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## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In 1989 the first Australian national Think Tank on research and development needs for rural and remote area service provision determined that the first priority was to develop, refine, pilot and evaluate alternative, innovative service models. The guiding research question for this concern was: '(a)re there better ways of delivering health and community services in rural and remote areas?' (Sturmey, 1989, p.112). The Think Tank decided that '(i)n answering this question we want to demonstrate, by developing, piloting and evaluating innovative and alternative models, that people in remote and rural areas can have an improved range of services. The benefits are that people will have the services they need in a way which is sensitive to their gender, culture, environment and social circumstances' (Sturmey, 1989, p.11).

This thesis pursues this direction.

However, we have little sound information on the needs, values, aspirations and circumstances of Australians living in remote areas which can be used to develop and provide effective human services (Lonsdale, 1980; Holmes, 1985):

Irrespective of the accepted rationale for special assistance, governments increasingly need basic information on existing sparseland settlement systems, with particular attention to the logistics of living, working and receiving basic services. Only in this way will it be possible to identify problems, examine alternative solutions, establish realistic goals and decide upon appropriate policies (Holmes, 1985, p.8).

What little we do know about people living in Australia's remote areas confirms their status as a disadvantaged group with regard to a range of social and economic indices and relative deficiencies with respect to a number of basic services including welfare, health and education (Cheers, 1990b).

Providing services to remote areas seems warranted on moral grounds alone. To be effective, though, these should be designed to serve the specific needs, values and circumstances of target populations rather than simply to extend or duplicate urban service structures.

Clearly, there are serious economic and other difficulties associated with providing human services to remote areas. It will be suggested that one potentially useful strategy for overcoming these may be to link formal services with residents' preferred supports. From its inception, rural social policy, social welfare and social work literature has emphasised the importance of formal services utilising, reinforcing and/or being delivered through more informal or 'natural' support processes. It is important, though, that these services are based on accurate information about which support sources are used by which target populations under which circumstances, why, and with what degree of success (Albers and Thompson, 1980).

The investigation reported here generates this information for people living in non-Aboriginal and partly Aboriginal nuclear families in small, remote towns in Far North Queensland, Australia. This report addresses the question of how to provide a range of cost-effective, accessible formal human services to small, remote towns so that they are appropriate and relevant to the circumstances and needs of residents. Special attention is given to the possibility of linking some of these services to residents' preferred sources of support. Implications for providing human services to this region are developed.

Formal services are socially sanctioned and provided by legitimated agencies which have the primary purpose of delivering them. A socially sanctioned service is one provided by, or with the official recognition of federal, state and/or local government departments or instrumentalities. A 'legitimated agency' is an organisation or person which operates with this recognition. Finally, a preferred source of support is an individual, organisation or position within an organisation from whom or which an individual prefers to seek assistance for one or more needs.

This study also endeavours to contribute to social support literature and research methodology by defining and refining the concept of social support and by developing instruments to collect data which is directly useful for generating service implications.

## LOCATION

Interviews were conducted in three small, remote towns in three local government areas in Far North and North-west Queensland, Australia: Gulftown in the Gulf Shire, Capeville in the Cape Shire and Bushland in the Bush Shire (pseudonyms are used for research towns, their shires and some other locations). These are shown in Map 1.1.

These towns were selected because they are small and geographically remote by virtually any standards, and because they share a number of common characteristics which were important to the present investigation. They are also typical of many towns in North Queensland and other Australian remote regions.



Each town is around 400km from a significantly larger population centre and over 500km from their respective regional service centres. At the time of data collection, they had total populations of between 260 and 400. Each has two fairly socially distinct ethnic communities, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal. At the time of data-collection, towns had between 11 and 22 non-Aboriginal and partly Aboriginal resident families, these comprising most of these sub-populations. Economic bases of each town includes public service employment, small business, and the beef cattle industry. Each is physically isolated by road, and often also by air, for long periods during the usually reliable annual monsoonal rains between November and April.

## DESIGN

Data were collected during the Dry season of 1987 and the subsequent 1987-8 Wet season.

186 respondents, 89 childrearsers and 97 children, living in 45 families were interviewed about their support seeking behaviour in the Dry season. These represented all members of almost all non-Aboriginal and partly Aboriginal families in the three towns. 156 respondents, 73 childrearsers and 83 children were interviewed in the Wet season. All respondents had lived in their town for at least three months prior to the first interview. Data were collected on demographic and other basic respondent characteristics, intimate social networks, preferred sources of support for 26 human needs, reasons why supports were chosen, the social provisions respondents anticipated receiving from these supports, and their evaluations of the extent to which they anticipated their sources would contribute toward solving the problem at hand.

All respondents 12 years or older were interviewed individually and separately from other family members. All children from 6 to 11 years were interviewed with the assistance of one parent. One or both parents were interviewed on behalf of all younger children.

Because of regional specificity and because neither towns nor respondents were chosen systematically from a wider defined population, results cannot be statistically generalised beyond these people. However, the towns, their residents, and most results were very similar. Consequently, hypotheses can be drawn to guide further similar research, and tentative generalisations might be made to similar kinds of people living in families in similar towns elsewhere in Australia, notably other parts of Queensland, the Northern Territory, South Australia, Western Australia and Tasmania.

## REPORT STRUCTURE

The investigation relates to three research areas: rural and remote area service provision, social network analysis and social support processes. Chapter 2 reviews literature concerning rural and remote area disadvantage in Australia. Chapter 3 reviews literature concerning the provision of personal support services to remote areas, especially in relation to linking formal services with informal supports. Chapter 4 reviews literature on social networks and social support and redefines and remodels the latter concept. Chapter 5 presents the design and methodology of the investigation and results are presented in Chapter 6. Results are discussed in Chapter 7 and implications of these for personal support services to remote areas are presented in Chapter 8. Implications of the empirical data for 'community care' models of human service provision and for linking or interweaving formal services with non-formal supports (for example, Bulmer, 1987, pp.172-209; Martinez-Brawley, 1990, pp.213-39) are also developed in Chapter 8.

## CHAPTER 2: RURAL AND REMOTE REGION DISADVANTAGE IN AUSTRALIA

On most indicators of well-being, and with regard to many human services, rural Australians are generally disadvantaged relative to urban dwellers, and those living in remote regions even more so. Some disadvantages, however, are highly specific to particular regions and groups. While complete locational equality might be unattainable and perhaps even undesirable, we are nevertheless compelled to give serious and realistic attention to reducing them.

Any review such as this is inevitably tied to the varied definitions adopted in the literature covered. Consequently, for the purposes of this chapter, 'rural' is defined as unclustered and clustered populations of up to around 50,000 people, though some larger provincial cities are also referred to at some points.

The fact that the more remote rural areas of Australia are disadvantaged on some indices compared to those less remote underscores the importance of distinguishing between 'rural' and 'remote'. Despite the tendency for Australian researchers to define 'remoteness' in terms of sheer distance (Holmes, 1973, 1977; Courtenay, 1982; Faulkner and French, 1983), N. Smith (1984 and 1986) and Cheers (1991) have argued that it is more accurately conceived as a multidimensional construct. This is because distance is a relative phenomenon, extended and contracted by other factors such as relative physical accessibility, access to and the standard of public services, relative levels of material, social and personal well-being, and perceived service deficiencies and policy neglect relative to larger towns and cities.

## RURAL DISADVANTAGE AND AUSTRALIA'S SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY

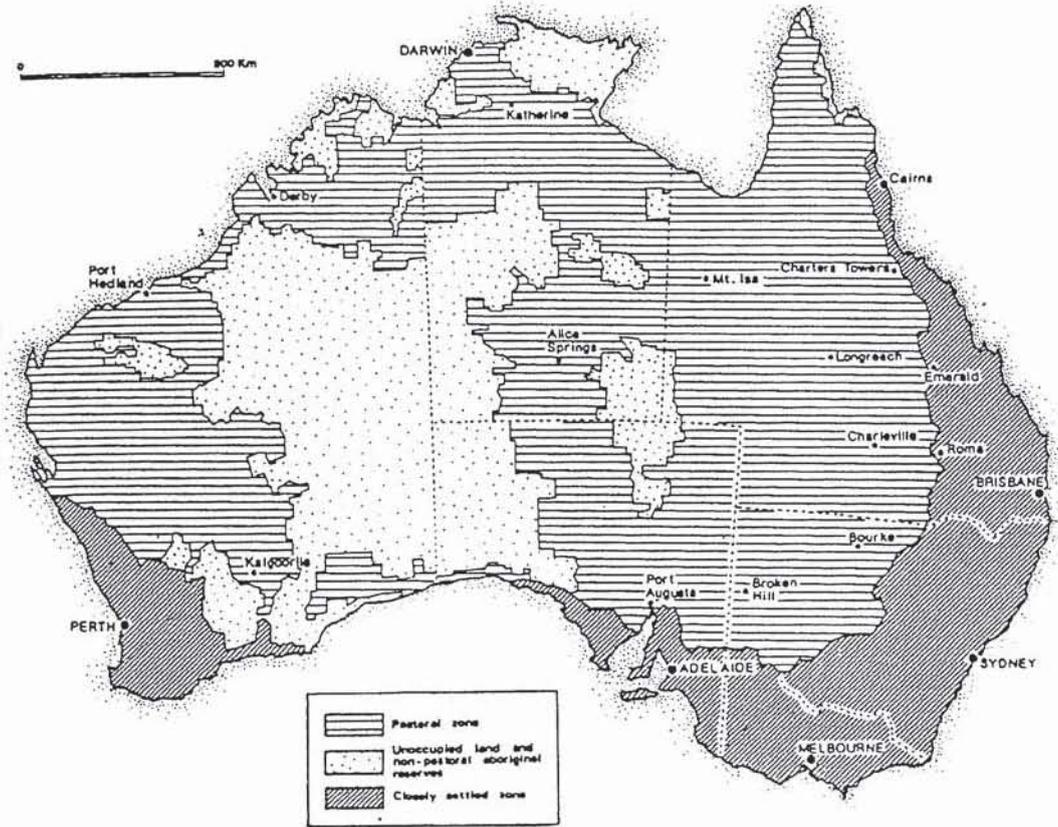
In Australia, rural disadvantage is partly a product of high urbanisation and population concentration, and low population densities.

The vast majority of Australians live in urban or metropolitan areas on the eastern and south-western coastal plains. In 1981, 3.3% of Australia's total land area contained 80.1% of the population (Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, 1983, p.14). Apart from city-states, it is the most highly urbanised country in the world (Burnley, 1974; Holmes, 1977, p.338). In 1981 urban areas contained 85.8% of the total population, 63.2% living in cities of over 100,000 people (which was the highest internationally) and 22.6% in urban areas with populations of between 1,000 and 100,000. Of the remaining 14.2%, 2.7% were living in settlements of 200-999 persons and 11.5% in smaller settlements (Hugo, 1983, pp.228-29). The population is basically concentrated into several series of core zones, each centred on a state or territorial capital (Holmes, 1973, 1977).

Internationally, Australia has the smallest population for its size and, along with Canada, the lowest overall population density. It also has the most highly concentrated and unevenly distributed population in the world (Holmes, 1977; Lonsdale, 1980). In 1971 the population was virtually confined to 20% of the total land area (Holmes, 1977, pp.332 and 334), and around 60% of the total population lived in Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, Adelaide and Perth (Lonsdale, 1980, p.197).

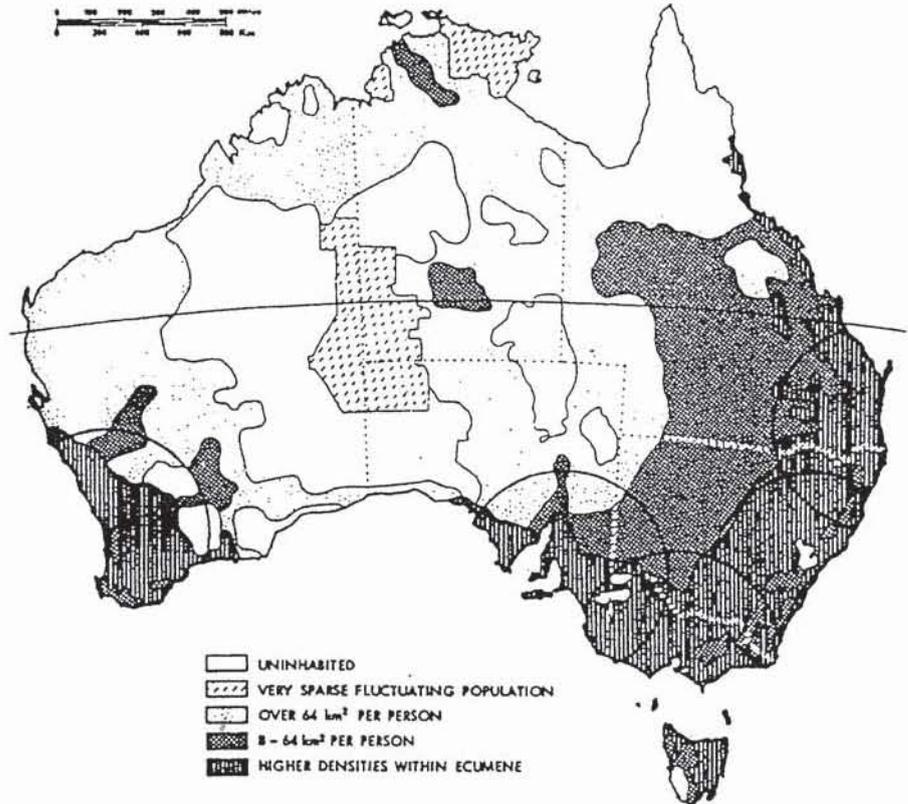
This small, highly concentrated population makes for large variations in population density throughout the continent and vast areas of extreme population sparsity. In 1971, the 'pastoral zone' (Map 2.1) comprised 55% of land surface and 75% of all occupied land, yet contained only 3.3% of the population. Much of this zone contained population densities

MAP 2.1: AUSTRALIA'S PASTORAL ZONE



From: Holmes, J.H. (1985). Policy Issues Concerning Rural Settlement in Australia's Pastoral Zone. Australian Geographical Studies 23. 3-27, p.5.

MAP 2.2: REGIONAL VARIATIONS IN POPULATION DENSITY



From: Holmes, J.H. (1985), Policy Issues Concerning Rural Settlement in Australia's Pastoral Zone, Australian Geographical Studies 23, 3-27 p.7

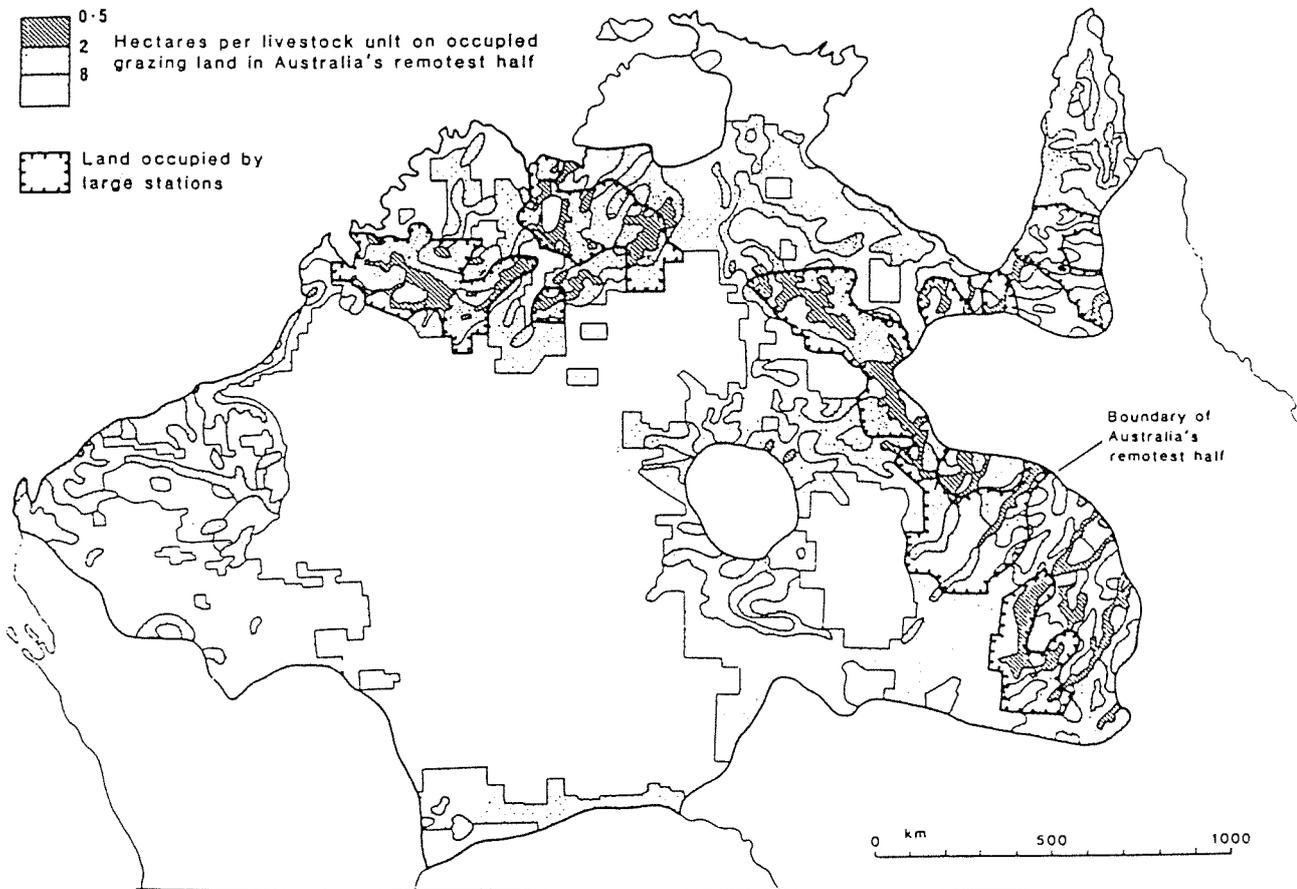
of over 64km<sup>2</sup> per person and the remainder 8-64km<sup>2</sup> per person (Map 2.2) (Holmes, 1977, 1985).

In sum, then, high urbanisation and population concentration, together with very low population densities over vast tracts of Australia make it difficult to adequately service rural and, especially, the more remote parts of the continent. Because of this and because of modernisation, industrialisation and the associated centralisation of capital (Chinitz, 1960; Williamson, 1965; Lonsdale, 1980), Australia's rural and remote areas are disadvantaged on a number of social and economic indicators.

