|------|------|-------|-------|
|   |       | I             | II   | III  | IV    | total |
| <b>Panel 1. Number</b>                              |       |               |      |      |       |       |
| fathers' SES  | I     | 55            | 30   | 11   | 17    | 113   |
|   | II    | 17            | 19   | 4    | 8     | 48    |
|   | III   | 29            | 18   | 15   | 11    | 73    |
|   | IV    | 33            | 25   | 13   | 11    | 82    |
|   | total | 134           | 92   | 43   | 47    | 316   |
| <b>Panel 2. Observed Mean Frequency of Contact</b>  |       |               |      |      |       |       |
| fathers' SES  | I     | 25.0          | 29.7 | 44.7 | 26.0  | 28.3  |
|   | II    | 27.1          | 22.9 | 45.0 | 11.3  | 24.3  |
|   | III   | 28.7          | 23.9 | 33.6 | 32.0  | 29.0  |
|   | IV    | 31.9          | 27.3 | 34.3 | 33.6  | 31.1  |
|   | total | 27.8          | 26.5 | 37.7 | 26.7  | 28.6  |
| <b>Panel 3. Predicted Mean Frequency of Contact</b> |       |               |      |      |       |       |
| fathers' SES  | I     | 27.8          | 26.7 | 37.5 | 26.9  |       |
|   | II    | 24.0          | 23.0 | 33.8 | 23.1  |       |
|   | III   | 27.4          | 26.4 | 37.2 | 26.5  |       |
|   | IV    | 30.0          | 29.0 | 39.7 | 29.1  |       |
|   |       |               |      |      |       |       |
| <b>Panel 4. Observed Minus Predicted Means</b>      |       |               |      |      |       |       |
| father' SES   | I     | -2.8          | 3.0  | 7.2  | -0.9  |       |
|   | II    | 3.1           | -0.1 | 11.2 | -11.8 |       |
|   | III   | 1.3           | -2.5 | -3.6 | 5.5   |       |
|   | IV    | 1.9           | -1.7 | -5.4 | 4.5   |       |
|   |       |               |      |      |       |       |

Increment for destination  $F = 3.32$  ( $p < 0.05$ )  
 Increment for interaction  $F = 1.62$  (N.S.)  
 Gross effects of origin  $F = 1.19$  (N.S.)  
 Gross effects of destination  $F = 3.62$  ( $p < 0.05$ )  
 Rcoefficient = 0.205

**Table 8.7. Frequency of Contact with Workmates  
by Statuses of Origin and Destination**

|   |       | husbands' SES |      |      |      |       |
|---|-------|---------------|------|------|------|-------|
|   |       | I             | II   | III  | IV   | total |
| <b>Panel 1. Number</b>                              |       |               |      |      |      |       |
| fathers' SES  | I     | 55            | 30   | 11   | 17   | 113   |
|   | II    | 17            | 19   | 4    | 8    | 48    |
|   | III   | 29            | 18   | 15   | 11   | 73    |
|   | IV    | 33            | 25   | 13   | 11   | 82    |
|   | total | 134           | 92   | 43   | 47   | 316   |
| <b>Panel 2. Observed Mean Frequency of Contact</b>  |       |               |      |      |      |       |
| fathers' SES  | I     | 15.5          | 14.1 | 19.1 | 14.6 | 15.3  |
|   | II    | 8.9           | 16.7 | 13.0 | 24.8 | 15.0  |
|   | III   | 12.1          | 18.8 | 16.3 | 12.7 | 14.7  |
|   | IV    | 16.5          | 12.6 | 13.2 | 10.2 | 13.9  |
|   | total | 14.2          | 15.1 | 15.8 | 14.9 | 14.8  |
| <b>Panel 3. Predicted Mean Frequency of Contact</b> |       |               |      |      |      |       |
| fathers' SES  | I     | 14.8          | 15.8 | 16.5 | 15.5 |       |
|   | II    | 14.3          | 15.3 | 16.1 | 15.0 |       |
|   | III   | 14.0          | 15.0 | 15.8 | 14.7 |       |
|   | IV    | 13.2          | 14.3 | 15.0 | 13.9 |       |
| <b>Panel 4. Observed Minus Predicted Means</b>      |       |               |      |      |      |       |
| fathers' SES  | I     | 0.7           | -1.7 | 2.6  | -0.9 |       |
|   | II    | -5.4          | 1.4  | -3.1 | 9.8  |       |
|   | III   | -1.9          | 3.8  | 0.5  | -2.0 |       |
|   | IV    | 3.3           | -1.7 | -1.8 | -3.7 |       |

Increment for destination  $F = 0.11$  (N.S.)  
 Increment for interaction  $F = 0.10$  (N.S.)  
 Gross effects of origin  $F = 0.09$  (N.S.)  
 Gross effects of destination  $F = 0.10$  (N.S.)  
 Rcoefficient = 0.044

**Table 8.8. Total Frequency of Contact  
by Statuses of Origin and Destination**

|   |       | husbands' SES |      |       |       |       |
|---|-------|---------------|------|-------|-------|-------|
|   |       | I             | II   | III   | IV    | total |
| <b>Panel 1. Number</b>                              |       |               |      |       |       |       |
| fathers' SES  | I     | 55            | 30   | 11    | 17    | 113   |
|   | II    | 17            | 19   | 4     | 8     | 48    |
|   | III   | 29            | 18   | 15    | 11    | 73    |
|   | IV    | 33            | 25   | 13    | 11    | 82    |
|   | total | 134           | 92   | 43    | 47    | 316   |
| <b>Panel 2. Observed Mean Frequency of Contact</b>  |       |               |      |       |       |       |
| fathers' SES  | I     | 84.7          | 89.9 | 122.0 | 90.2  | 90.5  |
|   | II    | 73.1          | 95.2 | 126.0 | 76.5  | 86.8  |
|   | III   | 85.9          | 82.4 | 110.3 | 112.9 | 94.1  |
|   | IV    | 98.5          | 97.6 | 123.2 | 96.7  | 101.9 |
|   | total | 86.9          | 91.6 | 118.7 | 94.7  | 93.7  |
| <b>Panel 3. Predicted Mean Frequency of Contact</b> |       |               |      |       |       |       |
| fathers' SES  | I     | 85.0          | 89.8 | 116.1 | 93.1  |       |
|   | II    | 80.9          | 85.8 | 112.0 | 89.1  |       |
|   | III   | 85.3          | 90.2 | 116.4 | 93.5  |       |
|   | IV    | 94.4          | 99.2 | 125.5 | 102.6 |       |
| <b>Panel 4. Observed Minus Predicted Means</b>      |       |               |      |       |       |       |
| fathers' SES  | I     | -0.3          | 0.1  | 5.9   | -2.9  |       |
|   | II    | -7.8          | 9.4  | 14.0  | -12.6 |       |
|   | III   | 0.6           | -7.8 | -6.1  | 19.4  |       |
|   | IV    | 4.1           | -1.6 | -2.3  | -5.9  |       |

Increment for destination  $F= 5.55$  ( $p < 0.01$ )  
 Increment for interaction  $F= 1.20$  (N.S.)  
 Gross effects of origin  $F= 1.52$  (N.S.)  
 Gross effects of destination  $F= 5.90$  ( $p < 0.01$ )  
 $R$ coefficient = 0.254

studied. The diagonal categories from upper left to lower right represent those who remained in the same status; the upwardly mobile are located in the cells to the left of the diagonal, and the downwardly mobile are in the cells to the right of the diagonal. The number of cases within the occupational subclasses is reported in Panel 1 in Tables 8.4-8.8.

Panel 2 in the same tables displays the mean frequency of contact with which the urban residents studied got together with their associates in the four types of primary groups. The right hand column of Panel 2 presents observed mean scores of the frequency of contact for the subclasses of status of origin, and the bottom row of Panel 2 presents the observed mean scores of frequency of contact for the subclasses of status of destination. The gross effects of destination status and origin status were tested by examining *F*-values. Status of destination was important in accounting for the variance in frequency of contact with relatives and the relationship was generally inverse (Table 8.4). However, status of origin was not important. The net effects of status of origin and destination were responsible for 5.6 per cent (*R* coefficient = 0.24) of the variance. Neither occupational status of origin nor that of destination had any significant effect on frequency of contact with neighbours (Table 8.5). The gross relationship between status of destination and frequency of contact with friends was roughly reverse, and was significant (Table 8.6). However, status of origin was not. The net effects of status of origin and destination were responsible for 4.2 per cent (*R* coefficient = 0.21) of the variance. Neither occupational status of origin nor that of destination had any significant effect on frequency of contact with workmates (Table 8.7). The gross relationship between status of destination and the total frequency of contact was generally inverse, and not attributable to chance (Table 8.8). However, the gross relationship between status of origin and the total frequency of contact did not reach statistical significance. The net effects of status of origin and destination were responsible for 6.5 per cent (*R* coefficient = 0.25) of the variance. To sum up, only status of destination affected frequency of contact with relatives and friends, and



the total frequency of contact.

The finding that only the process of later socialisation affected the pattern of social participation is inconsistent with the prediction of the socialisation hypothesis. Despite this, the data still warrant testing the dissociation hypothesis. To test this hypothesis, an additive model was fitted to the data. The hypothetical means based solely on the additive model were calculated and arranged in Panel 3 in Tables 8.4-8.8. Panel 4 in the same tables represents the differences between the observed and predicted means. Negative signs indicate that observed scores were lower than predicted, and positive signs show that observed scores were higher than predicted.

The magnitude and the sign of the discrepancies between the observed and predicted mean scores, which appear in Panel 4, are bases for assessing the adequacy of the additive model. The previous theoretical discussion suggested that in Canberra while downward mobility would create disruptive interpersonal relationships, upward mobility would not. If this hypothesis was valid, the additive model in Panel 3 could be expected to overstate the observed mean scores significantly in the downward mobile categories. However, the values shown in Panel 4 in Tables 8.4-8.8 did not display a systematic pattern, so occupational mobility did not appear to disrupt social relationships. For example, in Panel 4 in Table 8.4 the four diagonal cells from upper left to lower right represent those who stay in the same status. Of these four cells, the signs of two are positive and those of the other two are negative. The downwardly mobile are in the six cells to the right of the same diagonal in the panel. The signs of four are positive and those of the other two cells are negative. The upwardly mobile are in the six cells to the left of the diagonal. The signs of three are positive and those of the other three are negative. They suggest that the positive and negative signs emerge irregularly, irrespective of the occupational mobility.

To confirm this observation, Tables 8.9-8.13 were constructed. Dummy variables were constructed to reflect upward mobility, downward mobility, and stability. Solutions to the pertinent equations, as well as to the equation representing only the

additive effects, are displayed in these tables. Column 1 represents the solution for the main effects (the additive model), columns 2 and 3, the solutions for the addition to the additive model of the dummy variable for upward and downward mobility respectively, and column 4, represents the solution for the addition to the additive model of both mobility variables.

In all five tables, comparisons of column 1 with the others showed no dramatic increase in the magnitude of the coefficients for the main effects. Moreover, successive inclusion of the dummy variables for occupational mobility in columns 2 to 4 did not significantly increase  $R^2$ . For example, in Table 8.9 the  $R^2$  of column 1 was 0.056, that of column 2 was 0.062, that of column 3 was 0.061, and that of column 4 was 0.071. The inclusion of these dummy variables for occupational mobility increased  $R^2$  by only 0.005 to 0.015; moreover, these increments in  $R^2$  were not statistically significant. These results suggest that mobility effects did not significantly improve the prediction of frequency of contact over that which could be predicted from status effects alone. This is true of Tables 8.10-8.13. It was hypothesised that dissociative processes would account for the frequency of contact among the downwardly mobile, and that they would not occur among the upwardly mobile in Canberra. The results did not support this hypothesis.

**Table 8.9. Multiple Regression Solution for Estimating Frequency of Contact with Relatives**

|                             | regression coefficients by column: |        |       |        |     |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|--------|-------|--------|-----|
|                             | 1                                  | 2      | 3     | 4      | (N) |
| <hr/>                       |                                    |        |       |        |     |
| <b>father's occupation</b>  |                                    |        |       |        |     |
| 1.Higher white collar       | -4.32                              | -10.35 | -7.34 | -17.07 | 113 |
| 2.Lower white collar        | -4.82                              | -8.28  | -6.08 | -11.42 | 48  |
| 3.Higher blue collar        | -3.23                              | -4.60  | -4.00 | -6.26  | 73  |
| 4.Lower blue collar         | *                                  | *      | *     | *      | 82  |
| <b>husband's occupation</b> |                                    |        |       |        |     |
| 1.Higher white collar       | -11.25                             | -7.13  | -6.89 | 0.87   | 134 |
| 2.Lower white collar        | -7.86                              | -4.82  | -5.49 | -0.19  | 92  |
| 3.Higher blue collar        | 1.63                               | 2.95   | 3.64  | 6.40   | 43  |
| 4.Lower blue collar         | *                                  | *      | *     | *      | 47  |
| <b>Mobility Terms</b>       |                                    |        |       |        |     |
| 1.Upward                    | *                                  | -6.80  | *     | -9.31  | 135 |
| 2.Downward                  | *                                  | *      | 5.59  | 8.29   | 81  |
| 3.Stable                    | *                                  | *      | *     | *      | 100 |
| <br>                        |                                    |        |       |        |     |
| Constant Term               | 32.20                              | 35.29  | 29.41 | 32.29  |     |
| Multiple R                  | 0.237                              | 0.250  | 0.246 | 0.267  |     |
| Multiple R <sup>2</sup>     | 0.056                              | 0.062  | 0.061 | 0.071  |     |

**Table 8.10. Multiple Regression Solution for Estimating Frequency of Contact with Neighbours**

|                             | regression coefficients by column: |       |       |       |     |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-----|
|                             | 1                                  | 2     | 3     | 4     | (N) |
| <b>father's occupation</b>  |                                    |       |       |       |     |
| 1.Higher white collar       | -4.44                              | -4.42 | -1.90 | -0.24 | 113 |
| 2.Lower white collar        | -3.80                              | -3.78 | -2.74 | -1.83 | 48  |
| 3.Higher blue collar        | -4.01                              | -4.01 | -3.36 | -2.98 | 73  |
| 4.Lower blue collar         | *                                  | *     | *     | *     | 82  |
| <b>husband's occupation</b> |                                    |       |       |       |     |
| 1.Higher white collar       | 2.91                               | 2.90  | -0.76 | -2.08 | 134 |
| 2.Lower white collar        | 4.37                               | 4.36  | 2.38  | 1.47  | 92  |
| 3.Higher blue collar        | 9.57                               | 9.57  | 7.88  | 7.41  | 43  |
| 4.Lower blue collar         | *                                  | *     | *     | *     | 47  |
| <b>Mobility Terms</b>       |                                    |       |       |       |     |
| 1.Upward                    | *                                  | -2.57 | *     | 1.59  | 135 |
| 2.Downward                  | *                                  | *     | -4.70 | -5.17 | 81  |
| 3.Stable                    | *                                  | *     | *     | *     | 100 |
| Constant Term               | 27.32                              | 27.31 | 29.67 | 29.18 |     |
| Multiple R                  | 0.145                              | 0.145 | 0.155 | 0.156 |     |
| Multiple R <sup>2</sup>     | 0.021                              | 0.021 | 0.024 | 0.024 |     |

**Table 8.11. Multiple Regression Solution for Estimating Frequency of Contact with Friends**

|                             | regression coefficients by column: |       |       |       |     |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-----|
|                             | 1                                  | 2     | 3     | 4     | (N) |
| <b>father's occupation</b>  |                                    |       |       |       |     |
| 1.Higher white collar       | -2.21                              | -2.43 | -6.00 | -8.72 | 113 |
| 2.Lower white collar        | -5.95                              | -6.08 | -7.52 | -9.02 | 48  |
| 3.Higher blue collar        | -2.59                              | -2.64 | -3.56 | -4.20 | 73  |
| 4.Lower blue collar         | *                                  | *     | *     | *     | 82  |
| <b>husband's occupation</b> |                                    |       |       |       |     |
| 1.Higher white collar       | 0.88                               | 1.04  | 6.36  | 8.53  | 134 |
| 2.Lower white collar        | -0.14                              | -0.03 | 2.83  | 4.31  | 92  |
| 3.Higher blue collar        | 10.64                              | 10.69 | 13.16 | 13.93 | 43  |
| 4.Lower blue collar         | *                                  | *     | *     | *     | 47  |
| <b>Mobility Terms</b>       |                                    |       |       |       |     |
| 1.Upward                    | *                                  | -0.25 | *     | -2.61 | 135 |
| 2.Downward                  | *                                  | *     | 7.02  | 7.77  | 81  |
| 3.Stable                    | *                                  | *     | *     | *     | 100 |
| Constant Term               | 29.10                              | 29.21 | 25.59 | 26.40 |     |
| Multiple R                  | 0.205                              | 0.205 | 0.226 | 0.229 |     |
| Multiple R <sup>2</sup>     | 0.042                              | 0.042 | 0.051 | 0.052 |     |

**Table 8.12. Multiple Regression Solution for Estimating Frequency of Contact with Workmates**

|                             | regression coefficients by column: |       |       |       |     |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-----|
|                             | 1                                  | 2     | 3     | 4     | (N) |
| <b>father's occupation</b>  |                                    |       |       |       |     |
| 1.Higher white collar       | 1.54                               | 0.07  | 1.42  | -0.55 | 134 |
| 2.Lower white collar        | 1.09                               | 0.25  | 1.04  | -0.04 | 92  |
| 3.Higher blue collar        | 0.75                               | 0.42  | 0.72  | 0.26  | 43  |
| 4.Lower blue collar         | *                                  | *     | *     | *     | 47  |
| <b>husband's occupation</b> |                                    |       |       |       |     |
| 1.Higher white collar       | -0.69                              | 0.32  | -0.51 | 1.06  | 113 |
| 2.Lower white collar        | 0.32                               | 1.06  | 0.42  | 1.49  | 48  |
| 3.Higher blue collar        | 1.08                               | 1.40  | 1.16  | 1.72  | 73  |
| 4.Lower blue collar         | *                                  | *     | *     | *     | 82  |
| <b>Mobility Terms</b>       |                                    |       |       |       |     |
| 1.Upward                    | *                                  | -1.66 | *     | -1.89 | 135 |
| 2.Downward                  | *                                  | *     | 0.22  | 0.77  | 81  |
| 3.Stable                    | *                                  | *     | *     | *     | 100 |
| Constant Term               | 13.93                              | 14.69 | 13.82 | 14.41 |     |
| Multiple R                  | 0.044                              | 0.050 | 0.044 | 0.051 |     |
| Multiple R <sup>2</sup>     | 0.002                              | 0.003 | 0.002 | 0.003 |     |

**Table 8.13. Multiple Regression Solution for Estimating Total Frequency of Contact**

|                             | regression coefficients by column: |        |        |        |     |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|--------|--------|--------|-----|
|                             | 1                                  | 2      | 3      | 4      | (N) |
| <hr/>                       |                                    |        |        |        |     |
| <b>father's occupation</b>  |                                    |        |        |        |     |
| 1.Higher white collar       | -9.43                              | -17.13 | -13.82 | -26.58 | 113 |
| 2.Lower white collar        | -13.48                             | -17.89 | -15.30 | -22.30 | 48  |
| 3.Higher blue collar        | -9.08                              | -10.83 | -10.20 | -13.16 | 73  |
| 4.Lower blue collar         | *                                  | *      | *      | *      | 82  |
| <b>husband's occupation</b> |                                    |        |        |        |     |
| 1.Higher white collar       | -8.14                              | -2.87  | -1.81  | 8.38   | 134 |
| 2.Lower white collar        | -3.31                              | 0.57   | 0.13   | 7.09   | 92  |
| 3.Higher blue collar        | 22.93                              | 24.60  | 25.84  | 29.46  | 43  |
| 4.Lower blue collar         | *                                  | *      | *      | *      | 47  |
| <b>Mobility Terms</b>       |                                    |        |        |        |     |
| 1.Upward                    | *                                  | -8.68  | *      | -12.22 | 135 |
| 2.Downward                  | *                                  | *      | 8.12   | 11.67  | 81  |
| 3.Stable                    | *                                  | *      | *      | *      | 100 |
| <hr/>                       |                                    |        |        |        |     |
| Constant Term               | 102.55                             | 106.50 | 98.49  | 102.28 |     |
| Multiple R                  | 0.254                              | 0.260  | 0.259  | 0.268  |     |
| Multiple R <sup>2</sup>     | 0.065                              | 0.067  | 0.067  | 0.072  |     |

\* Deleted from the regression.

Column 1 The solution for main effects.

Column 2 The solution for the addition to the additive model of the dummy variable for upward mobility.

Column 3 The solution for the addition to the additive model of the dummy variable for downward mobility.

Column 4 The solution for the addition to the additive model of both mobility variables.

### 8.6.2. SOCIAL SUPPORT

Table 8.14 shows the results of the investigation of social support from relatives, Table 8.15, social support from neighbours, and Table 8.16, social support from friends. The four panels in each table are displayed in the same manner and order as the results for the frequency of contact. Panel 1 in Tables 8.14-8.16 reports the number of cases within the occupational subclasses. Panel 2 in these tables shows the mean scores of the social support scales. The right hand column of Panel 2 presents observed mean scores of the social support scales for the subclasses of status of origin, and the bottom row of Panel 2 presents the observed mean scores of the social

support scales for the subclasses of status of destination. The gross effects of destination status and origin status were tested by examining *F*-values.

Status of destination was important in accounting for the variance in social support from relatives and the relationship was generally inverse. However, status of origin was not important. The net effects of status of origin and destination were responsible for 3.6 per cent ( $R$  coefficient = 0.19) of the variance. The gross relationship between status of destination and social support from neighbours was roughly proportionate, and is significant. However, status of origin did not reach a statistical significance. The net effects of status of origin and destination were responsible for 2.9 per cent ( $R$  coefficient = 0.17) of the variance. Neither occupational status of origin nor that of destination had any significant effects on social support from friends. These findings do not support the socialisation hypothesis.

To test the dissociation hypothesis, an additive model was constructed. Hypothetical means obtained from the additive model are arranged in Panel 3 in Tables 8.14-8.16. Panel 4 in these tables presents the differences between the observed and hypothetical means. However, there seems to be no systematic pattern in the values in Panel 4 in Tables 8.14-8.16. To investigate this observation, Tables 8.17-8.19 were constructed in the same manner as Tables 8.9-8.13. Dummy variables which reflect upward mobility, downward mobility and stability were added to the additive model. Attention should be paid to Table 8.18. Comparisons of column 1 with the others showed some shift in the magnitude of the coefficients for the main effects. Moreover, the entry of the dummy variable for upward mobility in column 2 increased  $R^2$  significantly ( $F = 5.4, p < 0.05$ ). This indicates that upward mobility significantly reduced availability of support from neighbours. However, the entry of the dummy variable for downward mobility in Column 3 did not increase  $R^2$  significantly. This result is inconsistent with the hypothesis that downward mobility would diminish accessibility of social support in Canberra. As for the other types of primary groups, disruptive effects were not identified.

**Table 8.14. Score of Social Support from Relatives  
by Statuses of Origin and Destination**

|   |       | husbands' SES |       |       |       |       |
|---|-------|---------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
|   |       | I             | II    | III   | IV    | total |
| <b>Panel 1. Number</b>                              |       |               |       |       |       |       |
| fathers' SES  | I     | 55            | 30    | 11    | 17    | 113   |
|   | II    | 17            | 19    | 4     | 8     | 48    |
|   | III   | 29            | 18    | 15    | 11    | 73    |
|   | IV    | 33            | 25    | 13    | 11    | 82    |
|   | total | 134           | 92    | 43    | 47    | 316   |
| <b>Panel 2. Observed Mean Frequency of Contact</b>  |       |               |       |       |       |       |
| fathers' SES  | I     | 1.78          | 2.27  | 2.27  | 2.41  | 2.05  |
|   | II    | 1.94          | 2.05  | 2.50  | 2.25  | 2.08  |
|   | III   | 1.97          | 1.72  | 2.73  | 2.18  | 2.10  |
|   | IV    | 2.18          | 2.20  | 2.46  | 2.81  | 2.32  |
|   | total | 1.94          | 2.10  | 2.51  | 2.43  | 2.14  |
| <b>Panel 3. Predicted Mean Frequency of Contact</b> |       |               |       |       |       |       |
| fathers' SES  | I     | 1.89          | 2.04  | 2.30  | 2.37  |       |
|   | II    | 1.90          | 2.05  | 2.31  | 2.38  |       |
|   | III   | 1.87          | 2.02  | 2.29  | 2.36  |       |
|   | IV    | 2.12          | 2.27  | 2.53  | 2.60  |       |
| <b>Panel 4. Observed Minus Predicted Means</b>      |       |               |       |       |       |       |
| fathers' SES  | I     | -0.11         | 0.23  | -0.03 | 0.04  |       |
|   | II    | 0.04          | 0     | 0.19  | -0.13 |       |
|   | III   | 0.10          | -0.30 | 0.44  | -0.18 |       |
|   | IV    | 0.06          | -0.17 | -0.07 | 0.21  |       |

Increment for destination  $F= 3.12$  ( $p < 0.05$ )  
 Increment for interaction  $F= 0.50$  (N.S.)  
 Gross effects of origin  $F= 0.76$  (N.S.)  
 Gross effects of destination  $F= 3.20$  ( $p < 0.05$ )  
 Rcoefficient = 0.191

**Table 8.15. Score of Social Support from Neighbours  
by Statuses of Origin and Destination**

|   |       | husbands' SES |       |       |       |       |
|---|-------|---------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
|   |       | I             | II    | III   | IV    | total |
| <b>Panel 1. Number</b>                              |       |               |       |       |       |       |
| fathers' SES  | I     | 55            | 30    | 11    | 17    | 113   |
|   | II    | 17            | 19    | 4     | 8     | 48    |
|   | III   | 29            | 18    | 15    | 11    | 73    |
|   | IV    | 33            | 25    | 13    | 11    | 82    |
|   | total | 134           | 92    | 43    | 47    | 316   |
| <b>Panel 2. Observed Mean Frequency of Contact</b>  |       |               |       |       |       |       |
| fathers' SES  | I     | 2.15          | 1.67  | 1.55  | 0.94  | 1.78  |
|   | II    | 1.94          | 1.63  | 2.75  | 1.25  | 1.77  |
|   | III   | 2.24          | 1.22  | 2.07  | 2.09  | 1.93  |
|   | IV    | 1.82          | 1.64  | 1.38  | 2.00  | 1.72  |
|   | total | 2.06          | 1.57  | 1.79  | 1.51  | 1.80  |
| <b>Panel 3. Predicted Mean Frequency of Contact</b> |       |               |       |       |       |       |
| fathers' SES  | I     | 2.02          | 1.53  | 1.73  | 1.47  |       |
|   | II    | 1.90          | 1.40  | 1.61  | 1.34  |       |
|   | III   | 2.20          | 1.70  | 1.91  | 1.64  |       |
|   | IV    | 1.99          | 1.50  | 1.70  | 1.44  |       |
| <b>Panel 4. Observed Minus Predicted Means</b>      |       |               |       |       |       |       |
| fathers' SES  | I     | 0.13          | 0.14  | -0.18 | -0.53 |       |
|   | II    | 0.04          | 0.23  | 1.14  | -0.09 |       |
|   | III   | 0.04          | -0.48 | 0.16  | 0.45  |       |
|   | IV    | -0.17         | 0.14  | -0.32 | 0.56  |       |

Increment for destination  $F = 2.80$  ( $p < 0.05$ )  
 Increment for interaction  $F = 2.95$  (N.S.)  
 Gross effects of origin  $F = 0.29$  (N.S.)  
 Gross effects of destination  $F = 2.81$  ( $p < 0.05$ )  
 Rcoefficient = 0.171



**Table 8.16. Score of Social Support from Friends  
by Statuses of Origin and Destination**

|   |       | husbands' SES |       |       |       |       |
|---|-------|---------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
|   |       | I             | II    | III   | IV    | total |
| <b>Panel 1. Number</b>                              |       |               |       |       |       |       |
| fathers' SES  | I     | 55            | 30    | 11    | 17    | 113   |
|   | II    | 17            | 19    | 4     | 8     | 48    |
|   | III   | 29            | 18    | 15    | 11    | 73    |
|   | IV    | 33            | 25    | 13    | 11    | 82    |
|   | total | 134           | 92    | 43    | 47    | 316   |
| <b>Panel 2. Observed Mean Frequency of Contact</b>  |       |               |       |       |       |       |
| fathers' SES  | I     | 1.98          | 1.53  | 2.00  | 1.59  | 1.81  |
|   | II    | 2.29          | 1.42  | 2.00  | 1.88  | 1.85  |
|   | III   | 1.93          | 1.89  | 1.73  | 1.45  | 1.81  |
|   | IV    | 1.73          | 1.64  | 1.38  | 1.64  | 1.63  |
|   | total | 1.95          | 1.61  | 1.72  | 1.62  | 1.77  |
| <b>Panel 3. Predicted Mean Frequency of Contact</b> |       |               |       |       |       |       |
| fathers' SES  | I     | 1.97          | 1.63  | 1.75  | 1.63  |       |
|   | II    | 2.06          | 1.72  | 1.85  | 1.73  |       |
|   | III   | 1.99          | 1.65  | 1.77  | 1.65  |       |
|   | IV    | 1.82          | 1.48  | 1.60  | 1.48  |       |
| <b>Panel 4. Observed Minus Predicted Means</b>      |       |               |       |       |       |       |
| fathers' SES  | I     | 0.01          | -0.10 | 0.25  | -0.04 |       |
|   | II    | 0.23          | -0.30 | 0.15  | 0.15  |       |
|   | III   | -0.06         | 0.24  | -0.04 | -0.20 |       |
|   | IV    | -0.09         | 0.16  | -0.22 | 0.16  |       |

Increment for destination  $F = 1.28$  (N.S.)

Increment for interaction  $F = 0.34$  (N.S.)

Gross effects of origin  $F = 0.33$  (N.S.)

Gross effects of destination  $F = 1.27$  (N.S.)

Rcoefficient = 0.124

**Table 8.17. Multiple Regression Solution for Estimating Social Support from Relatives**

|                             | regression coefficients by column: |       |       |       |     |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-----|
|                             | 1                                  | 2     | 3     | 4     | (N) |
| <b>father's occupation</b>  |                                    |       |       |       |     |
| 1.Higher white collar       | -0.23                              | -0.40 | -0.30 | -0.56 | 113 |
| 2.Lower white collar        | -0.22                              | -0.32 | -0.25 | -0.39 | 48  |
| 3.Higher blue collar        | -0.25                              | -0.29 | -0.26 | -0.32 | 73  |
| 4.Lower blue collar         | *                                  | *     | *     | *     | 82  |
| <b>husband's occupation</b> |                                    |       |       |       |     |
| 1.Higher white collar       | 0.49                               | -0.37 | -0.39 | -0.18 | 134 |
| 2.Lower white collar        | -0.34                              | -0.25 | -0.28 | -0.14 | 92  |
| 3.Higher blue collar        | 0.07                               | 0.19  | 0.12  | 0.19  | 43  |
| 4.Lower blue collar         | *                                  | *     | *     | *     | 47  |
| <b>Mobility Terms</b>       |                                    |       |       |       |     |
| 1.Upward                    | *                                  | -0.19 | *     | -0.25 | 135 |
| 2.Downward                  | *                                  | *     | 0.12  | 0.20  | 81  |
| 3.Stable                    | *                                  | *     | *     | *     | 100 |
| Constant Term               | 2.60                               | 2.69  | 2.54  | 2.62  |     |
| Multiple R                  | 0.191                              | 0.195 | 0.193 | 0.199 |     |
| Multiple R <sup>2</sup>     | 0.036                              | 0.038 | 0.037 | 0.040 |     |

**Table 8.18. Multiple Regression Solution for Estimating Social Support from Neighbours**

|                             | regression coefficients by column: |       |       |       |     |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-----|
|                             | 1                                  | 2     | 3     | 4     | (N) |
| <b>father's occupation</b>  |                                    |       |       |       |     |
| 1.Higher white collar       | 0.03                               | -0.61 | 0.04  | -0.79 | 113 |
| 2.Lower white collar        | 0.09                               | -0.28 | 0.10  | -0.36 | 48  |
| 3.Higher blue collar        | 0.21                               | -0.06 | 0.21  | 0.02  | 73  |
| 4.Lower blue collar         | *                                  | *     | *     | *     | 82  |
| <b>husband's occupation</b> |                                    |       |       |       |     |
| 1.Higher white collar       | 0.56                               | 0.99  | 0.55  | 1.20  | 134 |
| 2.Lower white collar        | 0.06                               | 0.38  | 0.06  | 0.50  | 92  |
| 3.Higher blue collar        | 0.27                               | 0.41  | 0.26  | 0.49  | 43  |
| 4.Lower blue collar         | *                                  | *     | *     | *     | 47  |
| <b>Mobility Terms</b>       |                                    |       |       |       |     |
| 1.Upward                    | *                                  | -0.72 | *     | -0.79 | 135 |
| 2.Downward                  | *                                  | *     | -0.01 | 0.22  | 81  |
| 3.Stable                    | *                                  | *     | *     | *     | 100 |
| Constant Term               | 1.44                               | 1.77  | 1.44  | 1.69  |     |
| Multiple R                  | 0.171                              | 0.214 | 0.171 | 0.218 |     |
| Multiple R <sup>2</sup>     | 0.029                              | 0.046 | 0.029 | 0.047 |     |

**Table 8.19. Multiple Regression Solution for Estimating Social Support from Friends**

|                             | regression coefficients by column: |       |       |       |     |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-----|
|                             | 1                                  | 2     | 3     | 4     | (N) |
| <hr/>                       |                                    |       |       |       |     |
| <b>father's occupation</b>  |                                    |       |       |       |     |
| 1.Higher white collar       | 0.15                               | 0.34  | 0.18  | 0.45  | 113 |
| 2.Lower white collar        | 0.25                               | 0.36  | 0.26  | 0.41  | 48  |
| 3.Higher blue collar        | 0.17                               | 0.21  | 0.18  | 0.24  | 73  |
| 4.Lower blue collar         | *                                  | *     | *     | *     | 82  |
| <b>husband's occupation</b> |                                    |       |       |       |     |
| 1.Higher white collar       | 0.34                               | 0.20  | 0.30  | 0.08  | 134 |
| 2.Lower white collar        | -0.01                              | -0.11 | -0.03 | -0.17 | 92  |
| 3.Higher blue collar        | 0.12                               | -0.08 | 0.10  | 0.02  | 43  |
| 4.Lower blue collar         | *                                  | *     | *     | *     | 47  |
| <b>Mobility Terms</b>       |                                    |       |       |       |     |
| 1.Upward                    | *                                  | 0.22  | *     | 0.26  | 135 |
| 2.Downward                  | *                                  | *     | -0.05 | -0.12 | 81  |
| 3.Stable                    | *                                  | *     | *     | *     | 100 |
| Constant Term               | 1.48                               | 1.38  | 1.51  | 1.42  |     |
| Multiple R                  | 0.124                              | 0.131 | 0.125 | 0.133 |     |
| Multiple R <sup>2</sup>     | 0.015                              | 0.017 | 0.016 | 0.018 |     |

\* Deleted from the regression.

Column 1 The solution for main effects.

Column 2 The solution for the addition to the additive model of the dummy variable for upward mobility.

Column 3 The solution for the addition to the additive model of the dummy variable for downward mobility.

Column 4 The solution for the addition to the additive model of both mobility variables.

### 8.6.3. EFFECTS OF DEGREE OF MOBILITY

It was hypothesised, with the social context of Canberra in mind, that downwardly mobile people would have decreased frequency of contact and accessibility to social support. Contrary to this hypothesis, it was found that upwardly mobile people showed diminished accessibility to social support from neighbours.

To further investigate this discrepancy, another analysis was conducted. The classification of occupational mobility employed in Tables 8.4-8.8 and Tables 8.14-8.16 excluded the potential effects of degree of mobility. To test for the possible effects of variance in degree of mobility, the upward and downward movers were divided into those who moved two or more status levels from their origin and those

who moved only one level; and dummy variables to reflect these types of occupational mobility were entered into the additive model. This analysis revealed that the extreme downwardly mobile associated with their relatives less frequently than expected from their status of origin and destination. This effect, however, was observed within the respondents excluding the extreme upwardly mobile. More importantly, this effect remained significant, even with location of relatives in Canberra held constant ( $F = 4.9, p < 0.05$ ).<sup>25</sup> The analysis also suggested that a significantly lower score on social support from neighbours emerged among the extreme downwardly mobile ( $F = 8.7, p < 0.01$ ). In other words, extreme downward mobility decreased the accessibility of social support from neighbours. In sum, these further analyses indicated that extreme downward mobility created disruptive effects on some specific primary relationships.

## 8.7. DISCUSSION

Previous research has suggested that both status of origin and status of destination affect adult patterns of participation, whether their results bear on the validity of the dissociation hypothesis or the socialisation hypothesis (e.g., Vorwaller, 1970; Kessin, 1971). The Canberra Survey, however, led to a different picture. Status of origin (fathers' occupation) was not related to frequency of contact with associates in any type of primary group, nor was it related to the availability of social support. Status of destination (husbands' occupation) had only a slight bearing on frequency of contact with some specific types of social relationships (i.e., frequency of contact with relatives and friends, and the total frequency of contact); furthermore, this status explained only some degree of participation. Status of destination influenced the accessibility of social support from some specific relationships (i.e., social support from relatives and neighbours). Overall, in Canberra occupational status was not a major force affecting personal relationships, and only status of destination was related

to some aspects of social participation.

Three main points emerged with regard to occupational mobility effects. First, extreme downward mobility diminished frequency of contact with relatives. Second, both upward mobility and extreme downward mobility decreased the availability of support from neighbours. Third, occupational mobility affected neither frequency of contact with, nor the availability of support from, the other types of primary groups. The failure to observe disruptive effects consistent with the hypothesis presented earlier, however, did not eliminate the possibility that occupational mobility caused disruptive effects on interpersonal relationships. The irregular occurrence of the effects suggests that in the process of occupational mobility more subtle and complex social and psychological processes may have been involved, and these await identification and study.

A consideration of the features of primary groups seems to be an important starting point for proposing an alternative hypothesis. People are linked with relatives in semi-permanent biological (e.g., mother-son relationship) or legal ways (e.g., marriage). Neighbours are characterised by geographical proximity. Unlike these primary groups, individuals have more options in choosing their friends. In sum, kinship and neighbourhood relationships are different from friendship relationships in that there is a narrow range of choice with respect to relatives and neighbours. It should be remembered that disruptive effects were observed in kinship and neighbourhood relationships. Because of the limits of choice, mobile people are unlikely to find relatives and neighbours in similar circumstances and be able to form new kinship and neighbourhood relationships to compensate for the attenuated ones. It follows that a narrower range of choice contributed to the disruptive effects on kinship and neighbourhood relationships. In contrast, where people have more freedom in choosing friends, due to a greater pool of potential friends, they can find compatible friends easily, which would tend to reduce potentially disruptive effects on the friendship relationships.

## 8.8. CONCLUSIONS

The two contrasting views regarding the consequences of occupational mobility were examined. One was represented in the dissociation hypothesis; the other, in the socialisation hypothesis. The examination of the social context in Canberra led to the hypothesis that downward mobility would tend to have a disruptive influence on interpersonal relationships. These hypotheses guided the data analyses. Although the results were not completely consistent, some conclusions about the effects of occupational mobility on personal relationships in Canberra can be drawn.

Substantial differences in social relationships were not found according to the categories of occupational status of origin. Furthermore, status of destination only affected some specific types of social relationships (i.e., frequency of contact with relatives and friends, the total frequency of contact, and the availability of support from relatives and neighbours). When these two status variables were controlled, mobility effects were detected in some specific types of social relationships. Extreme downward mobility affected frequency of contact with relatives. Upward mobility and extreme downward mobility also had an effect on the availability of support from neighbours.

The finding that upward mobility had disruptive effects on the availability of support from neighbours undermined the hypothesis that disruptive effects in personal relationships would occur among the downwardly mobile. More importantly, even when extreme downward mobility caused disruptive effects on social relationships, these effects were not always consistent.

The fact that the disruptive tendencies of occupational mobility for interpersonal relationships in the present study did not fully support the social context hypothesis does not mean the absence of mobility effects. Rather, it suggested that more subtle and complex processes may have led to the irregular occurrence of disruptive effects. Accordingly, theoretical reformation concerning the nature of social and psychological

processes underlying occupational mobility emerged as an area in need of more research.

## NOTES to Chapter 8

<sup>1</sup> Yasuda (1971, pp. 565-67) made the most comprehensive review of this research. Since his review, many studies have appeared. The chief concerns in the last twenty years have been with the effects on associational membership (Vorwaller, 1970; Mirande, 1973), political attitudes and behaviour (Thompson, 1971; Jackman, 1972; Hopkins, 1973, 1974; Abramson, 1973; Knoke, 1973; Lopreato *et al.*, 1976; Crippen and Lopreato, 1981) and effects on fertility (Hope, 1971; Yasuda, 1971, pp. 467-94; Boyd, 1973; Marcum and Bean, 1976; Bean and Swicegood, 1979; Stevens, 1981; Sobel, 1981, 1985; Kasarda and Billy, 1985). Apart from these, religious participation (Suzuki, 1970, pp. 259-336; Van Roy *et al.*, 1973; Lauer, 1975), job satisfaction (Laslett, 1971; Halaby and Sobel, 1979; Katz, 1983), alienation (Bean *et al.*, 1973; Luck and Heiss, 1972), and marital stability (Tropman, 1971; Chester, 1978) have been discussed as consequences of occupational mobility. Bell (1968) proposed the concept of "spiralists" and explored the effects of the context of mobility on the structure of social relationships.

<sup>2</sup> Hopkins's study (Hopkins, 1974), which examined the effects of occupational mobility on voting behaviour, is one attempt to investigate the consequences of occupational mobility in Australia.

<sup>3</sup> In agreement with the dissociation hypothesis, Wilensky (1961) discussed participation in terms of a disorderly career. He showed that chaotic occupational careers foster withdrawal from both formal association and various social relationships.

<sup>4</sup> Blau called this hypothesis the acculturation hypothesis (Blau, 1956, p. 291).



<sup>5</sup> Studies regarding adult socialisation (e.g., Orville, 1968; Riley *et al*, 1969; Mortimer and Simmons, 1978) point out that socialisation is a continuous life-long process, though it takes place on a relatively small scale, and there are changes in socialisation content in later-life stage.

<sup>6</sup> Merton and Rossi (Merton, 1968, pp. 316-25) applied reference group theory to occupational mobility and proposed the anticipatory socialisation theory. They reviewed a panel study in the *The American Soldier, Studies in Social Psychology in World War II* (Stouffer *et al*, 1949), in which people changed reference groups to a non-membership group to which they aspired to belong and took on behavioural patterns and norms of the non-membership group long before they actually changed membership groups. Based on this finding, Merton and Rossi claimed that anticipatory socialisation not only helps their advance into the new group but also makes their adjustment to the group easier after they become part of it. Additional studies to offer confirmation for the anticipatory socialisation were presented by Lipset and Bendix (1959, p. 257-58). Sergeant (1971, pp. 258-61) gave a concise summary of the theoretical arguments.

<sup>7</sup> Curtis (1959a) reported that mobile persons who experienced *intergenerational* occupational mobility tended to choose less friends from within their own occupational status.

<sup>8</sup> The relationship between present socio-economic status and participation have been well documented (e.g., Dotson, 1951; Axelrod, 1953, 1956; Hodge and Treiman, 1968). In addition, all reviewed studies regarding effects of occupational mobility on participation showed that both status of origin and status of destination have some effects on participation, whether they bear on the validity of the dissociation hypothesis or not (e.g., Vorwaller, 1970; Kessin, 1971).

<sup>9</sup> Behind a discussion of occupational mobility lies the assumption that the past and future reference groups generate conflicts, and this makes harmonious adjustment to a new status unlikely since mobile persons wish to disrupt their old inferior ties. However, Litwak (1960b) resolved this contradiction by proposing the concept of the "stepping-stone" reference orientation. In a situation marked by ordered change, "where integration into one group is considered to be a prerequisite for integration into a second group ... it is possible for the individual to view both his current membership group and his future membership group as reference groups, without endangering his integration into his current group and without preventing his joining a different future group" (Litwak, 1960b, pp. 72-73). Wilensky's concept "orderly career" is in line with Litwak's argument (Wilensky, 1961).

<sup>10</sup> Using a sample of American and Japanese students, Hutter (1970) showed that while (respondents' grandfather-to-father) occupational mobility weakened kinship ties in America, it did not in Japan. He insisted that the great social change in Japan was responsible for this different result. He regarded *intergenerational* mobility from farm to middle class of the Japanese sample as upward mobility, but this interpretation is at fault. The Japanese respondents were students at the University of Tokyo (the most prestigious elite university in Japan), and even if their grandfathers were engaged in farming, they were very likely to have been big landlords or large independent farmers. Accordingly, occupational mobility from farm to middle class among Japanese respondents cannot be interpreted as upward mobility. His Japanese sample contains very few mobile people of other types, and thus his Japanese sub-sample consisted of almost immobile respondents. This led to the different result.

<sup>11</sup> Curtis (1959a) explained family pattern of visiting by this occupational mobility.

<sup>12</sup> Willmott and Young (1960) and Adams (1967, 1968, pp. 33-91) determined the

occupational mobility of their female sample in this manner. Mirande (1973) combined male and female respondents to form a sample.

<sup>13</sup> By this definition of occupational mobility, Curtis (1959b) analysed wives' participation in some types of voluntary associations as well as their husband's participation.

<sup>14</sup> Aiken and Goldberg (1969) determined *intergenerational* religious mobility in different ways and analysed the same data. Defining the *intergenerational* religious mobility by the contrast of (female) respondent's mother and respondent as well as husband's mother and husband, they ascertained the disruptive effects of religious mobility on kinship relationships. This suggests that the definition of occupational mobility of female samples has a crucial effect on research results.

<sup>15</sup> This is consistent with Lee's contention (Lee, 1980, p. 927-28) that research about the effects of occupational mobility on kinship relationships were relatively less equivocal. He found some evidence to support the dissociation hypothesis, though he reviewed only six studies in the seventies before he formed this conclusion.

<sup>16</sup> Utilising samples of six American communities, Jackson and Curtis (1972) tested the effects of occupational mobility on forty-three dependent variables which had been suggested as consequences of mobility. They observed the effects of mobility in a few cases which varied from one community to another, and claimed that the results lent little support to the dissociation hypothesis.

<sup>17</sup> Merton and Rossi (Merton, 1968, p. 319) maintained that anticipatory socialisation is functional for the individuals when the social structure is open enough to provide for actual occupational mobility. Germani (1966) emphasised the need to take into

account the social context in which occupational mobility takes place. According to his perspective, individuals interpret occupational mobility in terms of social action, and act on it. He insisted that this psychological process is influenced by social context. Furthermore, he distinguished two types of social systems: (1) a more ascriptive system where occupational mobility is not "expected and institutionalised", and (2) an achievement oriented system in which occupational mobility is expected and institutionalised. Wilensky (1961, 1966) postulated that as channels of social mobility and wealth increase and career lines become more orderly, the disruptive tendency of occupational mobility for interpersonal relationships decrease.

<sup>18</sup> Mirande (1973) reported that upward and downward mobility had different effects on social relationships though he did not relate it to social context.

<sup>19</sup> Occupational mobility data by random sampling does not exist for Canberra. The only data on occupational mobility in the city were gathered by the Canberra Survey and is shown in Panel 1, Table 8.4. This occupational mobility table shows the occupational mobility between the respondents' fathers and the respondents' husbands. The occupations in the table were classified by the ANU1 prestige scale in the same manner as Table 2.2 in Chapter 2. The tables differ in three ways. Firstly, the mobility table for Australia as a whole is a father-to-son mobility table and for Canberra it is a father-to-husband mobility table. Secondly, respondents in the Canberra Survey were selected, not from residents in the whole of Canberra, but from residents in the four study areas. Thirdly, the survey of occupational mobility in Australia was conducted in 1965. The comparison of both occupational mobility tables should be made with these differences in mind.

<sup>20</sup> Of the reviewed studies, only Aiken and Goldberg (1969), Vorwaller (1970), Bruce (1970), Simpson (1970), Kessin (1971), Jackson and Curtis (1972) and Mirande (1973) analysed their data on the basis of Duncan's policy. Controlling for

the effects of prior and current statuses, they ascertained whether occupational mobility caused disruptive effects on interpersonal relationships.

<sup>21</sup> In the analysis which follows, we will classify occupational statuses of respondents into four classes. Accordingly, the additive model is represented as

$$Y_i = a_0 + \sum_{j=1}^3 b_j X_j + \sum_{k=1}^3 b_k X_k + e_i$$

where  $a_0$  is a constant term for the total sample,  $b_j$  is the effect of belonging to the  $j$ th origin status and is expressed as a deviation from the constant term,  $X_j$  are dummy variables for all but the lowest of the subclasses of status at origin,  $b_k$  is the effect of belonging to the  $k$ th destination status and is expressed as a deviation from the constant term,  $X_k$  are dummy variables for all but the lowest of the subclasses of status at destination, and  $e_i$  is the difference between the observed and predicted mean.

<sup>22</sup> Mobility effects are expressed as interactive terms. Terms representing mobility effects are successively introduced to the additive model to test the existence of mobility effects.

<sup>23</sup> There are two other models for assessing mobility effects. One is Hope's "diamond-additive" model (Hope, 1971, 1975, 1981), and the other is Sobel's "diagonal mobility" model (Sobel, 1981, 1985). Hope defines mobility effects as discrepancies rather than interaction. As Hope's definition of mobility effects is very different from that of other analysts, his analytical method is not used here. Sobel's model resembles Duncan's square additive model in terms of definition of the concepts, but the former is different from the latter in the manner in which the effects of origins and destinations are parameterised. In Sobel's diagonal model, the effects of origin and destination are determined, not from the whole sample, but from those

who do not change their status level. Because of the small sample size of this survey, the number of those who do not change their status level is small. Thus an application of Sobel's diagonal model will amplify the estimation errors of the effects of origins and destinations. Therefore, Duncan's approach is employed for this analysis. For details about differences among the three models, the interested reader is advised to consult House (1978) and Kasarda and Billy (1985).

<sup>24</sup> Cronbach's  $\alpha$  was also calculated to test the reliability of each scale. The reliability coefficient for the relative support scale was 0.72, that for the neighbour support scale 0.74, and that for the friend support scale 0.72. These values confirms the reliability of these scales.

<sup>25</sup> This procedure involves adding two terms to the additive model. One is the interactive term which reflects the extreme downward mobility, and the other represents the presence of relatives in Canberra. As Lee (1980, p. 928) pointed out, most previous studies which reported disruptive effects of occupational mobility on kinship relationships did not control distance from relatives. The Canberra Survey demonstrated that even though the location of relatives is controlled, occupational mobility has a disruptive effect on frequency of contact with relatives.

## Chapter 9

# LENGTH OF RESIDENCE AND INFORMAL SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

### 9.1. INTRODUCTION

The importance to Canberra of internal migration, i.e. Australian people migrating from other States, was discussed in Chapter 2. Nearly seven per cent of the total Canberra population aged 15 years and over moved to Canberra during the year ended 31 May 1987. Furthermore, internal migration was responsible for most of the rapid population growth between 1961 and 1976 in Canberra, though since then this component has diminished in importance.

Questions about the significance of residential mobility have produced an extensive literature of its own in Australia. The majority of the work in the field of residential mobility to date has focused on two areas. One focus has been on the investigation of the actual nature of the migration, namely, the volume and direction of movement, the reasons for migration, and the demographic characteristics of migrants (e.g., Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1974, 1976, 1977; Burnley, 1974; Choi and Burnley, 1974; Merrett, 1977; Borrie, 1978; Rowland, 1979; Berry, 1984). The other focus has been on the settlement process of immigrants to Australia from overseas (e.g., Zubrzycki, 1964; Huber, 1977). However, very little is known about the behaviour of migrants who move within Australia, particularly their social network patterns and social support structures, because few researchers in Australia have studied the relationship between length of residence and levels of social participation (e.g., Saha, 1975, 1985; Pryor, 1980).

The type of migration of concern here is that which involved a change of residence from Canberra to another State and *vice versa*. This type of residential movement is

distinguished from local movement, i.e., a change of residence within Canberra. This distinction of residential movement is important here, because the degree of disruption of social relationships caused by a change of residence is generally thought to be proportional to the distance of movement. It is assumed that while migration leads to disruptive or inhibiting effects on interpersonal relationships, local movement gives rise to little social dislocation. In this chapter, the focus will be on migration and on its disruption and adaptation phases rather than on local movement. That is to say, this chapter is principally concerned with elucidating the relationship between length of residence in Canberra and levels of social participation.

Some American community studies have attempted to investigate the relationship between length of residence and levels of involvement in primary groups. Unfortunately, in many of these, the basic concern was limited in two respects. These are discussed below.

First, some studies directed their attention only to selected aspects of social relationships and failed to examine all types of primary relationships. In these studies it was assumed, *a priori*, that the level of involvement in one type of primary group was correlated with that of the others. Inquiry into only some facets of social relationships led researchers to presume that other primary groups exhibit the same tendency as that of the primary groups that they investigated. For example, while Jitodai (1963), Berardo (1966) and Hendrix (1979) investigated an effect of migration on kinship interaction, McAllister *et al.* (1973) dealt with an effect of migration on neighbourhood and friendship relationships.<sup>1</sup>

In addition, most previous studies were restricted in their analytical method. Many were completed in the 1960s when the application of multivariate analyses was not common. Researchers examined the relationship between length of residence and social participation without considering other factors. This meant that even if there was a significant relationship between the two variables, other factors might have been involved in the relationship in a complicated way, so that length of residence in reality



did not have a direct effect on social participation.

This chapter addresses itself to three tasks. The first is to propose hypotheses about the relationship between length of residence and involvement in all types of primary ties by considering important features of each type of primary group. The second is to examine the arguments in the light of the data from the Canberra Survey. An attempt is also made to investigate the role of some other significant variables in relation to the levels of involvement in primary groups. Finally, some broader implications of the findings are discussed.

## **9.2. PRESENTATION OF HYPOTHESES**

### **9.2.1. PREVIOUS ASSUMPTIONS**

It has been believed that time spent in residence in one place facilitates the connection of people to their social surroundings, and accordingly that levels of social interaction with all types of primary groups increase over time. Many sociologists have derived from this a contention that permanent membership is a condition of primary group cohesion and rapid residential movement leads to the breakup of primary groups.<sup>2</sup> This argument is based on the following two assumptions.

1. The longer people reside in a community, the more opportunities they have to get acquainted with others.
2. All kinds of primary groups are almost equally accessible to residents.

There is little doubt about the validity of the first assumption. However, the second assumption may be questionable. Each type of primary group possesses distinguishing characteristics. Thus, it is probable that different kinds of primary groups are different in their level of accessibility, the range of choice, and their

vulnerability to disintegration by migration. Migrants may increase their frequency of contact with all types of primary groups for a short time directly after migration, possibly for one or two months, because their migration forced them to cut off previous ties. However, the fact that the total amount of time which one can spend in association with others is limited should not be overlooked. Therefore, it is more reasonable to suppose that people select the most appropriate type of primary group at each stage after migration, rather than increasing their frequency of contact with, and their dependence on, all types of primary groups. Migrants can make the most of the features of the various primary groups, choosing a suitable group at each stage after migration, and taking advantage of the various primary groups to make adjustment to a new social milieu easier.

These considerations suggest that the various primary groups may display differential importance at each stage after migration, and that the relationship between length of residence and levels of participation may be more complicated than previously assumed. In assuming that length of residence is positively related to participation with all types of primary groups, previous research has given little attention to the differential significance of the various primary groups in the process of adaptation to new surroundings. Because of this, the features of each primary group bear scrutiny here before proposing any hypotheses. In particular, two aspects of primary groups warrant exploration: (1) the range of choice among primary groups, and (2) the degree of vulnerability to attenuation or disruption of ties brought about by migration.

### **9.2.2. KINSHIP RELATIONSHIPS**

Kinship relationships (i.e., kinship relationships between nuclear families) have two distinct features which differ from other types of primary groups. First, the kinship relationships are defined in two ways, i.e., semi-permanent biological (e.g.,

mother-son relationship) and legal ways (e.g., marriage). Accordingly, there is a narrow choice of kinship ties. Second, there is institutional pressure for the maintenance of kinship relationships, particularly relationships with immediate relatives. This suggests the existence of a norm that people should have contact with their relatives in some way and exchange support with their relatives, irrespective of where those relatives are located.

As discussed in Chapter 1, the "rational" allocation of labour force in industrialised society causes a relatively high rate of residential movement and often short lengths of stay in one place. Canberra is in line with this tendency. For Canberra, it has been estimated that 6.5 per cent of persons aged 15 and over moved to Canberra and 5.7 per cent moved away from the city in 1987 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1988). The same study (the Internal Migration Survey) also showed that those who had lived at their current residence for less than five years amounted to 47.8 per cent of the total Canberra population. Owing to this high rate of residential movement, relatives are less likely to live within immediate geographical proximity of each other. For instance, it was revealed that only 61.7 per cent of the respondents in the Canberra Survey had relatives in Canberra.

Greater distances make it difficult for people to maintain constant face-to-face contact with their relatives. However, institutional pressure encourages people to sustain relationships with relatives in some manner, even though they live long distances apart. The development of transportation and communication technology (e.g., airplane and telephone) has made it easier to keep in touch with relatives, and to obtain support from them when serious or long-term situations (e.g., serious illness) are concerned. That is to say, the kinship system can preserve its viability in modern society, despite migration. Litwak (Litwak, 1960a, 1960c, 1965; Litwak and Figueira, 1970) coined the phrase "modified extended family" to describe the loose set of relationships through which the nuclear family keeps in contact with more distant relatives, and receives practical assistance with a variety of tasks. This work

demonstrated that modified extended families are empirically more harmonious with needs of industrial societies than isolated nuclear families.

Because kinship relationships can survive without face-to-face contact, migration is unlikely to sever kinship relationships. However, there is no denying the fact that long distances between people and their relatives prevents daily meetings. Thus, it is predicted that frequency of contact with, and the amount of support expected from, relatives depends largely on the location of relatives.

With these features of kinship ties in mind, it seems reasonable to make the following forecast regarding the relationship between length of residence in Canberra and kinship ties. Soon after moving, because of the obligatory aspect of kinship relationships, migrants associate with, and -- where necessary -- obtain social support from, relatives who happen to live in the area to which they have moved. However, it seems unlikely that long-term residents have higher levels of contact with, or dependence on, relatives who live in the same area than short-term residents. By the same token, people may have higher levels of contact with their relatives, and be more dependent on them, if their progeny settle nearby after getting married. If married progeny have not settled nearby, it can be predicted that length of residence will have a negligible impact on frequency of contact with relatives and accessibility of social support from them.

### **9.2.3. NEIGHBOURHOOD RELATIONSHIPS**

Geographical proximity is the basis for neighbourhood relationships. For example, gardening, patronising local shops, and sending children to a nearby school provide residents with opportunities to meet and get acquainted with others who live in the area. Because the number of people within a particular geographical area is limited, there is not a wide choice of neighbours. Thus, neighbourhood ties are less likely to rest on personal compatibility.

Neighbourhood relationships are influenced by migration. Migration weakens or disrupts association with previous neighbours. Distance discourages or prevents face-to-face contact among people, and there is little institutional pressure for keeping contact with former neighbours. Severing of bonds with old neighbours usually is one of the costs of migration.

The development of industrialisation tends to encourage a high turnover of residents and brief residence in a neighbourhood. Migrants may seem to have difficulty forming neighbourhood relationships. However, prior research suggested that migrants can participate in neighbourhood relationships even in such a situation (Fellin and Litwak, 1963, 1968). This is because a high turnover of residents and short length of residence in a neighbourhood are thought to be partially compensated for by four factors which can facilitate rapid group integration.

First, because by definition neighbours live in geographical proximity to each other, there is a high probability of meeting neighbours regularly. Therefore, it may take only a short time to come to know neighbours and to establish neighbourhood relationships.

Second, some people have more capacity than others to deal with brief residence in a neighbourhood and change of residence. Transfer to another place, particularly for promotion, is an ordered change which is accepted as good in itself in modern organisational society; moreover, this kind of change is encouraged among those who work in large organisations. Therefore, members of bureaucratic organisations are often more adept at integrating into neighbourhood relationships despite their short length of residence in a neighbourhood and there is evidence to suggest that they are prepared to involve themselves in neighbourhood relationships (Wilensky, 1961). It should be emphasised that Canberra's population is by nature bureaucratic. Fifty-four per cent of the labour force in Canberra were public servants and 61.1 per cent of the total were in bureaucratic positions (i.e., employed managers, administrators, professionals, and clerks) in 1986 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1987). These

people are used to dealing with change and rapid integration into neighbourhood relationships.

Third, as mentioned in Chapter 2, migrants from other States or from abroad have contributed to Canberra's population expansion. Where migrants constitute a majority of the population, native-born or long-term residents may find it difficult to reject neighbourhood relationships with migrants, and migrants easily find neighbours who have moved to the city recently. A high turnover of dwellers and brief residence in a neighbourhood are thought to foster a group norm according to which long-term residents are expected to welcome and accept newcomers as their neighbours. Newcomers are also likely to think that long-term residents are friendly in such a situation.