#### INDICES OF WELL-BEING

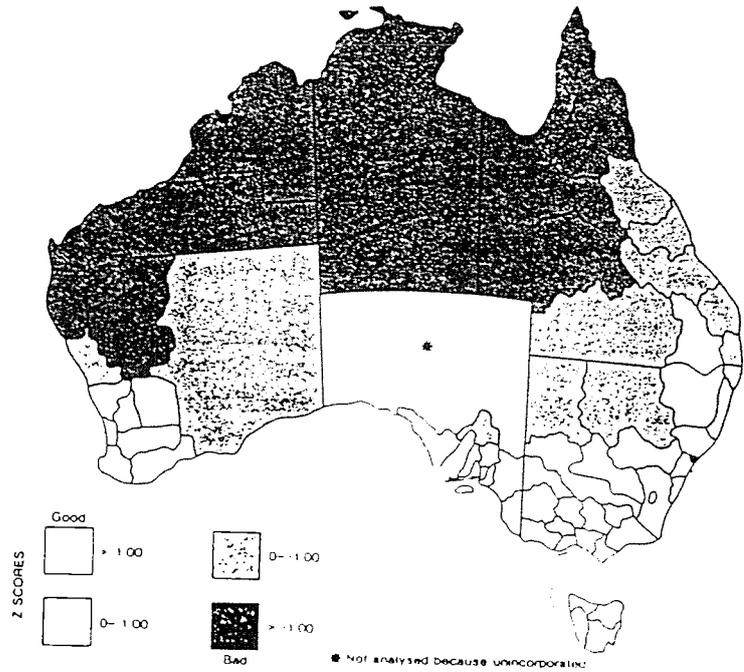
Holmes has plotted Australia's 'pastoral zone' as opposed to its 'closely settled' areas (a crude approximation to rurality), variations in population density (Holmes, 1985, pp.5-6) and Australia's 'remotest half' (Holmes, 1985, p.20, based on Faulkner and French, 1983). These are presented in Maps 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3 respectively. Comparing these distributions with Walmsley's mapping of life chances and material well-being (Walmsley, 1980, pp.62-81) (Maps 2.4 and 2.5) we find that, in general, and with the exception of some inner-city areas, people living in the more rural, more sparsely populated and most remote areas of Australia tend to have both the poorest life chances and the lowest levels of material well-being. Similar investigations have found that these regions are also highest on Social Deprivation (Map 2.6) (Logan, Maher, McKay and Humphreys, 1975; Coates, Johnston and Knox, 1977). Rumley (1983, p.237) looked more closely at the data and he, too, showed that with some exceptions, the more remote and more sparsely populated regions of rural Australia are also the poorest and most socially deprived.

MAP 2.3: AUSTRALIA'S REMOTEST HALF



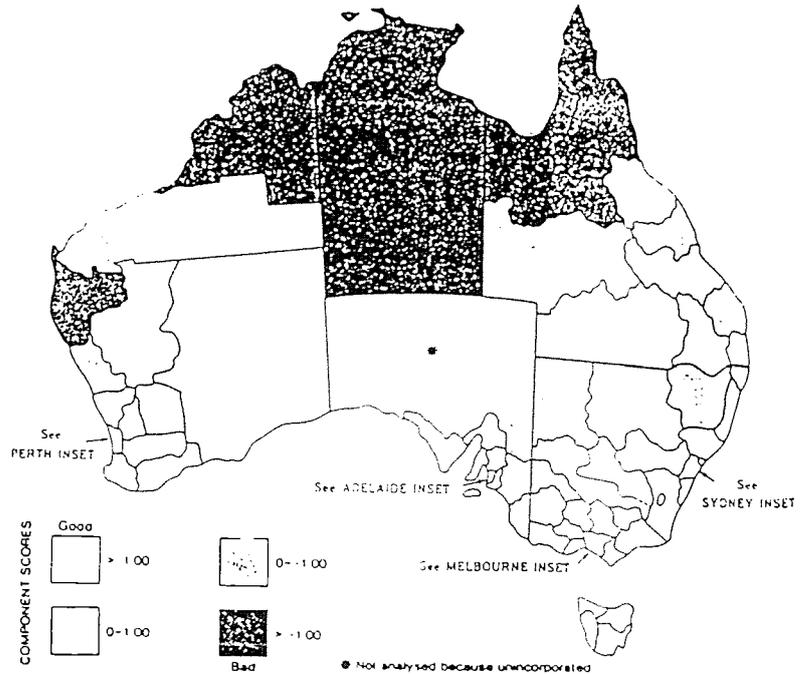
From: Holmes, J.H. (1985), Policy Issues Concerning Rural Settlement in Australia's Pastoral Zone, Australian Geographical Studies 23, 3-27, p.20

MAP 2.4: REGIONAL VARIATIONS IN LIFE CHANCES



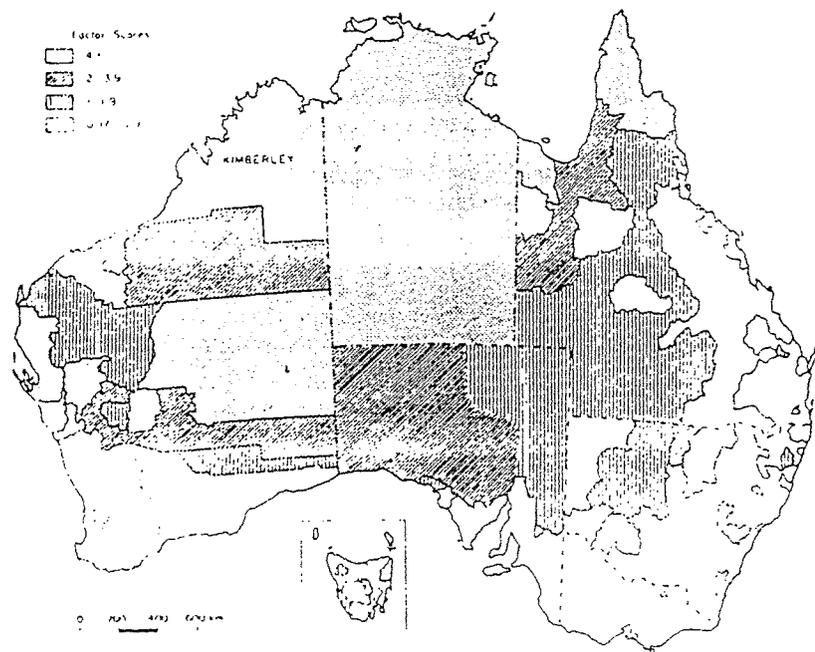
From: Walmsley, D.J. (1980), *Social Justice and Australian Federalism*, The University of New England, Armidale, p.70.

MAP 2.5: REGIONAL VARIATIONS IN MATERIAL WELL-BEING



From: Walmsley, D.J. (1980), *Social Justice and Australian Federalism*, The University of New England, Armidale, p.76.

MAP 2.6: REGIONAL VARIATIONS IN SOCIAL DEPRIVATION



From: Rumley, D. (1983) Ideology, Regional Policy and Applied Geography: The Case of the Kimberley, Western Australia, Australian Journal of Social Issues 18, 233-244.

## **INCOME AND PRICES**

Though Australian rural-urban income comparisons are now outdated, existing figures show some rural disadvantage. In 1968-9 rural and non-rural incomes were distributed differently. A higher proportion of rural income earners were concentrated in both the highest and lowest income brackets, and average rural incomes were lower than non-rural (Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), 1973).

The little empirical evidence that we have on prices indicates that the more remote and rural regions of the continent suffer higher food and grocery prices. Thus, in 1965 Loder reported that average retail prices for food and groceries in the rural north of Australia were 10 per cent higher than those in the six state capitals, and that in most of the Northern Territory and north-western Australia they were over 30 per cent higher than the all state capitals average. Similarly, a 1974 northern Queensland study found that prices in all centres except Rockhampton were higher than in Brisbane, that those in the larger regional cities and sugar towns were generally lower than in other non-metropolitan areas, that the highest prices were primarily in the most remote and/or the smallest centres, and that the next highest were in smaller coastal centres and a number of inland towns (Commonwealth Council for Rural Research and Extension, 1981, p.136). Finally, the Queensland Office of the ABS (1985, pp.367-82) also found food prices to be highest in settlements which were smaller, more rural and most remote from Brisbane, the more densely populated coastal districts and/or other urban centres.

## **POVERTY**

In 1972-3 (Australian Government Commission of Inquiry into Poverty (AGCIP), 1975) and again in 1981-2 (Department of Community Services, 1986) rural poverty in Australia, both

on-farm and off-farm, was found to be generally higher than urban and concentrated in particular regions and sub-populations. This is despite the fact that in 1972-3 and probably also in 1981-2 housing costs were lower in rural areas because of the housing crisis in the capital cities and because of the availability of cheaper, though poorer quality, housing in rural locations (AGCIP, 1975, p.187; Monk, 1980, p.129).

The relatively poor position of provincial cities is reflected in 1981-2 figures showing that population centres of 50,000 to 100,000 people had higher rates of poverty than those with less than 50,000 or more than 100,000.

In 1972-3 poverty amongst farm income units was higher than in the general population with a surprisingly high proportion earning less than 20 per cent of the poverty line (AGCIP, 1975b). It was found to concentrate in particular regions and industries at particular times (Department of Sociology, University of New England, 1974; AGCIP, 1975a and b; Musgrave, Rickards and Whan, 1975). Between 1975 and 1984 the level of farm poverty in Australia increased from 12% to 20% (Lawrence, 1987, p.45). The main causes of farm poverty include the large number of elderly farmers and sub-commercial or otherwise marginal farms and high variability in farm incomes. Also mentioned have been inefficient farm technology, the inability of some farmers to adjust to changing circumstances, the fundamental marginality of many farms, and characteristics of the particular income unit which put it at risk of poverty (AGCIP, 1975b, pp.188-89).

In 1972-3 poverty was also found to be higher for rural income units which were not self-employed farmers than for urban income units. It was higher amongst rural labourers and their families than for any other occupational group in Australia, and those not working in labouring jobs were far more likely to be poor than were their urban counterparts. (AGCIP, 1975b, pp.187-88). And in 1981-2 it was found that 'the incidence of poverty in Australia

was ..... higher for farmers than for other country workers' (Department of Community Services, 1986, p.i).

In 1972-3 the two main reasons for the relatively high rates of rural poverty were the low incomes of rural employees and the higher incidence in rural areas of poverty disabilities such as old age, large family size and unemployment (AGCIP, 1975b). Other reasons included the low rural take-up rate for income security entitlements, seasonal unemployment, insufficient demand for labour relative to supply (especially for married women), low levels of education, training and skill in the rural workforce, and its immobility because of distance, transportation difficulties and low rural real estate values (AGCIP 1975b, pp.26-27 and pp.187-89).

In 1981-2 the rural groups with the highest incidence of poverty were farm owners and farm workers, this partly reflecting the effect of the 1981-2 drought on farm incomes (Department of Community Services, 1986).

## **UNEMPLOYMENT**

In Australia, rural unemployment is higher and more prolonged than urban in all states except Western Australia, and the differences would probably be even greater if under-employment and hidden unemployment were taken into account (Nilsen, 1979, Department of Community Services, 1986). Lawrence (1987, p.49) reported rural sector unemployment to be 26% in 1984, between two and three times the national rate. As with poverty, unemployment tends to concentrate in particular regions, often approaching 30% (Lawrence, 1987, p.49), and in some sub-populations, especially affecting Australian Aboriginals, Torres Strait Islanders, junior workers, young women, and the slightly handicapped. Job opportunities are also more restricted in non-metropolitan areas than

metropolitan and even more so in small country towns (Jeffrey and Webb, 1972; Harris, Crawford, Gruen and Honan, 1974; AGCIP, 1975b; Jordan, 1975; Lonsdale, 1980, 1981; Monk, 1980; Windschuttle, 1980, pp.48-49; Lawrence, 1987, pp.49-50).

## HEALTH

Rural health disadvantage appears to be confined to particular regions and ethnic groups. Some remote communities, especially Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander, suffer relatively high rates of mortality and morbidity and this has remained unchanged for some time (Learmonth and Nichols, 1965; Learmonth and Grau, 1969; McGlashan, 1977; Queensland Health and Medical Service, 1979; Burnley, 1981; Lincoln, Najmann, Wilson and Matis, 1983; Humphreys, 1985). Despite their other differences, both Humphreys (1985, 1987) and Holmes (1987) agree that the health needs of rural Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in Queensland are clearly greater than those of other Queenslanders, both rural and urban. Holmes (1987) goes on to suggest, albeit without firm evidence, that the health needs of people on large cattle stations and small family-based holdings are probably less than those of urban Queenslanders because of residential mobility and adequate local skills, especially on stations. He also suggests that the relative health needs of people living in small remote towns remains unclear. Humphreys (1985, 1987) disputes these claims, though he, too, lacks clear evidence.

On reviewing a number of health indices Burnley (1981) found that although remoteness was consistently associated only with infant mortality nationally, particular remote areas showed higher than average levels of total premature mortality and death through ischemic heart disease, cancer, suicide, tuberculosis and malnutrition. He partly attributed this to the dominance of particular occupations in some regions, and to high levels of social isolation, especially the predominance of single men, in some mining towns.

Housing standards, sanitation and other living conditions, access to medical services, the quality of accessible medical services, general underprivilege, and access to means of emergency communication were also found to be associated with poorer health, especially in remote Aboriginal communities.

Brownlea and McDonald (1981) also reported relatively poor health amongst Australian Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders living in remote communities, especially with regard to child mortality and morbidity rates. This was found to be compounded by generally poor social-environmental factors, especially housing, sanitation and nutrition. Aboriginal children suffered most from gastroenteritis, acute and chronic respiratory diseases, parasitic diseases, anemias and ear infections. Aboriginal adults were especially prone to general debility, tuberculosis, dental decay, anemias, deafness, alcoholism and obstetric complications.

The continuing rural crisis has undoubtedly contributed to higher rates of stress-related health problems in rural, especially farming, populations compared to urban (Lawrence, 1987, p.43). These include hypertension, psychiatric disorders, heart attacks, asthma, ulcers, insomnia and alcoholism. Rural suicide rates have also increased alarmingly (Lawrence, 1987, p.43).

## **EDUCATION**

Australian rural children are educationally disadvantaged compared to their urban and larger town counterparts (Fyfield, 1970; Verco and Whiteman, 1970; Monk, 1980, p.138). This is especially so for Aboriginal children, physically and mentally handicapped children, children in need of remedial teaching, isolated children in small communities in the more

remote and least densely populated regions, children of itinerant workers and, with respect to post-secondary opportunities, women. (Australian Schools Commission (ASC), 1973; Harris, Crawford, Gruen and Crawford, 1974; Monk, 1980).

Opportunities at the preschool level are more limited for rural children, especially isolated children on farms and properties (ASC, 1973; Australian Pre-School Committee, 1973; Monk, 1980). Rural primary and secondary schools, especially non-government, have lower retention rates than urban (Radford and Wilkes, 1975; Monk, 1980, pp.137-42). Rural women are particularly lacking in post-secondary educational opportunities (Monk 1980, p.141).

Rural young people achieve less educationally than their urban counterparts (Fyfield, 1970; Verco and Whiteman, 1970), have lower occupational expectations and are less likely to realise them (AGCIP, 1975b; Radford and Wilkes, 1975; Moran and O'Connor, 1981, p.267). Again, this is especially so for young people from the more sparsely populated regions and smaller towns, and for young women even from the more settled areas (Monk, 1980).

## SERVICES

A similar picture emerges from a review of welfare, health, education and other essential services (AGCIP, 1975b; Langdale, 1976; Monk, 1980).

The sparsity and dispersion of Australia's rural population have severely handicapped remote area service development in this country partly because of the failure to create sufficient demand (AGCIP, 1975b; Holmes, 1977, 1985, 1987). Holmes has suggested

that the extent, effectiveness and sophistication of services in remote regions increases with population density (Holmes, 1977, pp.346-50). Even by international standards, the problems of servicing the continent's more remote areas are particularly severe. This is because of all countries with comparable service expectations, Australia and Canada have the highest proportions of their total land area taken up with 'sparselands', or regions with population densities of eight persons per square kilometer or less (Holmes, 1981a, pp.6 and 11, 1985). Holmes suggested that 'in Australia the problems of sparseland settlement are posed in an extreme form' (Holmes, 1981a, pp.6 and 11) because, unlike Canadians, Australian sparseland residents tend not to live in clustered communities such as sizeable towns or along main transport routes (Holmes, 1985, p.4).

#### **ESSENTIAL SERVICES**

Many of the essential services which are taken for granted in Australian urban centres are often unavailable in rural and remote areas. Where provided, they tend to be lower standard, more costly and/or less accessible to residents. These include water, sewerage, power, roads, public transport, telephone and postal services, radio and television, retail outlets, commercial and professional services, repair and maintenance services, and recreation and entertainment facilities (Holmes, 1981b, 1987; Lonsdale, 1981; Stimson, 1981; Cheers, 1991). In general, the cost of providing these varies directly with rurality, remoteness and population dispersion, and inversely with population size (Harris, Crawford, Gruen and Honan, 1974, pp.227-28; Lonsdale, 1980, p.196).

#### **INCOME SECURITY**

Distance from service centres makes it difficult and costly for residents of rural and remote regions to obtain information about income-security entitlements, apply for benefits, and

communicate with the relevant authorities. To be fair, though, recent federal governments have substantially up-graded Australia's income security system through such measures as the toll-free telephone number, local agents in remote areas, and a zone allowance. Current research on how to tailor income security payments to the particular circumstances of Australian Aboriginals living in remote communities is also to be commended (Smith, Adams and Burgen, 1990).

## **HEALTH**

In 1984 Platt and Brentnall (1985) conducted a national survey of nurses working in remote areas without a resident doctor. They found that reasonably accessible hospital and in-patient facilities were unavailable in many of the communities, that where they existed there were too few beds to support an adequate array of services, and that around 10 per cent of Australia's remotest regions were not receiving regular, scheduled visits from a qualified medical practitioner. They also found widespread health staff shortages, inadequate communication facilities, and serious problems facing patients requiring evacuation, especially during the northern wet season.

Because of the dispersion of Australia's population, people in the more remote areas of the continent are often far distant from hospital-based services. Even when accessible, most rural hospitals are in towns of insufficient size to provide the infrastructure necessary to support a modern hospital (Harris, Crawford, Gruen and Honan, 1974, p.226). They are likely to be small and, because of this, substandard and inadequately equipped (National Hospitals and Health Services Commission Interim Committee, 1974; Brownlea and McDonald, 1981).

Vast tracts of Australia remain unserved by a resident medical practitioner (Harris, Crawford, Gruen and Honan, 1974; National Hospitals and Health Services Commission Interim Committee, 1974; AGCIP, 1975b; Humphreys, 1985). In Queensland, communities with the highest patient/doctor ratios are in the more remote inland regions while those with the lowest are in the more densely populated and more urbanised coastal and south-eastern areas (Humphreys, 1985), and the situation appears to be worsening (Marshall, 1979). The national picture is much the same (Brownlea and McDonald, 1981) - the most deprived areas are the most disadvantaged (Humphreys, 1985).

With the exception of the largest towns, rural and remote regions are also deficient in paramedical personnel, equipment and services, allied health services, rehabilitation facilities, specialist medical consultation, surgical and anaesthetic services, and provision for patients requiring intensive care and resuscitation (Harris, Crawford, Gruen and Honan, 1974; Brownlea and McDonald, 1981; Humphreys, 1985).

Lacking local hospitals, doctors and other health facilities, rural and remote area residents can obtain basic health services only at considerable financial, social and psychological cost to themselves and/or their supports (Humphreys, 1985). The more needy among them such as the poor, the elderly, the unemployed and the handicapped have even greater access problems (AGCIP, 1975b, p.192). All must endure long, time-consuming and uncomfortable journeys, often while in pain or other discomfort.

While Holmes (1987) suggests that his evidence refutes claims of major underservicing in Queensland's remote areas it does indicate that many residents have found several aspects of health services to be problematic. These include problems in obtaining prescription medicine, maintaining privacy when receiving medical advice over the telephone or radio, obtaining urgent medical advice, obtaining an early diagnosis, having

children tested for health problems, transporting patients, visiting sick associates in hospitals, and delays in receiving treatment (Holmes, 1987, p.112).

In summarising his results for rural Queensland, Humphreys suggested that the 'inverse-care' principle of Australian health care (Humphreys, 1985, p.233) applies to regions varying in rurality, remoteness, population density and population sparsity as much as to urban areas: those regions, populations and sub-groups whose health needs are greatest are the most deprived of services. He and others attributed this partly to deficiencies in preventive health services resulting from Australia's emphasis on primary care (Brownlea and McDonald, 1981; Burnley, 1981; Humphreys, 1985) and the related continuing health problems of specific remote populations, especially Australian Aboriginals. Holmes (1987) disputed this, suggesting that, with some exceptions, remote areas may be relatively well serviced, especially considering the costs involved. The main exceptions he cited were regions characterised by dispersed rural settlements and family-sized, owner-operated holdings and large cattle stations receiving specialised medical services.