Fourth, people in Canberra organise local voluntary associations, which provide opportunities for newcomers to meet their neighbours and a basis for rapid integration into the neighbourhood. Community centre management committees, recreational activities held in community centres, playgroups, and Parents and Citizens Associations at pre-schools and primary schools are examples.

These four mechanisms not only enable neighbourhood relationships to survive considerable replacement of neighbours but also allow migrants to readily establish neighbourhood relationships in Canberra within a short period.

#### **9.2.4. FRIENDSHIP RELATIONSHIPS**

Friendship ties, as defined here, are based on neither geographical proximity (i.e., neighbours) nor regular face-to-face contact (i.e., workmates). Depending on their interests, abilities and desires, people form friendships by their own efforts. That is, it is shared interests which hold friendships together. Because friendship relationships are formed on the basis of shared interests, people can draw friendship relationships from an almost infinite variety of sources, according to their individual preferences.

This indicates a greater range of options in choosing friends than any other type of primary group (Litwak and Szelenyi, 1969, p. 469).

Migration has a great influence on friendship relationships. Long geographical distances make it difficult for migrants to maintain face-to-face contact with their old friends, and institutional pressure to maintain friendship relationships is as weak as that relating to neighbourhood relationships. For these reasons, friendship ties affected by migration often cannot survive breaks in face-to-face relationships and are more vulnerable to severance than kinship relationships (Litwak and Szelenyi, 1969, p. 469).

As friendship relationships are not established merely as a result of geographical proximity or regular face-to-face contact, formation of friendship relationships in a new place may take longer than neighbourhood ties. In addition, as friendship ties are more likely to rest on free choice and shared interests than neighbourhood ties, people are thought to prefer friendship relationships to neighbourhood relationships. Thus, it is predicted that neighbourhood relationships will play a decisive role during the initial "settling-in" period, but, thereafter, people gradually increase both their frequency of contact with friends and their dependence on them.

#### **9.2.5. WORKMATE RELATIONSHIPS**

Fellow workers usually work in the same place for many hours. This provides a foundation for workmate relationships. Selecting from their fellow workers, people form workmate relationships. However, the number of fellow workers an individual typically meets in a workplace on a regular basis is limited; thus, there is actually a smaller choice of workmates than friends. Because of the narrower range of choice, workmates are less likely to be bound by shared interests than friends.

Workmate relationships are also influenced by migration. In most work, migration is likely to sever old workmate relationships, because greater distance makes

it difficult to maintain constant face-to-face contact with previous workmates, and institutional pressure for maintaining ties with former workmate may be weak. That is, workmate ties are very vulnerable to influence by migration and people usually lose touch with old workmates when they move to new places.<sup>3</sup>

It might seem that a high rate of migration and short length of stay would prevent migrants forming new workmate relationships in each place they move to. However, there are three reasons why this disruptive effect on the workmate relationships is minimised and migrants can get involved in workmate relationships in Canberra.

First, workmates are regularly in face-to-face contact for many hours in the workplace. Consequently, it is easy to become acquainted with fellow workers and to establish workmate ties.

Second, transference to another place, particularly for promotion, is in most cases an ordered (i.e., expected and planned) career change in modern organisational society. Moreover, this kind of change is encouraged among those who work in large organisations. Therefore, members of bureaucratic organisations tend to be adept at integrating into workmate relationships, despite the short tenure in a workplace, and seem prepared to involve themselves in workmate relationships. As previously mentioned, public servants or those in bureaucratic positions constitute a high percentage of Canberra's population. It can be assumed that they are accustomed to changing environment and to integrating themselves into new workmate relationships.

Third, it was made clear in Chapter 2 that migrants comprise a high proportion of people in Canberra. Where migrants constitute a majority of the population, it can be hypothesised that long-term workers feel reluctant to reject workmate relationships with migrants, and newcomers easily find workmates who have moved to the city recently. A high turnover of people and short tenure in a workplace are thought to foster a group norm according to which long-term workers welcome and accept newcomers as their workmates. Newcomers are also likely to think that long-term workers are friendly in such a situation.



These three mechanisms work in Canberra so that migrants can integrate themselves into workmate relationships, in spite of a high turnover of fellow workers and brief service in a workplace. This indicates that workmate relationships are relatively accessible in Canberra and migrants can establish workmate relationships within a short period.

Easy access to workmate relationships facilitates not only association with workmates but also enables people to turn to workmates for assistance during an initial "settling-in" period. In Canberra workmate relationships prove to be more important during the initial period, since workmates are often the first social contact for migrants because people usually move to Canberra for work-related purposes, as shown in Chapter 2. Association with workmates and recourse to assistance from them aid adaptation to a new environment, but workmate relationships are unlikely to remain stable because there is little free choice of workmates and shared interests among them. This consideration leads to the prediction that people develop workmate relationships directly after migration, but thereafter frequency of contact with workmates outside of work gradually diminishes and dependence on them decreases. On the other hand, they will attempt to develop friendship relationships by free choice and shared interests after the initial period.

#### **9.2.6. HYPOTHESES**

The features of various primary groups were considered hitherto. The consideration suggested that migration is less likely to sever kinship relationships, and that the location of relatives constitutes an important factor affecting levels of involvement with relatives. Newcomers tend to be "deprived" of former neighbourhood, friendship and workmate ties after migration. Instead of disrupted ties, new ties are likely to be formed, among which neighbourhood and workmate ties are more accessible than friendship ties. It seems reasonable to suggest three

hypotheses from the consideration of primary groups.

Hypothesis 1: Owing to institutional pressure for permanence of kinship ties, levels of involvement with relatives should be greatly influenced by the location of relatives. Conversely, length of residence should have a negligible impact on kinship relationships.

Hypothesis 2: As neighbourhood and workmate ties are more accessible on arrival in a new city, short-term residents would tend to have greater social interaction with neighbours and workmates and to depend more on them.

Hypothesis 3: Because friendship ties are more likely to be based on free choice and shared interests, people would tend to prefer the former to the latter. Yet it takes more time to establish friendship ties. Accordingly, long-term residents would tend to have less social interaction with neighbours and workmates, and less dependence on them than short-term residents. Instead, friends would play a more important part for the former.

### 9.3. REVIEW OF PREVIOUS STUDIES

The above hypotheses suggest that the importance of primary groups changes with time. Some studies have provided evidence partially consistent with this contention. Previous research findings are presented here for each type of primary group. It should be remembered that the concern here focuses primarily on length of residence in Canberra at the time of the interview.

Prior research has afforded some evidence which bears out the contention that there is no relationship between length of residence and the level of kinship ties. Usui *et al.* (1977) showed that length of residence in a city did not have a significant effect on kinship visiting. In contrast, Jitodai's finding (Jitodai, 1963), Gulick *et al.*'s (Gulick *et al.*, 1962) and Berardo's (1966) run counter to the hypotheses. Jitodai reported substantial increase in frequency of contact with relatives by length of

residence, in particular among white-collar urban migrants. Gulick *et al.* found that increased length of residence in a community heightened frequency of contact with parents. Berardo reported that the extent of kinship interaction was a function of length of residence.

With regard to neighbourhood relationships, previous studies produced findings contrary to the hypothesis that time in a local area leads people to diminish neighbourhood interaction. For example, Gulick *et al.* (1962) and Kasarda and Janowitz (1974) showed that length of residence in a local area was positively associated with the level of neighbourhood relationships. Gerson *et al.* (1977) reported that time in a place allowed an individual to develop the person's neighbourhood relationships. Usui *et al.* (1977) showed that length of residence in a city was not associated with frequency of contact with neighbours. This finding is in opposition not only to those of Gulick *et al.*, Kasarda and Janowitz, and Gerson *et al.*, but also to the hypotheses proposed here. It is important to note the work of McAllister *et al.* (1973) and Michelson (1970, p. 186), although they addressed the relationship between length of residence at present address and neighbourhood interaction. McAllister *et al.* found that neighbourhood interaction emerged immediately after migration and then levelled off. Michelson claimed that people moving to a new place are so busy organising their home that they do not have time to find friends outside their immediate neighbours. However, as they settled down and found time to venture out from their now organised homes, neighbours become less important. He gave Gans's study (Gans, 1967, p. 182) as evidence of his argument.

The positive relationship between length of residence and friendship ties is well documented. Usui *et al.* (1977) demonstrated that length of residence in a city had a positive effect on frequency of contact with friends. Gulick *et al.* (1962) found that the longer people lived in a city, the greater the proportion of friends they had there.

No reviewed research has examined the effect of length of residence on workmate ties by distinguishing workmates from friends. Therefore, no research guides the

present study on this point.

Several researchers have studied the association between length of residence and social networks in Canberra. Lewis (1975) found that length of residence in Canberra affected the extent that the person was involved in relationships outside Canberra and the density of the person's "extra primary" networks in Canberra. Two researchers investigated the relationship between length of residence at present address and social networks, and produced similar findings. Saha (1975) found in four Western suburbs of Belconnen (then a developing district in Canberra) that time was not important for levels of expected help from relatives, neighbours and friends. Pryor (1980), carrying out a similar survey in Belconnen a few years after Saha's survey, noted that none of the various aspects of social networks varied significantly by length of residence.

#### **9.4. ANALYTICAL METHOD AND DATA**

The relationship between length of residence in Canberra and informal social participation is investigated here by multiple regression analysis. The main concern was to determine whether or not length of residence in the city affected any or all types of informal social participation once other main factors were controlled.

The two sets of data about interpersonal relationships which were analysed in Chapter 8 were used here as dependent variables. The first set of data consists of individuals' frequency of contact with (1) relatives, (2) neighbours, (3) friends and (4) workmates. These data were converted into annual frequency of contact. In addition, these four scales were summed to form an index of the total annual frequency of contact. Table 9.1 shows distributions of frequency of contact with each type of primary group.<sup>4</sup>

**Table 9.1. Frequency of Contact with Relatives, Neighbours, Friends, and Workmates**

| frequency of contact in a year |                       | relatives | neighbours | friends | workmates |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------|------------|---------|-----------|
| 0                              | (rarely or never)     | 13.1%     | 24.7%      | 5.9%    | 22.2%     |
| 2                              | (a few times a year)  | 33.2%     | 7.7%       | 12.9%   | 30.4%     |
| 12                             | (once a month)        | 10.3%     | 9.3%       | 18.6%   | 16.0%     |
| 24                             | (a few times a month) | 9.0%      | 12.6%      | 24.7%   | 13.7%     |
| 52                             | (once a week)         | 34.3%     | 45.6%      | 37.9%   | 17.8%     |
|                                |                       | 100.0%    | 100.0%     | 100.0%  | 100.0%    |
| mean                           |                       | 21.9      | 28.3       | 28.1    | 15.1      |
| S.D.                           |                       | 22.7      | 22.9       | 20.1    | 18.9      |
| N of cases                     |                       | 388       | 388        | 388     | 388       |

| frequency of contact in a year | total frequency of contact |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 2-25                           | 5.4%                       |
| 26-50                          | 11.3%                      |
| 51-75                          | 16.8%                      |
| 76-100                         | 20.9%                      |
| 101-125                        | 19.6%                      |
| 126-150                        | 11.1%                      |
| 151-175                        | 12.6%                      |
| 176-208                        | 2.3%                       |
|                                | 100.0%                     |
| mean                           | 93.1                       |
| S.D.                           | 44.5                       |
| N of cases                     | 388                        |

The second set of data concerns accessibility of social support anticipated by the Canberra residents studied. The four scales of social support were constructed by adding the four items in the questions in the same manner as in Chapter 7. Table 9.2 reports response percentages for the individual social support scales.<sup>5</sup> Incidentally, multiple regression analysis is based on the assumption that the variables analysed are normally distributed in the population. Because of its skewed distribution, the workmate support scale was excluded from the analysis, as was done in Chapter 7.

Accordingly, the focus is on the remaining three scales.

**Table 9.2. Percentage of Respondents Who Had Access to Social Support, and Percentage Distributions and Mean Scores for Social Support Scales**

|   | relative<br>support<br>scale | neighbour<br>support<br>scale | friend<br>support<br>scale |
|---|------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| one hour wait for delivery<br>(who to ask)                | 25.3%                        | 69.3%                         | 27.6%                      |
| one day stomach ache<br>(very much or some help)          | 30.2%                        | 30.7%                         | 35.8%                      |
| two weeks' appendix operation<br>(very much or some help) | 69.3%                        | 37.9%                         | 47.9%                      |
| three months' broken leg<br>(very much or some help)      | 83.5%                        | 42.0%                         | 59.3%                      |
| scale of social support                                   |                              |                               |                            |
| 0 (low social support)                                    | 14.7%                        | 23.2%                         | 29.6%                      |
| 1   | 16.0%                        | 28.4%                         | 18.6%                      |
| 2   | 32.7%                        | 14.4%                         | 17.5%                      |
| 3   | 19.6%                        | 13.4%                         | 20.1%                      |
| 4 (high social support)                                   | 17.0%                        | 20.6%                         | 14.2%                      |
|   | 100.0%                       | 100.0%                        | 100.0%                     |
| mean  | 2.08                         | 1.80                          | 1.71                       |
| S.D.  | 1.27                         | 1.46                          | 1.44                       |
| coefficient of reproducibility                            | 0.95                         | 0.91                          | 0.89                       |
| coefficient of scalability                                | 0.81                         | 0.74                          | 0.72                       |
| coefficient of minimum marginal reproducibility           | 0.74                         | 0.65                          | 0.62                       |
| N of cases  | 388                          | 388                           | 388                        |

Table 9.2 also shows the coefficients of reproducibility, scalability, and minimum marginal reproducibility of the three scales. The three coefficients of the three scales indicate that the three scales form a Guttman scale and these represent both a unidimensional and a cumulative concept. Besides the Guttman scale analysis, a factor analysis was used to corroborate the unidimensionality of the three scales regarding the accessibility of social support. For the three scales, only one factor with an eigenvalue

greater than 1 emerged from the analysis. This fact indicates that the three scales with regard to accessibility of social support represent a unidimensional concept.<sup>6</sup>

The review of relevant literature shows that the stage of the life cycle (e.g., Janowitz, 1967; Long, 1972; Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974; Gerson *et al.*, 1977, p. 147; Stueve and Gerson, 1977; Tsai and Sigelman, 1982), labour force status (e.g., Fellin and Litwak, 1963, p. 367; Michelson, 1973; Gerson *et al.*, 1977, p. 147; Tsai and Sigelman, 1982), socio-economic status (e.g., Axelrod, 1956; Keller, 1968, pp. 50-54; Lewis, 1975; Gerson *et al.*, 1977, p. 152; Tsai and Sigelman, 1982), location of relatives (e.g., Saha, 1975; Usui *et al.*, 1977), religious denomination (e.g., Gerson *et al.*, 1977) and home-ownership (e.g., Gerson *et al.*, 1977; Pryor, 1980) have been found to be predictors for social participation. These variables were selected as independent variables to match Gerson *et al.*'s analysis (Gerson *et al.*, 1977). Overseas immigrants accounted for 20.8 per cent of the Australian population in 1986 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1987). As this figure shows, immigration is so important for the nation that its effect on social participation seems to warrant examination. In addition, it was hypothesised in Chapter 2 that the stage of development has an effect on neighbourhood relationships. On the basis of this argument, differences among the study areas was considered in this chapter. These factors were used as controlling variables. The treatment of some controlling variables needs further explanation.

The socio-economic status of a family is defined by occupational status of the respondent's spouse based on the ANU2 scale.<sup>7</sup>

Dummy variables were used as predictors in each regression analysis to designate the stage of the life cycle, labour force status, location of relatives, overseas immigration, religious denomination and differences among the study areas (see Column 1 in Table 9.3). Dummy variables were assigned to the categories of these independent variables such that a respondent in the sample was given a value of 1 or 0. If a respondent fell in the relevant category, the person was scored 1; otherwise the

**Table 9.3. Zero-order Relationships and Correlation Coefficients  
between Dependent Variables and Independent Variables  
in Multiple Regression  
(frequency of contact)**

| Independent variables  |     | N of cases | mean freq. of contact relatives | mean freq. of contact neighbours | mean freq. of contact friends | mean freq. of contact workmates | mean total freq. |
|--|-----|------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------|
| <b><u>Zero-order relationship</u></b>                          |     |            |                                 |                                  |                               |                                 |                  |
| stage of life cycle  |     |            |                                 |                                  |                               |                                 |                  |
| child(ren) 0-5   | no  | (171)      | 17.89**                         | 23.89**                          | 27.80                         | 17.12                           | 86.71*           |
|  | yes | (217)      | 25.04                           | 31.27                            | 28.38                         | 13.42                           | 98.11            |
| child(ren) 6-9   | no  | (273)      | 23.36                           | 25.43**                          | 28.22                         | 16.30*                          | 93.31            |
|  | yes | (115)      | 18.40                           | 34.17                            | 27.90                         | 12.09                           | 92.56            |
| child(ren) 10-15   | no  | (288)      | 23.75**                         | 28.13                            | 29.10                         | 15.95                           | 96.93**          |
|  | yes | (100)      | 16.54                           | 27.72                            | 25.30                         | 12.46                           | 82.02            |
| relatives in Canberra  | no  | (157)      | 3.81**                          | 28.89                            | 25.21*                        | 16.14                           | 74.05**          |
|  | yes | (231)      | 34.18                           | 27.43                            | 30.10                         | 14.31                           | 106.03           |
| overseas immigrant   | no  | (292)      | 22.34                           | 28.30                            | 29.77**                       | 15.02                           | 95.44            |
|  | yes | (231)      | 20.52                           | 27.17                            | 23.10                         | 15.15                           | 85.94            |
| owns home  | no  | (73)       | 17.62                           | 25.40                            | 24.14                         | 17.51                           | 84.66            |
|  | yes | (315)      | 22.88                           | 28.63                            | 29.05                         | 14.48                           | 95.04            |
| respondent works   | no  | (118)      | 27.37**                         | 33.46**                          | 29.93                         | 14.95                           | 105.71**         |
|  | yes | (270)      | 19.50                           | 25.64                            | 27.33                         | 15.10                           | 87.57            |
| religious denomination   |     |            |                                 |                                  |                               |                                 |                  |
| Catholic   | no  | (268)      | 20.75                           | 27.20                            | 27.10                         | 14.96                           | 90.01*           |
|  | yes | (120)      | 24.43                           | 29.85                            | 30.42                         | 15.25                           | 99.95            |
| Protestant   | no  | (209)      | 22.49                           | 26.19                            | 28.97                         | 15.38                           | 93.02            |
|  | yes | (179)      | 21.20                           | 30.16                            | 27.14                         | 14.67                           | 93.16            |
| study area   |     |            |                                 |                                  |                               |                                 |                  |
| HiNorth  | no  | (298)      | 21.70                           | 27.85                            | 27.68                         | 15.50                           | 92.72            |
|  | yes | (90)       | 22.53                           | 28.60                            | 29.60                         | 13.56                           | 94.29            |
| LoNorth  | no  | (294)      | 23.38*                          | 29.61*                           | 28.65                         | 15.88                           | 97.52**          |
|  | yes | (94)       | 17.23                           | 23.06                            | 26.49                         | 12.45                           | 79.23            |
| HiSouth  | no  | (285)      | 22.07                           | 27.33                            | 28.65                         | 14.13                           | 92.18            |
|  | yes | (103)      | 21.40                           | 29.92                            | 26.66                         | 17.61                           | 95.59            |
| LoSouth  | no  | (287)      | 20.39*                          | 27.26                            | 27.53                         | 14.65                           | 89.83*           |
|  | yes | (101)      | 26.16                           | 30.18                            | 29.82                         | 16.20                           | 102.36           |
| <b><u>Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficient</u></b> |     |            |                                 |                                  |                               |                                 |                  |
| occupational score of spouse                                   |     |            | -0.228**                        | 0.014                            | -0.026                        | 0.050                           | -0.100*          |
| length of residence (months)                                   |     |            | 0.446**                         | -0.111*                          | 0.133**                       | -0.036                          | 0.215**          |

\* Significant at  $p < 0.05$ .

\*\* Significant at  $p < 0.01$ .



**Table 9.4. Zero-order Relationships and Correlation Coefficients between Dependent Variables and Independent Variables in Multiple Regression (social support)**

| Independent variables  |     | N of cases | social support from relatives | social support from neighbours | social support from friends |
|--|-----|------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <b><u>Zero-order relationship</u></b>                          |     |            |                               |                                |                             |
| stage of life cycle  |     |            |                               |                                |                             |
| child(ren) 0-5   | no  | (171)      | 1.889**                       | 1.544**                        | 1.585                       |
|  | yes | (217)      | 2.235                         | 2.000                          | 1.802                       |
| child(ren) 6-9   | no  | (273)      | 2.092                         | 1.546**                        | 1.652                       |
|  | yes | (115)      | 2.061                         | 2.400                          | 1.835                       |
| child(ren) 10-15   | no  | (288)      | 2.177**                       | 1.747                          | 1.740                       |
|  | yes | (100)      | 1.810                         | 1.950                          | 1.610                       |
| relatives in Canberra  | no  | (157)      | 1.255**                       | 1.905                          | 1.847                       |
|  | yes | (231)      | 2.645                         | 1.727                          | 1.610                       |
| overseas immigrant   | no  | (292)      | 2.168*                        | 1.726                          | 1.767                       |
|  | yes | (231)      | 1.823                         | 2.021                          | 1.521                       |
| owns home  | no  | (73)       | 2.000                         | 1.548                          | 1.575                       |
|  | yes | (315)      | 2.102                         | 1.857                          | 1.737                       |
| respondent works   | no  | (118)      | 2.280*                        | 2.000                          | 1.814                       |
|  | yes | (270)      | 1.996                         | 1.711                          | 1.660                       |
| religious denomination   |     |            |                               |                                |                             |
| Catholic   | no  | (268)      | 2.060                         | 1.702*                         | 1.683                       |
|  | yes | (120)      | 2.133                         | 2.017                          | 1.758                       |
| Protestant   | no  | (209)      | 2.096                         | 1.861                          | 1.746                       |
|  | yes | (179)      | 2.067                         | 1.726                          | 1.659                       |
| study area   |     |            |                               |                                |                             |
| HiNorth  | no  | (298)      | 2.094                         | 1.671*                         | 1.708                       |
|  | yes | (90)       | 2.044                         | 2.222                          | 1.700                       |
| LoNorth  | no  | (294)      | 2.150                         | 1.871                          | 1.684                       |
|  | yes | (94)       | 1.872                         | 1.575                          | 1.777                       |
| HiSouth  | no  | (285)      | 2.074                         | 1.807                          | 1.723                       |
|  | yes | (103)      | 2.107                         | 1.777                          | 1.660                       |
| LoSouth  | no  | (287)      | 2.011                         | 1.850                          | 1.711                       |
|  | yes | (101)      | 2.287                         | 1.654                          | 1.693                       |
| <b><u>Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficient</u></b> |     |            |                               |                                |                             |
| occupational score of spouse                                   |     |            | -0.154**                      | 0.156**                        | 0.125**                     |
| length of residence (months)                                   |     |            | 0.380**                       | -0.015                         | 0.028                       |

\* Significant at  $p < 0.05$ .

\*\* Significant at  $p < 0.01$ .

person received a value of 0. For example, the dummy variable, "child(ren) 0-5", was 1 for respondents with such child(ren) and 0 for those without such child(ren).

There were six respondents whose spouse did not work outside the home at the time of interview. Because of a failure to give these respondents a socio-economic status score, they were deleted from the analysis. The total number of cases in this analysis is 388.

Tables 9.3 and 9.4 shows the zero-order relationships or the correlation coefficients between the dependent variables and the independent variables. The coefficients indicate that all the independent variables except home-ownership were related to one or more dependent variables.<sup>8</sup>

## 9.5. RESULT

### 9.5.1. FREQUENCY OF CONTACT

In order to see whether or not length of residence had an effect independent of the controlling variables, each type of primary group was regressed simultaneously on all the independent variables. Table 9.5 displays the result of the multiple regression analyses with regard to frequency of contact. A stepwise method was used for the analyses; the independent variable that had the smallest probability of  $F$  and was not in the equation was entered if the probability value was smaller than 0.05 and if the proportion of the variance of the variable which was not explained by the other independent variables already in the regression equation exceeded 0.1 per cent. Then, all variables were again examined for removal. This process continued until no variables in the equation needed to be removed and no variables not in the equation were eligible for entry.

Table 9.5 indicates that, even after the other variables were controlled, length of residence in Canberra had an independent effect on frequency of contact with relatives,

neighbours and friends. More specifically, length of residence in the city had a positive relation to frequency of contact with relatives and friends. On the other hand, it had a negative relation to frequency of contact with neighbours. These correlations suggest that short-term residents had more contact with neighbours than long-term residents, and the former had less contact with relatives and friends than the latter. However, length of residence in the city added nothing to the prediction of visiting workmates or to the total frequency of contact.

**Table 9.5. Standardised Partial Regression Coefficients  
(frequency of contact)\***

| Independent variables        | relatives | neighbours | friends | workmates | total frequency |
|------------------------------|-----------|------------|---------|-----------|-----------------|
| stage of life cycle          |           |            |         |           |                 |
| child(ren) 0-5               |           | 0.1236     |         |           |                 |
| child(ren) 6-9               |           | 0.1584     |         | -0.1018   |                 |
| child(ren) 10-15             | -0.0806   |            |         |           | -0.0940         |
| relatives in Canberra        | 0.5394    |            |         |           | 0.3301          |
| overseas immigrant           |           |            | -0.1269 |           |                 |
| owns home                    |           |            |         |           |                 |
| respondent works             | -0.1104   | -0.1081    |         |           | -0.1580         |
| religious denomination       |           |            |         |           |                 |
| Catholic                     |           |            |         |           |                 |
| Protestant                   |           |            |         |           |                 |
| occupational score of spouse | -0.0853   |            |         |           |                 |
| study area                   |           |            |         |           |                 |
| HiNorth                      |           |            |         |           |                 |
| LoNorth                      | -0.0949   | -0.1140    |         |           | -0.1496         |
| HiSouth                      |           |            |         |           |                 |
| LoSouth                      |           |            |         |           |                 |
| length of residence (months) | 0.1690    | -0.1150    | 0.1151  |           |                 |
| R <sup>2</sup>               | 0.4886    | 0.0903     | 0.0335  | 0.0104    | 0.1865          |

\* All coefficients significant at  $p < 0.05$ .

Turning to the controlling variables, Table 9.5 shows that neither home-ownership nor religious denomination affected frequency of contact with any types of primary groups. The other predictors had independent effects on frequency of contact with one or more primary groups. These independent effects are summarised as follows:

1. Having child(ren) under 6 exhibited a positive effect on frequency of contact with neighbours. Such women had more frequent contact with neighbours.
2. Having child(ren) between 6 and 9 bore a positive relationship to frequency of contact with neighbours. Women with such child(ren) mixed with neighbours more frequently. On the other hand, having child(ren) between 6 and 9 exhibited a negative effect on frequency of contact with workmates. Women with such child(ren) associated with their own or their spouse's workmates less frequently.
3. Having child(ren) between 10 and 15 bore a negative effect on frequency of contact with relatives and the total frequency of contact. Women with such child(ren) associated with relatives less frequently and their total frequency of contact was less than other women.
4. The presence of relatives in Canberra had an effect on frequency of contact with relatives and on the total frequency of contact. Women with local relatives kept company with relatives more frequently and their total frequency of contact was more than other women.
5. Immigration had a negative effect on frequency of contact with friends. Overseas immigrants tended to have less frequent contact with friends.
6. Labour force status exerted a negative effect on frequency of contact with relatives and neighbours and on the total amount of contact. Women working outside the home mixed with relatives and neighbours less frequently and their total frequency of contact was less than other women.
7. The socio-economic status of a family affected frequency of contact with relatives. Low-status women tended to associate with relatives more frequently.
8. Differences among the social groups in the different areas had an effect on frequency of contact with relatives and neighbours, and on the total frequency of contact. Women in the LoNorth study area had less frequent contact with

relatives and neighbours; furthermore, their total frequency of contact was less than women in the other study areas.

### 9.5.2. SOCIAL SUPPORT

Results with regard to social support are presented in the same manner as frequency of contact. The data in Table 9.6 are standardised regression coefficients which summarise the correlations between the independent variables and social support expected from relatives, neighbours and friends. Only items whose standardised partial regression coefficients were significant at  $p < 0.05$  were entered into the equations successively by the stepwise method, as was done in Table 9.5.

**Table 9.6. Standardised Partial Regression Coefficients (social support)\***

| Independent variables        | relatives | neighbours | friends |
|------------------------------|-----------|------------|---------|
| stage of life cycle          |           |            |         |
| child(ren) 0-5               | 0.0986    | 0.1425     |         |
| child(ren) 6-9               |           | 0.2395     |         |
| child(ren) 10-15             |           |            |         |
| relatives in Canberra        | 0.4555    |            |         |
| overseas immigrant           |           |            |         |
| owns home                    |           |            |         |
| respondent works             |           |            |         |
| religious denomination       |           |            |         |
| Catholic                     |           | 0.0949     |         |
| Protestant                   |           |            |         |
| occupational score of spouse |           | 0.1404     | 0.1255  |
| study area                   |           |            |         |
| HiNorth                      |           | 0.0975     |         |
| LoNorth                      |           |            |         |
| HiSouth                      |           |            |         |
| LoSouth                      |           |            |         |
| length of residence (months) | 0.1553    |            |         |
| R <sup>2</sup>               | 0.3169    | 0.1331     | 0.0157  |

\* All coefficients significant at  $p < 0.05$ .

It is clear from Table 9.6 that length of residence in Canberra had an independent effect on social support from relatives. This suggests that short-term residents anticipated less amount of support from relatives than long-term residents. However, length of residence added nothing to the prediction of social support from neighbours and friends.

Effects of the controlling variables were examined as well. Overseas immigration, home ownership and labour force status did not have an effect on the amount of support expected from any type of primary group (Table 9.6). However, the other predictors had an independent effect on some aspects of social support. Such effects are summarised as follows:

1. Having child(ren) under 6 exhibited a positive effect on the amount of support expected from relatives and neighbours. Women with such child(ren) tended to expect more support from relatives and neighbours.
2. Having child(ren) between 6 and 9 bore a positive effect on the amount of support expected from neighbours. More support from neighbours was available to women with such child(ren).<sup>9</sup>
3. The presence of relatives in Canberra had an effect on the amount of support expected from them. The presence of local relatives led to more support from relatives.
4. Religious denomination had an effect on the amount of support expected from neighbours. Catholics tended to expect more support from neighbours.
5. The socio-economic status of a family affected the amount of support from neighbours and friends. High-status women tended to expect more support from neighbours and friends.
6. Differences among the social groups in the different areas had an effect on the amount of support expected from relatives. Women in the HiNorth study area were likely to expect more support from neighbours.