What is missing in much of the debate about health services is the identification of population characteristics which are particularly associated with disadvantage. Thus, while it is fairly clear that rural, and especially the more remote populations, are disadvantaged relative to urban, it is unclear whether this is due to rurality per se, to other characteristics such as being Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander, or to some combination of characteristics. Only future research can disentangle the relationships involved.

## **EDUCATION**

The relatively lower levels of educational achievement and expectations in Australia's rural areas discussed above are the result of many factors. School related factors include

limited subject offerings in rural high schools, inadequate and outmoded education facilities, and the irrelevance of formal education to the everyday life experiences of country children. Teacher connected factors include the lack of appropriate qualifications among teachers of specialised subjects at secondary level in rural areas, their lack of access to in-service training, high turnover and transitoriness, disinterest, inexperience, and ignorance about local conditions. Insufficient student motivation is thought to result from the lack of local employment opportunities which demand and utilise completed secondary education, more limited tertiary education opportunities and the possibility that rural families and communities are less supportive of formal education than urban. Other factors include the high cost to parents and governments of keeping rural children at school and at tertiary institutions, the financial, emotional and family difficulties associated with distance education, and the limited availability of cultural facilities which support and reinforce formal educational experiences. The figures for educational disadvantage also reflect the higher out-migration rates of the more highly educated people from rural areas. (ASC, 1973; Balmer, 1974; Harris, Crawford, Gruen and Honan, 1974; AGCIP, 1975b; Monk, 1980, pp.129-42).

The quality of education in rural and remote areas may well vary between extended education programmes and school-based education. For example, Holmes has identified the many recent improvements in home-based extended education in remote areas of Queensland and the general satisfaction of parents with present standards (Holmes, 1987). On the other hand, evidence presented earlier as well as research in remote North Queensland (Cheers, 1991) indicates a degree of parent dissatisfaction with school-based education in small remote towns.

## **WELFARE**

The vast array of urban welfare services are either unavailable in rural and remote areas or are so inaccessible and under-resourced as to be virtually non-existent.

While national figures are unavailable, Courtenay (1982, pp.256-70) found that in 1976 the per capita provision of community services was substantially lower in northern Australia than in the nation as a whole. The main exception was the Northern Territory which showed a reverse trend, this probably being the temporary result of direct Commonwealth control which ended in 1978. In all, 79 per cent of northern Australia's total population were living in districts where the number of community workers was proportionately less than the national average. While remoteness and population size, density and dispersion may indeed have been causal factors, these do not explain why the large urban areas of Townsville and Darwin were disadvantaged relative to Brisbane. It would seem that distance from the relevant centre of government administration is a further explanatory factor.

While present efforts in North Queensland and the Northern Territory to develop cross-programme funding packages suitable for rural and remote areas (Taylor, 1989) will probably result in more services, only time will tell whether they will be effective.

## **EXPLAINING RURAL DISADVANTAGE**

In general, then, rural Australians are disadvantaged relative to urban, and those living in the more remote parts of the continent are still further disadvantaged with respect to life chances, material well-being, social deprivation, income levels, food and grocery prices, farm and non-farm poverty, unemployment and job opportunities, and education and

career opportunities and achievement. Only some groups and some regions, notably Australian Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders living in remote areas, farmers, and some communities with a high concentration of single men, seem to have relatively greater health needs than urbanites, although this has been disputed (Humphreys, 1987). Infant mortality also appears to be inordinately high only in the more remote parts of the continent. Similarly, rural and, to an even greater extent, remote area residents are also relatively deprived of welfare, education, essential, and, possibly, health services. Recent improvements in income-security entitlements, policies and procedures have probably decreased some of the earlier disadvantages in these areas.

Larger provincial cities also suffer relatively high levels of poverty and higher costs for many goods and services, and are deprived of welfare personnel compared to state and federal capitals.

While other factors are involved, relative policy neglect and service deficiencies over a long period have undoubtedly contributed to the disadvantages suffered by rural people. Thus, explaining and reducing the former is a pre-requisite for reducing the latter.

Rural service and policy neglect has been explained by (a) high service costs resulting from the distribution of Australia's population (for example, Holmes, 1984a, 1985, 1987), and (b) the dynamics underlying the distribution of the nation's inevitably scarce resources (for example, N. Smith 1984, 1986; Humphreys, 1985, 1986, 1987). Individual commentators usually arrive at some combination of the two, the difference being a matter of emphasis. It is suggested that while cost puts limits on how much can be provided, politics and the needs of national production have a major effect on how what is provided is distributed.

The cost argument suggests that, given the sparsity and dispersion of Australia's rural and, especially, remote populations it is prohibitively expensive to provide them with services similar in standard to those received by urban Australians. While there is no disputing the fact that per capita service costs are higher in rural and remote areas than in urban, by itself, the argument fails to explain some of the facts.

First, it fails to explain why some publicly subsidised rural settlements, such as some company-based mining communities, receive more and higher standard services than other settlements of equivalent size, population density and distance from major centres. Second, the argument fails to explain why some residents of rural areas are assisted by public policies and services while their immediate neighbours are not. For example, public servants and employees of mining companies living in remote towns often receive government provided or subsidised low cost accommodation and other work-related benefits. Third, high service costs cannot explain why some kinds of services are more highly developed and more abundant in rural areas than others. For example, public services and facilities in the areas of communication, transport, roads, mainstream education and primary health care are more abundant in rural and remote locations than those concerned with preventive health care, personal welfare services, remedial education programmes, and services for the disabled, the handicapped and the elderly.

When we turn to the question of how to service rural and remote areas, arguments based primarily on cost considerations are at risk of running into some dead-ends, especially when applied to welfare and other personalised human services. They are in danger of assuming that, to achieve a similar standard, rural and remote area services would have to be more-or-less identical to and/or direct extensions of urban. This is easily assumed in a highly urbanised society. But it can only retard the development of more cost-effective innovative services which are fully responsive to the context of rural and remote Australia.

While cost is inevitably a consideration, it can spur innovation rather than block future thought, research and development.

Assuming that remote area services will be similar to, or extensions of urban services has already led to developmental dead-ends. For instance, some commentators have suggested an 'impossibility limit' or a 'realistic limit' in the form of an official line around inland Australia, beyond which most public services would not be provided (Lonsdale, 1981; Moran and O'Connor, 1981). People would then live beyond it by their own choice, thereby forfeiting much of their right to a share of government expenditure. The proposal is morally suspect in that it calls upon Australian society to deny many universally acknowledged human rights to some of its citizens, discriminatory against particular groups such as Aboriginals and some pastoralists, and politically naive. It is also unworkable in that the line would inevitably undergo constant change as new wealth-producing regions are developed and supported with public services such as roads, power, schools and health services. As a result, geographically close neighbours such as miners and farmers on marginal holdings would be treated radically differently.

Cost arguments are also in danger of treating all kinds of services in similar fashion. It is clear that different kinds of services have extremely different per capita costs. Rather than make gross generalisations based on little, if any, factual information, it would be more productive to investigate and compare the relative costs involved in servicing each area of need in different ways.

Clearly, additional factors need to be considered in explaining and, by implication, attempting to reduce rural and remote area service disadvantage. The political economy argument (for example, N. Smith, 1984, 1986; Humphreys, 1985, 1987) seems to provide

plausible explanations for some of the facts left unexplained by cost arguments. It also offers some hope and direction for future research and development.

This argument assumes that national resources are inevitably limited and suggests that their allocation is largely the result of (a) political and economic decision-making in response to a range of interests represented by competing pressure groups, and (b) governments giving greater emphasis to economic productivity than social aims. More powerful groups are more able to represent their interests than less powerful. While other factors such as electoral marginality may affect the power of a given group or region, the more a group contributes to, is seen to contribute to, or is likely to contribute to national wealth the more successful it tends to be in securing a greater share of national resources.

This argument explains some of the facts left unexplained by cost explanations. It suggests that communities of similar size and remoteness are treated differently because some have been more effectively represented in decision-making processes. For the same reason, some groups receive better treatment than some others despite being located in the same region.

The argument also suggests that in rural and remote areas some services are more highly developed than others because they aid national production (Humphreys, 1985), because they serve political, especially electoral, purposes (Holmes, 1985, p.3), and/or because of urban needs such as for decentralisation (Harris, Crawford, Gruen and Honan, 1974, p.228). For example, some commentators have suggested that since the mid 1970's improvements in rural services have occurred primarily in the physical economic structure (roads, transport, communication, media and electricity) and in fiscal policies (income tax relief, special rural assistance programmes, fuel subsidies, some drought relief packages, and some financial assistance schemes) to facilitate primary production; in

mainstream compared with remedial education facilities to keep people on the land and to maintain a literate, numerate workforce; and in primary rather than preventive health care to maintain a healthy workforce and because of the national influence of a medical profession based on private enterprise (Commonwealth of Australia, Hospitals and Health Services Commission, 1976; Commonwealth of Australia, Senate Standing Committee on Education and the Arts, 1976; Walpole, 1979; Tomlinson and Tannock, 1982; Holmes 1984a and b, 1985; Humphreys, 1985).

The main weakness of the political economy argument is that it is based on a concept of **regional**, rather than individual or group disadvantage (Holmes, 1981a, 1987). The problem this poses for the social planner is that policies designed to simply redistribute resources from urban to rural areas are insufficiently targeted and run the risk of redistributing resources away from some genuinely disadvantaged urban residents toward less disadvantaged or even privileged rural residents (Holmes, 1987).

Clearly, though, this is not an insurmountable problem. We now have ample information which identifies disadvantaged urban Australians. More precise targeting of resources to the more disadvantaged rural groups and individuals can be achieved by making services more accessible, available, relevant and acceptable to them, by developing appropriate eligibility criteria, and by providing effective publicity. The main difficulty would appear to be that, with some possible exceptions such as remote Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities, geographically isolated women, young women, rural youth, and struggling farmers, we really don't have reliable detailed knowledge of which rural Australians are genuinely disadvantaged in which respects (Holmes, 1987, Humphreys, 1987).

## CONCLUSION

The evidence referred to in this chapter indicates that, overall, Australian rural areas are disadvantaged relative to urban, and remote regions even more so. We also know something of the specific disadvantages suffered by some particular kinds of groups, communities, and regions. Where possible, these have been identified in this review. However, more comprehensive and specific research based on disaggregated data which identifies which groups are disadvantaged in which respects has only just started accumulating in Australia. Consequently, the relative contributions of distance, remoteness, isolation, population size and sparsity, ethnicity, gender and other factors to the relative disadvantages suffered by different types of rural people, settlements and regions cannot yet be assessed with any confidence.

It is also clear that for these disadvantages to be significantly reduced, resources must be directed toward developing and providing innovative cost-effective, relevant, appropriate and accessible human services to remote area residents.

### CHAPTER 3: PROVIDING PERSONAL SUPPORT SERVICES TO PEOPLE IN REMOTE AREAS

This study is concerned with providing personal support to Australia's remote area residents. Personal support is an individualised response by an organisation or private individual to someone's personal and/or family problems which the latter experiences as being helpful. A personal support service is a systematic set of responses made by a legitimated organisation which are intended to be supportive. Personal support services are distinguished from those which are standardised in that they are tailored as much as possible to the needs of a single individual or social unit. Standardised services, on the other hand, are provided to a set of individuals or social units according to more-or-less standard rules and procedures. For example, while counselling is a personal support service Australian income security provisions are standardised.

Remoteness in Australia can be defined by Australia's 'remotest half' as plotted by Faulkner and French (1983) (Map 2.3). It was suggested in Chapter 2 that, in general, remote area residents are disadvantaged relative to their urban counterparts, and that policy neglect and service deficiencies have contributed to this. It was also noted that providing services to these regions poses some difficult problems which may be unique amongst nations whose citizens have comparable service expectations.

Whether people living in remote areas should receive publicly financed formal services and, if so, at what level has been disputed (Holmes, 1981b; Lonsdale, 1981). Some have suggested that regional equity requires that service provision be based on relative regional need (Rumley, 1983; Humphreys, 1985). Others have argued that because regional concepts of need, disadvantage, equity and justice are not person-, or at least group-specific then they are too imprecise to be useful (Holmes, 1981a).

Still other commentators make relative costs and benefits the issue and recommend an 'impossibility limit' or a 'realistic limit' (Lonsdale, 1981; Moran and O'Connor, 1981).

Rather than debate general principles, it may be more useful to address the specific difficulties involved in providing particular kinds of services to remote regions. For, in the final analysis, most would agree with Holmes' general conclusion that sustaining an adequate service infrastructure remains important whether its purpose is to improve the quality of residents' lives or to enhance production and consumption (Holmes, 1981a, 1981b).

## PROBLEMS IN PROVIDING SERVICES

The difficulties involved in providing formal services to Australia's remote areas are well documented, though largely unresearched. They concern cost, accessibility, availability, relevance and acceptability.

### COST

As discussed earlier, because Australian remote populations are small, sparsely distributed and highly dispersed, providing them with formal support services involves relatively high per capita costs (Harris, Crawford, Gruen and Honan, 1974; The Secretariat, The Joint Officers' Committee of the Local Government Ministers' Conference, 1980; Holmes, 1981a, pp.2-3, 1981b, pp.74, 80 and 81, 1985, pp.4,8 and 17; Lonsdale, 1981, pp.380 and 382; Australian Rural Adjustment Unit, 1984; and Humphreys, 1985, pp.225, 227 and 233.) Consequently, most such services will be provided either direct by government departments or by heavily publicly subsidised non-government organisations rather than by private enterprise (Holmes, 1981a, 1981b; Lonsdale, 1981; Stimson, 1981).

Though precise figures are unavailable, rural formal personal support services are probably more costly than similar urban services because they require on-site provision on a case-by-case basis, and because in Australia they are usually provided free of charge to users by paid, trained human service workers (Australian Rural Adjustment Unit, 1984). Labour costs are particularly high. For example, it has been found in the United States that 80% of total expenditures in the rural mental health industry are for staff salaries and fringe benefits (Demone Jr., 1982). Clearly, reduced labour costs would contribute to reduced total costs.

#### **ACCESSIBILITY AND AVAILABILITY**

The problem of accessibility concerns the availability of services where, and at the time they are needed (Gregory, 1979, pp.11-12; H.W. Johnson, 1980, p.49; L.C. Johnson, 1980, p.72; Holmes, 1981a, p.2, 1981b, pp. 80 and 93, 1985, p.25; Lonsdale, 1981, pp.380-81; Moran and O'Connor, 1981; Loveday, 1982, p.108; Heyman, 1983, p.235; Gumpert, 1985 pp.49 and 51; Humphreys, 1985, p.225). A highly accessible service is one where a user can be in direct contact with a service provider where, and at a time which is convenient for the former more-or-less when the need for assistance arises. Potential users of a highly accessible service are fully informed about it and about how it can be accessed (Albers and Thompson, 1980, p.23; Gerritsen, 1982, p.16; Holmes, 1985, p.11; Kearney and Black, 1985; B. Smith, 1986, pp.14-15). Low population densities, dispersed settlement patterns and adverse climatic conditions in Australia's remote areas (Brownlea and McDonald, 1981, p.322) make access difficult and costly for personal support services which rely totally upon formal service structures.

A less frequently mentioned access problem occurs where support fails to reach intended beneficiaries because of the interference of local power structures and social networks. Material welfare services such as income security entitlements may

be particularly vulnerable in this respect (Gerritsen, 1982; Loveday, 1982; Wade-Marshall, 1982).

## RELEVANCE

The relevance of services to rural and remote area residents, or what Wagenfeld and Ozarin call 'cultural syntonicity' (1982, p.473), is the third issue (Australian Rural Adjustment Unit, 1984; Holmes, 1985). To engage residents, services should respond to the needs of users as experienced by them. There are two issues here: the relevance of urban style services to remote area residents; and the transferability of services relevant to the needs of one region, settlement type, population group or resident to those of another.

Given Australia's high urbanisation, it is understandable that Australian service models would be created for urban populations and that most service personnel would be raised and trained in urban environments. With some exceptions such as the Royal Flying Doctor Service and a few extended education programmes, Australian social planners appear to have assumed that if remote area residents are entitled to services at all, these should be similar to those provided to their urban counterparts (Gregory, 1979, pp.4-5). With regard to welfare services, this has often led to suggestions that they can be serviced only in prohibitively expensive ways.

One urban-derived assumption is that, for many kinds of services, the final point of delivery should be staffed by an extensively trained, preferably professional practitioner. This can be questioned on several grounds. In Australia, most such practitioners are raised and trained in urban contexts. Because of this they may be insensitive to the needs, values, lifestyles and problems of remote area residents, they may experience difficulties in communicating with clients, and they may fail to recognise, respect and utilise personal, family and community support processes

(Mazer, 1976a and b; Wagenfeld, 1977; Brownlea and McDonald, 1981, p.322; Stimson, 1981, p.210; Wagenfeld and Ozarin, 1982; Australian Rural Adjustment Unit, 1984, p.25; Craig and Killen, 1984, pp.19 and 23-24; Holmes, 1985; Martinez-Brawley and Blundall, 1989, p.513). It is also difficult to attract highly trained practitioners to, and retain them in remote areas (Brownlea and McDonald, 1981; Stimson, 1981, p.210; Gerritsen, 1982, p.16; and Lonne, 1990).

There are other reasons why urban-style services may be inappropriate to remote regions. In remote locations they often have high public visibility because clients must visit them in full view of other residents (Albers and Thompson, 1980, pp.26-27; Cheers, 1988). The roles assigned to practitioners tend to be too narrow for regions deprived of most services (Albers and Thompson, 1980, pp.26-27). And resources are allocated to them according to principles which are inappropriate to rural and remote regions such as the sheer number of cases handled (Heyman, 1981, p.235; Gumpert, 1985, p.55; Poole and Daley, 1985).

The issue of relevance also concerns the diversity of remote regions, settlements and population groups. Problems, lifestyles and quality of life expectations will vary according to the kind of settlement (for example property or town), size of settlement, and characteristics of the individual under consideration (for example, permanent private entrepreneur or temporary public servant) (Wade-Marshall, 1982; Gumpert, 1985, p.50; Holmes, 1985, p.11; Fookes, 1986, p.1).

..... it is usually the case that the total population of an area (is) not in fact a single community but a number of smaller communities. Thus, in a rural area in Australia there may well be separate communities of farmers, non-farm workers, unemployed people, Aborigines and poor whites. These communities have conflicting

needs and conflicting power relationships. (Gregory, 1979, p.7)

Somewhere within the standardised service structures which have evolved within Australian federalism, mechanisms should be developed which can ensure some responsiveness of services to this diversity (L.C. Johnson, 1980, pp.70-71; Heyman, 1983, p.236). While this may not be as important for basic material provisions such as income security, it becomes essential when we consider personal support services which, by their very nature, must be individualised to the user's situation.

#### ACCEPTABILITY

The final issue concerns acceptability, whether services are acceptable to potential users, especially given their social values. Whether urban-style services are acceptable to many residents of remote areas has been questioned through both research and speculation (Harris, Crawford, Gruen and Honan, 1974; Mazer, 1976a and b; L.C. Johnson, 1980, p.72; Davenport III and Howard, 1981, p.87; Australian Rural Adjustment Unit, 1984; Collier, 1984; Poole and Daley, 1985, p.343; Ellis, 1986, p.10; Mermelstein and Sundet, 1986; Zeller, 1987; Martinez-Brawley and Blundall, 1989, p.513).

While the evidence remains unconvincing, it has frequently been suggested that people living in remote areas are more traditional in their social values than their urban counterparts (Hassinger, 1976; Camasso and Moore, 1985, p.398). Some scholars have suggested that they are more family centred (Hassinger, 1976), rely on each other more in times of need (Davenport and Davenport III, 1982), and value and practice self-reliance to a greater extent (Hassinger, 1976; Holmes, 1981a, 1985).