These findings regarding frequency of contact and social support will be discussed in detail in the next section and in Chapter 10.

## 9.6. DISCUSSION

The relationships between length of residence in Canberra and levels of informal social participation were explored in this chapter. At the same time, the analyses identified the other factors affecting informal social participation. The following points warrant further scrutiny.

First of all, aspects of social networks are discussed. A consideration of the characteristics of primary groups led to the hypothesis that length of residence would not affect frequency of contact with their relatives (Hypothesis 1). Nonetheless, the analysis indicated that this was not the case; the longer the residents lived in the city, the more they were involved in kinship relationships. A possible explanation arises from noting that this finding is consistent with some of the relationships which Litwak found between migration and kinship relationships. Litwak (1960c, p. 387) stated that the modified extended family system encouraged geographical mobility, but at the same time maintained communication among its members and still promoted mutual aid. According to him, modern urban dwellers, in their earlier years of adulthood, are concerned with their occupational career and geographical mobility and little time is spent with their relatives, though communication among relatives is maintained. As they approach the peak of their career, they will focus more on the coalescence of their kinship ties. Urban migrants to Canberra, most of whom are white-collar workers eager to climb the ladder of success, typically fit this type. Often they move to the city early in life, possibly in their 20s. During their initial period of residence, their association patterns are consistent with Litwak's contention that more attention is focussed on promotion and that less time and attention are devoted to kinship contacts. With increasing length of residence, peaks in careers are approached or attained, and

frequency of contact with relatives increases. These patterns of association seem to be also applicable to Canberra-reared residents. It is inferred from Litwak's argument that Canberra-reared residents will focus more on the coalescence of their kinship ties as they reach peaks in careers. Thus, long-term Canberra-reared residents will have more frequent contact with relatives than short-term Canberra-reared residents.

It was hypothesised that while short-term residents would have more frequent social interaction with neighbours than long-term residents, the former would have less frequent social interaction with friends than the latter (Hypotheses 2 and 3). This meant that friends would serve a compensatory function, providing interpersonal relationships instead of neighbours. The analyses revealed that length of residence in Canberra had a negative effect on social interaction with neighbours, but it had a positive effect on social interaction with friends. This finding confirms the hypotheses. Additionally, the finding that length of residence in the city was not related to the total frequency of contact is consistent with the hypotheses.

To understand the compensatory relationship, the special circumstances in Canberra should be remembered. For example, the fact that Canberra has many migrants probably has fostered the group norm, among longer-term residents, of welcoming and accepting newcomers as neighbours. This group norm enables newcomers to become acquainted with neighbours within a short period of time. Moreover, most suburbs in Canberra have been constructed on the basis of the neighbourhood unit.<sup>10</sup> This principle allows migrants to readily establish neighbourhood relationships within a short period. If it had not been for these special circumstances, the compensatory relationship between neighbours and friends might not have been observed in Canberra. Thus, the question of whether or not this finding is applicable to other kinds of areas awaits further research.

It was also hypothesised that length of residence in Canberra would have a negative effect on social interaction with workmates outside of work, because there is little free choice in workmates and may be little shared interests among them



(Hypothesis 3). Contrary to this hypothesis, length of residence was not associated with frequency of contact with workmates. It may be argued from this finding that work at the same place for a lengthy period furnished common topics of conversation and as a result people regarded workmate relationships as more important in their daily life than had been assumed. Thus, they presumably maintained workmate relationships without substituting friendship relationships for workmate relationships.

The same relationships between length of residence and primary groups were anticipated with regard to social support structures as those relating to social networks. The analysis showed that length of residence in the city had a positive effect on the amount of support from relatives. This is in contradiction to the hypothesis (Hypothesis 1). Litwak's above-mentioned assertion provides a possible explanation for this finding. The other analyses revealed that length of residence in Canberra did not affect the amount of support expected from neighbours and friends. This result does not offer confirmation for the hypotheses (Hypotheses 2 and 3), but a suggestion may be derived from the result. It should be noted that relationships represented by social support are closer than those represented by frequency of contact. Considering this, the result seems to indicate that the hypothesis about the compensatory relationship between neighbours and friends is only applicable to slight social relationships (frequency of contact).

From the regression analyses in Tables 9.5 and 9.6, some of the controlling variables were found to have had significant effects on the levels of social participation. All things considered, most of the findings were in keeping with what previous studies had discovered, but some of them merit discussion here.

The stages of development in Canberra were established by (1) levels of community facilities and services provided and (2) negative effects of development; i.e., they were based on the presence or absence of local issues. The effects of the developmental stages on neighbourhood integration in Canberra was explored in Chapter 2. From its discussion, the hypothesis was proposed that more

neighbourhood cohesion would be observed in the developing areas (the HiSouth and LoSouth study areas) than in the established areas (the HiNorth and LoNorth study areas), because the presence of local issues in the former would integrate neighbours. Contrary to this hypothesis, only the urban residents in the LoNorth study area had less frequent contact with relatives and neighbours, and their total frequency of contact was less than the residents of the other study areas. Moreover, the analysis produced the other unexpected finding that the urban residents in the HiNorth study area anticipated more support from neighbours.

These results indicate that differences among the study areas had different effects on social participation from what was assumed as the effects of the developmental stages. Most of the unexpected results remain to be explained, but the result that respondents in the LoNorth study area associated with neighbours less frequently than those in the other study areas admits of an interpretation from the viewpoint of the geographic integration of different socio-economic status groups. Michelson's study (Michelson, 1970, p. 119-25) suggested that heterogeneity in the socio-economic status of people in an area results in less neighbourhood integration. One explanation for this view is the different life style of different social classes. Working class people have not acquired social skills to interact with middle class people, and *vice versa*. The examination of demographic attributes of residents in Chapter 4 showed that the LoNorth study area was distinguished from the others by a mix of families of low and average socio-economic status. It follows from this that residents in the LoNorth study area were less integrated into their neighbourhood than in the other three study areas. This will explain the finding that respondents in the LoNorth study area associated with neighbours less frequently than those in the other study areas.

It was found in Chapter 5 that respondents in the LoNorth and HiSouth study areas had less frequent contact with friends than those in the other study areas. The multiple-regression analysis in this chapter showed that immigration had a negative effect on frequency of contact with friends. This suggests that the low frequency of

contact in the LoNorth and HiSouth study areas was caused by many overseas immigrants there, which was shown in Table 5.11.

Much discussion centres around the question of whether or not neighbourhood, friendship and workmate ties serve a compensatory function in providing social relationships, where local relatives are unavailable (Tomeh, 1974, Saha, 1975, Usui *et al.*, 1977). It can be seen from Table 9.5 that the urban residents with local relatives had greater frequency of contact with relatives, but the presence of local relatives had no significant effect on frequency of contact with neighbours, friends, and workmates. Likewise, Table 9.6 indicated that the close proximity of relatives resulted in more help expected from relatives, but had no significant effect on the amount of help expected from neighbours and friends. These findings about frequency of contact and social support suggest that neighbours, friends and workmates were not more important in the absence of Canberra relatives. There was another finding in favour of this conclusion; the total frequency of contact was significantly greater when relatives were present in the city. In sum, the data support Saha's argument that neighbours, friends and workmates do not "compensate for, or act as surrogate relatives when relatives are unavailable" (Saha, 1975, p. 23).

The above conclusion also gives an answer to the problem which was raised in Chapter 6. Table 6.4 in Chapter 6, together with Table 9.3 in this chapter, showed that the presence of local relatives was associated with frequent contact with friends. However, the multiple regression analysis in Table 9.5 made it clear that its effect on frequency of contact with friends was not independent of the other predictors.

Although the importance of neighbours among low socio-economic status people in Western societies has been well documented (e.g., Axelrod, 1956; Gans, 1962a, 1962b; Bott, 1971), Table 9.6 showed that high-status women tended to expect more support from neighbours than low-status women. The fact that Canberra is predominantly a middle and upper middle class city may help one to interpret this contradictory finding. The way in which high-status (middle class) people give

assistance to, and receive assistance from, neighbours is thought to be different from that of low-status (working class) people. More importantly, the former way prevails in Canberra, because middle class and upper middle class people form a majority there. Accordingly, low-status people may find it difficult to expect social support from neighbours.

Finally,  $R^2$ s at the bottom of Tables 9.5 and 9.6 give us more insight into the primary groups and primary support structures. The very small amount of variance explained for frequency of contact with friends and workmates, and the amount of help expected from friends, suggests that the independent variables examined were not highly salient, at least in this context, in determining frequency of contact and perceived support. It is not that respondents did not associate with friends and workmates, nor that they did not regard friends as potential sources of help, but these types of association and expectations appear to be more random than research elsewhere suggests. Clearly this was not the case for relatives and neighbours. The standardised partial coefficients in Tables 9.5 and 9.6 indicate that in the former geographical proximity and length of residence were main determinants of social interaction and perceived support. In the latter, the stage of the life cycle emerged as the chief determinant of social interaction and perceived support.

## 9.7. CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has investigated the effect which length of residence in Canberra had on informal social participation. The significant role of length of residence in a community in accounting for assimilation into various types of primary groups has been well documented. In opposition to this, the present research suggested that the importance of kinship, neighbourhood and friendship relationships altered in a compensatory way. In terms of social interaction, the decline of neighbourhood relationships was offset by the establishment of kinship and friendship relationships in

the course of time in Canberra. This means that not all types of primary groups developed in proportion to length of residence in Canberra. However, this type of compensatory relationship was not observed with regard to social support structures. Only the amount of support from relatives increased with length of residence in the city.

The presence of Canberra relatives increased social interaction with relatives, the total amount of social interaction and the amount of support from relatives. However, an absence of local relatives did not magnify the importance of neighbours, friends and workmates to compensate for relatives.

Determinants which explained some variance in neighbourhood relationships were made known by the analyses. It is possible to suggest the following practical implications from these findings.

1. Residents' life-cycle positions shaped social connections to the neighbourhood. More specifically, having children aged less than 10 appeared to facilitate social interaction with neighbours and acquisition of social support from them.
2. Women working outside the home were restricted by time and had infrequent contact with neighbours, but work did not reduce availability of support from neighbours.
3. The presence of local issues did not result in neighbourhood integration.
4. Heterogeneity of socio-economic status of residents in a neighbourhood discouraged residents from interacting with neighbours.
5. Home-ownership did not connect residents with their neighbourhood.
6. Among Catholics neighbours played an important role in providing support.

These points, particularly implications for urban planning, will be discussed in detail in Chapter 10.

## NOTES to Chapter 10

<sup>1</sup> Usui *et al.*'s study (Usui *et al.*, 1977) gave thought not only to all types of primary groups but also to participation in formal groups.

<sup>2</sup> Zimmer (1955) explored membership in formal organisations, officership in organisations and registration to vote as indicators of social participation. He stated that migrants differed from the natives in the level of participation, but the longer they lived in a city, the more similar they became to the natives in their behaviour. Windham (1963) also reported that formal participation was related to length of residence in a city.

<sup>3</sup> Even though public servants move from another city to Canberra, many of them remain in the same government department, and thus maintaining ties to former workmates can be very beneficial to their future career. Because of this special working condition, migration may be less likely to sever former workmate relationships in Canberra than elsewhere.

<sup>4</sup> The number of cases here is different from that in Chapter 8, for a reason which will be advanced afterwards; accordingly, the figures in the table are at slight variance with those in Table 8.2, Chapter 8.

<sup>5</sup> Because the number of cases here is different from that in the previous chapter, the figures in the table vary from those in Table 8.3, Chapter 8.

<sup>6</sup> Cronbach's  $\alpha$  was also calculated to test the reliability of each scale. The reliability coefficient for the relative support scale was 0.72, that for the neighbour support scale 0.77, and that for the friend support scale 0.73. These values confirms the reliability

of these scales.

<sup>7</sup> The ANU2 scale was used to measure occupational status for two reasons. First, this chapter is not concerned with occupational mobility. Because there is no need to define occupational mobility, the use of the categorical ANU1 scale is unnecessary. Second, the ANU2 scale is a continuous rating of occupations. Because of this, the use of the ANU2 scale makes multiple regression analysis simpler. As mentioned earlier, the rank order correlation (Spearman) between the ANU1 16 point scale and the ANU2 scale is 0.92.

<sup>8</sup> Table 9.7 on page 208 presents means and standard deviations for the variables used in the regression analyses. Table 9.8 on page 209 shows correlations between all the variables used in the analyses.

<sup>9</sup> The finding that the stage of the life cycle constituted a significant cause for neighbourhood relationships and perceived support from neighbours is consistent with the result of my participant-observation, which was presented in Chapter 3.

<sup>10</sup> Based on my participant-observation, effects of the neighbourhood unit on neighbourhood relationships were evaluated in Chapter 3.

**Table 9.7. Means and Standard Deviations of Variables Used in Multiple Regression**

|                                     | mean   | STD. DEV. |
|-------------------------------------|--------|-----------|
| <b><u>dependent variables</u></b>   |        |           |
| frequency of contact                |        |           |
| relatives                           | 21.89  | 22.74     |
| neighbours                          | 28.02  | 23.16     |
| friends                             | 28.12  | 20.11     |
| workmates                           | 15.05  | 18.92     |
| total frequency                     | 93.09  | 44.48     |
| social support                      |        |           |
| relatives                           | 2.083  | 1.273     |
| neighbours                          | 1.799  | 1.461     |
| friends                             | 1.706  | 1.435     |
| <b><u>independent variables</u></b> |        |           |
| stage of life cycle                 |        |           |
| child(ren) 0-5                      | 0.5593 | 0.4971    |
| child(ren) 6-9                      | 0.2964 | 0.4573    |
| child(ren) 10-15                    | 0.2577 | 0.4380    |
| relatives in Canberra               | 0.5954 | 0.4915    |
| overseas immigrant                  | 0.2474 | 0.4321    |
| owns home                           | 0.8119 | 0.3913    |
| respondent works                    | 0.6959 | 0.4606    |
| religious denomination              |        |           |
| Catholic                            | 0.3093 | 0.4628    |
| Protestant                          | 0.4613 | 0.4991    |
| occupational score of spouse        | 577.1  | 107.9     |
| study area                          |        |           |
| HiNorth                             | 0.2320 | 0.4226    |
| LoNorth                             | 0.2423 | 0.4290    |
| HiSouth                             | 0.2655 | 0.4422    |
| LoSouth                             | 0.2603 | 0.4394    |
| length of residence (months)        | 141.6  | 102.5     |
| N of cases                          | 388    |           |



**Table 8.8. Table of Pearson Product Moment Correlation Coefficients**

|                                  | 1      | 2      | 3      | 4      | 5      | 6      | 7      | 8      |
|----------------------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| 1. child(ren) 0-5                | 1.000  | 0.019  | -0.272 | 0.061  | -0.008 | -0.055 | -0.384 | 0.134  |
| 2. child(ren) 6-9                |        | 1.000  | 0.160  | -0.051 | 0.020  | 0.024  | -0.000 | -0.031 |
| 3. child(ren) 10-15              |        |        | 1.000  | -0.078 | 0.017  | 0.027  | 0.095  | 0.039  |
| 4. relatives in Canberra         |        |        |        | 1.000  | -0.099 | 0.127  | -0.054 | 0.052  |
| 5. overseas immigrant            |        |        |        |        | 1.000  | -0.075 | 0.029  | 0.030  |
| 6. owns home                     |        |        |        |        |        | 1.000  | 0.083  | 0.065  |
| 7. respondent works              |        |        |        |        |        |        | 1.000  | -0.067 |
| 8. Catholic                      |        |        |        |        |        |        |        | 1.000  |
|                                  |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |
|                                  | 9      | 10     | 11     | 12     | 13     | 14     | 15     | 16     |
| 1. child(ren) 0-5                | -0.043 | -0.038 | 0.008  | 0.029  | 0.028  | -0.065 | 0.055  | 0.156  |
| 2. child(ren) 6-9                | 0.033  | 0.067  | 0.192  | -0.064 | 0.019  | -0.141 | -0.040 | -0.100 |
| 3. child(ren) 10-15              | 0.069  | 0.061  | 0.053  | 0.079  | -0.047 | -0.081 | 0.043  | -0.139 |
| 4. relatives in Canberra         | -0.006 | -0.216 | -0.020 | -0.049 | -0.004 | 0.070  | 0.484  | 0.656  |
| 5. overseas immigrant            | -0.135 | 0.011  | -0.075 | 0.052  | 0.034  | -0.013 | -0.143 | -0.035 |
| 6. owns home                     | -0.017 | 0.252  | 0.093  | -0.328 | 0.170  | 0.060  | 0.176  | 0.091  |
| 7. respondent works              | 0.061  | 0.078  | 0.032  | 0.021  | -0.021 | -0.029 | -0.022 | -0.160 |
| 8. Catholic                      | -0.619 | -0.048 | 0.002  | -0.118 | -0.011 | 0.124  | 0.051  | 0.075  |
| 9. Protestant                    | 1.000  | -0.086 | -0.019 | 0.032  | 0.041  | -0.054 | -0.015 | -0.028 |
| 10. occupational score of spouse |        | 1.000  | 0.104  | -0.189 | 0.129  | -0.046 | -0.182 | -0.228 |
| 11. HiNorth                      |        |        | 1.000  | -0.311 | -0.330 | -0.326 | -0.014 | 0.016  |
| 12. LoNorth                      |        |        |        | 1.000  | -0.340 | -0.335 | -0.014 | -0.116 |
| 13. HiSouth                      |        |        |        |        | 1.000  | -0.357 | 0.027  | -0.013 |
| 14. LoSouth                      |        |        |        |        |        | 1.000  | -0.000 | 0.111  |
| 15. length of residence          |        |        |        |        |        |        | 1.000  | 0.446  |
| 16. freq. relatives              |        |        |        |        |        |        |        | 1.000  |
|                                  |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |
|                                  | 17     | 18     | 19     | 20     | 21     | 22     | 23     |        |
| 1. child(ren) 0-5                | 0.158  | 0.014  | -0.097 | 0.127  | 0.135  | 0.155  | 0.075  |        |
| 2. child(ren) 6-9                | 0.173  | -0.007 | -0.102 | -0.008 | -0.011 | 0.267  | 0.058  |        |
| 3. child(ren) 10-15              | -0.008 | -0.083 | -0.081 | -0.147 | -0.126 | 0.061  | -0.040 |        |
| 4. relatives in Canberra         | -0.031 | 0.120  | -0.047 | 0.353  | 0.537  | -0.060 | -0.081 |        |
| 5. overseas immigrant            | -0.021 | -0.143 | 0.003  | -0.092 | -0.117 | 0.087  | -0.074 |        |
| 6. owns home                     | 0.055  | 0.096  | -0.063 | 0.091  | 0.031  | 0.083  | 0.044  |        |
| 7. respondent works              | -0.155 | -0.060 | 0.004  | -0.188 | -0.103 | -0.091 | -0.050 |        |
| 8. Catholic                      | 0.053  | 0.076  | 0.007  | 0.103  | 0.027  | 0.100  | 0.024  |        |
| 9. Protestant                    | 0.085  | -0.045 | -0.019 | 0.002  | -0.011 | -0.046 | -0.030 |        |
| 10. occupational score of spouse | 0.014  | -0.026 | 0.050  | -0.100 | -0.154 | 0.157  | 0.125  |        |
| 11. HiNorth                      | 0.014  | 0.040  | -0.044 | 0.015  | -0.016 | 0.159  | -0.002 |        |
| 12. LoNorth                      | -0.121 | -0.046 | -0.078 | -0.176 | -0.093 | -0.087 | 0.028  |        |
| 13. HiSouth                      | 0.049  | -0.044 | 0.081  | 0.034  | 0.012  | -0.009 | -0.019 |        |
| 14. LoSouth                      | 0.055  | 0.050  | 0.036  | 0.124  | 0.095  | -0.059 | -0.005 |        |
| 15. length of residence          | -0.111 | 0.133  | -0.036 | 0.215  | 0.381  | -0.015 | 0.028  |        |
| 16. freq. relatives              | 0.024  | 0.113  | 0.027  | 0.587  | 0.505  | -0.058 | -0.109 |        |
| 17. freq. neighbours             | 1.000  | 0.085  | -0.037 | 0.556  | -0.020 | 0.455  | -0.014 |        |
| 18. freq. friends                |        | 1.000  | -0.049 | 0.534  | 0.120  | -0.049 | 0.263  |        |
| 19. freq. workmates              |        |        | 1.000  | 0.398  | -0.023 | 0.034  | 0.136  |        |
| 20. total freq.                  |        |        |        | 1.000  | 0.292  | 0.199  | 0.114  |        |
| 21. support relatives            |        |        |        |        | 1.000  | -0.012 | 0.095  |        |
| 22. support neighbours           |        |        |        |        |        | 1.000  | 0.236  |        |
| 23. support workmates            |        |        |        |        |        |        | 1.000  |        |

N of cases 388

## Chapter 10

# CONCLUSIONS

### 10.1. INTRODUCTION

The development of industrialisation in modern society has increased occupational and residential mobility. It is generally assumed that as a result of this, social integration and kinship relationships have been weakened, leading to alienation and the breakdown of informal help networks which formerly served as effective means of primary community services. The object of this study has been to examine the patterns of social networks and the availability of social support under the influence of social change. Data regarding social participation in Canberra were analysed in previous chapters. This chapter synthesises the contents of those chapters and derives conclusions from the findings as a whole.

### 10.2. MAIN CONCLUSIONS

Sociologists have studied social networks and social support in response to questions about the effects of industrial transformation on urban residents. Wellman integrated and summarised these sociological debates about communities into three arguments on the "Community Question": "Community Lost", "Community Saved", and "Community Liberated" (Wellman, 1979; Wellman and Leighton, 1979). The "Community Lost" argument appeared first in the theoretical writing of classical sociologists beginning around the turn of the century including Toennies (1887), Durkheim (1893), Simmel (1902-03) and Wirth (1938). According to the "Community Lost" argument, primary relationships in the local community (e.g., neighbourhood) had been replaced by secondary relationships (e.g., bureaucratic organisations) and this social transformation made people socially isolated and

rootless. These early sociologists, however, were not able to provide a great deal of empirical support for their arguments. As a result, subsequent sociologists carried out empirical research on social relationships in cities. From this research, two other views emerged. The "Community Saved" argument refutes the pessimism of the "Community Lost" argument. Those in support of this view contended that neighbourhoods and kinship solidarity continued to flourish in urban settings, because the inherent gregariousness of human nature presented an effective counterbalance to any tendencies towards social isolation in modern urban society (e.g., Dotson, 1951; Sussman, 1953, 1959; Axelrod, 1956; Greer, 1956; Bell and Boat, 1957; Young and Willmott, 1957; Litwak, 1961; Gans, 1962a, 1962b; Sussman and Burchinell, 1962; Fellin and Litwak, 1963). In contrast, the "Community Liberated" argument suggested that while kinship and neighbourhood ties appeared to decline as a result of the large-scale social change, urban residents were compensated by more extensive social networks beyond their neighbourhoods. That is, urban residents had social ties, but they were less restricted by geographical propinquity in forming these ties (e.g., Kadushin, 1966; Granovetter, 1973; Laumann, 1973; Fischer, 1976, 1982; Shulman, 1976; Walker, 1977; Wellman, 1979; Tsai and Sigelman, 1982). In this thesis Wellman's work served as a theoretical framework whereby the Canberra community was assessed.

This thesis (in Chapter 1) proposed two main questions to be explored through the analysis of survey data. They were:

1. What types of social networks and social support are formed from the viewpoint of the "Community Question"?
2. To what extent do *intergenerational* occupational mobility and residential mobility (i.e., length of residence) affect social networks and social support?

To evaluate the validity of the findings of this study in relation to these questions,

some key features of Canberra bear repeating. Canberra is a government city with many public servants in white-collar occupations. As a result, the Canberra population is characterised by its prevalence of middle and upper middle class residents. *Intergenerational* occupational mobility and residential movement were other significant facets of Canberra society for this study. The upward mobility was more frequent in Canberra than in other areas of Australia. Moreover, the city has been noticeably growing in population and its population showed more mobile character than the Australian norm.

Special policies incorporated into Canberra's urban planning were also relevant. There are various types of extensive open spaces in Canberra, and detached low-density housing dominates the city (the dispersed settlement plan). The neighbourhood unit scheme has also been an important concept in planning the residential section of the city. This scheme was designed to intensify neighbourhood relationships and to foster local community attachment by making common community facilities more accessible to residents. Additionally, Canberra lacks marked differences in residents' socio-economic status among suburbs (the social mix policy).

In view of these features, Canberra cannot be described as a "typical" Australian city. Yet, Canberra is a good example of a rapidly growing city, which is likely to become more common in the future. Because of its planned nature, the city also provides a unique opportunity to better understand social life in contemporary cities using a quasi-experimental design as a model for research.<sup>1</sup>

Two sets of questions about interpersonal relationships were used for an interview survey in Canberra. The first set of questions focussed on individuals' frequency of contact with (1) relatives, (2) neighbours, (3) friends and (4) workmates. These data were converted into annual frequency of contact scales. In addition, these were summed to form an index of the total annual frequency of contact. These questions were derived from Axelrod's Detroit Area Study (Axelrod, 1953, 1956). The second set of questions concerned accessibility of social support anticipated by residents.

Respondents were asked about the support expected from four types of primary groups -- relatives, neighbours, friends and workmates -- in four hypothetical situations different in time frame and in the kind of emergency (i.e., "one-hour wait for a delivery", "one-day stomach ache", "two-week appendix operation" and "three-month broken leg"). For the social support questions, the questions in Litwak and Szelenyi's Detroit Study (Litwak and Szelenyi, 1969) were used, along with additional questions designed to measure the one-hour problem. The replication was intended to enhance the possibilities for comparison with some previous research.

The interview survey was conducted in 1986-1987 with the following sample design. Canberra had three kinds of districts: a developing district, established districts and a redeveloping district. These three kinds of districts were assumed to vary in the levels of local community integration. The study restricted its attention to a developing district and an established district. Two study areas differing in socio-economic status were selected purposively from each of the two districts. Two were in Belconnen, which was an established district and these were referred to as the HiNorth and LoNorth study areas; two were in Tuggeranong, which was a developing district and these were called the HiSouth and LoSouth study areas. Women who were under 55 years of age and who were married or in a *de facto* relationship were randomly selected from each study area and were interviewed. A total of 394 interviews were completed. This survey is referred to here as the Canberra Survey.

The analyses of the data yielded the following four basic findings in relation to the two questions proposed at the outset:

(Finding 1) Residents associated with neighbours or friends more frequently than with relatives. The Canberra community fitted in with the "Community Liberated" perspective with regard to network ties (Chapter 6).

(Finding 2) Relatives were the most important primary group, especially in dealing with the long-term problems. In contrast, neighbours were significant

sources of support in the short-term situation. These findings supported the "Community Saved" perspective in connection with social support (Chapter 7).

(Finding 3) Effects of occupational mobility were detected in some specific types of social relationships. Extreme downward mobility decreased the frequency of contact with relatives. Both upward mobility and extreme downward mobility disrupted the availability of support from neighbours. However, these mobility effects were slight (Chapter 8).

(Finding 4) Length of residence in Canberra affected the levels of social interaction. More importantly, in terms of social interaction, the decline of neighbourhood relationships was offset by the establishment of kinship and friendship relationships in the course of time in Canberra. However, this type of compensatory relationship was not observed with regard to social support structures. Only the amount of support from relatives increased with length of residence in the city (Chapter 9).

Findings 1 and 2 suggest a change in associational patterns and social support structures. The rise of efficient mass communication and transportation systems allowed urban residents to develop social relationships extending beyond their immediate neighbourhood; accordingly, friends were significant sources of sociability. Residents in Canberra tend to be connected (by common values and topics of conversation) with others who were presumably widely scattered around the city.<sup>2</sup> However, this was not the case for social support structures; the analysis showed that friends did not serve as an important source of support. Instead, the importance of relatives as a source of social support emerged. Relatives are less likely than before to reside in the neighbourhood in industrialised societies, which are characterised by high rates of residential mobility. Because long distance hinders daily face-to-face contact, relatives may have lost their importance as a source of sociability. Nonetheless,

innovations in transportation and communication have facilitated keeping in regular touch with relatives who lived elsewhere. Thus, relatives, even those living far away, continued to be important providers of support, when people were confronted with the long-term emergency situations (i.e., "two-week appendix operation" and "three-month broken leg").

The question of differences among the four study areas in Canberra was also explored. There was considerable similarity in the associational patterns and social support structures among the study areas. This suggested that the four study areas basically shared the common associational patterns and social support structures.

A comparison was made with the Detroit data (i.e., Axelrod, 1953, 1956 and Litwak and Szelenyi, 1969) to characterise patterns of social networks and availability of social support in Canberra more distinctly. Residents in Canberra interacted with others more often than those of Detroit, despite the mobile character of its population. Looking at each type of primary group, Canberra residents had more frequent contact with neighbours or friends, but had less contact with relatives. As regards social support, the data in the three situations (i.e., "one-day stomach ache", "two-week appendix operation" and "three-month broken leg") could be compared with those in Detroit. In these three situations, primary support structures were not as well established in Canberra as in Detroit. This was particularly obvious regarding neighbours and friends. The comparative unimportance of neighbours and friends made relatives the chief sources of help in Canberra when the long-term problems arose. In particular, expectation of help from relatives in Canberra was almost as high as that in Detroit when residents were confronted with the most long-term emergency situation (i.e., "three-month broken leg"). In sum, the comparison suggested that whereas Canberra residents were more gregarious than Detroit residents, the latter regarded support from others more obtainable than the former.

Findings 3 and 4 indicate that, taken together, occupational and residential mobility did not disrupt or weaken social relationships to any great extent. That is,

short-term residents or those who occupied socio-economic status different from their father's were slightly less sociable, and had slightly less access to social support only in some specific types of social relationships, than their counterparts. It was concluded from this that the impact of the social change upon community structures was small. It is also important to note the compensatory relationship among relatives, neighbours and friends in terms of social interaction.

The findings to the two main questions of this study were outlined. A task to follow might be to consider what these findings mean as a whole. Modern societies are characterised by development in industrialisation. For individuals, development in industrialisation has often meant frequent occupational mobility, a high rate of residential movement, a short length of residence in one locality, etc. It has been generally assumed that these changes make it difficult for urban residents to develop social relationships and to obtain social support from others. Canberra residents led a sociable life, though they did not have good access to primary group support. Contrary to the above general assumption, their social networks and social support were not disrupted or weakened by occupational and residential mobility as much as had been generally assumed. These results lead to the conclusion that residents in Canberra adapted themselves successfully to the new social circumstances imposed upon them by industrial transformation.