Empirical evidence concerning rural welfare traditionalism comes from a series of North American studies. Camasso and Moore (1985, p.399) noted two possible reasons for the inadequacy of rural human services: 'quiescent commitment', or the sheer lack of resources; and the lower valuation of welfare services by people living in rural compared with urban areas. Osgood (1977, p.41) suggested that it is the more negative attitude towards welfare amongst rural populations which may account for the lower take-up rate for welfare services in rural America, though the evidence for this is mixed (Osgood, 1977). While Wooster (1972) and Osgood (1977) found rural attitudes toward welfare to be more negative than urban, Schilts (1979, pp. 108, 145 and 152), Handler and Hollingsworth (1971) and Roark (1973) found no clear difference.

In another study, Camasso and Moore (1985, p.397) examined the relative extent of 'residualism' amongst rural compared with urban populations. They used Meenaghan and Washington's (1980, p.49) characterisation of the specific values that shape residualism as 'work, economic individualism, localism, private over public ..... (solutions to problems, and a ... ) .... minimal role for government' (Camasso and Moore, 1985, p.404). Respondents were asked about their attitudes toward health, education, employment and social services, as well as income maintenance and housing programmes. They found that

..... residualism is more prominent in rural areas.  
 Rural/urban difference is found to extend across all social welfare policy and program areas, not being confined to a particular sector of social welfare (for example income maintenance) or to unpopular programs like day care. Moreover, this pattern of difference is not diminished appreciably by the addition

of individual level control variables. (Camasso and Moore, 1985, pp.404-5).

While the results are impressive the investigators cautioned that no direct test of the relationship between residualism and either the provision or utilisation of social welfare programs was conducted (Camasso and Moore, 1985, p.406) and that strictly rural/urban variables have limited explanatory power (Camasso and Moore, 1985, p.399).

In all, while far from convincing the evidence is that residents of North American rural areas are more negative toward social welfare services than their urban counterparts.

Australian commentary has been focussed on the more remote rural populations and, at the time of writing, is entirely speculative. For instance, Brownlea and McDonald (1981, p.322) and Holmes (1985, p.12) suggested that people living in very isolated locations have become increasingly urban-oriented in their living conditions, values and expectations. Focussing more specifically on graziers, Holmes suggested that despite their assumed traditional self-reliance they, too, have become more dependent upon an increasing array of statutory provisions (Holmes, 1981a, 1981b, 1985, p.12; Lonsdale, 1981, p.380). He suggested that this has resulted in raised expectations for publicly provided services (Holmes, 1985, p.7) which has contributed to a steady erosion of self-reliance.

..... in more basic ways the new technologies, combined with changing social attitudes, are creating demands whose satisfaction leads to a steady erosion of self-sufficiency. It is also leading to a clearly differentiated set of double standards, which grazing families are showing in their expectations of service

provision. In many areas they continue to maintain a strong sense of independence, particularly in relation to the grazing enterprise, where many insist that they can stand on their own feet, even in times of adversity. Drought assistance is not sought by some, or is accepted with reluctance. Also, expectations remain realistically modest for services provided from the private sector or from local resources.

An entirely different attitude has gradually developed towards the provision of publicly-funded basic services, particularly those in support of consumption rather than production activities. Graziers and their wives have increasingly adopted an urban-derived philosophy of social equity, with arguments initially used in support of the socially disadvantaged in cities being borrowed to incorporate the locationally disadvantaged in remote settings. (Holmes, 1985, pp.14-15).

Needless to say, authors such as these have called for the development of services which protect, maintain and encourage the individual, family, community and self reliance which they believe characterises and is a strength of remote populations (Gregory, 1979, pp.5-8; Coburn, 1982; Snowdon, 1982; Australian Rural Adjustment Unit, 1984, pp.18, 25, 26 and 31; Craig and Killen, 1984, p.24; Williams, 1984, p.91; Holmes, 1985, pp.11, 12 and 14). However, these assertions lack empirical evidence and treat remote populations as homogeneous. It is obvious to even the casual observer that there are vast differences in the values, lifestyles, attitudes and expectations of remote area residents (Kaiser, Camp and Gibbons, 1987). Itinerant

workers in government and non-government employment are probably very different to graziers on very remote, isolated properties, and Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders living in small, remote communities would be different again. What is needed, of course, is research on, and services which account for these differences.

## REMOTE REGION PERSONAL SUPPORT SERVICES

There appears to be little point in bemoaning these problems of cost, accessibility, availability, relevance and acceptability which urban-style personal support services face in remote areas. The present argument is more hopeful: it may be possible to develop alternative, less expensive, more accessible, more relevant and more acceptable remote area personal support services once we look beyond traditional urban service models.

From the foregoing discussion and the definition of personal support offered earlier, a personal support service designed specifically for remote locations should have the following characteristics.

- 1 It should be specifically tailored to the needs and circumstances of the user.
- 2 Potential users should know that the service exists, what it provides, and how it can be accessed and used.
- 3 It should involve direct interaction between the user and service agent at the point of delivery.
- 4 This agent should:
  - (a) be able to fully communicate with the user;

- (b) be well informed about the user, their lifestyle and values, and the conditions in which they live; and,
  - (c) be acceptable to the user and their community.
- 5 It should be sensitive to and respect the user's values and lifestyle.
  - 6 It should be accessible and available to users more-or-less when required.
  - 7 It should be responsive to the particular characteristics of the region and settlement, and to groups and individuals within the region.
  - 8 It should be cost efficient, especially saving on labour costs.
  - 9 Its effectiveness should not depend upon the willingness of highly trained personnel to settle and remain in the region.
  - 10 It should have low public visibility.

It has been suggested that these conditions are best met where formal services link with residents' preferred sources of support. But before examining this idea in detail, models for providing personal support services to remote areas will be reviewed.

## MODELS OF SERVICE PROVISION

Holmes' distinction between point-specific and network services is the starting point for our discussion of service provision models.

The task of service provision differs markedly between point-specific and network services. Point-specific services rely upon consumers being attracted to the service point and are best located in towns, where the level of service provision can be adjusted to aggregate demand levels. More difficult is the task of providing a network of services extending out to consumers in the small towns and in the countryside. (Holmes, 1981b, p.81).

While users go to point-specific services, network services go to users.

The present investigation concerns small remote towns. In this context, a point-specific service is located in a regional service centre which is not the town in question. A network service, on the other hand, extends to the settlement so that it is eventually delivered on location.

Point-specific, or centralised services (L.C. Johnson, 1980, p.69) provide either a single specialised service such as the treatment facility described by Connell for disturbed children and their families (Connell, Irvine and Rodney, 1982), or a range of services (H.W. Johnson, 1980, p.50; Poole and Daley, 1985, p.338). Users can access these by either physical attendance or through some other means such as a telephone, two-way radio, television, video tapes or audio tapes. It has been suggested that access could be facilitated by public subsidisation through low cost transport (Salmon and Weston, 1974, p.ii), tax deductions (Stimson, 1981, p.212), and health insurance regulations (Stimson, 1981, p.212).

H.W. Johnson (1980, pp.49-50) suggested that the multiservice centre is the preferred model for providing a significant range of services in larger rural towns with populations between 8,000 and 20,000. As well as providing an array of services, these also have the potential to fill a vital role in planning, developing and coordinating

services on a regional basis (B. Smith, 1986, p.20). Local services were clearly preferred by farm families in the study by Martinez-Brawley and Blundall (1989, p.518), and Mazer (1976b) and Goodfellow (1983) also found a similar clear relationship between service location and utilisation or under-utilisation. However, it should be noted that Goodfellow had surveyed elderly residents who would probably have greater transportation problems than other rural residents. Given the present structure of personal support services in Australia, the development of multiservice centres will depend upon the cooperation and participation of a number of other service organisations. Perhaps a more realistic possibility for Australia is to add specialised services such as personal counselling to existing organisations such as the local hospital or school which offer services required by most of the population (H.W. Johnson, 1980, pp.49-50) on an ongoing basis.

Network services can operate according to a satellite model (Brown, 1977; H.W. Johnson, 1980, p.49; L.C. Johnson, 1980, p.69; Edgerton, 1983; B. Smith, 1986, pp.20-21) or a mobile model (Brown, 1977; B. Smith, 1986, pp.21-22), either of which can provide a specialised or multifunction service. In the specialised satellite service the regional office of an organisation establishes and supports a remote office. Staff can be professionals such as remote area nurses (Poole and Daley, 1985), partially trained workers such as Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander health workers (The Aboriginal and Islanders Welfare Services Sub Committee, Mount Isa, undated; Hargrave, 1982), paid agents drawn from the local community such as those appointed by the Department of Social Security (Gerritsen, 1982; Sanders, 1982; Wade-Marshall, 1982; B. Smith, 1986, p.8), unpaid local volunteers (The Aboriginal and Islanders Welfare Services Sub Committee, Mount Isa, undated; Brownlea and McDonald, 1981; Dickman, 1981; Loveday, 1982; Australian Rural Adjustment Unit, 1984, p.8; B. Smith, 1986, p.26), or some combination of these (The Aboriginal and Islanders Welfare Services Sub Committee, Mount Isa, undated; Hargrave, 1982).

It is also theoretically possible to provide a multiservice facility through a satellite model (Department of Sociology, The University of New England, 1974; Campbell and Findlay, 1979; L.C. Johnson, 1980, p.69; Martinez-Brawley, 1982, p.163; B. Smith, 1986, pp.23-24). However, this is rarely mentioned in the literature apart from occasional references to local agents who provide information about and referral to a variety of regional and more distant services.

Mobile network services (H.W. Johnson, 1984, p.49) may also be specialised or multifunction. The former involves one or more specialists regularly 'doing the rounds' of settlements in a given region and/or visiting them when required (Stimson, 1981, p.212; B. Smith, 1986, pp.22-23). Australian examples of these include The Royal Flying Doctor Service, itinerant teachers, and flying clergy. Poole and Daley (1985) noted that the success of specialised mobile network services depends on how closely 'their services are attached to a local agency or to someone who can officially represent the team during its long periods of absence from the community' (Poole and Daley, 1985, p.338). This, they suggested, 'helps reduce the problem of long-term absence as well as (that) of follow-up and service continuity' (Poole and Daley, 1985, p.338).

The mobile multiservice centre, on the other hand, usually operates on a circuit basis (Brown, 1977; L.C. Johnson, 1980, p.69; B. Smith, 1984, pp.10 and 13, 1986, pp.21-22; Tartellin, 1984; Poole and Daley, 1985, p.338). With the addition of a staffed home base and two-way radio, the centre is able to respond to specific requests for assistance as they arise.

Moseley and Packman (undated, pp.207-9), noted that mobile services have the advantages of being able to service small pockets of demand. They are also inherently flexible with respect to location, time, the kinds of services delivered and the clientele they serve. However, they are costly, accrue large amounts of 'deadtime'

(for example, when personnel are driving long distances), and generally are of poorer quality than point specific services.

The present author agrees with B. Smith's (1986) suggestion that linking formal services with residents' preferred supports is more usefully regarded as a service delivery option within each of these models, rather than a model in its own right.

#### ADVANTAGES OF LINKING FORMAL SERVICES WITH PREFERRED SUPPORTS

Strategies linking formal services with residents' preferred supports appear to have the characteristics of effective remote area personal support services presented earlier. They may also go some way toward overcoming the problems of cost, accessibility, availability, relevance and acceptability (Morical, 1975; Vallance, 1977; Valle and Vega, 1980; D'Augelli, Vallance, Danish, Young and Gerdes, 1981; Davenport and Davenport III, 1982; Wagenfeld and Ozarin, 1982, p.467; Australian Rural Adjustment Unit, 1984; Brekelbaum, 1984; Craig and Killen, 1984; Neighbours and Jackson, 1984; B. Smith, 1984; Vaux, 1985; Vega and Miranda, 1985). Gottlieb (1988) made the general point well:

A third factor adding to the appeal of support interventions to policy makers is their ecological validity..... The social support literature underscores the influence of cultural blueprints on the structural properties of social networks, their norms about helping, their patterns of help seeking, and the very meanings that support takes on. Equally important, it also reveals that social support is a resource that is more accessible, culturally valid, and acceptable than the services offered by mental health practitioners and agencies. (p.13).

As noted by L.C. Johnson (1980, p.68), we need to develop an understanding of linking processes and strategies for maximising their supportive potential.

Hanton (1980) identified three kinds of support sources. A formal source is an organisation such as the Department of Social Security whose primary and legitimate function is to provide the kind of support in question. An informal source, on the other hand, is an organisation such as a sporting club whose main functions do not include providing the kind of support in question but which sometimes does so because it is involved in people's lives. Formal and informal sources can also be positions within organisations. Finally, natural supports are private individuals within a person's social environment. (Natural and informal sources will be referred to collectively as 'non-formal' sources or supports throughout this report.)

#### THE IMPORTANCE OF NON-FORMAL SUPPORTS

The evidence is overwhelming that non-formal supports play a vital role in maintaining and enhancing the well-being of people.

For instance, many studies have found that, with the exception of medical problems (D'Augelli, 1983; Institute of Family Studies; 1983, p.24; Primomo, Yates and Woods, 1990), people tend to turn first and more frequently to their personal support networks for assistance than to formal helping services (see, for example, Gurin, Veroff, and Feld, 1960; Koyama, 1970; Gottlieb, 1976, 1981a; Fischer, Jackson, Stueve, Gerson, Jones and Baldassare, 1977; Horowitz, 1977a and b; Wellman, 1979; Veroff, 1981; Barclay Report, 1982, pp.199-200; Korte, 1983; Chatters, Taylor and Neighbours, 1985, p.611; Golding, Siegel, Sorenson, Burnam and Stein, 1989, p.92). This general conclusion was also reached for rural samples by Young, Giles and Plantz (1982), Ehrlich (1985) and Schulman and Armstrong (1990). Schulman and Armstrong (1990) found that the level of social support had a significant impact on

both social psychological and behavioural dimensions of survival in agriculture, especially for young farmers. Perceived social support increased the likelihood of farmers planning to remain in agriculture and the probability that they would do so.

Non-formal supports have also been found to play an important role in later help-seeking and problem-solving processes, whether these involve formal or non-formal sources, or both (Zola, 1964; Suchman, 1965; Kadushin, 1966; Lee, 1969; McKinlay, 1972; Levine, Tulkin, Intagliata, Perry and Whitsom, 1978; Birkel and Reppucci, 1981; Gottlieb, 1981a, 1983, p.210). Specifically in relation to remote areas, it has been suggested that residents' non-formal supports, as well as their more general social networks, may influence whether and how they will use far distant formal services (Gerritsen, 1982; Stanley, 1982; Wade-Marshall, 1982; Poole and Daley, 1985, p.338). For example, local social processes can ensure that publicly visible services are not fully utilised, and local power structures have been known to divert welfare resources away from intended legitimate recipients (Gerritsen, 1982; Stanley, 1982; Wade-Marshall, 1982; Gumpert, 1985, p.51).

A review of 154 comparisons from 39 studies by Hattie, Sharpley and Rogers (1984) found 'substantial evidence that paraprofessionals should be considered as effective additions to the helping services, at least when compared with professionals' (p.534). In fact, they found that clients seeking help from paraprofessionals were actually more likely to achieve resolution of their problems than those consulting professionals (p.534).

In Australia, the Institute of Family Studies (1983) found that their urban respondents were more satisfied with the support they received from 'friends and family' than that obtained from professionals and government departments (p.33). 80% of their sample believed that 'the best way is for family and friends to support one another' (p.35). The remaining 20% indicated that 'because family and friends often don't have

the means (money, jobs or knowledge) to give the type of help required, appropriate government and professional support services are required' (p.35). Thus, formal services were viewed as supplementary, rather than complementary to natural supports.

The only Australian evidence concerning the importance of natural support in remote areas comes from a series of studies of remote mining settlements. Both mental health and stress were found to be associated with the 'perceived adequacy with which others meet an individual's requirements, especially under adversity' (Neil, Brealey and Jones, 1983, p.49; Neil and Jones, 1986, p.9).

It has frequently been suggested that non-formal supports, especially those within the nuclear family (Melton, 1983, p.9; Urey and Henggeler, 1983), are more prevalent, important, stronger and more effective resources for people living in rural compared with urban environments (Harris, Crawford, Gruen and Honan, 1974, p.219; Ginsberg, 1976; Gregory, 1979; Albers and Thompson, 1980, pp.22-23; Davenport III and Howard, 1981; Davenport and Davenport III, 1982, p.107; Craig and Killen, 1984, p.23; Cheers, 1985). However, for the most part, these claims remain unsupported by empirical data (Albers and Thompson, 1980, pp.22-23; B. Smith, 1986, pp.13, 14 and 27), though occasional studies do lend support for the proposition (for example, Scott and Roberto, 1987). At the very least, we have little reliable descriptive information about what these natural support processes might be (Albers and Thompson, 1980, pp.22-23; B. Smith, 1986, p.27).

Recent studies have found that there is very little difference between the support networks of rural and urban residents (Lee and Cassidy, 1981, 1985; Lee and Whitbeck, 1987).

Korte's comprehensive reviews of the literature (1980, 1983) as well as his own research (1983) found that there were no differences between rural and urban residents with respect to their inclusion of close friends and relatives in their social networks or with respect to the amount of contact they had with them when distance was accounted for. However, rural residents did tend to have greater contact with their neighbours and were more helpful of strangers in emergency situations.

Similarly, Fischer (1982, pp.56-61) found that there was no difference between urban and rural residents with respect to the size of their intimate social networks. His explanation was that 'public familiarity' does not necessarily mean 'private estrangement' (pp.60-61). Perhaps we gain the impression that rural people have larger social networks, and larger, stronger support networks, because they appear to know and be more sociable with more local residents than urban people.

Finally, York, Denton and Moran (1989) found no differences in the utilisation of informal support networks by social work clients in rural compared with those in urban areas. However, their instrumentation appeared to lack discriminatory power, and the investigators adopted a broad definition of 'rural', including very large towns and even small cities.

#### **THE POTENTIAL OF SERVICE STRATEGIES WHICH LINK FORMAL SERVICES WITH NON-FORMAL SUPPORTS**

Linking has been widely proposed as one service strategy which may go some way toward overcoming the four service problems presented earlier. The general idea is that non-formal supports provide basic on-location support, while formal services contribute back-up resources and more specialised services.

First, the relevance and acceptability of helping interventions are both raised by linking formal with non-formal sources (Kenkel, 1986). That people are more likely to turn to non-formal supports earlier and more frequently in the help-seeking process suggests that for many situations these are more acceptable than formal services to many people, at least in the first instance.

Compared to formal services, non-formal supports may also be more responsive to, and able to communicate with clients; more sensitive to different cultures and special needs, and more likely to facilitate greater client participation in the helping relationship. Levine, Tulkin, Intagliata, Perry and Whitsom (1978) suggested that where non-formal helpers are integrated into a client culture, they share the values of their 'clients' and are thereby better equipped to understand their values, lifestyle, needs and problems. For the same reasons, they may also be structurally well placed to relate formal services to client needs, and vice versa (Gottlieb, 1981a) provided, of course, that they are recognised and accepted by formal service workers. Thus, not only is the assistance provided by non-formal helpers suggested to be more acceptable and relevant to client populations, but these sources may also have the potential to raise the acceptability and relevance of formal services.

Similar arguments have been made for the greater accessibility and availability of non-formal sources. That they are more accessible than formal supports is implied by their greater and earlier use by help-seekers. They may be more physically and geographically accessible than formal sources, and their greater relevance and acceptability might also result in their being more emotionally accessible.

The 'cost effectiveness' rationale for linking formal and non-formal supports (Gershon and Biller, 1977; Davies, 1980; Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko, 1981a) is compelling, though almost totally unresearched. The thesis is straightforward: service costs can be reduced by using non-formal helpers rather than highly paid staff to

undertake certain tasks and to deliver particular services. While this would reduce costs in itself, the expense to formal service organisations of adequately supporting these remains unknown.

Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko (1981a) have provided some empirical information on the kinds of costs of linked services, though these were not compared with the costs of providing formal services alone. They concluded that organisations provided relatively few resources for linking strategies, and that resources were used primarily for employing programme staff and for recruiting, training, supervising and paying non-formal helpers. 'Overall, the major resource investments involved in working with helpers were concentrated on the amount and use of staff time and on providing for the availability of back up services.' (Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko, 1981a, p.87).

They also found that kinds of costs varied according to the types of problems addressed by the particular program.

Cost factors varied according to the type of problems being addressed. Where there was a need for personalised, emotional or ongoing involvement between helpers, clients, and staff, greater amounts of staff time were required. Problems requiring special skills or knowledge (providing advocacy or obtaining material resources) required greater investments in recruiting, training, supervision, or payment of helpers. (Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko, 1981a, p.91).

Though exploratory, this study also provided some useful information about the effects of 30 human service programs based on linking strategies for eight outcome criteria. Because these results were based on archival data documenting program

administrators' perceptions of effects, and because sources were not systematically selected, they should be treated cautiously.

Taken together, the programmes improved the availability, acceptability, and accessibility of services to clients, raised their satisfaction with services, enhanced their psychological/emotional well-being, and increased community participation in, and local control over services. Some indications were also found that, overall, the programmes increased clients' use of natural and informal support, and reduced their need for formal services, their use of institutionalisation as a problem-solving mechanism and their social isolation. It was unclear whether the programmes had made formal services more responsive to clients and more precisely targeted to client needs, or whether they had increased knowledge of formal services in client populations. It was questionable whether they had resulted in the more efficient use of available staff resources or reduced per capita service costs. Finally, the programmes had no effect on the economic and physical self-sufficiency of clients. (Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko, 1981a, pp.94-100.)

In sum, this evidence provides some support for the idea that linking formal personal support services with non-formal support processes in remote areas has some potential for increasing the accessibility and acceptability of those services to client populations.

Whether linking strategies made formal services more relevant was unclear. However, it could be suggested that clients' greater acceptance of linked than non-linked services may have been partly because they found them to be more relevant to their needs. Linked strategies did result in increased client satisfaction with services, greater community participation in and local control over programs, and increased use of informal sources relative to formal services. These, too, may imply greater relevance. It remains questionable, however, whether linking strategies made formal

services more responsive and more target effective or whether they increased community knowledge about them.

Support for cost effectiveness was also indirect, with the researchers concluding that the nature of costs varied according to the problems being addressed by the particular programme. Programmes which increase the use of natural and informal supports and reduce the need for formal sources (including the need for institutionalisation) may well result in reduced costs. However, there was no evidence for this with respect to formal services still being provided direct to clients within programmes which otherwise used linking strategies (Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko, 1981a, pp.85-91).

Finally, combined programmes seemed to be more effective than formal services operating alone. They appear to have increased client satisfaction with services, enhanced their 'psychological/emotional status' and decreased their social isolation.

In conclusion, what little evidence is available tends to support the hypothesis that linking formal services with non-formal support processes may help reduce the problems of cost, accessibility, availability, relevance and acceptability in providing personal support services to remote areas. More specifically, it has been suggested that formal services should actively reinforce and adequately resource the non-formal support sources that are already being used by residents and stimulate their development where they don't exist (Gregory, 1979, pp.1-2; Albers and Thompson, 1980, p.22; Loveday, 1982; Sanders, 1982, p.96; Young, 1982, p.62; Australian Rural Adjustment Unit, 1984, pp.8 and 26; Craig and Killen, 1984; and B. Smith, 1986).

While it is speculative only, non-formal supports may be more acceptable to, and more able to communicate with and respond to the particular circumstances of clients than

formal service agents. They may also be more sensitive to and respectful of client values and lifestyles and better placed to interact directly with them when the need arises. They may also be cost efficient relative to formal services operating in isolation. Finally, natural and informal supports are usually more embedded in the lives of clients, more likely to know and be able to activate existing self-help and natural support processes, and may be less publicly visible.

However, linking with non-formal supports is not a panacea. Social interventions which utilise social and support networks have 'difficulty in addressing problems requiring redistribution of resources, since social exchange networks tend to perpetuate existing imbalances of wealth' (Brody, 1985, p.338). This is because they tend to be based on 'social exchange theory, which emphasises reciprocal exchange in interpersonal interactions' (p.338).

#### THE EFFECTS OF DIFFERENT LINKING STRATEGIES

Perhaps more important, however, are the effects of different kinds of linking strategies on clients and programme effectiveness and efficiency. Again, the only available evidence comes from the exploratory work of Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko (1981a). They suggested a typology of five kinds of linking strategies.

The first, **personal networks**, focussed on an individual client's support system. Agency staff provided consultation and assistance to sustain and reinforce the informal efforts of family, friends, and neighbors known to a client. Another strategy, **volunteer linking**, was adopted in situations where existing sources of personal support were limited and

involved matching lay helpers to clients to provide companionship, support, and advocacy. A third strategy, **mutual aid networks**, .... involved the development of links between individuals who shared common problems, interests, or backgrounds for the purpose of sharing resources and reducing social isolation. The **neighborhood helper** strategy involved identifying central figures in a neighborhood who are performing key helping roles informally and developing a consultative relationship to support existing patterns of help and to prevent the need for formal services. The fifth strategy, **community empowerment**, involved the development of ties among informal opinion leaders within a community to plan improvements in services and to identify existing resources for meeting needs. (Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko, 1981a, pp.64-65). (Present author's emphases).

The investigators assessed the effects of these different programme strategies on several outcome criteria (Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko, 1981a, p.101).

**Community empowerment** can be ignored because we are concerned here with personal support.

The **volunteer linking** strategy was used primarily by programmes serving the physically disabled and, hence, had 'greater impact in the areas of improved self-sufficiency, increased use of informal resources, and increased program efficiency' (Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko, 1981a, p.100). It also helped to reduce institutionalisation and social isolation. However, this strategy had little effect on

service accessibility and responsiveness, on local control over services, or on client satisfaction or well-being. The logistics and costs involved in using volunteers from outside the remote region being serviced - getting them there and maintaining them would be prohibitive. So in remote areas this strategy would probably be forced to draw on local volunteers, thus requiring that the client lives reasonably close to other residents. However, modern communication devices might help to overcome problems of sheer geographic distance.

The other three kinds of programmes appeared to decrease the use of formal services, increase the use of non-formal supports and reduce costs, albeit to varying extents.

The **personal network strategy** is relatively strong in improving accessibility, availability, and acceptability of services, probably because of the more intimate and personal involvement of staff with each client's family and social ties ..... the strategy also exhibited strength in reducing isolation and institutionalisation. (Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko, 1981a, p.100).  
(Present author's emphasis).

Because of its focus on individuals, this strategy did not increase community participation or local control over programmes.

This is in contrast to the **neighborhood helping strategy** which had its 'strongest impact ..... on improving local control through increasing community participation and neighborhood involvement' (Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko, 1981a, p.102). It also had a favourable impact on increasing the use of informal resources in

meeting needs. It does not appear to be as effective as the **personal network** strategy in making formal services more responsive or accessible to client populations.

The **mutual aid** network strategy ..... worked well in achieving beneficial consequences in three areas: client satisfaction and well-being, use of informal resources, and deinstitutionalisation. By linking together individuals with common needs and shared concerns, greater use was made of the client's own resources. Social interaction was promoted among individuals who had similar experiences. It is likely that the mutual understanding and acceptance of problems by the group improved the psychological and emotional status of participants (Lieberman, Borman and Associates, 1979). Because the strategy focused on issues and problems internal to a given mutual aid group, it had less impact on outcome criteria that reflect a broader scope of issues for example, improved responsiveness of and access to services. (Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko, 1981a, pp.100 and 102). (Present author's emphasis).

Relative costs varied according to the type of programme strategy adopted, the cost factor being examined, the kinds of problems addressed by the programme, the aims, objectives and tasks involved in the programme, the number of informal helpers involved, and the demands made of agency staff. Personal network strategies were high in those costs associated with ongoing staff involvement with informal helpers and with providing back-up services. Volunteer linking involved relatively high expenditure on recruitment, training, supervision and payment of informal helpers. Mutual aid programmes probably involved the least expenditure of all programme

types, costs being highest for supervising informal helper activities and ongoing staff involvement with them. Finally, neighborhood helping strategies also involved relatively low costs, these being incurred mostly in coordinating and being involved in the activities and work of informal helpers (Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko, 1981a, pp.91-94).

The research team concluded that:

..... it is not useful to look for the cheapest way of working with informal helpers since these other considerations will play a large part in determining which strategy to choose. More specialised tasks, greater involvement of helpers in client services, and more difficult problems requiring the availability of professional services were elements which were likely to increase the costliness of any strategy. (Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko, 1981a, p.94).

The investigators also noted the savings which could result from integrating strategies into the procedures of other agency services through a variety of mechanisms. Prominent amongst these was the practice of using the same non-formal helpers in several programmes and services (Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko, 1981a, p.94).

While each linking strategy goes some way toward overcoming one or more of the problems of cost, accessibility, relevance and acceptability, none is singularly best suited to providing personal support services to remote areas. Consequently, which to use when is probably best decided according to their differing aims, consequences and costs relative to which services are being provided, to whom, where, and for which problems.

For example, private personal issues such as marriage problems might be most accessible to intervention through a resident's personal support network while the distribution of personalised information about standardised health, education and welfare entitlements might be disseminated most effectively through key community helpers. Further, support, information and advice for parents of young families living in geographic isolation might be provided through mutual support processes using teleconferencing facilities. And an isolated, physically disabled individual living in reasonably close proximity to other residents might receive help through a volunteer linking strategy.

#### LINKING FORMAL SERVICES WITH NON-FORMAL SUPPORTS

Fundamental to all linking strategies is the question of where residents go for assistance with which personal problems. Most likely, the answer will vary according to the person, the problem, and the circumstances in which they live. Where, for example, personal networks are preferred for assistance with particular kinds of problems, services might link with these. Where, on the other hand, people use key helpers these could form a key link in the provision of formal services. And where people are lacking supports because of geographic isolation or other reasons, mutual aid or volunteer linking may be the strategy of choice.

There appears to be no point in formal services trying to redirect the help-seeking behaviour of client populations, especially where they have little direct contact with formal services anyway. Residents' preferred supports are more likely to be acceptable and relevant to them and reasonably accessible. A more useful aim might be for formal services to link with these in cost-effective ways, provide them with adequate resources so that they can provide assistance more effectively, help residents to access them, and establish support mechanisms which fill the breach for

those who either lack non-formal supports or who, for some reason, are unable to use those they have available.

However, this emphasis on non-formal supports should not blind us to the possibility that some residents might actually prefer to seek help for a given problem from formal sources (Millikan and McGowan, 1981). Nor should we forget that some services must inevitably be provided by these - for legal reasons, such as where statutory responsibilities are involved, because special expertise is required as in health care, or because society as a whole has a moral responsibility to provide for some fundamental rights and needs, such as the need for basic income security (Gottlieb, 1983, pp.216-17).

A balance must be struck between voluntary, unpaid, taken-for-granted family and community support and more formal State social services which can provide specialist help, on a consistent and reliable basis, to all regardless of the wealth or power of the communities they serve (Institute of Family Studies, 1983, p.8).

Unfortunately, we are faced with virtually a complete lack of empirical information concerning where people living in Australian remote areas turn for help, information which can be used to develop innovative personal support services. The present investigation addresses this gap by collecting data concerning where some residents in one geographically remote region of Australia prefer to seek assistance from for a variety of problems. It responds to calls for research which has a direct bearing on social policy and service planning issues (Harris, Crawford, Gruen and Honan, 1974; Australian Rural Adjustment Unit, 1984; Holmes, 1985; Sturmey, 1989). Having identified residents' preferred supports, we may be better able to decide which non-formal supports formal services should link with and how.

## SUPPORT FUNCTIONS OF FORMAL SERVICES VIS-A-VIS NON-FORMAL SUPPORTS

It is assumed that formal service organisations have little control over the support functions of most non-formal sources. This is because private individuals and their non-formal contacts will relate as they choose, regardless of the wishes of formal service providers or social planners. In the final analysis, formal services have substantial control only over their own provisions and personnel. Because of this, it may be pointless to discuss the differential allocation of support functions to formal and non-formal sources. However, this does not mean that we cannot usefully consider which functions might best be assumed by formal services, which might be left to non-formal supports and which might be shared.

On the basis of their exploratory research Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko (1981a) found that which support functions were provided by formal services vis-a-vis non-formal supports, and how both kinds of sources relate to each other, were primarily influenced by:

the types of problems and client populations the agency worked with, the stability of the neighborhood or community in which clients lived, the legal and political climate encountered by the agency, the agency's organisational base, ..... the personalities of the staff and informal helpers ..... (and) ..... the objectives of concern to (the) agency. (p.56).

Whittaker (1983, pp.56-57) distinguished between support provided by formal services, non-formal supports or some combination of both ('blended strategies').

while Garbarino, Stocking and Associates (1980) described non-formal support as 'complementary', 'supplementary' or 'alternative' to formal services.

D'Abbs (1983) distinguished three broad prescriptive models of the respective roles of the formal and non-formal sectors, using the family as an illustration. In the 'substitutive' model:

The family ..... is and should be ..... the primary care-giving agency in society, and the role of the welfare state, so far as personal social services are concerned, is to provide services in the event of families being unable to do so. (D'Abbs, 1983, p.2; see also Garbarino, 1983, p.16).

D'Abbs' second model viewed formal services as 'supplementing', rather than substituting for non-formal sources such as the family.

The (supplementary) model retains the assumption that families are the primary care-giving agencies, but it is asserted that most families ..... need to be supported by formal agencies in order to meet their care-giving responsibilities.

Formal and informal care are not substitutes for each other, but complementary. It is inadequate to rely upon one or the other alone; both are needed for effective provision for need. (p.219).

D'Abbs suggested that his third model derives from marxist and feminist perspectives.

In recent years a third model has been put forward, drawing on marxist and feminist perspectives and questioning several of the assumptions underlying both the substitution and supplementary models. Both of the latter proceed on the assumption that family and state represent elements in a dichotomy, the former epitomising the sphere of the private and personal, the latter the realm of the public and impersonal. Proponents of the third model reject this assumption and in its place assert that the family and state, far from being the components of a static dichotomy, are integrally, even symbiotically, inter-connected. (D'Abbs, 1983, p.3).

While this is accepted as a purely descriptive statement, d'Abbs failed to detail what it means for the respective roles of formal services and non-formal supports.

In all, there are probably five ways that formal services can assume support functions vis-a-vis non-formal supports.

- 1 All functions can be assumed by formal supports.
- 2 All functions can be left exclusively to non-formal supports.
- 3 Formal services can substitute for non-formal supports only when the latter are unable to assist at all, are unable to assist further, are inadequate to the situation, or don't exist for the person or people concerned.

- 4 Formal services can supplement non-formal supports, the former providing the assistance necessary for the effectiveness of the latter.
  
- 5 Formal services and non-formal supports can complement each other with each assisting clients according to a set of rational principles. This may involve:
  - (a) each providing the same kinds of assistance to different people or groups; or
  - (b) each providing different kinds of assistance to the same people or groups.

In all likelihood, which relationship is appropriate will vary from person to person, settlement to settlement, region to region, and from need to need.

The 'substitutive', 'supplementary' and 'complementary' models all assume some kind of relationship between formal and non-formal supports. The alternative forms these may take will be discussed below. First, however, the different kinds of non-formal supports and their relationships with people in need should be identified.

#### **NON-FORMAL SUPPORT RELATIONSHIPS**

Non-formal support relationships can either be **embedded** or **created**. **Embedded relationships** exist independently of formal services and are part of a person's usual social network. **Created relationships**, on the other hand, are established through the involvement of one or more formal services.

On the basis of their research Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko (1981a) suggested strengths and weaknesses of embedded and created support relationships.

Embedded helping relationships tend to meet basic needs such as for material assistance, health care and protection. They are long-term relationships involving heavy investment of time, responsibility and concern on the part of the helper. Partly because of this, they are usually highly flexible, individualised and sensitive to the preferences of the participants. (Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko, 1981a, pp.52-53).

Because they evolve in a person's natural environment embedded relationships have three characteristics which are especially relevant to the concept of linking. First, they are unlikely to develop spontaneously in the natural environment of a social isolate. Second, the relationships themselves and the assistance provided through them are strongly influenced by the participants' wider social environments and by their values, mores, knowledge and skills. Third, an embedded relationship usually helps fewer people than a created relationship. (Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko, 1981a, pp.52-53).

Because embedded relationships are idiosyncratic, formal service organisations wishing to link with them must be highly flexible and willing to invest the time and resources necessary for identifying them and understanding the cultures in which they are embedded. Overall, though, Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko (1981a, pp.52-53) found that they required fewer agency resources to initiate and sustain than created relationships.

Created relationships, on the other hand, are particularly useful for social isolates. They are shorter in duration than embedded relationships, usually provide fewer resources, and tend to be more specifically focussed on short-term problem-solving. (Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko, 1981a, pp.52-53).

For at least four reasons, created relationships are usually easier for formal service agencies to link with than embedded relationships. First, helpers are easier to locate because the agency normally recruits them through advertising, referral or direct from agency clientele. Second, they are initiated, maintained and usually controlled to some extent by the organisation. Third, and because of this, they can be more precisely targeted at the specific needs and clients the agency intends to serve. Fourth, because they are more specialised than embedded relationships they are easier to tailor to specific services. However, they require a greater investment of agency resources to initiate and maintain than do embedded relationships. (Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko, 1981a, pp.52-53).

The fact that a created relationship is to some extent imposed 'may have negative consequences for the person being helped who may find the relationship less than satisfactory than one they have initiated and feel they have either 'earned' by past services or can repay at a future time'. (Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko, 1981a, p. 53).

Though there are always exceptions to general principles, these suggestions imply the following for the differential roles of embedded and created support relationships. Other things being equal, embedded relationships are most effective where they exist, where provision for basic needs is required, where the source is willing and able to invest the required amount of time, responsibility and concern into the helping relationship, and where long-term assistance is required. Embedded relationships are also indicated where relevant agencies do not have the resources for, or interest in investing heavily in non-formal support processes, and where the agency lacks information about client needs, values, lifestyles and preferred kinds of assistance. On the other hand, created relationships are indicated for socially isolated individuals and where an aim of the formal service is to develop new helping roles, skills and values in some members of the client population. Created relationships are also

indicated where agency controlled targeting of services is necessary, where highly specialised assistance is required, where relevant formal services are inflexible and unresponsive to the character, values and mores of the client population and to the methods of embedded helping relationships, and where relevant agencies are prepared to spend time identifying key helpers and understanding the particular culture being serviced. Finally, created relationships are also indicated where there is sufficient local demand for them to warrant their creation, and where relevant embedded relationships are ineffective.

#### NON-FORMAL SUPPORTS

Further distinctions can be made between **person-specific sources** and **key helpers**. By definition, a **person-specific** source is embedded in a person's usual social network and is identified as a support solely on the basis of his or her relationship with that person (see, for example, Gottlieb, 1981a, p.211). A **key helper** on the other hand, is identified as such because a significant number of people in the population concerned seek assistance from them (see, for example, Gottlieb, 1981a, pp.211-20, 1981b, pp.24-25; Davenport and Davenport III, 1982, p.112; Wagenfeld and Ozarin, 1982, pp.477-78). Both key helpers and person-specific sources can hold either embedded or created support relationships with their clients, although the former are more usual. As will be discussed shortly, key helpers can be either natural or role-related helpers.

Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko (1981a, pp.44-51) offer a more detailed typology of non-formal support positions: family and friends; neighbours; natural helpers; role-related helpers; people with similar problems; and volunteers.