Special circumstances should be taken into account to understand this conclusion. As elsewhere stated, the Canberra population is characterised by a significant proportion of residents who were born outside the city, whether elsewhere in Australia or overseas. It seems that many migrants create a group norm according to which long-term residents are expected to welcome and accept newcomers as their neighbours. It was also suggested that most suburbs in Canberra have been constructed on the basis of the neighbourhood unit, which was designed to intensify neighbourhood interaction. In addition to a high proportion of migrants and the neighbourhood unit scheme, residents in the city were involved in various local



volunteer groups, which presumably helped to integrate newcomers into neighbourhoods. It is speculated that these three characteristics of the city have facilitated residents' acquaintance with neighbours within a short period and have contributed to a relatively sociable life style in Canberra neighbourhoods. In consequence, Canberra residents in general had frequent contact with neighbours and short-term residents associated with neighbours more frequently than long-term residents.

### 10.3. OTHER FINDINGS

Findings relating to the two questions proposed at the outset were summarised above. In addition, the analyses yielded other findings. Seven points regarding these additional findings are discussed below.

In the first place, the relative significance of occupational and residential mobility as factors affecting social participation is summarised. It was argued in Chapter 8 that occupational mobility itself did not disrupt or weaken social relationships and availability of social support to any great extent. For example, it was shown that upward mobility reduced availability of support from neighbours. However, the entry of the dummy variable for upward mobility increased  $R^2$  by only 1.7 per cent. In Chapter 9, the relationships between length of residence and social participation were explored and the analysis suggested that some aspects of informal social participation varied by length of residence. This does not necessarily mean that this factor had a relatively powerful effect. A question arises here as to how important length of residence was as a factor influencing social participation, compared with the controlling variables. Partial regression coefficients give a good insight into this problem. They suggest relative significance of predictors with higher values indicative of powerful effects. The partial regression coefficients in Tables 9.5 and 9.6, Chapter 9 suggested that -- among the factors considered -- the presence of local relatives had

by far the most powerful effect on frequency of contact with relatives and on the amount of support expected from them, and that the stage of the life cycle rather than length of residence had more significant effects on neighbourhood relationships. What emerged was that the patterns of social networks and availability of social support were influenced by occupational and residential mobility, but these were not the key factors.

In the second place, from the examination of the partial regression coefficients, the key role of local relatives for kinship relationships became clear. It does not follow from this that relatives had lost their importance for those whose relatives lived elsewhere. Such residents had much less frequent contact with relatives and expected much less support from them (Tables 9.3 and 9.4 in Chapter 9). Despite this, Table 7.8 in Chapter 7 showed that relatives who lived elsewhere played an important part in providing support in the long-term emergency situations (i.e., "two-week appendix operation" and "three-month broken leg"). The rise of efficient mass communication and transportation systems has made this possible. The importance of relatives substantiates Litwak's finding on the "modified extended family" concept (Litwak, 1960a, 1960c, 1965; Litwak and Figueira, 1970).

The significance of relatives in providing social support has another interpretation. As noted in Chapter 3, Australians have a belief that they should cope with their personal matters independently of others in ordinary circumstances. Nevertheless, Table 7.8 in Chapter 7 showed that they often turned to their nearby relatives for help when faced with various problems. This indicates an inconsistency between their beliefs and their practices.

In the third place, the multiple regression analyses in Tables 9.5 and 9.6, Chapter 9 showed that, besides length of residence and the location of relatives, there were other determinants which explained some variance in kinship relationships. While the stage of the life cycle, labour force status and socio-economic status affected frequency of contact with relatives, residents' life-cycle stages influenced the amount of social

support expected from them. These effects are summarised as follows:

(a) Women with child(ren) under 6 tended to expect more support from relatives than others, because these children need a lot of care. It is therefore imperative for these women to acquire help from relatives. Conversely, women with child(ren) between 10 and 15 associated with relatives less frequently than others, because such children require less care. This decreases opportunities for them to interact with relatives.

(b) Working women outside the home mixed with relatives less frequently than did non-working women. This may be explained by the fact that the former had less time for association than the latter. However, both working women and non-working women had a similar levels of expectations of help from relatives. This indicates that limited time spent at home did not hinder them from developing a pool of potential support from relatives.

(c) Women of low socio-economic status tended to associate with relatives more frequently than women of high socio-economic status. Their low educational attainment resulted in limited topics of conversation and they had lower self-esteem. This lack of ability to develop friendship relationships according to shared interests leads them to depend upon kinship relationships. However, these two groups of women did not differ in the amount of help given by relatives. This shows the importance of relatives in providing a strong support base for women of both high and low socio-economic status.

In the fourth place, the analyses in Chapter 8 showed that neighbourhood relationships were influenced by several other factors, other than length of residence. The effects of these variables, some of which carry implications for urban planning, merit comment.

(a) The stage of the life cycle was found to be an important factor influencing the levels of neighbourhood relationships. More specifically, urban residents with children aged less than 10 had more frequent contact with, and expected more support

from, neighbours. This is explained by the fact that children connect their parents to the neighbourhood in a variety of ways. For example, children encourage parents' informal contact with residents through the children's friends, and generate parental interest in the neighbourhood and membership in community organisations. This finding coincides with the result of the author's participant-observation reported in Chapter 3.

(b) It was revealed that women who were not employed outside the home linked themselves to the neighbourhood more closely than do working women; conversely, working and non-working women did not differ in the amount of support expected from neighbours. This contrast is probably due to the fact that working women had less time to actually interact with neighbours, but limited time spent at home did not prevent them from developing a pool of potential support from neighbours.

(c) It was hypothesised that urban residents in Tuggeranong associated with neighbours more frequently or expected more support from neighbours than those in Belconnen, because various local issues in Tuggeranong served to integrate neighbours. However, the multiple regression analyses in Chapter 9 produced results against this hypothesis. This does not mean that the stages of development are of no use in understanding Canberra society. This conceptualisation, for example, helped to explain why political action groups tended to occur in developing districts (districts in the first stage) and in redeveloping districts (districts in the third stage). Moreover, the discussion in Chapter 2 led to the hypothesis that the stages of development would affect levels of residents' attention to their suburb. It was hypothesised in Chapter 9 that the presence of local issues would encourage residents in general to participate in such relationships, but the data did not support this hypothesis. Instead of this hypothesis, the discussion on the stages of development leads to an alternative hypothesis that the presence of local issues would involve only a few activists in neighbourhood relationships. These hypotheses remain as possibilities.

Table 9.5 in Chapter 9 showed that residents interacted with neighbours less

frequently in the LoNorth study area, where families were a mixture of poor families and average families in socio-economic status. This finding not only suggested that heterogeneity of the socio-economic status of residents hindered neighbourhood interaction (cf. Michelson, 1970, p. 119-25), but also had an implication for urban planning policies. In unplanned cities, populations tend to be "sifted and sorted" in space, and residential areas are likely to be segregated by socio-economic status. In contrast, in Canberra, the government has promoted a degree of heterogeneity within suburbs and constructed suburbs without marked status differences for the most part. The above finding suggested that this social mix policy may have exerted an adverse influence on neighbourhood integration. Residents might have interacted with neighbours more often, if the city had consisted of a wide variety of suburbs, where residents of the same socio-economic status resided.

(d) It is commonly believed that home ownership is linked with increased neighbourhood involvement, because home ownership implies not only greater investment in the locality but also owners' attachment to the neighbourhood (Gerson *et al.*, 1977, p. 149). Against this common belief, home ownership in Canberra was not associated with residents' involvement with neighbours. It is inferred from this that the increase in number of home-owners in this area probably would not lead to more intimate neighbourhood relationships.

(e) There were variations in the amount of social support expected from neighbours among urban residents who practiced different religions. It was found that Catholics anticipated more support from neighbours. This could be explained by the fact that Catholics are more bound together in ideology than people from other Christian religions.

In the fifth place, the multiple regression analyses in Tables 9.5 and 9.6, Chapter 9 detected the significant factors which affected the levels of friendship and workmate relationships to some extent. In addition,  $R^2$ s at the bottom of these tables indicate the percentage of variance explained by the relevant independent variables. Table 9.5

shows that the net effects of overseas immigration and length of residence on frequency of contact with friends were responsible for only 3.4 per cent of the variance and only 1.0 per cent of the variance in frequency of contact with workmates was due to the stage of the life cycle. According to Table 9.6, socio-economic status accounted for 1.6 per cent of the variance in the amount of social support from friends. The very small amount of variance explained for frequency of contact with friends and workmates, and the amount of help expected from friends, suggested that the independent variables examined were not highly salient, at least in this context, in determining frequency of contact and perceived support.

In the sixth place, Litwak and Szelenyi (1969) maintained that in contemporary industrial societies the various types of primary groups had become differentiated in such a way that some primary groups handled different types of tasks more effectively than others. As far as the three comparable situations (i.e., "one-day stomach ache", "two-week appendix operation" and "three-month broken leg") were concerned, primary support functions were not differentiated in Canberra as distinctively as Litwak and Szelenyi's results in Detroit might lead one to expect (Tables 7.1 and 7.6 in Chapter 7). More specifically, relatives were active exclusively in dealing with the two long-term situations (i.e., "two-week appendix operation" and "three-month broken leg") in Canberra. On the other hand, neighbours were the chief source of support in the short-term situation (i.e., "one-hour wait for a delivery") in Canberra, though Litwak and Szelenyi did not ask primary group support in this situation. Consequently a comparison was not possible. This suggests that primary group functions were differentiated in Canberra, but not in the same way as Litwak and Szelenyi found to be the case in Detroit.

In the seventh place, there is much discussion regarding the question of whether or not neighbourhood, friendship and workmate ties serve a compensatory function in providing social relationships, where local relatives are unavailable (Tomeh, 1974, Saha, 1975, Usui *et al.*, 1977). It can be seen from Table 9.5 in Chapter 9 that urban

residents with local relatives had greater frequency of contact with relatives, but the presence of local relatives had no significant effect on frequency of contact with neighbours, friends, and workmates. Likewise, Table 9.6 in Chapter 9 showed that the presence of local relatives led to more help expected from relatives, but it had no significant effect on the amount of help expected from neighbours and friends. Therefore, these findings regarding frequency of contact and social support suggested that neighbours, friends and workmates were not more important in the absence of local relatives. Another finding that the total frequency of contact was significantly greater for those whose relatives were present in the city was consistent with the conclusion. It would seem that neighbours, friends and workmates did not compensate for absent local relatives in providing sociability and social support.

Finally, the clear conclusion of this study is that urban residents adapted themselves to new social circumstance more successfully than had been generally assumed, despite increased occupational mobility and a short length of residence in the city. All things considered, the residents of the city studied enjoyed a sociable life, but did not have good access to primary group support. What is implied is that occupational and residential mobility did not disrupt or weaken social relationships and the availability of social support to any significant degree. It is equally apparent that the presence of local relatives and the stage of the life cycle were major forces affecting informal social participation, compared with occupational and residential mobility. Particularly, the presence of local relatives stood out as being the most influential factor; living near relatives greatly increased the likelihood of developing kinship interaction and social support from relatives.

#### **10.4. SOME IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS**

The findings from this study have been summarised so far. It may be possible to derive many implications from them, but this section focuses on three: (1)

neighbourhood relationships in Inner Canberra, (2) the type of social networks and social support formed in the future, and (3) a comparison with Japan. These are detailed below.

In the first place, the analyses in Chapter 9 showed that the stage of the life cycle had a significant effect on neighbourhood relationships. More specifically, having children aged less than 10 was likely to link families with neighbourhood. This finding makes it possible to infer the levels of neighbourhood relationships in Inner Canberra, where no survey was carried out. The 1986 Census showed that residents under 10 accounted for 10.3 per cent of the Inner Canberra residents, while 19.2 per cent of the whole Canberra residents were in this age range (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1987). This indicates the much lower percentage of children under 10 in Inner Canberra than in Canberra as a whole.<sup>3</sup> It is inferred from this that residents in Inner Canberra have less frequent contact with neighbours and their neighbourhood support structures are less well established than elsewhere in Canberra.

In the second place, the results of this present study make it possible to predict the type of social networks and social support which will be formed in Canberra in the future. Prior to this prediction, three points relating to the latest demographic trends in Canberra need to be noted. First of all, natural increase has become the principal element of population growth in Canberra. The statistical analysis in Chapter 2 showed that natural increase accounted for 69.4 per cent of gross population growth between 1976 and 1986. Secondly, it was shown in Chapter 2 that the percentage of people aged 15 and over who lived at their current residence for over 15 years has gradually increased in Canberra since 1982. It is inferred from this that the average length of residence in Canberra has been extended. Thirdly, massive inter-state population movement (like that which the relocation of public servants from Melbourne to Canberra caused between 1961 and 1975) is not forecast for Canberra in the future.

An inference from these demographic data is that the percentage of people who



grow up in the city and remain there to establish homes and families will increase. Signs of this are increasingly obvious. The NCDC survey in 1984 showed that more than 75 per cent of residents in LoSouth and a middle class suburb in Tuggeranong (like LoSouth) were first home purchasers and nearly 80 per cent of them had previously resided elsewhere in Canberra (National Capital Development Commission, 1984b). In addition, the Canberra Survey revealed that 43 per cent of the respondents in the LoSouth study area spent their teenage years somewhere in Canberra.

In view of the above, the percentage of Canberra-reared residents is projected to increase and, as a result, a higher percentage of residents will have relatives in Canberra in the future than at the time of the interview. The propinquity of relatives will heighten frequency of contact with them and increase the amount of support expected from relatives, according to the results in Chapter 9.

In addition, the extension of the average length of residence in Canberra will have some effect on the pattern of social networks and the availability of social support. In consideration of the results noted in Chapter 9, while prolonged residence in the city will make friendship interaction more prevalent, it will diminish neighbourhood interaction. Moreover, it follows from the results in Chapter 8 that frequency of contact with relatives and the amount of support expected from them will increase with length of residence in the city. The net consequence of these is that while kinship and friendship interaction will become more prevalent in Canberra, neighbourhood interaction will lose its importance, and that the support expected from relatives will develop further.

In the third place, it was concluded that the amount of disruption or weakening of social relationships was not greatly influenced by occupational and residential mobility in Canberra. This conclusion is in sharp contrast to that reported in Japan. A research team of sociologists conducted a survey in two local cities in 1975 and demonstrated that the social ties were disrupted or weakened substantially by occupational and residential mobility (Suzuki, 1978). This result suggests that occupational and

residential mobility may have led to different consequences in Japan from those in Australia.

This different result between the two countries may be understood in terms of the social contexts in which occupational and residential mobility occurred. There was high growth in the Japanese economy between 1955 and 1970. It transformed the industrial/occupational structure and instigated residential movement to large cities.<sup>4</sup> What should be emphasised is that the occupational and residential mobility increased so abruptly that Japanese people were not able to adapt easily to the changing situations. By contrast, in Australia industrialisation began well prior to the Second World War. Because of this, a chronological analysis of the Censuses shows a constant change in occupational structure since 1911 (Jones, 1971), indicating that sizeable occupational mobility has occurred for a long time. Furthermore, industrialisation has given rise to considerable residential mobility for some time (Rowland, 1979, pp. 14-31). It is suggested that because Australia has witnessed occupational and residential mobility over a long period of time, people have been able to establish an adaptable life style. Those in bureaucratic positions (i.e., employed managers, administrators, professionals, and clerks) in Canberra typify such people. This would partly explain why increased occupational and residential mobility did not greatly disrupt or weaken social networks and social support in Canberra.

## NOTES to Chapter 10

<sup>1</sup> Canberra's population does not show the Australian standard in many demographic indices and the city differs from other Australian cities in its planned nature. These unique features of the community have enabled us to look into some important aspects of contemporary urban life. On the other hand, they point to the problem of investigating to what extent the findings from this study are applicable to other Australian cities. However, as Kilmartin *et al.* (1985) noted, within Australian urban sociology there are only isolated examples of studies of urban life, most of which were reviewed in Chapters 6 and 7. Thus, it is necessary to collect data pertaining to social participation in other Australian cities and to compare findings.

<sup>2</sup> One of the respondents described social networks in Canberra by saying "Neighbours are not so important; instead a community of interests is formed."

<sup>3</sup> A lower percentage of children under 10 lived in Inner Canberra. This can be understood in terms of the first settlement period. Inner Canberra were first settled between 1913 and 1963. In contrast, the three new towns, Woden-Weston Creek, Belconnen and Tuggeranong, were first settled after 1963. Therefore, families in Inner Canberra tended to be at a later stage of their life cycle than elsewhere in Canberra and this resulted in the lower percentage of children under 10 in residence.

<sup>4</sup> Using a conventional non-manual, manual, and farm division of occupations, by 1965 47.1 per cent of Japanese men were in a different occupational stratum from that of their father (Yasuda, 1971, pp. 188). This figure rose up to 50.6 per cent in 1975 (Tominaga, 1979, p. 53). These percentages were high mainly because many people whose fathers were in farming occupations went into non-farming occupations. In relation to residential mobility, 7.0 per cent of the Japanese population moved between municipalities in 1975 (Keizaikikakuchoo Kokuminseikatsukyoku, 1983, p. 19).

## Appendix THE LETTER AND THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

### A.1. THE LETTER SENT TO THOSE IN THE SAMPLE

*The Australian National University*

reference

GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601  
Telegrams & cables NATUNIV Canberra  
Telephone 062-49 5111  
Telex AA 62760 NATUNI

17 November 1986

Dear Sir/Madam:

I am a student doing a Ph.D. research at the A.N.U. The research is on the participation in the community of Australian women in comparison to Japanese women. Households have been randomly selected in your suburb where the survey is being conducted.

I would like to interview women who are under 55 years of age and who are married or in a de facto relationship. I propose to interview in November using interviewers from the A.N.U. or McNair Anderson Associates. If you are in this group, it would be appreciated if you would consent to be interviewed when the interviewer calls.

As this survey is for research purposes and the results will be compiled in statistical form, your name and answer will remain completely anonymous. No company or outside commercial financial support is involved. I would be pleased if you would assist me by being interviewed.

If you have any queries, please contact me.

Mr. Masao Nobe

c/o Department of Sociology, Faculty of Arts  
The Australian National University  
GPO Box 4, Canberra ACT 2601  
TEL 49-2755 (office RM 31)

OR

11 Molesworth Street, Watson, Canberra ACT 2602  
TEL 41-4580 (home)

Yours sincerely,



Masao Nobe

## **A.2. THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE**



### **SURVEY**

## **SOCIAL PARTICIPATION IN THE COMMUNITY**

Department of Sociology

Faculty of Arts

The Australian National University

Hello, my name is \_\_\_\_\_. I am working on behalf of Mr. Masao Nobe of the Australian National University. You may have received a letter of explanation. We are conducting a social survey in this area. We are interviewing women who are under 55 years of age and who are married or in a de facto relationship. If you are (or a woman in your family is) in this category, I would appreciate the opportunity to interview you (or her).

#### PURPOSE

The purpose of this survey is to study community participation among Australian women. As this survey is for research purposes and the results will be compiled in statistical form, your name and answer will remain completely anonymous. No company or outside commercial financial support is involved.

ADDRESS:

TEL:

DATE:

NAME OF INTERVIEWER:

Mr. Masao Nobe (Ph.D. student)

c/o Department of Sociology, Faculty of Arts,  
The Australian National University  
GPO Box 4, Canberra ACT 2601  
TEL 49-2755 (office RM 31)

OR

11 Molesworth Street, Watson, Canberra ACT 2602  
TEL 41-4580 (home)

-----  
 | THIS SECTION IS ABOUT YOUR FAMILY |  
 -----

Q1 How many people live in this household? Can you please give details of their relationship to you and age?

|       | age   | card 1  |
|-------|-------|---------|
| self  | _____ | (11-14) |
| _____ | _____ | (15-18) |
| _____ | _____ | (19-22) |
| _____ | _____ | (23-26) |
| _____ | _____ | (27-30) |
| _____ | _____ | (31-34) |
| _____ | _____ | (35-38) |
| _____ | _____ | (39-42) |

-----  
 Q2 If you have any children, do they live away from your home?

yes.....1 → ASK SQ1, SQ2  
 no.....2 → SKIP TO THE NEXT SECTION(51)

SQ1 How old are the children living away?

(    ) (    ) (    ) (    ) (    ) years old (52-61)

SQ2 Do any of them live in Canberra/Queanbeyan?

yes.....1  
 no.....2(62)

-----  
 | THIS SECTION IS ABOUT YOUR WORKMATES, YOUR RELATIVES, YOUR |  
 | NEIGHBOURS AND YOUR FRIENDS |  
 -----

Q1 (1) [SHOW CARD A] Some people get together every once in a while. Sometimes they just talk or visit and sometimes they do things like playing cards or having barbecues etc. How often do you get together, outside of work, with any of the people you and your husband/partner work with?

at least once a week.....1  
 a few times a month.....2  
 about once a month.....3  
 a few times a year.....4  
 rarely or never.....5 (63)

(2) [SHOW CARD A] How often do you get together with any of your or your husband's/partner's relatives other than those living at home with you?

at least once a week.....1  
 a few times a month.....2  
 about once a month.....3  
 a few times a year.....4  
 rarely or never.....5 (64)

(3) [SHOW CARD A] How often do you get together with any of your neighbours? -- the people who live within about five minutes' walk (excluding workmates and relatives who happen to live near-by).

at least once a week.....1  
 a few times a month.....2  
 about once a month.....3  
 a few times a year.....4  
 rarely or never.....5 (65)

(4) [SHOW CARD A] And how often do you get together with any other friends?

at least once a week.....1  
 a few times a month.....2  
 about once a month.....3  
 a few times a year.....4  
 rarely or never.....5 (66)

-----  
 Q2 Do any of your relatives live in Canberra/Queanbeyan?

yes.....1 → ASK SQ1  
 no.....2 → SKIP TO Q3 (67)

SQ1 Do either of your parents or your husband's/partner's parents live in Canberra/Queanbeyan?

yes.....1  
 no.....2 (68)

-----



Q3 (1) Are there any of your workmates and your husband's/partner's workmates you feel particularly close to? If so, how many of these workmates live in the following areas? [COUPLE = 2 PERSONS]

card 2

- (1) neighbourhood within about five minutes' walk \_\_\_\_\_ persons (11-12)
- (2) Tuggeranong district except (1) \_\_\_\_\_ persons (13-14)
- (3) Queanbeyan or Canberra except (1) and (2) \_\_\_\_\_ persons (15-16)
- (4) Australia except Canberra and Queanbeyan \_\_\_\_\_ persons (17-18)

SQL Please specify where they are located. ←

| place | number of people |         |
|-------|------------------|---------|
| _____ | _____            | (19-22) |
| _____ | _____            | (23-26) |
| _____ | _____            | (27-30) |
| _____ | _____            | (31-34) |
| _____ | _____            | (35-38) |

(2) Outside your household, are there any of your relatives and your husband's/partner's relatives you feel particularly close to? If so, how many of these relatives live in the following areas?

[COUPLE = 2 PERSONS]

[IF NO RELATIVES IN CANBERRA/QUEANBEYAN (Q2), ASK ONLY RELATIVES ELSEWHERE.]

- (1) neighbourhood within about five minutes' walk \_\_\_\_\_ persons (43-44)
- (2) Tuggeranong district except (1) \_\_\_\_\_ persons (45-46)
- (3) Queanbeyan or Canberra except (1) and (2) \_\_\_\_\_ persons (47-48)
- (4) Australia except Canberra and Queanbeyan \_\_\_\_\_ persons (49-50)

SQL Please specify where they are located. ←

| place | number of people |         |
|-------|------------------|---------|
| _____ | _____            | (51-54) |
| _____ | _____            | (55-58) |
| _____ | _____            | (59-62) |
| _____ | _____            | (63-66) |
| _____ | _____            | (67-70) |

(3) Are there any neighbours you feel particularly close to? -- the people who live within about five minutes' walk (excluding workmates and relatives who happen to live near-by). If so, how many of these neighbours are there? [COUPLE = 2 PERSONS]

card 3

\_\_\_\_\_ persons (11-12)

(4) How many other friends do you feel particularly close to? How many live in the following areas? [COUPLE = 2 PERSONS]

(1) Tuggeranong district \_\_\_\_\_ persons (13-14)

(2) Queanbeyan or Canberra except (1) \_\_\_\_\_ persons (15-16)

(3) Australia except Canberra and Queanbeyan \_\_\_\_\_ persons (17-18)

SQ1 Please specify where they are located. ←

place number of people

|       |       |         |
|-------|-------|---------|
| _____ | _____ | (19-22) |
| _____ | _____ | (23-26) |
| _____ | _____ | (27-30) |
| _____ | _____ | (31-34) |
| _____ | _____ | (35-38) |

-----  
Q4 Do you feel you would like more close friends?  
[READ THE CHOICES]

|                  |   |      |
|------------------|---|------|
| very much.....   | 1 |      |
| quite a lot..... | 2 |      |
| a little.....    | 3 |      |
| not at all.....  | 4 |      |
| don't know.....  | 5 | (43) |

-----  
 | THIS SECTION IS ABOUT ASSISTANCE FROM OTHERS |  
 -----

The following questions (Q1-Q4) are about help from the persons outside your immediate family. Let me remind you that by neighbours I mean the people who live within about five minutes' walk (excluding workmates and relatives who happen to live near-by).

Q1 [SHOW CARD B] Suppose you need to leave the house in an emergency for an hour or so when you were expecting an important delivery. If you miss it, you will have to pay an additional delivery fee. Which of these persons, if any, would you ask to wait for the delivery while you were away?

|                  | would<br>ask | would<br>not ask | (Q1)<br>[IF NECESSARY,<br>[CIRCLE<br>[MORE THAN ONE] |                    |
|------------------|--------------|------------------|--|--------------------|
| (1)relatives     | __           | __               | [← ONE ONLY]   | 1..2..3..4 (44-48) |
| (2)workmates     | __           | __               | [← ONE ONLY]   | 1..2..3..4 (49-53) |
| (3)neighbours    | __           | __               | [← ONE ONLY]   | (54)               |
| (4)other friends | __           | __               | [← ONE ONLY]   | 2..3..4 (55-58)    |

SQL Where do the relatives/workmates/other friends live? ————↑

- 1.neighbourhood within about five minutes' walk
- 2.Tuggeranong district except (1)
- 3.Queanbeyan or Canberra except (1) and (2)
- 4.Australia except Canberra and Queanbeyan

-----  
 Q2 [SHOW CARD C] Suppose you had an upset stomach and were laid up for the day, how much help, if any, would you expect from these persons?

|                  | very<br>much | some | little | very<br>little<br>or none | (Q2)<br>[IF NECESSARY,<br>[CIRCLE<br>[MORE THAN ONE] |                    |
|------------------|--------------|------|--------|---------------------------|--|--------------------|
| (1)relatives     | __           | __   | __     | __                        | [← ONE ONLY]   | 1..2..3..4 (59-63) |
| (2)workmates     | __           | __   | __     | __                        | [← ONE ONLY]   | 1..2..3..4 (64-68) |
| (3)neighbours    | __           | __   | __     | __                        | [← ONE ONLY]   | (69)               |
| (4)other friends | __           | __   | __     | __                        | [← ONE ONLY]   | 2..3..4 (70-73)    |

[IF THE RESPONDENT ANSWERED VERY MUCH HELP FROM RELATIVES, WORKMATES OR OTHER FRIENDS, ASK ALSO SQL FOR EACH.]

SQL Where do the relatives/workmates/other friends live? ————↑

- 1.neighbourhood within about five minutes' walk
- 2.Tuggeranong district except (1)
- 3.Queanbeyan or Canberra except (1) and (2)
- 4.Australia except Canberra and Queanbeyan

Q3 [SHOW CARD C] Suppose you were recovering from an appendix operation and were laid up for two weeks. If this happened, how much help, if any, would you expect from these persons?

|                  | very<br>much | some | little | very<br>little<br>or none | (Q3)<br>[← ONE ONLY] | (SQ1)<br>[IF NECESSARY,]<br>[CIRCLE<br>[MORE THAN ONE] <i>card 4</i> |
|------------------|--------------|------|--------|---------------------------|----------------------|--|
| (1)relatives     | __           | __   | __     | __                        | [← ONE ONLY]         | 1..2..3..4 (11-16)   |
| (2)workmates     | __           | __   | __     | __                        | [← ONE ONLY]         | 1..2..3..4 (17-21)   |
| (3)neighbours    | __           | __   | __     | __                        | [← ONE ONLY]         | (22)   |
| (4)other friends | __           | __   | __     | __                        | [← ONE ONLY]         | 2..3..4 (23-26)  |

[IF THE RESPONDENT ANSWERED VERY MUCH HELP FROM RELATIVES, WORKMATES OR OTHER FRIENDS, ASK ALSO SQ1 FOR EACH.]

SQ1 Where do the relatives/workmates/other friends live?

1. neighbourhood within about five minutes' walk
2. Tuggeranong district except (1)
3. Queanbeyan or Canberra except (1) and (2)
4. Australia except Canberra and Queanbeyan

Q4 [SHOW CARD C] Suppose you were hospitalized for three months with a broken leg. If this happened, how much help, if any, would you expect from these persons?

|                  | very<br>much | some | little | very<br>little<br>or none | (Q4)<br>[← ONE ONLY] | (SQ1)<br>[IF NECESSARY,]<br>[CIRCLE<br>[MORE THAN ONE] |
|------------------|--------------|------|--------|---------------------------|----------------------|--|
| (1)relatives     | __           | __   | __     | __                        | [← ONE ONLY]         | 1..2..3..4 (27-32)                                     |
| (2)workmates     | __           | __   | __     | __                        | [← ONE ONLY]         | 1..2..3..4 (33-37)                                     |
| (3)neighbours    | __           | __   | __     | __                        | [← ONE ONLY]         | (38)   |
| (4)other friends | __           | __   | __     | __                        | [← ONE ONLY]         | 2..3..4 (39-42)  |

[IF THE RESPONDENT ANSWERED VERY MUCH HELP FROM RELATIVES, WORKMATES OR OTHER FRIENDS, ASK ALSO SQ1 FOR EACH.]

SQ1 Where do the relatives/workmates/other friends live?

1. neighbourhood within about five minutes' walk
2. Tuggeranong district except (1)
3. Queanbeyan or Canberra except (1) and (2)
4. Australia except Canberra and Queanbeyan

The following questions (Q5-Q10) are about help outside your immediate family. If you needed the following support now, who would you turn to first? Let me remind you again that by neighbours I mean the people who live within about five minutes' walk (excluding workmates and relatives who happen to live near-by).

Q5 [SHOW CARD D] If you needed help with work in your garden, who --- if anyone --- would you ask to help first?  
[CIRCLE ONLY ONE]

|   | (Q5) | (SQ1)      |
|---|------|------------|
| relative (please specify what relationship) .....   | 1    | 1..2..3..4 |
| my workmate or my husband's/partner's workmate..... | 2    | 1..2..3..4 |
| neighbour.....                                      | 3    |            |
| other friend.....                                   | 4    | 2..3..4    |
| local community service/helping agency.....         | 5    |            |
| pay someone to do it.....                           | 6    |            |
| no one.....   | 7    |            |
| don't know.....                                     | 8    |            |

(43-46)

[IF THE RESPONDENT ANSWERED RELATIVE, WORKMATE OR OTHER FRIEND, ASK ALSO SQ1.]

SQ1 Where does this person live? [CIRCLE ONLY ONE]

1. neighbourhood within about five minutes' walk
2. Tuggeranong district except (1)
3. Queanbeyan or Canberra except (1) and (2)
4. Australia except Canberra and Queanbeyan

-----  
Q6 [SHOW CARD E] If your lawn mower had broken down and you needed one urgently, who -- if anyone --- would you ask to borrow one from first?  
[CIRCLE ONLY ONE]

|   | (Q6) | (SQ1)      |
|---|------|------------|
| relative (please specify what relationship) .....   | 1    | 1..2..3..4 |
| my workmate or my husband's/partner's workmate..... | 2    | 1..2..3..4 |
| neighbour.....                                      | 3    |            |
| other friend.....                                   | 4    | 2..3..4    |
| hire one.....                                       | 5    |            |
| no one.....   | 6    |            |
| don't know.....                                     | 7    |            |

(47-50)

[IF THE RESPONDENT ANSWERED RELATIVE, WORKMATE OR OTHER FRIEND, ASK ALSO SQ1.]

SQ1 Where does this person live? [CIRCLE ONLY ONE]

1. neighbourhood within about five minutes' walk
  2. Tuggeranong district except (1)
  3. Queanbeyan or Canberra except (1) and (2)
  4. Australia except Canberra and Queanbeyan
-

Q7 [SHOW CARD F] If you had a marriage problem, with whom -- if anyone -- would you talk it over first?  
[CIRCLE ONLY ONE]

|  | (Q7)       | (SQ1)   |
|--|------------|---------|
| relative (please specify what relationship)    |            |         |
| .....01  | 1..2..3..4 |         |
| my workmate.....02                             | 1..2..3..4 |         |
| my husband's/partner's workmate.....03         | 1..2..3..4 |         |
| neighbour.....04                               |            |         |
| other friend.....05                            |            | 2..3..4 |
| counsellor or other specialist.....06          |            |         |
| local community service/helping agency.....07  |            |         |
| local doctor.....08                            |            |         |
| minister of religion, priest, rabbi etc.....09 |            |         |
| would not talk it over with anybody.....10     |            |         |
| don't know.....11                              |            |         |

(51-55)

[IF THE RESPONDENT ANSWERED RELATIVE, WORKMATE OR OTHER FRIEND, ASK ALSO SQ1.]

SQ1 Where does this person live? [CIRCLE ONLY ONE]

1. neighbourhood within about five minutes' walk
2. Tuggeranong district except (1)
3. Queanbeyan or Canberra except (1) and (2)
4. Australia except Canberra and Queanbeyan

Q8 [SHOW CARD G] If early on a long weekend you lost your purse containing all your cash and any credit cards, transaction cards, or cheque-books you might have, who -- if anyone -- would you turn to first to borrow money to get through the weekend?  
[CIRCLE ONLY ONE]

|   | (Q8)       | (SQ1)   |
|---|------------|---------|
| relative (please specify what relationship)         |            |         |
| .....1  | 1..2..3..4 |         |
| my workmate or my husband's/partner's workmate....2 | 1..2..3..4 |         |
| neighbour.....3                                     |            |         |
| other friend.....4                                  |            | 2..3..4 |
| no one.....5  |            |         |
| don't know.....6                                    |            |         |

(56-59)

[IF THE RESPONDENT ANSWERED RELATIVE, WORKMATE OR OTHER FRIEND, ASK ALSO SQ1.]

SQ1 Where does this person live? [CIRCLE ONLY ONE]

1. neighbourhood within about five minutes' walk
2. Tuggeranong district except (1)
3. Queanbeyan or Canberra except (1) and (2)
4. Australia except Canberra and Queanbeyan

Q9 [SHOW CARD H] If you needed help in moving furniture, who -- if anyone -- would you ask for help first?  
[CIRCLE ONLY ONE]

|   | (Q9)       | (SQ1)   |
|---|------------|---------|
| relative (please specify what relationship)         |            |         |
| .....1  | 1..2..3..4 |         |
| my workmate or my husband's/partner's workmate....2 | 1..2..3..4 |         |
| neighbour.....3                                     |            |         |
| other friend.....4                                  |            | 2..3..4 |
| local community service/helping agency.....5        |            |         |
| pay someone to do it.....6                          |            |         |
| no one.....7  |            |         |
| don't know.....8                                    |            |         |

(60-63)

[IF THE RESPONDENT ANSWERED RELATIVE, WORKMATE OR OTHER FRIEND, ASK ALSO SQ1.]

SQ1 Where does this person live? [CIRCLE ONLY ONE]

1. neighbourhood within about five minutes' walk
2. Tuggeranong district except (1)
3. Queanbeyan or Canberra except (1) and (2)
4. Australia except Canberra and Queanbeyan

Q10 [SHOW CARD I] If you would like to know a good doctor, whose advice -- if anyone -- would you ask first?  
[CIRCLE ONLY ONE]

|   | (Q10)      | (SQ1)   |
|---|------------|---------|
| relative (please specify what relationship)         |            |         |
| .....1  | 1..2..3..4 |         |
| my workmate or my husband's/partner's workmate....2 | 1..2..3..4 |         |
| neighbour.....3                                     |            |         |
| other friend.....4                                  |            | 2..3..4 |
| counsellor or other specialist.....5                |            |         |
| local community service/helping agency.....6        |            |         |
| no one.....7  |            |         |
| don't know.....8                                    |            |         |

(64-67)

[IF THE RESPONDENT ANSWERED RELATIVE, WORKMATE OR OTHER FRIEND, ASK ALSO SQ1.]

SQ1 Where does this person live? [CIRCLE ONLY ONE]

1. neighbourhood within about five minutes' walk
2. Tuggeranong district except (1)
3. Queanbeyan or Canberra except (1) and (2)
4. Australia except Canberra and Queanbeyan

-----  
 | THIS SECTION IS ABOUT YOUR NEXT-DOOR NEIGHBOURS |  
 -----

This time I would like to ask about any social contact you might have with your next-door neighbours. By next-door I mean the houses closest to you.

Q1 [SHOW CARD J] How often do you get together with any of your next-door neighbours, say for just talking, visiting, playing cards or having barbecues etc.?

at least once a week.....1  
 a few times a month.....2  
 about once a month.....3  
 a few times a year.....4  
 rarely or never.....5 (68)

-----  
 Q2 (1) If you ran out of some sugar and the shops were closed, do you think you would borrow from your next-door neighbour(s)?

probably yes.....1  
 probably no.....2  
 really not sure.....3 (69)

(2) If you were away for a week, do you think you would ask your next-door neighbour(s) to water your garden or collect your mail?

probably yes.....1  
 probably no.....2  
 really not sure.....3 (70)

-----  
 Q3 (1) [SHOW CARD K] What is your idea of good neighbours? Which would you say best describes your idea?

[CIRCLE ONLY ONE]

sociable (e.g. friendly/ chat with them/  
 share confidences/ tolerant/ share interests).....1  
 dependable (e.g. depend on them when needed/  
 helps with occasional tasks).....2  
 not a nuisance (e.g. do not lower standards/not noisy,  
 untidy, nuisance/ not interfering/ do not borrow).....3  
 other (please specify) .....4  
 don't know.....5 (71)

(2) [SHOW CARD K] Which, if any, would you say second best describes your idea of good neighbours?

[CIRCLE ONLY ONE]

sociable (e.g. friendly/ chat with them/  
 share confidences/ tolerant/ share interests).....1  
 dependable (e.g. depend on them when needed/  
 helps with occasional tasks).....2  
 not a nuisance (e.g. do not lower standards/not noisy,  
 untidy, nuisance/ not interfering/ do not borrow).....3  
 other (please specify) .....4  
 no second best idea.....5  
 don't know.....6 (72)



-----  
 | THIS SECTION IS ABOUT YOUR INVOLVEMENT IN ORGANIZATIONS |  
 -----

Q1 [SHOW CARD L] Do you currently participate in any of the following organizations or groups? If so, what is (are) the name(s) of the organization(s) or group(s) you participate in? Do you participate in any other organizations not listed here?

[IF THE RESPONDENT PARTICIPATES IN ANY OF THE ORGANIZATIONS, TICK THE SECOND COLUMN AND ASK THE NAME OF THE ORGANIZATION AND SQ1 FOR EACH ORGANIZATION.]

SQ1 [SHOW CARD M] How often do you participate in these activities? If you participate in more than 2 organizations, please indicate the frequency for each.

1. most, if not all, meetings/activities
2. some meetings/activities
3. few meetings/activities
4. never

(SQ1)

[CIRCLE ONE FOR]

[TICK IF SHE ] [NAME OF ORGANIZATION] [EACH IF SHE ]  
 [PARTICIPATES] [SHE PARTICIPATES IN ] [PARTICIPATES ]

card 5

|   |                          |                          |            |      |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|------------|------|
| (1) parents and citizens' association or other school-related group   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1..2..3..4 | (11) |
|   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1..2..3..4 | (12) |
| (2) baby-sitting group  | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1..2..3..4 | (15) |
|   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1..2..3..4 | (16) |
| (3) children's play-group   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1..2..3..4 | (17) |
|   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1..2..3..4 | (18) |
| (4) community association (e.g. Richardson Community House Management Committee, Chisholm Community Centre Association) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1..2..3..4 | (19) |
|   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1..2..3..4 | (20) |
| (5) residents' association (e.g. South Tuggeranong Progress Association)  | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1..2..3..4 |      |
|   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1..2..3..4 |      |
| (6) church, religious or spiritual group  | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1..2..3..4 | (21) |
|   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1..2..3..4 | (22) |
| (7) trade union   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1..2..3..4 | (25) |
|   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1..2..3..4 | (26) |
| (8) sporting club (playing member)  | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1..2..3..4 | (27) |
|   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1..2..3..4 | (28) |

|                            |  |                 |            |      |
|----------------------------|--|-----------------|------------|------|
| (9)sporting club           |  | _____           | 1..2..3..4 | (31) |
| (non-playing supporter)    |  | _____           | 1..2..3..4 | (32) |
| (10)special interest group |  | _____           | 1..2..3..4 | (35) |
| (hobby group)              |  | _____           | 1..2..3..4 | (36) |
| (11)youth group            |  | _____           | 1..2..3..4 | (39) |
| (e.g. scout leader,        |  | _____           | 1..2..3..4 | (40) |
| Little Athletics'          |  | _____           | 1..2..3..4 | (41) |
| manager)                   |  | _____           | 1..2..3..4 | (42) |
| (12)political party        |  | (not necessary) | 1..2..3..4 | (43) |
|                            |  | (not necessary) | 1..2..3..4 | (44) |
| (13)protest group          |  | _____           | 1..2..3..4 | (45) |
| (political activity)       |  | _____           | 1..2..3..4 | (46) |
| (e.g. Wilderness           |  | _____           | 1..2..3..4 | (47) |
| Society)                   |  | _____           | 1..2..3..4 | (48) |
| (14)social service         |  | _____           | 1..2..3..4 | (49) |
| organization               |  | _____           | 1..2..3..4 | (50) |
| (e.g. Zonta, Quota)        |  | _____           | 1..2..3..4 | (51) |
| (15)business organization, |  | _____           | 1..2..3..4 | (52) |
| professional               |  | _____           | 1..2..3..4 | (53) |
| organization               |  | _____           | 1..2..3..4 | (54) |
| (e.g. Australian           |  | _____           | 1..2..3..4 | (55) |
| Medical Association)       |  | _____           | 1..2..3..4 | (56) |
| (16)nationality group      |  | _____           | 1..2..3..4 | (57) |
| (ethnic group)             |  | _____           | 1..2..3..4 | (58) |
| (17)veterans' organization |  | _____           | 1..2..3..4 | (59) |
| (RSL)                      |  | _____           | 1..2..3..4 | (60) |
| (18)charity or welfare     |  | _____           | 1..2..3..4 | (61) |
| organization               |  | _____           | 1..2..3..4 | (62) |
| (e.g. Red Cross,           |  | _____           | 1..2..3..4 | (63) |
| Smith Family)              |  | _____           | 1..2..3..4 | (64) |
| (19)old school group       |  | _____           | 1..2..3..4 | (65) |
|                            |  | _____           | 1..2..3..4 | (66) |
| (20)other                  |  | _____           | 1..2..3..4 |      |
| other                      |  | _____           | 1..2..3..4 |      |
| other                      |  | _____           | 1..2..3..4 |      |
| other                      |  | _____           | 1..2..3..4 |      |

Q2 At present do you attend any self-improvement classes?  
 (e.g. crafts, jazznastics, sports, foreign languages or other  
 educational classes)  
 If so, give the name(s) and activities of the class(es) you attend?

[IF THE RESPONDENT ATTENDS ANY SELF-IMPROVEMENT CLASSES, ASK THE NAME  
 OF THE CLASS AND SQ1 FOR EACH CLASS.]

| (Q2)   | (SQ1)  |
|--|--|
| [NAME AND ACTIVITIES OF CLASS]<br>[SHE ATTENDS ] | [CIRCLE ONE FOR]<br>[EACH IF SHE ]<br>[ATTENDS ] |
| _____  | 1..2..3..4..5..6                                 |
| _____  | 1..2..3..4..5..6                                 |
| _____  | 1..2..3..4..5..6                                 |
| _____  | 1..2..3..4..5..6                                 |
| _____  | 1..2..3..4..5..6                                 |

SQ1 [SHOW CARD N] How often do you attend the  
 class(es)? If you attend more than 2 classes,  
 please indicate the frequency for each.

- 1.a few times a week
- 2.about once a week
- 3.a few times a month
- 4.about once a month
- 5.a few times a year
- 6.rarely or never

(61-74)

Q3 Are you a member of a social club?  
 (e.g. Ainslie Football Club, Returned Services Club)

yes (please specify which social clubs) \_\_\_\_\_

card 6

no.....1  
 no.....2

(14-15)

Q4 [SHOW CARD N] How often do you go to social clubs?

- a few times a week.....1
- about once a week.....2
- a few times a month.....3
- about once a month.....4
- a few times a year.....5
- rarely or never.....6

(16)

Q5 Do you participate in Neighbourhood-Watch?  
(e.g. attend the meeting, use equipment to engrave your valuables or put up a Neighbourhood-Watch sticker on your door)

[IF THERE IS NO NEIGHBOURHOOD-WATCH HERE, ASK THE FOLLOWING QUESTION.]  
When Neighbourhood-Watch is introduced in this area, do you intend to participate?

(e.g. attend the meeting, use equipment to engrave your valuables or put up a Neighbourhood-Watch sticker on your door)

yes.....1  
no.....2 (17)

-----  
Q6 The object of Neighbourhood-Watch is to prevent crimes by keeping an eye on the houses in your neighbourhood. Do you think Neighbourhood-Watch may be an intrusion into your privacy?

yes.....1  
no.....2  
other (please specify) .....3  
.....4 (18)  
don't know.....4

-----  
Q7 Do you think Neighbourhood-Watch helps reduce crimes in neighbourhood areas?

yes.....1  
no.....2  
other (please specify) .....3  
.....4 (19)  
don't know.....4

-----  
 | THIS SECTION IS ABOUT YOUR VIEWS CONCERNING THIS AREA |  
 -----

Q1 How settled do you feel in the suburb you live in?  
 [READ THE CHOICES]

|                  |   |      |
|------------------|---|------|
| very much.....   | 1 |      |
| quite a lot..... | 2 |      |
| a little.....    | 3 |      |
| not at all.....  | 4 |      |
| don't know.....  | 5 | (20) |

-----  
 Q2 How interested are you in knowing what goes on in your suburb?  
 [READ THE CHOICES]

|                  |   |      |
|------------------|---|------|
| very much.....   | 1 |      |
| quite a lot..... | 2 |      |
| a little.....    | 3 |      |
| not at all.....  | 4 |      |
| don't know.....  | 5 | (21) |

-----  
 Q3 Supposing that for some reason you had to move away from this  
 suburb to the other side of the city, how sorry would you be to leave?  
 [READ THE CHOICES]

|                       |   |      |
|-----------------------|---|------|
| very sorry.....       | 1 |      |
| quite sorry.....      | 2 |      |
| a little sorry.....   | 3 |      |
| not at all sorry..... | 4 |      |
| don't know.....       | 5 | (22) |

---

THIS SECTION IS ABOUT YOUR LIFE STYLE

---

Q1 [SHOW CARD O] In your everyday life, which one of the activities below do you derive most satisfaction from?

- |   |   |      |
|---|---|------|
| job.....  | 1 |      |
| bringing up my children.....                        | 2 |      |
| house.....  | 3 |      |
| hobbies, sport, or self-improvement activities..... | 4 |      |
| family life in general.....                         | 5 |      |
| other (please specify) _____                        | 6 |      |
| don't know.....                                     | 7 | (23) |

---

Q2 Are you satisfied with your life style?  
[READ THE CHOICES]

- |                  |   |      |
|------------------|---|------|
| very much.....   | 1 |      |
| quite a lot..... | 2 |      |
| a little.....    | 3 |      |
| not at all.....  | 4 |      |
| don't know.....  | 5 | (24) |

-----  
 | THIS SECTION IS ABOUT YOUR BIRTHPLACE AND RESIDENCE |  
 -----

Q1 Where were you born?

|                               |    |           |
|-------------------------------|----|-----------|
| Australia:                    |    |           |
| Canberra/Queanbeyan.....      | 01 | → ASK SQ1 |
| New South Wales               |    | }         |
| (except Queanbeyan).....      | 02 |           |
| Queensland.....               | 03 |           |
| South Australia.....          | 04 |           |
| Tasmania.....                 | 05 |           |
| Victoria.....                 | 06 |           |
| Western Australia.....        | 07 |           |
| Northern Territory.....       | 08 |           |
| overseas:                     |    |           |
| England, Scotland, Wales..... | 09 | }         |
| Northern Ireland.....         | 10 |           |
| Irish Republic.....           | 11 |           |
| New Zealand.....              | 12 |           |
| Italy.....                    | 13 |           |
| Greece.....                   | 14 |           |
| Yugoslavia.....               | 15 |           |
| Germany.....                  | 16 |           |
| The Netherlands.....          | 17 |           |
| other (please specify)        |    |           |
|                               | 18 | (25-26)   |

SQ1 Have you lived in Canberra/Queanbeyan all your life?

|                                 |   |                          |
|---------------------------------|---|--------------------------|
| yes.....                        | 1 | → SKIP TO Q3             |
| no, I have lived elsewhere..... | 2 | → ASK SQ2, SQ3, SQ4 (27) |

SQ2 Where did you live before you came to live in Canberra/Queanbeyan?

|                             |            |
|-----------------------------|------------|
| Australia:                  |            |
| New South Wales.....        | 01         |
| Queensland.....             | 02         |
| South Australia.....        | 03         |
| Tasmania.....               | 04         |
| Victoria.....               | 05         |
| Western Australia.....      | 06         |
| Northern Territory.....     | 07         |
| overseas:                   |            |
| England, Scotland, Wales... | 08         |
| Northern Ireland.....       | 09         |
| Irish Republic (Eire).....  | 10         |
| New Zealand.....            | 11         |
| Italy.....                  | 12         |
| Greece.....                 | 13         |
| Yugoslavia.....             | 14         |
| Germany.....                | 15         |
| The Netherlands.....        | 16         |
| other (please specify)      |            |
|                             | 17 (28-29) |

SQ3 [SHOW CARD P] Which one of the following would you say best describes the place you lived before you came to live in Canberra/Queanbeyan?

- a metropolitan area (500,000 or more).....1
- a city (100,000 to 499,999).....2
- a middle-sized city (20,000 to 99,999).....3
- a country town (1,000 to 19,999).....4
- a village (under 1,000).....5
- a farm, property.....6 (30)

SQ4 [SHOW CARD Q] Why did you decide to live in Canberra/Queanbeyan? Please indicate only one main reason.

- change of my work location.....01
- change of workplace for my husband/partner.....02
- a new job.....03
- my husband/partner got a new job.....04
- to study.....05
- to assist my husband's/partner's study.....06
- moved here with parent(s).....07
- to live near relative(s).....08
- to live near friend(s).....09
- other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_ .....10 (31-32)

-----  
Q2 How long have you lived in Canberra/Queanbeyan altogether?

\_\_\_\_\_ years \_\_\_\_\_ months

(33-36)

-----  
Q3 How long have you lived in this address?

\_\_\_\_\_ years \_\_\_\_\_ months

(37-40)



Q4 (1) Thinking back to when you were between the ages of 13 and 19, where did you live the longest?

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| Australia:                               |           |
| Canberra/Queanbeyan.....                 | 01        |
| New South Wales (except Queanbeyan)..... | 02        |
| Queensland.....                          | 03        |
| South Australia.....                     | 04        |
| Tasmania.....                            | 05        |
| Victoria.....                            | 06        |
| Western Australia.....                   | 07        |
| Northern Territory.....                  | 08        |
| overseas:                                |           |
| England, Scotland, Wales.....            | 09        |
| Northern Ireland.....                    | 10        |
| Irish Republic.....                      | 11        |
| New Zealand.....                         | 12        |
| Italy.....                               | 13        |
| Greece.....                              | 14        |
| Yugoslavia.....                          | 15        |
| Germany.....                             | 16        |
| The Netherlands.....                     | 17        |
| other (please specify) _____             | 18(41-42) |

(2) [SHOW CARD R] Which one of the following would you say best describes the place you lived the longest as a teenager?

[IF THE PLACE IS CANBERRA/QUEANBEYAN, INDICATE 2.]

|   |        |
|---|--------|
| a metropolitan area (500,000 or more people)..... | 1      |
| a city (100,000 to 499,999).....                  | 2      |
| a middle-sized city (20,000 to 99,999).....       | 3      |
| a country town (1,000 to 19,999).....             | 4      |
| a village (under 1,000).....                      | 5      |
| a farm, property.....                             | 6 (43) |

-----  
Q5 What is the basis of your occupancy of this dwelling?

|                               |        |
|-------------------------------|--------|
| buying it.....                | 1      |
| own it.....                   | 2      |
| renting it privately.....     | 3      |
| renting it from government... | 4      |
| Defence Force house.....      | 5      |
| other (please specify) _____  | 6 (44) |

---

THIS SECTION IS ABOUT YOUR QUALIFICATIONS, WORK AND RELIGION

---

Q1 [SHOW CARD S] Which is the highest level of your educational attainment?

|  |   |      |
|--|---|------|
| primary education.....                             | 1 |      |
| some secondary education (1 to 4 years).....       | 2 |      |
| completed secondary school (5 or 6 years).....     | 3 |      |
| some post-secondary study -- no qualification..... | 4 |      |
| post-secondary certificate.....                    | 5 |      |
| post-secondary diploma.....                        | 6 |      |
| post-secondary degree.....                         | 7 |      |
| higher degree (post-graduate).....                 | 8 |      |
| other (please specify) _____                       | 9 | (45) |

Q2 Are you working full-time, part-time, studying, keeping house, or other?

|                                     |   |   |
|-------------------------------------|---|---|
| working full-time.....              | 1 | } → ASK SQ1, SQ2, SQ3,<br>SQ4, SQ5, SQ6 |
| working part-time.....              | 2 |   |
| unemployed.....                     | 3 |   |
| retired.....                        | 4 |   |
| studying full-time.....             | 5 | } → SKIP TO Q3                          |
| keeping house/minding children..... | 6 |   |
| other (please specify) _____        | 7 |   |

(46)

[IF RETIRED/UNEMPLOYED, ASK ABOUT HER OCCUPATION/JOB BEFORE RETIREMENT/UNEMPLOYMENT.]

SQ1 Do you work for a private company, are you self-employed or in a partnership, do you work for the government, or other?

[IF MORE THAN ONE JOB, PICK THE ONE THE RESPONDENT SPENDS MOST TIME ON.]

|   |   |      |
|---|---|------|
| employee of private company or business<br>(working for wages or salary)..... | 1 |      |
| self-employed, in partnership, conducting own business.....                   | 2 |      |
| Commonwealth Government (Statutory Authority) employee.....                   | 3 |      |
| working without pay in family business.....                                   | 4 |      |
| other (please specify) _____  | 5 | (47) |

SQ2 What is your occupation?

(e.g. accounts clerk/public service clerk class 6, fast foods cook, shop-assistant)

[IF THE RESPONDENT IS A PUBLIC SERVANT, ASK ALSO HER CLASS. IF THE RESPONDENT IS A MEMBER OF THE DEFENCE FORCES, ASK ALSO HER RANK.]

SQ3 What are the main tasks or duties that you usually perform in that occupation?

(e.g. recording and paying accounts, cooking hamburgers and chips, using a cash-register and receiving money)

SQ4 In your job do you directly supervise anyone?

yes.....1  
no.....2

SQ5 What kind of industry, business or service is carried out by the employer at the place where you work?  
(e.g. public service, supermarket, primary school, dairy farming, footwear manufacturing)

(48-61)

SQ6 [SHOW CARD T] How many hours do you normally work a week in your main job?

1-15 hours.....1  
16-24 hours.....2  
25-34 hours.....3  
35-39 hours.....4  
40 hours.....5  
41-48 hours.....6  
49 hours or more.....7 (62)

-----  
Q3 [SHOW CARD U] What is your religious denomination? Is it Protestant, Catholic, some other religion, no religion, or other?

Christian denomination  
  Church of England.....01  
  Roman Catholic.....02  
  Catholic -- not Roman.....03  
  Methodist.....04  
  Greek Orthodox.....05  
  Presbyterian.....06  
  Uniting Church.....07  
  other Christian denomination (please specify).....08  
non-Christian (please specify) .....09  
no religion.....10  
no answer.....11 (63-64)

---

THIS SECTION IS ABOUT YOUR HUSBAND/PARTNER

---

Q1 Is your husband/partner working full-time, part-time, studying, keeping house, or other?

|                                      |   |                                  |
|--------------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| working full-time.....1              | } | ASK SQ1, SQ2, SQ3,<br>SQ4, SQ5   |
| working part-time.....2              |   |                                  |
| unemployed.....3                     |   |                                  |
| retired.....4                        |   |                                  |
| studying full-time.....5             | } | SKIP TO<br>THE NEXT SECTION (65) |
| keeping house/minding children.....6 |   |                                  |
| other (please specify) .....7        |   |                                  |

[IF RETIRED/UNEMPLOYED, ASK ABOUT HIS OCCUPATION/JOB BEFORE RETIREMENT/UNEMPLOYMENT.]

SQ1 Does he work for a private company, is he self-employed or in a partnership, does he work for the government, or other?  
[IF MORE THAN ONE JOB, PICK THE ONE HE SPENDS MOST TIME ON.]

|  |  |
|--|--|
| employee of private company or business<br>(working for wages or salary).....1 |  |
| self-employed, in partnership, conducting own business....2                    |  |
| Commonwealth Government (Statutory Authority) employee....3                    |  |
| State Government (Statutory Authority) employee.....4                          |  |
| Local Government employee.....5  |  |
| working without pay in family business.....6                                   |  |
| other (please specify) .....7 (66)   |  |

SQ2 What is his occupation?

(e.g. civil engineering draftsman, accounts clerk/public service clerk class 6, fast foods cook, 1st class welder)

[IF HE IS A PUBLIC SERVANT, ASK ALSO HIS CLASS. IF HE IS A MEMBER OF THE DEFENCE FORCES, ASK ALSO HIS RANK.]

SQ3 What are the main tasks or duties that he usually performs in that occupation?

(e.g. preparing drawings for dam construction, recording and paying accounts, cooking hamburgers and chips, welding of high pressure steam pipes)

SQ4 In his job does he directly supervise anyone?

|           |
|-----------|
| yes.....1 |
| no.....2  |

SQ5 What kind of industry, business or service is carried out by the employer at the place where he works?

(e.g. public service, supermarket, primary school, dairy farming, footwear manufacturing)

(67-80)

-----  
 | THIS SECTION IS ABOUT YOUR FATHER |  
 -----

Q1 When you were around 16 years old, was your father (step-father) working full-time, part-time, studying, keeping house, or other?

|                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| working full-time.....1              | } → ASK SQ1, SQ2, SQ3<br>SQ4, SQ5             |
| working part-time.....2              |   |
| unemployed.....3                     | } → SKIP TO<br>THE NEXT SECTION <i>card 7</i> |
| retired.....4                        |   |
| studying full-time.....5             |   |
| keeping house/minding children.....6 |   |
| not alive.....7                      |   |
| other (please specify) .....8        |   |

(11)

SQ1 Did he work for a private company, was he self-employed or in a partnership, did he work for the government, or other?  
 [IF MORE THAN ONE JOB, PICK THE ONE HE SPENT MOST TIME ON.]

|  |             |
|--|-------------|
| employee of private company or business<br>(working for wages or salary).....1 | .....7 (12) |
| self-employed, in partnership, conducting own business....2                    |             |
| Commonwealth Government (Statutory Authority) employee....3                    |             |
| State Government (Statutory Authority) employee.....4                          |             |
| Local Government employee.....5  |             |
| working without pay in family business.....6                                   |             |
| other (please specify) .....7  |             |

SQ2 What was his occupation?

(e.g. civil engineering draftsman, accounts clerk/public service clerk class 6, fast foods cook, 1st class welder)

[IF HE WAS A PUBLIC SERVANT, ASK ALSO HIS CLASS. IF HE WAS A MEMBER OF THE DEFENCE FORCES, ASK ALSO HIS RANK.]

SQ3 What was the main tasks or duties that he usually performed in that occupation?