Both Sussman (1965) and Wellman (1979) regard **Family and Friends** as 'the most intimate and ubiquitous sources of help for all but the most isolated individuals' (Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko, 1981a, p.45).

Among the family and friends, helping was generally based on commitment and motivation to help rather than on special skills or knowledge. Yet, they were offering substantial assistance, ranging from socializing and checking in to see that everything was all right to home maintenance or intensive home nursing care. They were also important sources of advice and information about services.

The **Neighbour** relationship combines a fairly low level of involvement in, but a high level of knowledge about each other's personal life (Keller, 1968).

Compared to family and friends, there are generally more defined limits on the forms of helping that are appropriate to ask for and offer (Litwak, 1978). The ability of the neighbour to be helpful is based on accessibility and willingness rather than on having special skills or similar experiences. .... neighbours can be particularly important in helping the elderly. (Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko, 1981a, p.48).

**Natural helpers** are the individuals turned to by many others for aid and advice, either for general problems or for specific areas in which they are felt to

have expertise. .... For .... natural helpers ..... helping (is) less based on the mutuality of neighboring or the obligations of kinship or long-standing friendship and more on personal motivation to help others and on natural helping skills which (earn) them the respect and confidence of those with whom they (interact). (Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko, 1981a, p.48). (Present author's emphasis).

While some natural helpers are community leaders in some way, others confine their helping activities to a restricted network of friends, kin and neighbours. They tend to have long-term relationships with their clientele, are from the same socio-economic stratum, have similar problems, but have better coping skills. (Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko, 1981a, p.49).

**Role-Related Helpers** fill influential roles in the helping networks of their communities, and may have the skills of natural helpers. Their prominence in informal helping processes stems from their incumbency either of other informal community positions such as 'gatekeeper' or 'opinion leader', or of key occupational roles such as religious leader, medical practitioner, storekeeper, police officer, publican, teacher, ethnic group leader, local government official, or boarding-house owner.

Within our sample, role-related helpers often helped others indirectly by being active on agency-sponsored task forces or in the general community. Some provided help to people directly: a post-mistress in a small town who allowed the post office to become the main social center ..... Within their occupationally defined helping role, they were less likely to provide

friendship and emotional support than advice, referral, and some services. (Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko, 1981a, p.49).

The fifth type of helping role, **People with Similar Problems** involves one or more people aiding one or more others, where both support sources and clients have, or have recently had similar problems. This process might vary according to whether it occurs: reciprocally or non-reciprocally; in a group or dyadic situation; or through physically face-to-face, technologically face-to-face, or less direct (such as through correspondence) interaction. It includes mutual aid groups and self-help groups.

While this form of helping might be uncommon in the general population (Lieberman and Mullan, 1978; Field Research Corporation, 1979), Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko (1981a) found it to be the most prevalent in their investigation. They explained this as follows:

Since our study was based on informal helpers who were known to and involved with formal services agencies, the relatively large number of mutual aid activities we observed probably reflects the greater attention which professionals have paid to this form of helping than to the other types. (Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko, 1981a, p.50).

Participants expected only short-term results from other people with similar problems.

Much of the interaction within such groups in our sample involved friendship and the pleasures of associating with similar people as much as the

resolution of problems. The participants needed no prior experience in helping others and their ongoing relationships with others were not important to the helping process. While shared experience was the main qualification for helpfulness, often this arose from shared status rather than common problems. (Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko, 1981a, p.50).

Help extended by **Volunteers** is usually from one stranger to another and, by definition, is channelled through a formal organisation. This kind of supportive relationship usually involves inequality in social-economic status and general coping ability. It also lacks reciprocity in that the volunteer is clearly defined as the giver of assistance.

Motivation in terms of willingness to help and concern for problems was a more important personal characteristic than helping skills or ongoing relationships. Problem-solving was the most common helping activity. Volunteers were involved with a wide range of problems and target populations. (Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko, 1981a, p.51).

Volunteers are not regarded here as non-formal supports because they are located within the administrative structure of formal services and because of the stranger-to-stranger nature of most of their relationships with clients.

Family and friends, neighbours, natural helpers and role-related helpers are most often in embedded relationships with their clients, though in some instances their specifically **support** relationships may have been created by a formal service. On the

other hand, the **support** aspects of relationships between people with similar problems and those of volunteers with their clients have usually been created by formal services, though this may not necessarily be the case.

In keeping with the thesis thus far, which support functions formal services should assume vis-a-vis non-formal sources in remote areas, and how the two should relate with each other should be decided partly on the basis of which, if any, sources are used by residents in which situations for which purposes. This will probably vary from individual to individual, settlement to settlement, region to region, and even from season to season. It probably depends upon a range of factors such as characteristics of residents and their social environments, the availability of key helpers in the settlement or region in question, the problems under consideration, and the kinds of helping responses they require, the relative accessibility of various kinds of supports, and ecological factors such as climatic variations.

The present investigation aims to obtain information concerning which support sources are used by whom in which situations for selected small remote towns in North Queensland. This information will then be used to develop implications for which support functions formal services should assume vis-a-vis non-formal supports, and which kinds of relationships should be established between the two so that residents have the maximum possible support available to them.

#### **RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN FORMAL SERVICES AND NON-FORMAL SUPPORTS**

The substitutive, supplementary and complementary models described earlier all require a relationship between formal and non-formal supports. Logically, this can involve either contributing to the supportive functions of the other.

### Contributions of Formal Services to Non-formal Supports

Formal service personnel can contribute to the supportive activities of non-formal supports in a number of ways. They can locate, create, maintain or develop them; they can change, protect and advocate for their functions; and they can connect distressed individuals with them.

Many authors have commented on the importance of formal service agencies identifying and recruiting person-specific supports and key helpers (Collins and Pancoast, 1976; D'Augelli, Vallance, Danish, Young and Gerdes, 1981; Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko, 1981a, pp.86-87; Brekelbaum, 1984, pp.238-39). Their role in creating key helpers and mutual support processes involving people with similar problems has also been widely recognised (Collins and Pancoast, 1976; Beels, 1978, pp.512 and 516; Garbarino, 1983, pp.16 and 18; Whittaker, 1983, p.52; Medvene, 1984, p.17; and Riessman, Moody and Worthy Jr., 1984, p.24). It has also been suggested that formal service agencies might sometimes change the structure and/or composition of the supportive components of existing community or personal social networks so as to maximize their helping capabilities (Gottlieb, 1983, pp.83-84; Hawkins and Fraser, 1983, p.366).

Several strategies for maintaining key or person-specific sources have been noted in the literature (Caplan, 1974; Collins and Pancoast, 1976; Davenport and Davenport III, 1982, pp.111-13; Garbarino, 1983, p.16; Hooyman, 1983, pp.159-60; Whittaker, 1983, p.52; Medvene, 1984, p.17). Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko (1981a) describe the kinds of relationships through which these can be executed as 'coordinative', 'collegial' or 'directive'.

A 'coordinative' type of relationship is characterised by a relatively high degree of independent action in which helpers decide what they will work on, take more

responsibility for tasks and activities, and receive little or no supervision from agency staff. .... a 'collegial' relationship is characterised less by independence and more by interdependence. .... Staff and helpers share the responsibility of deciding what is to be done. .... a 'directive' relationship is more restrictive in the degree of responsibility and authority accorded informal helpers. The helpers' activities are supervised and monitored. They work on more limited, staff-determined tasks, and their roles are less likely to change over time. (pp.62-64).

Non-formal supports can be trained in helping methods and techniques (Caplan, 1974; Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko, 1981a, p.86; Gottlieb, 1981a, pp.211-20, 1981b, pp.24-25, 1983, pp.83-105; ; Davenport and Davenport III, 1982, p.112; Brekelbaum, 1984, pp.239-40; Medvene, 1984, p.17), and be provided with information about community resources (Davenport and Davenport III, 1982, p.112). They can be provided with supervision of, or consultation for their work by formal service personnel (Collins and Pancoast, 1976, p.99; Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko, 1981a, pp.86-87; Davenport and Davenport III, 1982, p.112; Garbarino, 1983, p.16; Hooyman, 1983, p.159; Whittaker, 1983, p.52; Brekelbaum, 1984, pp.240-41). Self-help and mutual aid groups can also be provided with consultation, knowledge, and with helping and research skills (Gottlieb, 1981b, pp.24-25; Medvene, 1984, p.17; Riessman, Moody and Worthy Jr., 1984, p.25). Finally, key helpers can be provided with support groups (Weisenfeld and Weiss, 1979; Gottlieb, 1981a, pp.211-20) or be assisted to extend their own networks so they can have greater access to helping resources and can assist a greater number and wider range of people (Gottlieb, 1981a, pp.212-14).

Non-formal helpers can also be provided with a variety of resources necessary to their tasks and functions (Collins and Pancoast, 1976; Cowen, Gesten, Boike, Norton, Wilson and De Stefano, 1979; Weisenfeld and Weiss, 1979; Conter, Hatch and D'Augelli, 1980; Garbarino, 1983, pp.16 and 27). These may include financial backing (Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko, 1981a, pp.86-87; Institute of Family Studies, 1983, p.8; Riessman, Moody and Worthy Jr., 1984, p.26), technical know-how (Institute of Family Studies, 1983, p.8), information backup (Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko, 1981a, pp.86-87) - for example, about community resources - , and organisation and coordination of their activities (Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko, 1981a, pp. 86-87; Garbarino, 1983, p.16).

Formal service personnel can also contribute to the work of non-formal supports by connecting clients with them. Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko (1981a) distinguish between 'horizontal' and 'vertical' linking.

Horizontal linking involves social relationships among people in similar circumstances. Agencies that help expand an individual's personal network, or bring together people with similar problems to provide mutual aid, or encourage neighbor-to-neighbor ties are creating horizontal linkages. (p.60).

Linking clients with members of their own personal social networks is regarded here as horizontal linking.

Vertical linking ties the individual to larger institutions such as schools, churches, local government, or human services agencies. A major goal of most of the programs was to develop connections between the formal service

system and the informal system, so that information about community services and resources would be more accessible. In addition, such linkages might serve goals of making agencies more sensitive to local needs, or developing a group's capacity to organise and advocate on its own behalf. (Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko, 1981a, p.60).

Connecting clients with natural and informal supports might involve: referring clients to them (Barth, 1983, pp.326-30; Medvene, 1984, p.17), whether they be person-specific sources (Blythe, 1983, pp.120-22), key helpers (Blythe, 1983, pp.120-22), or group sources such as self-help or mutual aid groups (Barth, 1983, pp.221-26; Garbarino, 1983, p.16; Riessman, Moody and Worthy Jr., 1984, pp.24-25); preparing clients to use non-formal support processes (Blythe, 1983, pp.122-23); directly activating potentially supportive components of clients' social networks such as is done in family therapy (Satir, 1967; Minuchin, 1974; Satir, Stachowiak and Taschman, 1975; Bandler, Grinder and Satir, 1976; Levant, 1984), network therapy (Speck and Rueveni, 1969; Speck and Attneave, 1973; Rueveni, 1975 and 1977; Beels, 1978, p.512), social systems therapy (Pattison, 1973, 1977; Pattison, de Francisco, Wood, Frazier and Crowder, 1975), social system intervention (Polak, 1971, 1972; Polak, Egan, Vandenbergh and Williams, 1975), and the Screen-Linking-Planning Conference (Hansell, 1968, 1976; Callan, Garrison and Zerger, 1975); or educating people 'at risk' or other individuals and groups about the importance of, and how to identify and use non-formal support processes (Gottlieb and Todd, 1979, p.205; Todd, 1980; Gottlieb, 1983, pp.83-105; Gottlieb, 1985; Cheers, 1987).

Protecting informal support processes involves lobbying and organising activities that aim to prevent events from occurring or policies from taking effect that threaten to

destroy or weaken existing informal support systems (Gottlieb, 1983, p.84; also see Berger and Neuhaus, 1977 and Whittaker, 1983, pp.30-31).

Finally, formal service personnel can advocate for resources for natural and informal supports and for recognition of their importance to personal support policy and services (Hooyman, 1983, p.159).

### **Contributions of Non-formal Supports to Formal Support Processes**

Non-formal supports can serve formal services in three ways. First, they can help to locate people in need of services and make appropriate referrals (Kadushin, 1966; Froland, 1979; Barth, 1983, pp.321-26; Gottlieb, 1983, pp.210-11; Hooyman, 1983, p.159; Whittaker, 1983, p.47). Second, they can further the aims of formal services by acting as auxiliary supports during and after intervention (McKinlay, 1973; Birkel and Reppucci, 1981; Gottlieb, 1983, pp.210-11; Whittaker, 1983, p.47).

The third contribution is the encouragement of local participation in service provision.

A second rationale for involving informal helpers in the human services is often based on a critique of professional services. It is argued that professional services are inaccessible or unresponsive to clients, insensitive to different cultures or special needs, or unlikely to allow a meaningful participatory role for clients and citizens. Nonprofessional or indigenous helpers are seen as providing a 'bridge' between providers and consumers, one that is likely to improve the acceptability of services to local groups. This social participation thesis suggests that, because indigenous helpers are

integrated into a client culture and share similar values with that culture, they will be better equipped to identify needs and to relate professional services to clients more appropriately ..... (Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko, 1981a, pp.266-67).

This involves mediating communication between clients and formal service personnel (Brekelbaum, 1984, pp.232-33), interpreting formal intervention to clients (Gottlieb, 1983, p.210), providing informal evaluative feedback to formal service providers based on clients' responses to intervention, and providing formal service providers with knowledge about the population being served and about non-formal helping processes themselves. One aim here is to increase the acceptability of formal services to clients (Leyvine, Tulkin, Intaglia, Perry and Whitsom, 1978; Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko, 1981a, pp.266-67).

## SUMMARY

In this Chapter it has been suggested that the effectiveness of personal support services may be enhanced and their cost reduced where they relate with residents' non-formal supports. Identifying these and how they are used for diverse needs is, therefore, an important part of developing these services. Non-formal supports have been classified as Family and Friends, Neighbours, Natural Helpers, Role-Related Helpers, People with Similar Problems, and Volunteers. Natural Helpers and Role-Related Helpers have been defined as Key Helpers. The relationships they hold with the people they help can be either embedded or created. While family, friends, neighbours, and natural and role-related helpers usually have embedded relationships with clients, volunteers and people with similar problems usually hold created relationships with theirs.

Having identified residents' non-formal supports for various needs, we can then begin to develop principles concerning which support functions might best be assumed by formal services for whom in which situations. Excluding the extreme cases where all or no functions are assumed by formal services, three models have been presented: formal services can substitute for, supplement, and/or complement non-formal sources, depending on the function, need, person, settlement, and region in question.

Each of these models requires a relationship to be established and maintained between formal service providers and non-formal supports. This can involve formal and/or non-formal sources contributing to the supportiveness of the other in a variety of ways. A range of these possible contributions have been identified.

## CHAPTER 4: SOCIAL SUPPORT

The concept of social support is central to the present investigation. In the present chapter it is critically reviewed, redefined and remodelled for the purposes of this study.

Social support processes form part of the ecology of human functioning and development. Research from this broader perspective investigates '..... the reciprocal relations of individuals and their environments over time, (and) how individuals make use of, cope with, adapt to, and modify environmental opportunities and environmental constraints' (Hirsch, 1981, p.163). It focusses on how the developing individual and the environment shape and respond to each other, and it considers both physical and social ecological factors (Moos, 1976; Kelly, 1977; Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

Changes through time are not addressed by the present investigation. However, aspects of individual and environmental variation are studied along with their interrelationships. Both social and physical ecological factors are considered.

### DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPT

The phenomenon of social support has recently become a popular item for research and applied developmental work (Heller, 1979; Brownell and Shumaker, 1984; Sarason, Sarason, Hacker and Basham, 1985). One reason for this is its perceived usefulness for preventive, curative and rehabilitative health (Iscoe, Bloom and Spielberger, 1977; Sarason, Sarason, Hacker and Basham, 1985). However, with this initial burst of

enthusiasm behind us, the call has now come for more systematic and rigorous research (Thoits, 1982a, 1982b; Shumaker and Brownell, 1984).

The relevance and importance of social relationships to human health and well-being have received considerable attention and confirmation from behavioural scientists, social psychiatrists and epidemiologists. Weiss (1974), for example, argued that 'withdrawal from primary contacts ..... (is) dangerous to an individual's cognitive and emotional states' (p.18). In relation to physical health, especially heart disease, Lynch's (1977) review concluded that 'there is a biological basis for our need to form loving human relationships ..... (and) ..... if we fail to fulfill that need our health is in peril' (p.xv). Other research on social bonding and maternal deprivation has also demonstrated the importance of attachment to healthy human development (Spitz, 1946; Harlow, 1959; Bowlby, 1969, 1973, 1977a, 1977b; Rutter, 1972) and of positive interaction with trusted others for health and well-being (Weiss, 1969, 1974; Hansell, 1976; Duck and Gilmour, 1981).

Neither the idea that social bonds are important to health and well-being, nor the accumulation of hard evidence in support of the idea is new. For instance, Brownell and Shumaker (1984) suggested that Durkheim's research on suicide (1897/1951) provided early support for the notion that the loss of social ties and accompanying social support and normative social constraints is associated with the loss of social and emotional well-being. Thomas and Znaniecki (1920) also found support for this idea in their study of the effects on Polish peasants of leaving socially cohesive rural areas for the impersonal environment of the United States city. The Chicago school (McKenzie, 1926; Park and Burgess, 1926) and some more recent writers (Toffler, 1970; Packard, 1972) have also suggested that behavioural and social problems result from disruptions to previously cohesive community networks. Though most writers have not suggested a simple cause-effect relationship between social change and social and personal well-being (Webber,

1970; Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974; Hunter, 1978; Stokols and Shumaker, 1982), this research tradition remains influential in the development of social support research.

A similar line of enquiry has investigated the ecological correlates of mental and physical health. Faris and Dunham (1939) demonstrated that the incidence of diagnosed schizophrenia was highest in the disorganised central zone of Chicago and in the ethnic minority enclaves. While the traditional explanation of social disorganisation was invoked to explain the former, Dunham (1959) has suggested that faulty communication explained the latter. Ecological hypotheses were also developed from Canadian data which showed an association between the prevalence of diagnosed psychiatric disorders and a variety of psychological indices of social disorganisation (Leighton, 1959; Hughes, Tremblay, Rapoport and Leighton, 1960).

Hinkle and Wolff (Hinkle and Wolff, 1958; Hinkle, 1974) added extensive empirical evidence for the idea that one's social environment affects health. They suggested that the effects of environmental stressors on individual health are moderated by two health-protective factors: certain personal coping styles, especially psychological characteristics; and access to compensatory social ties. These were used to explain the different degrees of vulnerability of individuals to the same or similar stressors.

The relationship between health and social environment has since been reinforced by Dohrenwend and Dohrenwend (1978) who proposed two variables as critical mediators of the effects of stressful life events and health: (a) personal variables such as psychological defenses, past experience and cognitive styles, and (b) situational variables, including access to social resources.

Cobb (1974) noted the workplace research of French and Kahn (1962) which also focussed on workers imputing personal meaning to objective characteristics of the environment, and the effects of this subjective perception and experience on the individual's health and well-being. They, too, noted that a range of variables seemed to mediate both processes thereby raising or reducing an individual's susceptibility to adverse physical and/or emotional health. These included the activation of emotional defenses, previous experience with similar stressors, the immediate social context of the workers and its adequacy in satisfying individual needs.

French (1974) focussed a series of studies on the moderating effects of social support in the workplace and concluded that 'supportive relations with other people can often act as an effective buffer between job stress and strain, particularly physiological strain, within the person' (p.19). Moos (1974a, 1974b) and Kiritz and Moos (1974) also focussed on the effects of the social milieu on health, isolating three dimensions of relationships. They concluded that:

The social stimuli associated with the relationship dimensions of **support**, **cohesion**, and **affiliation** generally have positive effects - enhancing normal development and reducing recovery time from illness, for example (Kiritz and Moos, 1974, p.109) (original author's emphases).