(e.g. preparing drawings for dam construction, recording and paying accounts, cooking hamburgers and chips, welding of high pressure steam pipes)

SQ4 In his job did he directly supervise anyone?

|           |
|-----------|
| yes.....1 |
| no.....2  |

SQ5 What kind of industry, business or service was carried out by the employer at the place where he worked?  
 (e.g. public service, supermarket, primary school, dairy farming, footwear manufacturing)

(13-26)

-----  
 | THIS SECTION IS ABOUT YOUR FAMILY LIFE |  
 -----

Q1 Do you employ anybody to assist with your housework?

yes.....1  
 no.....2 (27)

-----  
 Q2 [SHOW CARD V] Do you have the use of a car during the daytime on weekdays?

every day.....1  
 4 or 5 days a week.....2  
 2 or 3 days a week.....3  
 one day a week.....4  
 rarely or never.....5 (28)

-----  
 Q3 [SHOW CARD W] What is your annual gross family income? i.e. including any overtime or income from other sources, and before paying tax. (do not deduct tax, superannuation, health insurance, etc.)

no income.....01  
 \$1 - \$2,000 (i.e. \$1 - \$38 gross per week).....02  
 \$2,001 - \$4,000 (\$39 - \$76 gross per week).....03  
 \$4,001 - \$6,000 (\$77 - \$115 gross per week).....04  
 \$6,001 - \$9,000 (\$116 - \$172 gross per week).....05  
 \$9,001 - \$12,000 (\$173 - \$230 gross per week).....06  
 \$12,001 - \$15,000 (\$231 - \$287 gross per week).....07  
 \$15,001 - \$18,000 (\$288 - \$345 gross per week).....08  
 \$18,001 - \$22,000 (\$346 - \$421 gross per week).....09  
 \$22,001 - \$26,000 (\$422 - \$498 gross per week).....10  
 \$26,001 - \$32,000 (\$499 - \$613 gross per week).....11  
 \$32,001 - \$40,000 (\$614 - \$766 gross per week).....12  
 \$40,001 - \$50,000 (\$767 - \$958 gross per week).....13  
 \$50,001 - \$60,000 (\$959 - \$1,150 gross per week).....14  
 \$60,001 - \$70,000 (\$1,151 - \$1,342 gross per week).....15  
 \$70,001 - \$80,000 (\$1,343 - \$1,534 gross per week).....16  
 over \$80,001 (over 1,535 gross per week).....17 (29-30)



## FLASHCARDS

### SURVEY

### SOCIAL PARTICIPATION IN THE COMMUNITY

Department of Sociology

Faculty of Arts

The Australian National University

## CARD A

NUMBER OF TIMES OF SOCIALIZING

- (1) at least once a week
- (2) a few times a month
- (3) about once a month
- (4) a few times a year
- (5) rarely or never



## CARD B

CHILD-MINDING

|                  | would<br>ask             | would<br>not ask         |                    |
|------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| (1)relatives     | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | CHOOSE ONE OF THEM |
| (2)workmates     | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | CHOOSE ONE OF THEM |
| (3)neighbours    | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | CHOOSE ONE OF THEM |
| (4)other friends | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | CHOOSE ONE OF THEM |

WHERE DO THEY LIVE?

- (1) neighbourhood within about five minutes' walk
- (2) Belconnen district except (1)
- (3) Queanbeyan or Canberra except (1) and (2)
- (4) Australia except Canberra and Queanbeyan

## CARD C

ASSISTANCE WHEN YOU ARE ILL

|                  | very<br>much             | some                     | little                   | very<br>little<br>or none |                    |
|------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|
| (1)relatives     | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>  | CHOOSE ONE OF THEM |
| (2)workmates     | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>  | CHOOSE ONE OF THEM |
| (3)neighbours    | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>  | CHOOSE ONE OF THEM |
| (4)other friends | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>  | CHOOSE ONE OF THEM |

WHERE DO THEY LIVE?

- (1) neighbourhood within about five minutes' walk
- (2) Belconnen district except (1)
- (3) Queanbeyan or Canberra except (1) and (2)
- (4) Australia except Canberra and Queanbeyan

## CARD D

GARDENING

- (1) relative (please specify what relationship) -----
- (2) my workmate or my husband's/partner's workmate
- (3) neighbour
- (4) other friend
- (5) local community service/helping agency
- (6) pay someone to do it
- (7) no one
- (8) don't know

WHERE DOES THIS PERSON LIVE?

- (1) neighbourhood within about five minutes' walk
- (2) Belconnen district except (1)
- (3) Queanbeyan or Canberra except (1) and (2)
- (4) Australia except Canberra and Queanbeyan

## CARD E

LAWN MOWER

- (1) relative (please specify what relationship) -----
- (2) my workmate or my husband's/partner's workmate
- (3) neighbour
- (4) other friend
- (5) hire one
- (6) no one
- (7) don't know

WHERE DOES THIS PERSON LIVE?

- (1) neighbourhood within about five minutes' walk
- (2) Belconnen district except (1)
- (3) Queanbeyan or Canberra except (1) and (2)
- (4) Australia except Canberra and Queanbeyan

## CARD F

MARRIAGE PROBLEM

- (1) relative (please specify what relationship) \_\_\_\_\_
- (2) my workmate
- (3) my husband's/partner's workmate
- (4) neighbour
- (5) other friend
- (6) counsellor or other specialist
- (7) local community service/helping agency
- (8) local doctor
- (9) minister of religion, priest, rabbi etc.
- (10) would not talk it over with anybody
- (11) don't know

WHERE DOES THIS PERSON LIVE?

- (1) neighbourhood within about five minutes' walk
- (2) Belconnen district except (1)
- (3) Queanbeyan or Canberra except (1) and (2)
- (4) Australia except Canberra and Queanbeyan

## CARD G

LOAN

- (1) relative (please specify what relationship) -----
- (2) my workmate or my husband's/partner's workmate
- (3) neighbour
- (4) other friend
- (5) no one
- (6) don't know

WHERE DOES THIS PERSON LIVE?

- (1) neighbourhood within about five minutes' walk
- (2) Belconnen district except (1)
- (3) Queanbeyan or Canberra except (1) and (2)
- (4) Australia except Canberra and Queanbeyan

## CARD H

MOVING FURNITURE

- (1) relative (please specify what relationship) -----
- (2) my workmate or my husband's/partner's workmate
- (3) neighbour
- (4) other friend
- (5) local community service/helping agency
- (6) pay someone to do it
- (7) no one
- (8) don't know

WHERE DOES THIS PERSON LIVE?

- (1) neighbourhood within about five minutes' walk
- (2) Belconnen district except (1)
- (3) Queanbeyan or Canberra except (1) and (2)
- (4) Australia except Canberra and Queanbeyan

## CARD I

GOOD DOCTOR

- (1) relative (please specify what relationship) -----
- (2) my workmate or my husband's/partner's workmate
- (3) neighbour
- (4) other friend
- (5) counsellor or other specialist
- (6) local community service/helping agency
- (7) no one
- (8) don't know

WHERE DOES THIS PERSON LIVE?

- (1) neighbourhood within about five minutes' walk
- (2) Belconnen district except (1)
- (3) Queanbeyan or Canberra except (1) and (2)
- (4) Australia except Canberra and Queanbeyan



## CARD J

NUMBER OF TIMES OF SOCIALIZING

- (1) at least once a week
- (2) a few times a month
- (3) about once a month
- (4) a few times a year
- (5) rarely or never

## CARD K

YOUR IDEA OF GOOD NEIGHBOURS

- (1) sociable (e.g. friendly/ chat with them/  
share confidences/ tolerant/ share interests)
- (2) dependable (e.g. depend on them when needed/  
helps with occasional tasks)
- (3) not a nuisance (e.g. do not lower standards/not noisy,  
untidy, nuisance/ not interfering/ do not borrow)
- (4) other (please specify) -----
- (5) don't know

## CARD L

INVOLVEMENT IN ORGANIZATIONS

- (1)parents and citizens' association (or other school-related group)
- (2)baby-sitting group
- (3)children's play-group
- (4)community association (e.g. Tillyard Community  
Centre Association, Croajingalong Community Centre)
- (5)church, religious or spiritual group
- (6)trade union
- (7)sporting club
- (8)special interest group (hobby group)
- (9)youth group (e.g. scout leader, Little Athletics' manager)
- (10)political party (NAME IS NOT NECESSARY)
- (11)protest group (political activity) (e.g. Wilderness Society)
- (12)social service organization (e.g. Zonta, Quota)
- (13)business organization, professional organization  
(e.g. Australian Medical Association)
- (14)nationality group (ethnic group)
- (15)veterans' organization (RSL)
- (16)charity or welfare organization (e.g.Red Cross,Smith Family)
- (17)old school group
- (18)others (please specify) -----

## CARD M

HOW OFTEN DO YOU ATTEND SUCH ORGANIZATIONS?

- (1) most, if not all, meetings/activities
- (2) some meetings/activities
- (3) few meetings/activities
- (4) never

## CARD N

HOW OFTEN DO YOU GO TO SELF-IMPROVEMENT CLASSES/ SOCIAL CLUBS?

- (1) a few times a week
- (2) about once a week
- (3) a few times a month
- (4) about once a month
- (5) a few times a year
- (6) rarely or never

## CARD O

SATISFACTION FROM ACTIVITY

- (1) job
- (2) bringing up my children
- (3) house
- (4) hobbies, sport, or self-improvement activities
- (5) family life in general
- (6) other (please specify) -----
- (7) don't know

## CARD P

SIZE OF PLACE YOU LIVED

- (1) a metropolitan area (500,000 or more)
- (2) a city (100,000 to 499,999)
- (3) a middle-sized city (20,000 to 99,999)
- (4) a country town (1,000 to 19,999)
- (5) a village (under 1,000)
- (6) a farm, property

## CARD Q

REASON FOR MOVING TO CANBERRA/QUEANBEYAN

- (1) change of my work location
- (2) change of workplace for my husband/partner
- (3) a new job
- (4) my husband/partner got a new job
- (5) to study
- (6) to assist my husband's/partner's study
- (7) moved here with parent(s)
- (8) to live near relative(s)
- (9) to live near friend(s)
- (10) other (please specify) -----



## CARD R

SIZE OF PLACE YOU LIVED

- (1) a metropolitan area (500,000 or more)
- (2) a city (100,000 to 499,999)
- (3) a middle-sized city (20,000 to 99,999)
- (4) a country town (1,000 to 19,999)
- (5) a village (under 1,000)
- (6) a farm, property

## CARD S

QUALIFICATIONS

- (1) primary education
- (2) some secondary education (1 to 4 years)
- (3) completed secondary school (5 or 6 years)
- (4) some post-secondary study -- no qualification
- (5) post-secondary certificate
- (6) post-secondary diploma
- (7) post-secondary degree
- (8) higher degree (post-graduate)
- (9) other (please specify) -----

## CARD T

WORKING HOURS

- (1) 1-15 hours
- (2) 16-24 hours
- (3) 25-34 hours
- (4) 35-39 hours
- (5) 40 hours
- (6) 41-48 hours
- (7) 49 hours or more

## CARD U

RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION

- |  |   |                           |
|--|---|---------------------------|
| (1) Church of England                                      | } | Christian<br>denomination |
| (2) Roman Catholic   |   |                           |
| (3) Catholic -- not Roman                                  |   |                           |
| (4) Methodist  |   |                           |
| (5) Greek Orthodox   |   |                           |
| (6) Presbyterian   |   |                           |
| (7) Uniting Church   |   |                           |
| (8) other Christian denomination<br>(please specify) ----- |   |                           |
| (9) non-Christian<br>(please specify) -----                |   |                           |
| (10) no religion   |   |                           |
| (11) no answer   |   |                           |

## CARD V

USE OF A CAR

- (1) every day
- (2) 4 or 5 days a week
- (3) 2 or 3 days a week
- (4) one day a week
- (5) rarely or never

## CARD W

ANNUAL FAMILY INCOME

- (1) no income
- (2) \$1 - \$2,000 (i.e. \$1 - \$38 gross per week)
- (3) \$2,001 - \$4,000 (\$39 - \$76 gross per week)
- (4) \$4,001 - \$6,000 (\$77 - \$115 gross per week)
- (5) \$6,001 - \$9,000 (\$116 - \$172 gross per week)
- (6) \$9,001 - \$12,000 (\$173 - \$230 gross per week)
- (7) \$12,001 - \$15,000 (\$231 - \$287 gross per week)
- (8) \$15,001 - \$18,000 (\$288 - \$345 gross per week)
- (9) \$18,001 - \$22,000 (\$346 - \$421 gross per week)
- (10) \$22,001 - \$26,000 (\$422 - \$498 gross per week)
- (11) \$26,001 - \$32,000 (\$499 - \$613 gross per week)
- (12) \$32,001 - \$40,000 (\$614 - \$766 gross per week)
- (13) \$40,001 - \$50,000 (\$767 - \$958 gross per week)
- (14) \$50,001 - \$60,000 (\$959 - \$1,150 gross per week)
- (15) \$60,001 - \$70,000 (\$1,151 - \$1,342 gross per week)
- (16) \$70,001 - \$80,000 (\$1,343 - \$1,534 gross per week)
- (17) over \$80,001 (over \$1,535 gross per week)

## SELECTED REFERENCES

- A.C.T. Playgroups Association. (1986). *Let's Have Fun Together!: A Resource Book for Playgroups*. Canberra: A.C.T. Playgroups Association.
- Abercrombie, Nicholas., Stephen Hill and Bryan S. Turner. (1984). Social mobility. In Abercrombie *et al.*, *Dictionary of Sociology*. London: Penguin Books.
- Abramson, Paul R. (July 1973). Intergenerational social mobility and partisan preference in Britain and Italy. *Comparative Political Studies*, 6(2), 221-34.
- Adams, Bert N. (June 1967). Occupational position, mobility, and the kin of orientation. *American Sociological Review*, 32(3), 364-77.
- Adams, Bert N. (1968). *Kinship in an Urban Setting*. Chicago: Markham Publishing Company.
- Adams, Bert N. (November 1970). Isolation, function, and beyond: American kinship in the 1960's. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 32(4), 575-97.
- Adrian, Colin (commentary by). (1983). *Canberra: A Social Atlas*. Canberra: Division of National Mapping and Australian Bureau of Statistics in association with Institute of Australian Geographers.
- Adrian, Colin. (December 1986). Planning the nation's capital: Agenda and new directions. *Australian Planner*, 24(4), 18-23.
- Aiken, Michael, and David Goldberg. (April 1969). Social mobility and kinship: A reexamination of the hypothesis. *American Anthropologist*, 71(2), 261-70.
- Allan, Graham A. (September 1977). Class variation in friendship patterns. *British Journal of Sociology*, 28(3), 389-93.
- Allan, Graham A. (1979). *A Sociology of Friendship and Kinship*. London: George Allen and Unwin.
- Arisue, Masaru. (1984). Kazoku to shakai (Family and society). In Takao Kawai *et al.*, *Shakaigaku: Gendaishakai no Kadai (Sociology: Its Tasks in Modern Society)*. Tokyo: Keisoo Shoboo.
- Atkins, Ruth. (1978). *The Government of the Australian Capital Territory*. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics. (1972a). *Births, Australia*. Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics. Catalogue No. 3301.0. Annual publication since 1972.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics. (1972b). *Deaths, Australia*. Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics. Catalogue No. 3302.0. Annual publication since 1972.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics. (1974). *Internal Migration, 1969-70 to 1972-73*. Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics. Catalogue No. 3408.0.

- Australian Bureau of Statistics. (1976). *Internal Migration, Twelve Months Ended April 1972, 1973 and 1974 and 31 December 1974*. Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics. Catalogue No. 3408.0.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics. (1977). *Internal Migration, Twelve Months Ended January 1977*. Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics. This publication has been issued annually since 1977. Catalogue No. 3408.0.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics. (1980). *Internal Migration, Australia, Twelve Months Ended 30 June 1979*. Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics. Catalogue No. 3408.0.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics. (1981). *Supplementary Index of Government Designations or Job Titles of Employees of Australian and State Government Department and Authorities*. Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics. (1982). *1981 Census of Population and Housing*. Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics. Available on microfiche.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics. (1983). *Internal Migration, Australia, Twelve Months Ended 30 June 1982*. Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics. Catalogue No. 3408.0.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics. (1984). *Interstate Migration Australia: Census of Population of Housing 30 June 1981*. Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics. Catalogue No. 3411.0.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics. (1986a). *Australian Standard Classification of Occupations*. Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics. Catalogue No. 1219.0.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics. (1986b). *The 1986 Census Dictionary*. Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics. Catalogue No. 2174.0.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics. (1987). *1986 Census of Population and Housing*. Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics. Available on microfiche.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics. (1988). *Internal Migration, Australia, Twelve Months Ended 31 May 1987*. Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics. Catalogue No. 3408.0.
- Australian Federal Police. (1984). *Neighbourhood Watch Manual*. Canberra: Australian Federal Police. Manual of Neighbourhood Watch Programme for its organizers.
- Australian Federal Police. (1986a). Break enter and steal figures for all premises of NW areas -- Implemented for 12 months. Internal material.
- Australian Federal Police. (1986b). Statistical comparison for Kambah 1 neighbourhood watch area -- 1 Jan - 24 Sept 1984 and 1985. Internal material.
- Axelrod, Morris. (1953). *A study of formal and informal group participation in a large urban community*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan.
- Axelrod, Morris. (February 1956). Urban structure and social participation. *American Sociological Review*, 21(1), 13-19.



- Bahr, Howard M., and Theodore Caplow. (September 1968). Homelessness, affiliation, and occupational mobility. *Social Forces*, 47(1), 28-33.
- Bean, Frank D., Charles M. Bonjean, and Michael G. Burton. (September 1973). Intergenerational occupational mobility and alienation. *Social Forces*, 52(1), 62-73.
- Bean, Frank D., and Gray Swicegood. (August 1979). Intergenerational occupational mobility and fertility: A reassessment. *American Sociological Review*, 44(4), 608-19.
- Bell, Solin. (1968). *Middle Class Families: Social and Geographical Mobility*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Bell, Wendell, and Marion D. Boat. (January 1957). Urban neighborhood and informal social relations. *American Journal of Sociology*, 63(1), 391-98.
- Berardo, Felix M. (August 1966). Kinship interaction and migrant adaptation in an aerospace-related community. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 28(3), 296-304.
- Berry, Michael. (1984). Urbanization and social change: Australia in the twentieth century. In S. Encel and L. Bryson (Eds.), *Australian Society* (4th Edition). Melbourne: Longman Cheshire.
- Biegel, David E., Ellen McCardle, and Susan Mendelson. (1985). *Social Networks and Mental Health: An Annotated Bibliography*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.
- Blau, P. M. (June 1956). Social mobility and interpersonal relations. *American Sociological Review*, 21(3), 290-95.
- Blau, Peter M., and Otis Dudley Duncan. (1967). *The American Occupational Structure*. New York: Wiley.
- Bloom, Joan R. (1982). Social support, accommodation to stress and adjustment to breast cancer. *Social Science and Medicine*, 16(14), 1329-38.
- Booth, Alan. (April 1972). Sex and social participation. *American Sociological Review*, 37(2), 183-92.
- Borrie, W. D. (1978). Population trends and policy. In Peter Scott (Ed.), *Australian Cities and Public Policy*. Melbourne: Georgian House.
- Bott, Elizabeth. (1971). *Family and Social Network: Roles, Norms, and External Relationships in Ordinary Urban Families* (Second Edition). London: Tavistock Publications.
- Boudon, Raymond. (1973). *Mathematical Structures of Social Mobility*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Boyd, Monica. (February 1973). Occupational mobility and fertility in metropolitan Latin America. *Demography*, 10(1), 1-17.
- Braddon Residents Association. (October, 1987a). Braddon Residents Association Newsletter. Canberra: The Braddon Residents Association.

- Braddon Residents Association. (1987b). Braddon Residents Association Newsletter. Canberra: The Braddon Residents Association.
- Brennen, T. (1973). *New Community: Problems and Policies*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson.
- Broom, L., P. Duncan-Jones, F. L. Jones and P. McDonnell. (1974). Social mobility in Australia project: Note for coders. Unpublished copy obtained from the authors.
- Broom, L., P. Duncan-Jones, F. L. Jones and P. McDonnell. (1977). *Investigating Social Mobility*. Canberra: Australian National University Press.
- Broom, Leonard, and F. Lancaster Jones. (January 1969a). Father-to-son mobility: Australia in comparative perspective. *American Journal of Sociology*, 74(4), 333-42.
- Broom, Leonard, and F. Lancaster Jones. (October 1969b). Career mobility in three societies: Australia, Italy, and the United States. *American Sociological Review*, 34(5), 650-58.
- Broom, Leonard, and F. Lancaster Jones. (December 1970). Status consistency and political preference: The Australian case. *American Sociological Review*, 35(6), 989-1001.
- Broom, Leonard, F. Lancaster Jones, and Jerzy Zubrzycki. (October, 1965). Supplement: An Occupational Classification of the Australian Workforce. *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, 1(2), 1-16.
- Broom, Leonard, and F. Lancaster Jones with the collaboration of Jerzy Jebrzycki. (1976). *Opportunity and Attainment in Australia*. Canberra: Australian National University Press.
- Bruce, J. M. (September 1970). Intragenerational occupational mobility and visiting with kin and friends. *Social Forces*, 49(1), 117-27.
- Bryson, Lois, and Faith Thompson. (1972). *An Australian Newtown: Life and Leadership in a New Housing Suburb*. Ringwood: Penguin Books Australia.
- Bryson, Lois, and Martin Mowbray. (November, 1981). 'Community': The spray-on solution. *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, 16(4), 255-67.
- Burgess, Ernest W. (1925). The growth of the city. In Robert E. Park (Ed.), *The City*. Illinois: University of Chicago Press.
- Burgess, Ernest W. (November 1928). Residential segregation in American cities. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 140(229), 105-15.
- Burnley, I. H. (1974). Internal migration and metropolitan growth in Australia. In I. H. Burnley (Ed.), *Urbanization in Australia: The Post-war Experience*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Campbell, Donald T., and Julian C. Stanley. (1963). *Experimental and Quasi-experimental Designs for Research*. Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Company.

- Canberra Chronicle. (May 1, 1985). Group formed to run new centre. *Canberra Chronicle*, 4(177), 2.
- Canberra Chronicle. (April 2, 1986a). NCDC says go ahead with granny flats. *Canberra Chronicle*, 5(222), 3.
- Canberra Chronicle. (April 2, 1986b). Downer forms action group. *Canberra Chronicle*, 5(222), 3.
- Canberra Chronicle. (July 23, 1986c). Tuggeranong youth need place to go. *Canberra Chronicle*, 5(238), 3.
- Canberra Chronicle. (October 15, 1986d). Crime lift linked to 'watch'. *Canberra Chronicle*, 6(249), 1.
- Canberra Chronicle. (May 10, 1988). Voters say No to self-government. *Canberra Chronicle*, 7(312), 1.
- Canberra Times. (September 20, 1983). Tuggeranong tells needs. *Canberra Times*, 58(17,523), 3.
- Castle, Philip. (March 26, 1984a). Police crack down as burglary increases. *Canberra Times*, 58(17,711), 3.
- Castle, Philip. (September 17, 1984b). New anti-crime program begins. *Canberra Times*, 59(17,886), 10.
- Castle, Philip. (September 26, 1984c). Support for anti-crime scheme in Kambah. *Canberra Times*, 59(17,895), 3.
- Chester, Robert. (July-December 1978). Marital stability and social mobility. *International Journal of Sociology of the Family*, 8(2), 159-70.
- Choi, C. Y., and I. H. Burnley. (1974). Population components in the growth of cities. In I. H. Burnley (Ed.), *Urbanization in Australia: The Post-war Experience*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Cohen, S. and S. V. Kasl. (1985). Stress, social support, and the buffering hypothesis. *Psychological Bulletin*, 98(2), 310-57.
- Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics. (1907). *Demography Bulletin*. Canberra: Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics. Annual publication from 1907 (No.1) to 1974 (No.87). This series was replaced after 1972 by *Births, Australia* and *Deaths, Australia*.
- Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics. (1961). *Classification and Classified List of Occupations*. Canberra: Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics.
- Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics. (1971a). *Classification and Classified List of Occupations*. Canberra: Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics.

- Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics. (1971b). *Supplementary Index of Government Designations or Job Titles of Employees of Australian and State Government Department and Authorities*. Canberra: Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics.
- Community Spotlight. (June 1987a). Residents to close suburb. *Ainslie Football and Social Club's Community Spotlight*, 1(8), 1.
- Community Spotlight. (November, 1987b). Office open. *Ainslie Football and Social Club's Community Spotlight*, 2(13), 1.
- Community Spotlight. (February, 1988). Association working hard for residents. *Ainslie Football and Social Club's Community Spotlight*, 2(16), 1.
- Connerly, Charles E. (June 1985). The community question: An extension of Wellman and Leighton. *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, 20(4), 537-56.
- Cooke, Graham. (March 21, 1984). Turner residents oppose plan. *Canberra Chronicle*, 3(123), 1-2.
- Crippen, Timothy, and Joseph Lopreato. (Fall 1981). Dimensions of social mobility and political behavior. *Journal of Political and Military Sociology*, 9(2), 149-61.
- Croog, Sydney H., Albert Lipson, and Sol Levine. (February 1972). Help patterns in severe illness: the roles of kin network, non-family resources, and institutions. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 34(1), 32-41.
- Curtis, Richard F. (1958). *Consequences of Occupational Mobility in a Metropolitan Community*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan.
- Curtis, Richard F. (November 1959a). Occupational mobility and urban social life. *American Journal of Sociology*, 65(3), 296-98.
- Curtis, Richard F. (December 1959b). Occupational mobility and membership in formal voluntary associations: A note on research. *American Sociological Review*, 24(6), 846-48.
- d'Abbs, Peter. (1982). *Social Support Networks: A Critical Review of Models and Findings*. Melbourne: Institute of Family Studies.
- Davis, Kingsley. (1949). *Human Society*. New York: Macmillan Company.
- Day, Phil D. (December 1984). New metropolitan policy proposal for Canberra: Town in search of a city?. *Australian Planner*, 22(4), 25-26.
- Day, Phil D. (December 1986). Canberra: Best planned or most planned?. *Urban Policy and Research*, 4(4), 14-21.
- Dean, Alfred, and Nan Lin. (December 1977). The stress-buffering role of social support. *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, 165(6), 403-17.
- Department of the Capital Territory. (n.d.). *Maps of Canberra by Suburbs*. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.
- Dewey, Richard. (August 1950). Neighborhood, urban ecology and city planners. *American Sociological Review*, 15(4), 502-07.

- Di Iulio, O. B. (1984). *Postcensal Interstate Migration Estimates*. Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics. Occasional Paper 1984/2.
- Dore, R. P. (1958). *City Life in Japan: A Study of a Tokyo Ward*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Dotson, Floyd. (October 1951). Patterns of voluntary association among urban working-class families. *American Sociological Review*, 16(5), 687-93.
- Duncan, Otis Dudley. (1966). Methodological issues in the analysis of social mobility. In Neil J. Smelser and Seymour M. Lipset (Eds.), *Social Structure and Mobility in Economic Development*. Chicago: Aldine.
- Durkheim, Emile. (1897 [1951]). *Suicide*. Glencoe: The Free Press.
- Durkheim, Emile. (1893 [1964]). *The Division of Labor in Society*. New York: The Free Press. Translated by George Simpson.
- Dyer, Everett D. (November 1972). Upward social mobility and extended family cohesion as perceived by the wife in Swedish urban families. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 34(4), 713-24.
- Ellis, Evelyn. (October 1952). Upward social mobility among unmarried career women. *American Sociological Review*, 17(5), 558-63.
- Ellis, Robert A., and W. Clayton Lane. (April 1967). Social mobility and social isolation: A test of Sorokin's dissociative hypothesis. *American Sociological Review*, 32(2), 237-53.
- Fellin, Phillip, and Eugene Litwak. (June 1963). Neighborhood cohesion under conditions of mobility. *American Sociological Review*, 28(3), 364-76.
- Fellin, Phillip, and Eugene Litwak. (March 1968). The neighborhood in urban American society. *Social Work*, 13(3), 72-80.
- Fischer, Claude S. (November 1972). 'Urbanism as a way of life': A review and an agenda. *Sociological Method and Research*, 1(2), 187-242.
- Fischer, Claude S. (1976). *The Urban Experience*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Fischer, Claude S. (1982). *To Dwell among Friends*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Fischer, Claude S., and Stacey J. Oliner. (September 1983). A research note on friendship, gender, and the life cycle. *Social Forces*, 62(1), 124-33.
- Fischer, Claude S., and C. A. Stueve. (1977). "Authentic community": The role of place in modern life. In Claude S. Fischer *et al.*, *Networks and Places: Social Relations in the Urban Setting*. New York: The Free Press.
- Foley, Donald L. (1952). *Neighbours or Urbanites?*. Rochester: University of Rochester.
- Frisbie, W. Parker, and John D. Kasarda. (1988). Spatial processes. In Neil J. Smelser (Ed.), *Handbook of Sociology*. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

- Gans, Herbert J. (1962a). *The Urban Villagers*. New York: The Free Press.
- Gans, Herbert J. (1962b). Urbanism and suburbanism as ways of life: A re-evaluation of definitions. In M. Rose (Ed.), *Human Behavior and Social Process*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Gans, Herbert J. (1963). Effects of the move from city to suburb. In Leonard J. Duhl with the assistance of J. Powell (Eds.), *The Urban Condition: People and Policy in the Metropolis*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Gans, Herbert J. (1967). *The Levittowners*. New York: Vintage.
- Garigue, Philip. (December 1956). French Canadian kinship and urban life. *American Anthropologist*, 58(6), 1090-101.
- Germani, Gino. (1966). Social and political consequences of mobility. In Neil J. Smelser and Seymour M. Lipset (Eds.), *Social Structure and Mobility in Economic Development*. Chicago: Aldine.
- Gerson, Kathaleen, C. Ann Stueve, and Claude S. Fischer. (1977). Attachment to place. In Claude S. Fischer *et al.*, *Networks and Places: Social Relations in the Urban Setting*. New York: The Free Press.
- Gist, Noel P., and Sylvia Fleis Fava. (1964). *Urban Society* (Fifth Edition). New York: Thomas Y. Srowell.
- Goldthorpe, Jone H., David Lockwood, Frank Bechhofer, and Jennifer Platt. (1969). *The Affluent Worker in the Class Structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Granovetter, Mark S. (May 1973). The strength of weak ties. *American Journal of Sociology*, 78(6), 1360-80.
- Granovetter, Mark S. (1974). *Getting a Job: A Study of Contacts and Careers*. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press.
- Greer, Scott. (February 1956). Urbanism reconsidered: A comparative study of local areas in a metropolis. *American Sociological Review*, 21(1), 19-25.
- Greer, Scott. (1962). *The Emerging City*. New York: The Free Press.
- Gulick, John, Charles E. Bowerman, and Kurt W. Back. (1962). Newcomer enculturation in the city: attitude and participation. In F. Stuart Chapin, Jr., and Shirley F. Weiss (Eds.), *Urban Growth Dynamics in a Regional Cluster of Cities*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Gusfield, Joseph R. (1975). Key Concept in the Social Sciences. *Community: A Critical Response*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Halaby, Charles N., and Michael E. Sobel. (September 1979). Mobility effects in the workplace. *American Journal of Sociology*, 85(2), 385-416.
- Hall, Alan, and Barry Wellman. (1982). *Support and Non-support*. Toronto: University of Toronto.