However, it was the seminal work of Cassel (1974, 1976) and Cobb (1974, 1976) which provided the much needed hard evidence for the role of social support in buffering the effects of stress on health and well-being.

Cassel's 1974 paper was concerned with the health consequences of urban life, more specifically the effects of environmental conditions such as crowding, unsatisfactory housing and physically deteriorating neighbourhoods on human health and well-being. Although previous epidemiological work had shown such conditions to be associated with a relatively high incidence of a number of physical ailments and diagnosed psychiatric conditions, it did not explain the differential vulnerability of people suffering the same ecological conditions.

In an attempt to solve the puzzle, Cassel drew on (a) research on the origins of microbial diseases (Dubos, 1965) and (b) animal research linking social factors to biological changes which in turn affected vulnerability to disease. He synthesised the results of these two lines of enquiry into the proposition that 'changes in the immediate social environment are capable of altering people's resistance to disease, via the metabolic effects they trigger' (Gottlieb, 1981b, p.22). More generally, he hypothesised that 'persons (and animals) who experienced high levels of stress either in the company of 'significant others' or with the knowledge that they had access to supportive social ties did not develop the adverse health consequences experienced by those who were relatively isolated or who felt unsupported' (Gottlieb, 1983, p.21).

On the basis of his review, Cassel (1974) suggested two non-specific 'health-protective' psychosocial mechanisms which buffer the effects of environmental stressors on health: informational feedback through communication, which was suggested to buffer stress only when expressed by primary group members present during the course of the stressful episode; and 'the strength of social supports provided by the primary groups of most importance to the individual' (Cassel, 1974, p.478).

Cassel's and Cobb's reviews stimulated extensive enquiry around two questions: how social support affects people's vulnerability to physical and emotional ill-health; and how social support can be mobilised to assist already stressed individuals (Gottlieb, 1981b, p.23). Turner (1983) suggested that research on the former has been guided by and, in turn, has provided 'abundant and compelling evidence' (Turner, 1983, p.106) for the three propositions initially posed by Cassel:

- 1 that social factors must function to enhance or lower susceptibility to all disease and disorder generally;
- 2 that the continuity and generality of observed connections between social factors and health suggest the likelihood that the influential mechanisms involved must also be quite general in nature; and
- 3 that it is reasonable to propose that social support may represent one such general and influential factor.' (Turner, 1983, p.106).

Enquiry into mobilising support has been predicated on Cassel's suggestion that '..... it would seem more immediately feasible to attempt to improve and strengthen the social supports rather than reduce the exposure to stressors' (Cassel, 1974, p.479). This has implications for both primary and secondary prevention. In general terms, primary prevention involves creating and redesigning human milieux to be more supportive, and secondary prevention involves connecting stressed individuals with potential supports. As will be discussed later, the practical import of the concept of social support has also received extensive treatment by researchers and practitioners.

## CONCEPTUALISATION

Despite its long history, its prominence in the behavioural sciences and its importance for social planning, conceptualising, theorising about, and investigating the phenomenon of social support remains in a chrysalis state. Though social support has been conceptualised in many different ways, its nature, meaning and measurement remain the subjects of intense debate, and a range of conceptual issues remain unresolved (Gottlieb, 1981b, p.30).

At the most general level, social support focusses on the relevance and significance of social relationships to human health and well-being (Turner, 1983). Its social quality refers to the presence and products of social relationships (Turner, 1983, p.107).

Virtually all writers agree that social support is a multidimensional rather than a unidimensional construct. However, its various dimensions have not always found consensus or been recognised or accounted for in research. On the other hand, taxonomies attempting to capture this complexity and multidimensionality have expanded to the point where 'they now run the risk of including all aspects of interpersonal transactions, thereby obscuring what is uniquely support' (Shumaker and Brownell, 1984, p.12).

Moreover, the indicators of support have often been confounded with those of (a) stressors and (b) personal well-being (Mueller, 1980; Schaefer, Coyne and Lazarus, 1981; Turner, 1981, 1983; Thoits, 1982a), and its conceptual independence from both is open to question.

**MEANING**

The literature reveals confusion as to whether social support is:

- 1 The very existence of one or more, or a set of social relationships of a certain kind;
- 2 The undifferentiated emotional effect on the individual of the existence of these relationships;
- 3 Particular kinds of intangible provisions which are assumed to be generally beneficial to people;
- 4 The undifferentiated emotional effect on the individual of particular kinds of intangible social provisions;
- 5 The undifferentiated emotional effect on the individual of particular kinds of intangible social provisions delivered through certain kinds of social relationships;
- 6 Particular kinds of intangible and tangible provisions which are assumed to be generally beneficial to people;
- 7 The undifferentiated effect on the individual of particular kinds of intangible and tangible social provisions;
- 8 The undifferentiated effect on the individual of particular kinds of intangible and tangible social provisions delivered through certain kinds of social relationships;  
and/or

- 9 The beneficial effects on an individual of a particular social provision in a specific situation.

Turner (1983, p.109) provided some examples of the first two of these in such conceptualisations of social support as **social bonds** (Henderson, 1977, 1980), **meaningful social contact** (Cassel, 1976), **the availability of confidants** (Lowenthal and Haven, 1968; Brown, Bhrolchain and Harris, 1975; Miller and Ingham, 1976), and **human companionship** (Lynch, 1977). Gottlieb, on the other hand, included examples of all but the last in his

three meanings and measures that have become attached to the social support construct: (a) social support defined in terms of people's levels of social integration/participation; (b) social support defined as a by-product of people's interactions in a social network with particular structural properties; and (c) social support defined in terms of people's access to a set of resources typically present in their more intimate peer relationships (Gottlieb, 1981b, p.32).

Gottlieb (1981b), Kaplan (1975) and others have defined social support as the undifferentiated effect on the individual of certain kinds of intangible and tangible social provisions.

Whether social support is synonymous with social networks, social relationships or social interaction is important for social policy. For if the effects of interaction, relationships and networks are always beneficial, then simply increasing them would be beneficial for

people. The same could be said if the effects are limited to certain kinds of interaction, relationships and networks. However, if social support is a differentiated effect of a specific social provision of a particular kind of relationship, interaction and/or network under certain conditions, then social planning must consider the complex processes in which support is embedded (Shinn, Lehmann and Wong, 1984, pp.56-57).

In the interests of clarity and precision, social interaction, social relationships, social networks, and their various tangible and intangible provisions will be referred to as such. As used here, the term 'supportive' refers to the special case where the very existence of these or one or more of their components results in the individual concerned being and/or feeling 'supported' on one or more dimensions. At an operational level, any such effect can only occur as a result of some provision being transferred by way of social interaction. The term 'social' means that a provision is being, has been, or potentially will be transferred from one or more persons or organisations to one or more other people.

This distinction between provisions and their effects is the same as Schumaker and Brownell's distinction between 'the **content** of supportive exchanges and the purposes or **functions** of social support' (Shumaker and Brownell, 1984, p.12) (original authors' emphases). But it also adds detail to their distinction between harmful interpersonal relations and the potentially harmful effects of supportive exchanges (p.12). Thus, a supportive provision may also be harmful or neutral as can other transfers in the interaction/s where the provision is given. The caution by Shinn, Lehmann and Wong (1984, pp.56-57) is well taken: because the effects of social interactions are sometimes negative we should be more concerned with factors such as the degree of fit between supportive resources and the recipient's circumstances which determine the valence of effects on well-being.

## CONTEXT

Strictly then, social relationships, social networks, and even social interaction are components of the social context of social provisions and influence them whether they are supportive and/or not. This is similar to Gottlieb's distinction between 'the supportive exchanges arising from the field' as against the structure of the field itself (Gottlieb, 1983, p.3). Shumaker and Brownell distinguished between '**dimensions** of support (for example, functions and resources) and **situational variables** (for example, organisational structure and physical design)'. Rightly, they pointed out that 'because this distinction is not made, little attention is given to how support is supposed to work, how it does work, and what its effects are' (Shumaker and Brownell, 1984, p.13) (original authors' emphases).

Gottlieb (1981b) noted that analysis of the social context of support can be conducted at three levels. At the 'macro' level, analysis is of the individual's involvement with 'the institutions, voluntary associations, and informal social life of their communities' (for example, Berkman and Syme, 1979; Lin, Simeone, Ensel and Kuo, 1979). At the 'mezzo' level, 'the analytic focus is on the pattern of relations that the individual maintains within a distinct social aggregate' (for example, Hirsch, 1979, 1980). Analysis is of the structure of the individual's social world and how this determines 'differential access to resources needed in the process of coping and adaptation'. Finally, at the 'micro' level analysis is of the individual's 'access to intimate relationships ..... (seeking) to identify the resources available in ..... confiding social ties' (Gottlieb, 1981b, pp.32-33) (for example, Lowenthal and Haven, 1968; Bunch, 1972; Miller and Ingham, 1976). The present investigation focusses on both the mezzo and micro levels of analysis.

Most supportive transfers occur between individuals in ongoing relationships (Shumaker and Brownell, 1984, pp.17 and 19). Consequently, the same relationship can involve supportive, harmful and/or neutral interactions either simultaneously or at different times (Hymovich, 1976; Cassileth and Hamilton, 1979; Chesler and Barbarin, 1984; Dakof and Taylor, 1990). This suggests that it may be possible for a **relationship** to be experienced in a general way as supportive, neutral or harmful by a participant. While there appears to be no evidence on the issue, it would be reasonable to assume that such general assessments do occur and that they are based on the complexity of one's experience of a series of discrete interactions.

But supportive provisions can also be transferred in relationships which are not ongoing (Shumaker and Brownell, 1984, pp.17 and 19). They can come from acquaintances or strangers (Rubin, 1973; Spinner, 1978; Cauce, Felner and Primavera, 1982; Shumaker and Brownell, 1984), from people within the person's social network, or from others (Shumaker and Brownell, 1984).

## CONCEPTUAL CONFUSIONS

Many writers have commented on the conceptual vagueness, ambiguity and confusion surrounding work on social support which have retarded the development of research methods and instruments, theoretical propositions, and identification of the precise mechanisms involved in support processes (Gottlieb, 1981b, p.31).

It is suggested that the source of these difficulties lies in the failure to clearly distinguish between a provision, its supportiveness and the effect of being and/or feeling supported. The tendency has been to assume that certain provisions are generally supportive. Consequently, social support is often defined as one or more provisions which are

assumed to be usually, if not always, supportive. This confuses provisions, a state or feeling of being supported, and the supportive effect of a given provision. It also restricts our focus to only some provisions, those which by assumption rather than empirical investigation are deemed to be supportive.

Thereby, research into the effects of social provisions on well-being is reduced to being a test of our initial assumption about what is supportive. Because we are restricted by assumption and definition to provisions which are identified precisely because they are likely to be supportive, results are likely to be positive. This has indeed been the case. Moreover, this approach is unable to provide comparative information on provisions which have not been included in the original list. Thus, provisions assumed to be generally supportive may indeed be more rather than less so; but this approach cannot reveal (a) whether they are more supportive than other provisions, and (b) whether other provisions are supportive at least some of the time.

Full and detailed knowledge of which social provisions have which supportive effects for which aspects of human functioning under which conditions can only be obtained by first conceptually separating out the distinct processes involved - social provisions, supportiveness, and being and feeling supported. When we take this approach, what is generally supportive most frequently then becomes an empirical rather than a definitional matter.

Research and applied developmental work have often neglected the consensus that social support is a multidimensional and multifaceted concept (Dean and Lin, 1977; Henderson, 1977; Kaplan, Cassel and Gore, 1977; Walker, McBride and Vachon, 1977; Caplan, 1979; Hammer, 1981; House, 1981; Thoits, 1982a, 1982b; Brownell and Shumaker, 1984; Heller and Mansbach, 1984). Few researchers have separated different

predictors and compared their relative direct and/or buffering effects on specific aspects of health or well-being (Thoits, 1982a, p.147; Heller and Mansbach, 1984). This is despite some evidence that different sources and types of support have different degrees of effectiveness in reducing distress (Eaton, 1978; Dean, Lin, Tausig and Ensel, 1980; House, 1981; Thoits, 1982a).

Not only is the **amount** of support important, but the **types** of support (for example, socioemotional and instrumental) and the **sources** of support (for example, spouse, friends, kin and co-workers) are also important dimensions. Furthermore, the **structure** of the social support network may have a powerful influence on the flow of supportive resources to an individual. (Thoits, 1982a, p.147) (original author's emphases).

Moreover, those who have separated predictors, have used some dimensions and indicators of support which may also be measures of stressors thereby confounding their results (House and Wells, 1978; Lin, Dean and Ensel, 1979a and b, 1981; Lin, Simeone, Ensel and Kuo, 1979; House, 1981; Thoits, 1982a, p.147).

Predictors should be separated and their specific outcomes for particular aspects of health and well-being under varied conditions investigated if we are to know about the specific mechanisms involved in the process (DiMatteo and Hays, 1981; Thoits, 1982a; Heller and Mansbach, 1984).

## DIMENSIONS

### **Subjective-Objective and Tangible-Intangible Dimensions**

Caplan (1979) identified two dimensions of social support - objective-subjective and tangible-psychological. While identifying the two dimensions is useful, the accompanying definitions suffer some of the conceptual confusions noted earlier. For Caplan, whether or not a particular behaviour is supportive (objectively or subjectively) is not a matter of whether it is subjectively perceived to be beneficial for the recipient. He defined it according to the intentions of the provider and assumptions or 'hypotheses' about the benefits of the behaviour. He also confused provisions with the behaviour through which they are transferred. Thus, for example, is money intended to be supportive in itself, or is it the giving of the money which is supportive? Clarity and precision will only obtain if provisions, their supportiveness and the provider's intentions are conceptually and operationally separated.

The tangible-psychological dimension is also confused. While tangible support is defined as provisions, psychological support is defined in terms of the affective and/or cognitive effect on the receiver. The solution is to define a tangible-intangible dimension for social provisions which is conceptually independent of their effects.

But the subjective-objective dimension remains important, even with Shumaker and Brownell's reminder that most 'exchanges are automatic and, probably, not evaluated by either participant' (Shumaker and Brownell, 1984, p.20). Most writers agree that whether or not a given provision is adjudged from some external position to be beneficial to the recipient is logically independent of whether it is experienced or perceived by the recipient to be so (Antonucci and Depner, 1982; Turner, 1983; Shumaker and Brownell, 1984). The experience or perception of support may, for example, be dependent on

other variables not known to the observer such as how the provision was transferred or who the provider is (Antonucci and Depner, 1982, p.250). As expressed by Chesler and Barbarin (1984, p.114), 'not all help is actually helpful; some even adds to the patient's sense of pain, isolation, or inadequacy' (Coates, Renzaglia, and Embree, 1983; Dunkel-Schetter, 1984; Shinn, Lehman, and Wong, 1984). And Liem and Liem (1978) have produced some empirical evidence indicating that the amount of help received is not necessarily related to perceptions of being supported. While their suggestion of developing social support measures comprising both objective and subjective indicators is useful (Liem and Liem 1978; Turner, 1983), there also seems to be a place for two distinct measures for the degree of benefit an individual is (a) objectively deemed to have gained and (b) perceives themselves to have gained from receiving a given provision.

Turner goes further and recommends that the term social support be reserved specifically for experienced or perceived support:

..... the review presented here confirms, that most of the documented association between social support and health derives from reported relationships with emotional or perceived support. It is recommended therefore that the term social support be reserved to refer to the experience or cognition of being supported by others, comprised of self-relevant information as processed and held by the individual. Thus conceived, social support cannot be reduced to, or adequately captured by, the level of instrumental or material assistance, availability of resources, or system capacity or potential, no matter how elegantly assessed. (Turner, 1983, p.143).

This, again, is a position based on confusing the supportive effects of social provisions with their character. Earlier in his paper, Turner (1983, p.109) reviewed some taxonomies of provisions - for example, Dean and Lin's (1977) 'instrumental and emotional support', Pinneau's (1975) and Schaefer, Coyne and Lazarus' (1981) 'tangible, informational and emotional forms', and Hirsch's (1980) 'cognitive guidance', 'social reinforcement', 'tangible assistance', 'socialising', and 'emotional support'. He went on to record House's (1981, p.23) distillation of 'four broad classes of social support from the broad array of conceptualisations in the literature' (Turner, 1983, p.109): '..... **emotional support**, involving empathy, love and trust; ..... **instrumental support**, involving behaviours that directly aid the person in need; ..... **informational support**, composed of information useful in coping with personal and environmental problems; and ..... **appraisal support**, involving information relevant to self-evaluation or social comparisons, exclusive of any affect that might accompany such information' (Turner, 1983, p.109) (original author's emphases).

These are clearly **social provisions** and should be clearly distinguished from their **effects** on the recipient. As discussed above, definitionally confounding them with assumed supportive effects establishes a conceptual dependence of **supportedness** upon the provisions, an association which is likely to be reproduced empirically.

Yet Turner presents these 'provisions' as 'differing types or categories of social support' or as 'classes of support' (Turner, 1983, p.109). He then goes on to identify House's (1981) 'emotional support' as the common and most emphasised 'element' across these and other 'conceptualisations'.

The emphasis upon emotional support is mirrored in such concepts as **social bonds** (Henderson, 1977 and 1980),

**meaningful social contact** (Cassel, 1976), **availability of confidants** (Lowenthal and Haven, 1968; Brown, Bhrolchain and Harris, 1975; Miller and Ingham, 1976), and **human companionship** (Lynch, 1977). Implicit in all of these is the assumption that they address a core human requirement. A crucial aspect of this requirement is the experience of being supported by others, because 'social support is likely to be effective only to the extent perceived (House, 1981, p.27)' (Turner, 1983, p.109) (original author's emphases).

Thus, the category of **social provisions** has been used to justify the overriding centrality of 'emotional support' in the definition of social support. Thus, what started as a category of 'provisions' which might or might not be 'supportive' in the given instance is now being used to define the effect of being/feeling supported. Whether 'emotional' provisions are associated with 'experienced' effects is an empirical, not a definitional issue.

Turner's confusion of a subjective-objective dimension with a tangible-intangible dimension is clearly evident in his discussion of Cobb's classification of intangible provisions:

Perhaps the best-known conceptualisation of perceived or experienced social support has been provided by Cobb. He viewed social support as 'information belonging to one or more of the following three classes: (1) information leading the subject to believe that (they are) ..... cared for and loved; (2) information leading the subject to believe

that (they are) ..... esteemed and valued; and (3) information leading the subject to believe that (they) ..... (belong) to a network of communication and mutual obligation' (Cobb, 1976, p.300). As Barrera has observed, 'from this perspective, it is the cognitive appraisal of support that is regarded as the central target of (measurement)' (Barrera, 1981, p.71). Social support thus refers to the clarity or certainty with which the individual experiences being loved, valued, and able to count on others should the need arise.

Cobb (1979, p.94) explicitly distinguished social support from support that is 'instrumental' (counseling, assisting), 'active' (mothering), or 'material' (goods and/or services). There is no suggestion that these other forms of support are not important or that they lack relevance for health or well-being. His view appears simply to be that it is worth distinguishing social support, as self-relevant information, from various support resources. From this perspective, social support, like crises (Miller and Iscoe, 1963), can usefully be regarded as a personal experience rather than as a set of objective circumstances or even a set of interactional processes. (Turner, 1983, p.110).