- Halligan, John, and Chris Paris. (1984). The politics of local government: Critical perspectives. In John Halligan and Chris Paris with the assistance of Jan Wells (Eds.), *Australian Urban Politics*. Melbourne: Longman Cheshire.
- Hendrix, Lewellyn. (May 1979). Kinship, social class, and migration. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 41(2), 399-407.
- Hobbs, Philip. (April 10, 1987). Census: Population of ACT nudging 1/4 m. *Canberra Times*, 61(18,816), 7.
- Hodge, Robert W., and Donald J. Treiman. (October 1968). Social participation and social status. *American Journal of Sociology*, 33(5), 722-40.
- Hooper, Keith. (November 13, 1985). Community responds on proposed Gungahlin traffic access. *Canberra Chronicle*, 4(204), 2.
- Hoover, Edgar M., and Raymond Vernon. (1959). *Anatomy of a Metropolis*. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press.
- Hope, Keith. (December 1971). Social mobility and fertility. *American Sociological Review*, 36(6), 1019-32.
- Hope, Keith. (June 1975). Models of status inconsistency and social mobility effects. *American Sociological Review*, 40(3), 322-43.
- Hope, Keith. (February 1981). Vertical mobility in Britain: A structured analysis. *Sociology*, 15(1), 19-55.
- Hopkins, Andrew. (February 1973). Political overconformity by upwardly mobile American men. *American Sociological Review*, 38(1), 143-47.
- Hopkins, Andrew. (1974). Upward social mobility and voting behaviour. In Donald E. Edger (Ed.), *Social Change in Australia*. Melbourne: Cheshire.
- House, J. S. (June 1978). Facets and flaws of Hope's diamond model. *American Sociological Review*, 43(3), 439-42.
- House, J. S. (1981). *Work Stress and Social Support*. Mass: Addison-Wesley
- House, J. S. (1986). Social support and the quality and quantity of life. In F. M. Andrews (Ed.), *Research on the Quality of Life*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.
- House, J. S. (1987). Social support and social structure. *Sociological Forum*, 2(1), 135-46.
- House, J. S., and R. L. Kahn. (1985). Measures and concepts of social support. In S. Cohen and L. S. Syme (Eds.), *Social Support and Health*. New York: Academic.
- House, J. S., D. Umberson, and K. R. Landis. (1988). Structures and processes of social support. *Annual Review of Sociology*. 14, 293-318.
- Howard, Ebenezer. (1902). *Garden Cities of To-morrow*. London: Faber and Faber.

- Hoyt, Homer. (1939). *The Structure and Growth of Residential Neighborhoods in American Cities*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- Huber, Rina. (1977). *From Pasta to Pavlova*. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press.
- Hunter, Albert. (October 1975). The loss of community: An empirical test through replication. *American Sociological Review*, 40(5), 537-52.
- Hutter, Mark. (February 1970). Transformation of identity, social mobility and kinship solidarity. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 32(1), 133-37.
- Isaacs, Reginald R. (1966). Attack on the neighborhood unit formula. In William L. C. Wheaton, Grace Milgram, and Margy Ellin Meyerson (Eds.), *Urban Housing*. New York: The Free Press.
- Jackman, M. (April 1972). The political orientation of the socially mobile in Italy: A re-examination. *American Sociological Review*, 37(2), 213-22.
- Jackson, Elton F., and Richard F. Curtis. (December 1972). Effects of vertical mobility and status inconsistency: A body of negative evidence. *American Sociological Review*, 37(6), 701-13.
- Jacobs, Jane. (1961). *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Janowitz, Morris. (1967). *The Community Press in an Urban Setting*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Jitodai, Ted T. (Fall 1963). Migration and kinship contacts. *Pacific Sociological Review*, 6(2), 49-55.
- Joint Committee on the Australian Capital Territory. (1975). *Self-Government and Public Finance in the Australian Capital Territory*. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.
- Joint Committee on the Australian Capital Territory. (1987). *Report on Canberra*. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.
- Jones, F. L. (September, 1971). Occupational change in Australia, 1911-66. *The Indian Journal of Sociology*, 2(2), 123-36.
- Jones, F. L. (August, 1989). Occupational prestige in Australia: A new scale. *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, 25(2), 187-99.
- Jones, L. Wendy. (December 1980). Couple network patterns of newcomers in an Australian city. *Social Networks*, 2(4), 357-70.
- Jones, L. M., and C. S. Fischer. (1978). *Studying Egocentric Networks by Mass Survey*. Berkeley: Institute of Urban and Regional Development, University of California.
- Kadushin, Charles. (December 1966). The friends and supporters of psychotherapy: On social circles in urban life. *American Sociological Review*, 31(6), 786-802.



- Kasarda, John D., and John O. G. Billy. (1985). Social mobility and fertility. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 11, 305-28.
- Kasarda, John D., and Morris Janowitz. (June 1974). Community attachment in mass society. *American Sociological Review*, 39(3), 328-39.
- Katz, Rachel. (1983). Occupational mobility of immigrants and their job satisfaction: A secondary analysis. *International Migration*, 21(3), 345-57.
- Keizaikikakuchoo Kokuminseikatsukyoku (Economic Welfare Bureau, Economic Planning Agency) (Ed.). (1983) *Jishuteki Shakaisankakatsudoo no Igi to Yakuwari (Significance and Roles of Voluntary Social Activities)*. Tokyo: Ministry of Finance.
- Keller, Suzanne. (1968). *The Urban Neighborhood: A Sociological Perspective*. New York: Random House.
- Kendig, Hal L. (1986). Intergenerational exchange. In Hal L. Kendig (Ed.), *Ageing and Families: A Social Networks Perspective*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin.
- Kessin, Kenneth. (July 1971). Social and psychological consequences of intergenerational occupational mobility. *American Journal of Sociology*, 77(1), 1-18.
- Kessler, R. C., and J. D. McLeod. (1985). Social support and mental health in community surveys. In S. Cohen and L. S. Syme (Eds.), *Social Support and Health*. New York: Academic.
- Kikuchi, Miyoshi. (1973). Kyojuukuukan to chiikishuudan (Living area and residential groups). In Susumu Kurasawa (Ed.), *Toshi Shakaigaku (Urban Sociology)*. Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai.
- Kikuchi, Miyoshi. (1977). Chiiki shuudan (Residential groups). In Tsuneo Yamane et al. (Ed.), *Chiiki Shakai (Residential Society)*. Tokyo: Yuhikaku.
- Kilmartin, Leslie, David Thorns, and Terry Burke. (1985). *Social Theory and the Australian City*. Sydney: George Allen and Unwin.
- Kish, Leslie. (1965). *Survey Sampling*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Klov Dahl, Alden S., Z. Dhofier, G. Oddy, J. O'Hara, S. Stoutjeskijk, and A. Whish. (June 1977a). Social networks in an urban area: First Canberra study. *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, 13(2), 169-72.
- Klov Dahl, Alden S., D. Burgess, A. Edwards, J. Kreitals, M. Stewart, L. Cayzer, S. White, and F. Wood. (June 1977b). Social networks in an urban area: Second Canberra study. *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, 13(2), 172-75.
- Knoke, David. (July 1973). Intergenerational occupational mobility and the political party preferences of American men. *American Journal of Sociology*, 78(6), 1448-68.
- Lane, W. Clayton, and Robert A. Ellis. (Spring 1968). Social mobility and anticipatory socialization. *The Pacific Sociological Review*, 11(1), 5-14.

- Laslett, Barbara. (July 1971). Mobility and work satisfaction: A discussion of the use and interpretation of mobility models. *American Journal of Sociology*, 77(1), 19-35.
- Lauer, Robert H. (Summer 1975). Occupational and religious mobility in a small city. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 16(3), 380-92.
- Laumann, Edward O. (1973). *Bonds of Pluralism*. New York: Wiley.
- Lee, Gary R. (November 1980). Kinship in the seventies: A decade review of research and theory. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 42(4), 923-34.
- Lewis, David. (December 1975). *Primary Social Networks in Canberra*. Master's thesis, Australian National University.
- Lipset, Seymour M., and Reinhart Bendix. (1959). *Social Mobility in Industrial Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Litwak, Eugene. (February 1960a). Occupational mobility and extended family cohesion. *American Sociological Review*, 25(1), 9-21.
- Litwak, Eugene. (March 1960b). Reference group theory, bureaucratic career, and neighborhood primary group cohesion. *Sociometry*, 23(1), 72-84.
- Litwak, Eugene. (June 1960c). Geographical mobility and extended family cohesion. *American Sociological Review*, 25(3), 385-94.
- Litwak, Eugene. (April 1961). Voluntary associations and neighborhood cohesion. *American Sociological Review*, 26(2), 258-71.
- Litwak, Eugene. (1965). Extended kin relations in an industrial democratic society. In Ethel Shanas and Gordon F. Streib (Eds.), *Social Structure and the Family: Generational Relations*. Englewood: Prentice-Hall.
- Litwak, Eugene with the assistance of Josefina Figueira. (1970). Technological innovation and ideal forms of family structure in an industrial democratic society. In Reuben Hill and Rene Koenig (Eds.), *Families in East and West*. Paris: Mouton.
- Litwak, Eugene, and Ivan Szelenyi. (August 1969). Primary group structure and their functions: Kin, neighbors, and friends. *American Sociological Review*, 34(4), 465-81.
- London, Bruce. (1980). Gentrification as urban reinvasion: Some preliminary definitional and theoretical considerations. In Shirley Bradway Laska, and Daphne Spain (Eds.), *Back to the City: Issues in Neighborhood Renovation*. New York: Pergamon Press.
- London, Bruce, Donald S. Bradley, and James R. Hudson. (June 1980). Introduction to approaches to inner-city revitalization. *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, 15(4), 373-80.
- Long, L. H. (August 1972). The influence of number and ages on children on residential mobility. *Demography*, 9(3), 371-82.

- Longhurst, Frank. (April 12, 1985). Two parkways key to new road network. *Canberra Times*, 58(17,728), 3.
- Lopreato, Joseph, Frank D. Bean, and Sally Cook Lopreato. (Spring 1976). Occupational mobility and political behavior: Some unresolved issues. *Journal of Political and Military Sociology*, 4(1), 1-15.
- Luck, Patrick W., and Jerold Heiss. (October 1972). Social determinants of self-esteem in adult males. *Sociology and Social Research*, 57(1), 69-84.
- Maher, C. A. (1984). *Residential Mobility within Australian Cities: An Analysis of 1976 Census Data*. Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics. Catalogue No.3410.0.
- Mahoney, Deirdre. (March 4, 1987). Residents to oppose rezoning. *Canberra Chronicle*, 6(264), 1.
- Mann, Peter H. (1968). International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction. *An Approach to Urban Sociology*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Mann, Peter H. (1970). The neighborhood. In Robert Gutman and David Popenoe (Eds.), *Neighborhood, City and Metropolis: An Integrated Reader in Urban Sociology*. New York: Random House.
- Marcum, John P., and Frank D. Bean. (September 1976). Minority group status as a factor in the relationship between mobility and fertility: The Mexican American case. *Social Forces*, 55(1), 135-48.
- Martin, Jean I. (April 1967). Extended kinship ties: An Adelaide study. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, 3(3), 44-63.
- Martin, Jean I. (1970). Suburbia: Community and network. In A. F. Davies, and S. Encel (Eds.), *Australian Society: A Sociological Introduction* (Second Edition). Melbourne: Cheshire.
- McAllister, Ronald J., Edgar W. Butler, Edward J. Kaiser. (May 1973). The adaptation of women to residential mobility. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 35(2), 197-204.
- McCubbin, Hamilton I., Constance B. Joy, A. Elizabeth Cauble, Joan K. Comeau, Joan M. Patterson, and Richard H. Needle. (November 1980). Family stress and coping: A decade review. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 42(4), 855-71.
- McMillan, John. (1987). Submission regarding discussion paper by the National Capital Development Commission, "Planning Policies for Small-scale Residential Development". Prepared for the Braddon Residents Association.
- Mead, Margaret. (May 1948). The contemporary American family as an anthropologist sees it. *American Journal of Sociology*, 53(6), 453-59.
- Merrett, D. T. (1977). *Australian Capital Cities in the Twentieth Century*. Clayton: Monash University.
- Merton, Robert K. (1968). *Social Theory and Social Structure* (1968 Enlarged Edition). New York: The Free Press.

- Michelson, William. (1970). *Man and his Urban Environment: A Sociological Approach*. Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.
- Michelson, W. (1973). *Environmental Change*. Toronto: University of Toronto.
- Mirande, Alfred M. (Winter 1973). Social mobility and participation: The dissociative and socialization hypotheses. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 14(1), 19-31.
- Mortimer, T. Jeylan, and Roberta G. Simmons. (1978). Adult socialization. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 4, 421-54.
- Moseley, G. E. (June 1974). Residential area planning in Canberra. *New Zealand Surveyor*, 27(5), 474-94.
- Mowbray, Martin, and Lois Bryson. (November, 1984). Women really care. *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, 19(4), 261-72.
- Mumford, Lewis. (1966). In defence of the neighborhood. In William L. C. Wheaton, Grace Milgram, and Margy Ellin Meyerson (Eds.), *Urban Housing*. New York: The Free Press.
- Nakamura, Hachiroo. (1964). Mitakashi no juuminsoshiki: Kinkootoshika ni tomonau sono henshitsu, kinkootoshi no henbookatei (Residents' groups in Mitaka city: Its change with suburban urbanization, and transition process of a suburban city). In ICU Shakaikagaku Kenkyuujo (Institute of Social Sciences, International Christian University) (Ed.), *Mitaka-shi Soogoochoosa Hookoku (A Comprehensive Survey Report on Mitaka City)*. Tokyo: ICU Shakaikagaku Kenkyuujo (Institute of Social Sciences, International Christian University).
- National Capital Development Commission. (1958). *National Capital Development Commission Annual Report*. Canberra: National Capital Development Commission. Annual publication since 1958.
- National Capital Development Commission. (1965). *The Future Canberra*. Canberra: National Capital Development Commission.
- National Capital Development Commission. (1970). *Tomorrow's Canberra*. Canberra: Australian National University Press.
- National Capital Development Commission. (1980). *Metropolitan Issues Public Discussion Paper*. Canberra: National Capital Development Commission.
- National Capital Development Commission. (1984a). *Metropolitan Canberra: Policy Plan and Development Plan*. Canberra: National Capital Development Commission.
- National Capital Development Commission. (1984b). Chisholm and Richardson population survey. National Capital Development Commission. Unpublished internal report of the survey.
- National Capital Development Commission. (October 16, 1985). Public consultation on Gungahlin/North Canberra transport connections. *Canberra Times*, 60(18,281), 7. Advertisement by the NCDC on the *Canberra Times*.

- National Capital Development Commission. (1986a). *Metropolitan Canberra: Policy Plan and Development Plan: Urban Consolidation*. Canberra: National Capital Development Plan.
- National Capital Development Commission. (1986b). *Planning Policies for Dual Occupancy of Detached House Blocks*. Canberra: National Capital Development Commission.
- National Capital Development Commission. (1986c). *The Way We Are*. Canberra: National Capital Development Commission.
- National Capital Development Commission. (1987a). A list of residents' associations in ACT. Unpublished internal material.
- National Capital Development Commission. (1987b). *Civic Centre Canberra: Policy Plan and Implementation Plan: Draft for Discussion*. Canberra: National Capital Development Commission. Technical Paper No. 50.
- National Capital Development Commission. (1987c). *Planning Policies for Small-Scale Residential Redevelopment*. Canberra: National Capital Development Commission.
- Neutze, Max. (1978). *Australian Urban Policy*. Sydney: George Allen and Unwin.
- Nisbet, Robert A. (1966). *The Sociological Tradition*. London: Heinemann.
- Nishio, Masaru. (1975). Gyooseikatei niokeru taikoo undoo: Juuminundoo ni tsuiteno ichikoosatsu (Functions of neighborhood protest movements in the Japanese administrative process). In Nihon Seijigakkai (The Japanese Political Science Association) (Ed.), *Nihon Seijigakkai Nenpoo (The Annuals of the Japanese Political Science Association)*. *Seijisanka no Riron to Genjutsu (Political Participation: Theory and Practice)*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.
- Nobe, Masao. (1990). Stages of development in Canberra. *Bulletin of School of Education, Okayama University*. Nos. 83-84.
- North Canberra Searchlight. (July 1988). Downer square nears completion. *North Canberra Searchlight*, 1(2), 1.
- O'Neill, Annette. (1985). Resident action in Leichhardt. In Rosamund Thorpe, and Judy Petruchenia with Lesley Hughes (Eds.), *Community Work or Social Change?*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Oomi, Tetsuo. (April 1958). Toshi no chiikishuudan (Residential groups in cities). *Shakaikagaku Tookyuu (The Social Sciences Review)*, 3(1), 181-230.
- Oomi, Tetsuo. (December 1962). Toshikariron zushiki no saikentoo (A reconsideration on urbanization scheme). *Shakaigaku Hyooron (Japanese Sociological Review)*, 13(3), 10-20.
- Orville, G. Brim, Jr. (1968). Socialization: Adult socialization. In David L. Sills (Ed.), *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*. Macmillan Company and The Free Press.
- Parsons, Talcott. (1949). The social structure of the family. In Ruth N. Anshen (Ed.), *The Family: Its Function and Destiny*. New York: Harper and Company.

- Parsons, Talcott. (1953). A revised analytical approach to the theory of social stratification. In Reinhard Bendix, and Seymour Martin Lipset (Eds.), *Class, Status and Power*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Parsons, Talcott. (1954). The kinship system of the contemporary United States. In Talcott Parsons (Ed.), *Essays in Sociological Thought*. Glencoe: The Free Press.
- Perry, Clarence Arthur. (1929). The neighborhood unit. In Committee on Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs (Ed.), *Neighborhood and Community Planning*. New York: Regional Plan of New York and its Environs.
- Pryor, Robin J. (1980). Belconnen: A suburban new town. In I. H. Burnley, R. J. Pryor, and D. T. Rowland (Eds.), *Mobility and Community Change in Australia*. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press.
- Quine, Susan. (November 1986). Comparisons of Australian occupational prestige scales. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, 22(3), 399-410.
- Ratcliffe, William D. (Summer 1978). Social networks and health: An initial report. *Connections*, 1(3), 25-31.
- Reiss, Albert J. (September 1959). Rural-urban and status differences in interpersonal contacts. *American Journal of Sociology*, 65(2), 182-95.
- Repo, M. (1977). The fallacy of "community control". In J. Cowley, A. Kaye, M. Mayo, and M. Thompson (Eds.), *Community or Class Struggle?*. London: Stage One.
- Riley, M. W., A. Foner and M. L. Toby. (1969). Socialization for the middle and later years. In D. Goslin (Ed.), *Handbook of Socialization: Theory and Research*. Chicago: Rand McNally.
- Rowland, D. T. (1976). Pattern of internal migration in Australia. In R. J. Pryor (Ed.), *Population Redistribution: Policy Research*. Canberra: Department of Demography, Australian National University.
- Rowland, D. T. (1979). *Internal Migration in Australia*. Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics. Catalogue No. 3409.0.
- Saha, Lawrence J. (November 1975). Primary group support in crisis situations: Friends and kin in Canberra suburbs. *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, 11(3), 18-24.
- Saha, Lawrence J. (1985). Primary support networks and implications for local social services. In Terry Clark, Gerd Michael Hellstern, and Guido Martinotti (Eds.), *Urban Innovations as Response to Urban Fiscal Strain*. Berlin: Verlag Europäische Perspektiven.
- Sandercock, Leonie. (1978). Citizen participation: The new conservatism. In Patrick N. Troy (Ed.), *Federal Power in Australia's Cities*. Sydney: Hale and Iremonger.
- Saunders, Peter. (1984). The Canberra tea party: Bureaucracy, pluralism and corporatism in the administration of the Australian Capital Territory. In Peter Williams (Ed.), *Conflict and Development*. Sydney: George Allen and Unwin.

- Schneider, Davis M., and George C. Homans. (December 1955). Kinship terminology and the American kinship system. *American Anthropologist*, 57(6), 1194-208.
- Schwirian, Kent P. (1983). Models of neighborhood change. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 9, 83-102.
- Scott, Keith. (April 14, 1986). Expressway plan 'potentially devastating'. *Canberra Times*, 60(18,457), 3.
- Self, Peter. (1988). Can Canberra survive as a Garden City?. In Shelley R. Schreiner and Clem J. Lloyd (Eds.), *Canberra: What Sort of City?*. Canberra: the Urban Research Unit, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University.
- Sergeant, Graham. (1971). *A Textbook of Sociology*. Hampshire: Macmillan Education.
- Shevky, Eshref, and Wendell Bell. (1955). *Social Area Analysis*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Shulman, Norman. (December 1976). Network analysis: A new addition to an old bag of tricks. *Acta Sociologica*, 19(4), 307-23.
- Simmel, Georg. (1902-03 [1950]). The metropolis and mental life. In Kurt Wolff (Ed.), *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*. Glencoe: The Free Press. Translated by Kurt Wolff.
- Simpson, Miles E. (December 1970). Social mobility, normlessness and powerlessness in two cultural context. *American Sociological Review*, 35(6), 1002-13.
- Smith, Joel, William H. Form, and Gregory P. Stone. (November 1954). Local intimacy in a middle-sized city. *American Journal of Sociology*, 60(3), 276-84.
- Sobel, Michael E. (December 1981). Diagonal mobility models: A substantively motivated class of designs for the analysis of mobility effects. *American Sociological Review*, 46(6), 893-906.
- Sobel, Michael E. (October 1985). Social mobility and fertility revisited: Some new models for the analysis of the mobility effects hypothesis. *American Sociological Review*, 50(5), 699-712.
- Sorokin, Pitirim A. (1959). *Social and Cultural Mobility*. Glencoe: The Free Press.
- Stevens, Gillian. (October 1981). Social mobility and fertility: Two effects in one. *American Sociological Review*, 46(5), 573-85.
- Stevens, Mailla. (1985). The private life of the extended family: Family, kinship and class in a middle class suburb of Sydney. In Lenore Manderson (Ed.), *Australian Ways*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin Australia.
- Stouffer, Samuel A. et al. (1949). *The American Soldier: Adjustment during Army Life*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Stretton, Hugh. (1970). *Ideas of Australian Cities*. Melbourne: Georgian House.

- Stuckert, Robert P. (March 1963). Occupational mobility and family relationships. *Social Forces*, 41(3), 301-07.
- Stueve, C. Ann, and Kathleen Gerson. (1977). Personal relations across the life-cycle. In Claude S. Fischer *et al.*, *Networks and Places: Social Relations in the Urban Setting*. New York: The Free Press.
- Sudman, Seymour. (1976). *Applied Sampling*. New York: Academic press.
- Sussman, Marvin B. (February 1953). The help pattern in the middle class family. *American Sociological Review*, 18(1), 22-8.
- Sussman, Marvin B. (Spring 1959). The isolated nuclear family: Fact or fiction. *Social Problems*, 6(4), 333-40.
- Sussman, Marvin B., and L. Burchinell. (August 1962). Kin family network: Unheralded structure in current conceptualizations of family functioning. *Marriage and Family Living*, 24(3), 231-40.
- Suttles, Gerald D. (1972). The defended neighborhood. In G. D. Suttles, *The Social Construction of Communities*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Suzuki, Hiroshi. (1970). *Toshiteki Shakai (Urban World)*. Tokyo: Seishin Shoboo.
- Suzuki, Hiroshi (Ed.). (1978). *Komyunitii Moraaru to Shakaiidoo no Kenkyuu (A Study of Community Morale and Social Mobility)*. Kyoto: Akademia Shuppankai.
- Takahashi, Kazuhiro, and Masao Nobe. (1982). "Shuugoojuutaku Juumin no Shoruikei: Kurasutaa Bunseki niyoru Juuminruikeikoosei no Kokoromi (Some Types of Residents: An Attempt at Constructing Types by Cluster Analysis)." *Soogoo Toshi Kenkyuu (Comprehensive Urban Studies)* No.16, 109-44. Tokyo: Center for Urban Studies, Tokyo Metropolitan University.
- The Chronicle. (November 22, 1988). Gungahlin could be a lemon. *The Chronicle*, 7(333), 2. *Canberra Chronicle* has been issued under the new title of *The Chronicle* since November, 1988.
- Thompson, K. H. (April 1971). Upward social mobility and political orientation: A re-evaluation of the evidence. *American Sociological Review*, 36(2), 223-35.
- Toennies, Ferdinand. (1887 [1955]). *Community and Association*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. Translated by Charles P. Loomis.
- Tomeh, Aida K. (1974). Formal voluntary organizations: Participation, correlates and interrelationships. In Effrat, Marcia Pelly (Ed.), *The Community: Approaches and Applications*. New York: The Free Press.
- Tominaga, Ken'ichi. (1979). Trend analysis of social stratification and social mobility. In Ken'ichi Tominaga (Ed.), *Nihon no Kaisookoozoo (Social Stratification in Japan)*. Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai.
- Toomey, D. M. (October 1970). The importance of social networks in working class areas. *Urban Studies*, 7(3), 259-70.



- Tropman, J. E. (October 1971). Social mobility and marital stability. *Applied Social Studies*, 3(3), 165-73.
- Tsai, Yung-mei, and Lee Sigelman. (December 1982). The community question: A perspective from national survey data: The case of U.S.A. *British Journal of Sociology*, 33(4), 579-88.
- Turner Residents Association. (July 1, 1987a). Newsletter. Canberra: The Turner Residents Association.
- Turner Residents Association. (December 4, 1987b). Newsletter. Canberra: The Turner Residents Association.
- Unger, Donald, and Douglas R. Powell. (October 1980). Supporting families under stress: The role of social networks. *Family Relations*, 29(4), 566-74.
- Usui, Wayne M., Tzuen-jen Lei, and Edgar W. Butler. (April 1977). Patterns of social participation of rural and urban migrants to an urban area. *Sociology and Social Research*, 61(3), 337-49.
- Van Roy, Ralph F., Frank D. Bean, and James R. Wood. (December 1973). Social mobility and doctrinal orthodoxy. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 12(4), 427-39.
- Vorwaller, Darrel J. (January 1970). Social mobility and membership in voluntary associations. *American Journal of Sociology*, 75(4), 481-95.
- Walker, Gerald. (Winter 1977). Social networks and territory in a commuter village, Bond Head, Ontario. *Canadian Geographer*, 21(4), 329-50.
- Warner, W. Lloyd, and James C. Abegglen. (1955). *Big Business Leaders in America*. New York: Harper and Brothers.
- Warry, Catherine. (October 1, 1986). Outer suburb blues. *Canberra Chronicle*, 5(247), 3.
- Webber, Melvin. (1963). Order in diversity: Community without propinquity. In Lowdon Wingo Jr. (Ed.), *Cities and Space: The Future Use of Urban Land*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.
- Wellman, Barry. (March 1979). The community question: The intimate networks of East Yorkers. *American Journal of Sociology*, 84(5), 1201-31.
- Wellman, Barry. (1981). Applying network analysis to the study of support. In Benjamin H. Gottlieb (Ed.), *Social Networks and Social Support*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publication.
- Wellman, Barry. (1982). Studying personal communities. In Peter V. Marsden, and Nan Lin (Eds.), *Social Structure and Network Analysis*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publication.
- Wellman, Barry. (1985). From social support to social network. In Irwin G. Sarason and Barbara R. Sarason (Eds.), *Social Support: Theory, Research and Applications*. Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

- Wellman, Barry. (1988). The community question re-evaluated. In Michael Peter Smith (Ed.), *Power, Community and the City*. New Brunswick: Transaction Books.
- Wellman, B., P. Craven, M. Whitaker, H. Stevens, A. Shorter, S. Du Toit, and H. Bakker. (1973). Community ties and support systems: From intimacy to support. In Larry Bourne, Ross MacKinnon, and James Simmons (Eds.), *The Form of Cities in Central Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Wellman, Barry, and Barry Leighton. (March 1979). Networks, neighborhoods, and communities: Approaches to the study of the community question. *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, 14(3), 363-90.
- Wellman, Barry, and Marilyn Whitaker (Eds.). (1974). *Community -- Network -- Communication: An Annotated Bibliography* (Second Edition). Toronto: Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto.
- Weston Creek Community Association. (November 8, 1988). Weston Creek Festival. *Canberra Chronicle*, 7(331), 16. Announcement about the festival in 1988 by the association.
- Wilensky, Harold L. (August 1961). Orderly careers and social participation: The impact of work history on social integration in the middle mass. *American Sociological Review*, 26(4), 521-39.
- Wilensky, Harold L. (1966). Measures and effects of mobility. In Neil J. Smelser and Seymour M. Lipset (Eds.), *Social Structure and Mobility in Economic Development*. Chicago: Aldine.
- Williams, Robin. (1951). *American Society*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Williams, Ann W., John E. Ware, Jr., and Cathy A. Donald. (December 1981). A model of mental health, life events, and social supports applicable to general populations. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 22(4), 324-36.
- Willmott, Peter, and Michael Young. (1960). *Family and Class in a London Suburb*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Windham, Gerald O. (January, 1963). Formal participation of migrant housewives in an urban community. *Sociology and Social Research*, 47(2), 201-09.
- Wirth, Louis. (July 1938). Urbanism as a way of life. *American Journal of Sociology*, 44(1), 3-24.
- Yasuda, Saburo. (1971). *Shakaiidoo no Kenkyuu (A Study of Social Mobility)*. Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai.
- Yonezawa, Kazuhiko. (1987). Kazoku to ningen (Family and people). In Hiroshi Suzuki (ed.), *Gendaishakai o Kaidokusuru (Interpreting the Modern Society)*. Kyoto: Mineruba Shoboo.
- Young, Michael, and Peter Willmott. (1957). *Family and Kinship in East London*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Young, Michael, and Peter Willmott. (1975). *The Symmetrical Family*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Zimmer, Basil G. (April 1955). Participation of migrants in urban structures. *American Sociological Review*, 20(2), 218-24.

Zubrzycki, Jerzy. (1964). *Settlers of the Latrobe Valley: A Sociological Study of Immigrants in the Brown Coal Industry in Australia*. Canberra: The Australian National University.

Greer, Scott, and Ellan Kube. (1959). Urbanism and social structure: A Los Angeles  
s t u d y . I n  
Marvin Sussman (Ed.), *Community Structure and Analysis*. New York: Thomas  
Y. Crowell.

Jitodai, Ted T. (March 1965). Urban-rural background and formal group  
m e m b e r s h i p . R u r a l  
*Sociology*, 30(1), 75-83.

Lipset, Seymour M., and Joan Gordon. (1953). Mobility and trade union  
m e m b e r s h i p . I n  
Rinehard Bendix and Seymour M. Lipset (Eds.), *Class Status and Power*.  
G l e n c o e : T h e F r e e  
Press.