Turner is wrong on several counts. Cobb's is a classification of information which is assumed to have certain emotional effects on the recipient. It is not a 'conceptualisation of perceived or experienced support'. Second, it is only because these particular kinds of

provisions (and not others) are at issue that 'the cognitive appraisal of support ..... is regarded as the central target of (measurement)'. Third, it is only in relation to these kinds of provisions that 'social support thus refers to the clarity or certainty with which the individual experiences being loved, valued, and able to count on others should the need arise'. Fourth, not being a provision, social support cannot be another category of provision along with 'instrumental', 'active', or 'material'. Fifth, these latter are not forms of support at all - they are provisions which may or may not have supportive effects depending on the particular instance. Social support is not 'self-relevant' information; it is the effect pursuant upon being provided with this information.

The following propositions arise from the foregoing. First, provisions and their effects must be conceptually, definitionally and empirically separated. Second, any given provision may have a supportive effect or not depending on the particular case. Thus, defining social support as certain provisions which are assumed to be generally supportive presents serious confounding problems for research aimed at investigating their association. Third, the suggestion that providing 'self-relevant information' to a person is the most central of all possible social provisions is based on conceptually confounding this kind of provision with its assumed effects. Fourth, the argument that perceived support is more important than actual assumes that only one kind of social provision - broadly identified as self-relevant information - is legitimate. By definition, this kind of provision must be perceived and interpreted by the recipient for it to have an effect.

Whether 'self-relevant' information is more supportive for any or all aspects of human functioning than other kinds of social provisions is a largely unresearched, empirical matter. Because the present study concerns provision in response to a wide range of social, interactional, emotional and material problems, tangible as well as intangible provisions have been included.

Similarly, whether objectively or subjectively assessed support is the more valid measure is at present a matter of the personal preference on the part of the writer. It seems possible that an individual can be supported and not consciously or unconsciously perceive themselves to have been supported. It would seem possible, for example, that a young child might be continually provided with affirmative self-relevant information from a parent but not recognise it as being supportive. Or an employee might have been greatly assisted in a promotion by a colleague yet remain under the illusion that they had succeeded totally through their own efforts. The converse is also possible: one can perceive oneself to be supported and not be supported at all. For example, an adolescent can perceive themselves to be emotionally better off by overly restrictive parents and be assessed as being worse off by external measures.

(Experienced support cannot be assessed subjectively. Inevitably any such attempt will rely upon the assessment and report of the subject, thereby transforming it into perceived support. Were it possible to assess experienced support directly by, for example, measuring physiological responses, the assessment method should be viewed as 'objective'.)

The present author agrees with DiMatteo and Hays' (1981, p.120) position that both objectively and subjectively assessed supportedness are useful depending on the research question at hand. In favour of objective assessment they note that it 'is not prone to the self-reporting biases inherent in the phenomenological approach, and it provides a standard of comparison across individuals' (DiMatteo and Hays, 1981, p.120). Subjective assessment, on the other hand, reflects individual differences in social needs and tastes (Donald, Ware, Brook and Davies-Avery, 1978), it provides access to individual experience of the environment (Lipowski, 1969), it recognises that perception is important in

determining physiological responses in any given environment (Kiritz and Moos, 1974), and ensures ecological and phenomenological validity (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p.29; Milbrath, 1979).

For reasons discussed below the present investigation assesses perceived supportedness.

### **Provider Perception**

Shinn, Lehmann and Wong (1984, p.56) and Shumaker and Brownell (1984, p.19) have suggested that 'the term 'social support' should be reserved for exchanges of resources intended by the donor or perceived by the recipient as beneficial to the recipient' (Shinn, Lehmann and Wong, 1984, p.56). That Shumaker and Brownell should reach this conclusion is surprising in view of their assertion that '..... perceptions of exchanges are not synonymous with the effects of exchanges. Even when a resource exchange is perceived by both actors as helpful, its actual impact on the recipient may not be so' (Shumaker and Brownell, 1984, p.19).

No doubt, it is useful to empirically examine the role of provider perceptions, assessments and intentions in social support. The congruity of these with those of the recipient is also a useful research issue (Shinn, Lehmann and Wong, 1984; Shumaker and Brownell, 1984). And there is good reason to suggest that the receiver's assessment of whether or not they have been supported is relevant to a total assessment (Turner, 1983) because 'situations that are defined as real are real in their consequences' (Thomas and Thomas, 1928, p.572). But whether or not the provider intended or perceives the interaction to have been supportive seems irrelevant to deciding whether in fact it was, especially where the receiver's perception is that it was neutral or even harmful. This, of course, does not deny the possibility that ego can feel and, in fact, be supported because they perceive the

supportive intention of the source. The position adopted here is that whether or not an interaction is, will be, or has been supportive can only be assessed subjectively by the receiver and/or by 'objective' assessment methods.

### **Actual and Potential Support**

All agree on the importance of understanding actual support processes. However, there is also reason for being concerned with the beliefs of an individual concerning the support that would be available if needed and/or sought. This is otherwise known in the literature as the individual's access to potentially supportive provisions. To again quote Thomas and Thomas (1928): 'situations that are defined as real are real in their consequences' (p.572). Thus, **believing** that one would be supported if help were needed or requested can be the same as **being** emotionally supported in the sense that both produce feelings of social security and emotional well-being. Although it is assumed that such a belief would normally be based on previous experience of having been supported emotionally and/or materially by the source concerned, this is not necessarily so and is irrelevant to the present point.

This, of course, is one of Turner's arguments in his case for the importance of perceived support. For emotional provisions, perceived support is at least as important as actual support. Whether the provisions are actually being transferred at the time or have been received from the source concerned at some time in the past is, in the final analysis, irrelevant.

Several writers have made this point about perceived potential support.

..... a distinction should be made between **utilised** and **potential** support. Most empirical studies of social support

are concerned with the giving and receiving of help, yet often the key figures in personal support systems are not the people with whom we exchange everyday help, but rather those individuals to whom we know we can turn in the event of a serious problem arising. (D'Abbs, 1983, p.7) (original author's emphases).

Similarly, Antonucci and Depner state:

Our respondents want to report not only what they actually do for others but also what they would do if asked. Similarly, when reporting what others did for them, our respondents want to report not only what others actually did but also what they could ask others to do. During debriefing they told us they had no difficulty separating the concepts of actual versus potential support, but that the distinction seemed artificial and misleading. For example, respondents were uncomfortable saying that a network member did not listen to their problems when they were reasonably certain the network member would gladly do so if asked. (Antonucci and Depner, 1982, pp.249-50).

Kessler and McLeod's (1985) and Wethington and Kessler's (1986) reviews of relevant literature also found that 'a stress-buffering effect (of social support) is most consistently found when support is measured as a perception that one's network is ready to provide aid and assistance if needed' (Wethington and Kessler, 1986 p.78). Similar conclusions were reached from empirical data by Ward, Sherman, and LaGory (1984).

Clearly **perceived** support is important to **feeling** supported.

#### **Five further Distinctions**

D'Abbs (1983, p.7) noted that, ideally, studies of social support should assess the **degree of choice** that subjects have in selecting their support sources relative to the extent to which they are constrained to certain choices. To these could be added the further case where the individual has no potential supports at all to choose from.

Second, he noted the distinction between **everyday and emergency support** made by investigators such as Wellman and his associates (Wellman, Craven, Whitaker, Stevens, Shorter, Du Soit and Bakker, 1973; Wellman, 1979) and d'Abbs (1982).

In another paper (d'Abbs, 1983, pp.5-6) he suggested that 'we distinguish three dimensions of dependency: **kind of support** provided, the **duration** of dependency, and the extent to which the dependency is **foreseen**' (original author's emphasis). The first of these will be discussed below in the form of taxonomies of provisions.

The second dimension is important because, as d'Abbs points out, most social support literature is concerned with the stress-buffering properties of support, usually in crisis situations. In contrast, much of social welfare is concerned with ongoing support for situations involving long-term dependencies such as those of the frail aged, the handicapped, and small children. Here, the evidence for the effectiveness of informal social support is less impressive, and it is here that formal services are more often called upon. Because of its focus on welfare service provision, in particular the respective roles of formally and informally provided support, the present investigation focusses on the needs of both short- and long-term dependencies.

Another consequence of the research focus on the buffering effects of support is that most recent theoretical and empirical work has been embedded in a stress and coping paradigm. This has led to an emphasis on the positive effects of support in the presence of stress and/or ill-health. Shumaker and Brownell (1984, pp.12-13) have rightly called for more concern with social support in the absence of these conditions on the grounds that it operates differently in the two kinds of situations. A clear, theoretical distinction needs to be made between the health-sustaining and the compensating (stress buffering) aspects of social support. That is, social support can be important to mental and physical health in the absence as well as in the presence of stress, but it probably operates differently in these two situations (Shumaker and Brownell, 1984, pp.12-13). The present author agrees with this general position. However, because this investigation concerned the provision of resources in response to particular kinds of problems its focus was on support in stressful situations.

D'Abbs' third dimension is also important. It applies to short-term dependencies and distinguishes between 'crisis situations in which it is the rapidity with which support can be mobilised that is crucial for successful coping, from situations which are normally anticipated, such as house-minding or setting up a first home' (d'Abbs, 1983, p.6). The difference is important, especially for what it means about who would provide the support. Because the present study was concerned with who would be approached for support in a variety of problematic situations, both crisis situations and anticipated problems were admissible for investigation.

#### DEFINITION

Several propositions about defining social support are clearly and widely agreed upon: that there is no widely accepted definition (Carveth and Gottlieb, 1979, p.181; House,

1981; Kessler, 1982, p.261; Thoits, 1982a); that we need such a definition if orderly, systematic knowledge is to accumulate (Thoits, 1982a; Turner, 1983); that the current lack of agreement on a definition, its operationalisation and associated data-collection instrumentation contributes to our present inability to meaningfully compare and integrate the voluminous research on the topic (Carveth and Gottlieb, 1979; Gottlieb, 1981b; p.31; Shumaker and Brownell, 1984, p.12); that several varied meanings have been attached to the term (Gottlieb, 1981b; Turner, 1983); that many investigators have failed to formulate a precise conceptual definition of the concept (for example, Nuckolls, Cassel and Kaplan, 1972; Kaplan, 1975; Kaplan, Cassel and Gore, 1977; Gore, 1978; Lin, Dean and Ensel, 1979a, 1979b, 1981; Lin, Simeone, Ensel and Kuo, 1979; Dean, Lin, Tausig and Ensel, 1980); that few investigators have attempted to develop and test the validity and reliability of operational indicators (Lowenthal and Haven, 1968; Brown, Bholchrain, and Harris, 1975; Myers, Lindenthal and Pepper, 1975; Eaton, 1978); that's a careful and systematic examination of the many aspects of social support and their effects on each of the numerous possible outcomes is needed in order to determine which kinds of social support affect which kinds of outcomes' (DiMatteo and Hays, 1981, p.117); and that 'there seems little to be gained and much to be lost in the current tendency to group ..... several dimensions (of the phenomenon) under the common label of social support' (Turner,1983, p.142). For the latter reason it is important to carefully define the boundary of the concept of social support, before mapping its domain, though Turner (1983) does otherwise.

Social support is a relational concept. A source is not a support source unless it is providing something which is supporting something of the receiver. A receiver of support is not being supported unless specific beneficial effects are occurring for one or more aspects of their functioning. A source is not supportive merely because it exists in a

person's environment - it is the provision being transferred which has or does not have supportive effects.

What makes support social is that the provision comes from another person or social entity. The same provision can be supportive and/or neutral and/or counter-supportive for a specified aspect of an individual's functioning depending on the source, the recipient, and numerous other contextual variables. Any given social interaction can have supportive, neutral and/or counter-supportive effects on one or more aspects of the recipient's functioning. And any two provisions within the same interaction can be congruent or incongruent with respect to their supportiveness for the recipient (Fischer, 1982, p.3; Shinn, Lehmann and Wong, 1984, p.71).

An individual's perception of having some aspect of their functioning supported can refer to one or more specified or unspecified sources. It is based on a belief that one or more sources would, if requested and/or if necessary, offer and, if the offer is accepted, provide one or more supportive provision(s) of specified or unspecified kind to the recipient. This belief can be based on a recent interaction or a series of recent interactions; and/or long past interaction/s; or neither. As noted earlier, this perception of being supported can be as supportive as actually being supported.

Finally, whether support has occurred can be assessed subjectively by the recipient and/or by 'objective' methods. These can yield conflicting assessments.

So, a source is supportive for someone: if the latter receives a provision which, by subjective and/or objective assessment, has had a supportive effect; or if they believe that the source would provide such a provision if asked. And a provision is supportive only if it positively affects the receiver's functioning. This is the crucial defining aspect of support

While sources and provisions require further specification and classification they are defined only by their effects on the recipient.

This conceptualisation allows us to define social provisions independently of their effects. The relationship between provisions and effects is now an empirical, not a definitional matter. This avoids the conceptual confounding of predictor and dependent variables which has been reproduced empirically in many studies demonstrating the association of 'support provisions' with personal well-being and health.

The implication, of course, is that the empirical search for inherently supportive social provisions or kinds of sources should be aborted in favour of a search for principles concerning which provisions provided by whom and how are supportive of what about whom, under which circumstances. If some provisions are found to be mostly supportive for most people most of the time regardless of who the provider is and regardless of other variables, then development of knowledge about social support has been well served.

#### **EXISTING DEFINITIONS**

Many existing definitions of social support are deficient in similar ways. Some are difficult to operationalise and some leave some concepts undefined (Nuckolls, Cassel and Kaplan, 1972; Kaplan, Cassel and Gore, 1977; Lin, Dean and Ensel, 1981). Others are limited to 'emotional support', which is too narrow for the present study.

Shumaker and Brownell (1984) define social support as:

an exchange of resources between at least two individuals perceived by the provider or the recipient to be intended to enhance the well-being of the recipient (p.13).

This definition was rejected earlier because intentions are irrelevant to supportiveness. It can also be rejected on the argument that exchange is not a necessary condition of social support.

Empirically, the most serious definitional problems lie in defining social support as social provisions which are assumed **a priori** to have beneficial effects on recipients, virtually regardless of other factors. For example,

Support is defined by the relative presence or absence of psychosocial support resources from significant others (Kaplan, Cassel and Gore, 1977, p.50).

More subtle are those that define social support as certain kinds of provisions which are assumed to have beneficial effects on the well-being of the recipient. Research based on this kind of definition is restricted to a set of pre-established provisions and fails to separate provisions from their (assumed) effects. Such research also often treats **both** supportive provisions and their (assumed) supportive effects as predictor variables. When these are used to predict levels of well-being, serious confounding occurs which will be reflected empirically as an association between predictor and dependent variables. One example of these is:

..... social support systems are attachments between individuals and between individuals and groups that

promote mastery; offer guidance about the field of relevant forces, expectable problems, and methods of dealing with them; and provide feedback about behavior that validates identity and fosters improved competence (Caplan, 1974, represented by Killilea, 1982, p.177);

Other definitions confound not only provisions with their effects on well-being, but also: (a) supportive sources and provisions with their effects; (b) supportive relationships and provisions with their effects; and (c) all supportive 'psychosocial factors' with their effects. Examples of each respectively are:

..... social support ..... (consists of) significant others who:  
(a) help people mobilise their psychological resources in order to deal with emotional problems; (b) share people's tasks; and (c) provide individuals with money, materials, tools, skills, information, and advice in order to help them deal with the particular stressful situation to which they are exposed (Caplan, 1974, represented by Brownell and Shumaker, 1984, p.2);

An individual's support network is that set of personal contacts through which the individual maintains his social identity and receives emotional support, material aid and services, information and new social contacts (Walker, MacBride and Vachon, 1977, p.35);

Psychosocial assets (are) any psychological or social factors which contribute to a woman's ability to adapt to her first pregnancy (Nuckolls, Cassel and Kaplan, 1972, p.433).

Less direct forms of definitional confounds occur where a set of provisions are identified according to their assumed positive effects on people. In contrast to some of the foregoing, the assumed effect is not made explicit in the definition. One such definition is:

..... support can be conceived as information leading the subject to believe that: (1) he or she is cared for and loved, (2) he or she is esteemed and valued, and (3) he or she belongs to a network of communication and mutual obligation (Cobb, 1976, represented by Thoits, 1982a, p.147).

This also focusses heavily on intangible provisions and exclusively on social-emotional effects. In doing so, it fails to include tangible provisions and tangible effects. For reasons presented earlier, these kinds of definitions were rejected for this investigation.

Several kinds of definitions do not suffer these confounding problems. The first define support solely in terms of emotional/situational states of the recipient.

(social) ..... support is the degree to which the individual obtains affection, empathy, esteem, security, belonging, and identity from interactions with others (Kaplan, Cassel and Gore, 1977, represented by Thoits, 1982b, p.346).

In Thoits' definition, she also specifies the kinds of provisions which are deemed to be supportive. In doing so she confounds provisions with their effects. However, if one views her list of provisions merely as a taxonomy which is additional to her definition the confounding problem disappears.

**Social support** will be defined here after Kaplan, Cassel and Gore (1977) as the degree to which a person's basic social needs are gratified through interaction with others. Basic social needs include affection, esteem or approval, belonging, identity, and security. These needs may be met by either the provision of **socioemotional aid** (for example, affection, sympathy and understanding, acceptance, and esteem from significant others) or the provision of **instrumental aid** (for example, advice, information, help with family or work responsibilities, financial aid). (Thoits, 1982a, p.147). (Original author's emphases).

A final set of definitions views social support as a provision which has a defined supportive effect. These do not make assumptions about the kinds of provisions which are supportive. Thus, whether support has occurred is defined solely according to a personal-situational state of an individual, this state having at least partly arisen from one or more social provisions or products of human interaction.

The first is rejected because of this and also because the present author does not wish to restrict social support to people, cultures or sub-cultures who prefer, or problems, issues or situations which give rise to, a rational, conscious, intentional and calculated goal-oriented approach to human living.

(Social support is) any action or behavior that functions to assist the focal person in meeting his personal goals or in dealing with the demands of any particular situation. (Tolsdorf, 1976, p.410).

Social support consists of verbal and/or nonverbal information or advice, tangible aid, or action that is proffered by social intimates or inferred by their presence and has beneficial emotional or behavioural effects on the recipient. (Gottlieb, 1983, pp.28-29).

Gottlieb's definition is not quite unconfounded because of his specification that tangible provisions are restricted to 'aid'. Another minor problem is that he omits the possibility of beneficial effects accruing for **both** emotions and behaviour from the same provision.

A more major deficiency is that he has unnecessarily restricted sources of support to social intimates, thereby ruling out providers of formal services, casual acquaintances and strangers. Furthermore, Gottlieb does not clearly distinguish between the provision and how the provision is transferred, between the behaviour of the provider and the commodity being transferred. For some provisions such as advice, the commodity is indeed the content of behaviour, but for others such as tangible goods, the provision is clearly not the behaviour involved in the transfer. For some others, such as information that one's welfare is important to the source, the difference may be less clear but still discernible. In this latter case, the commodity is the implicit information while the behaviour might, for example, be an embrace. Finally, he fails to specify whether the supportive effect is based on objective or subjective assessment or both.

In addition to its being unconfounded, his definition also has the advantage of specifying that provisions can be transferred verbally or nonverbally. Finally, Gottlieb's definition contains a subtle difference from those of Kaplan and Thoits. By defining support according to the gratification of an individual's basic needs, both Kaplan and Thoits restrict it to emotional, social and physical survival needs. This restricts us to considering **only** those formal services which have subsistence aims - that is, sustaining or restoring minimal levels of psycho-social-economic-physical functioning. This can be contrasted with services which aim at raising levels of human well-being beyond subsistence levels. Gottlieb's definition includes both kinds of services.

But Gottlieb's definition leaves two vital points unclear. First, it was suggested earlier that an individual can be supported by **feeling** supported having received no social provisions at all. This occurs where they believe that they would receive supportive provisions from one or more sources if it was requested and/or if the source correctly assessed the assistance to be needed. It is arguable that Gottlieb included this by allowing supportive provisions to be inferred by the presence of one or more sources. However, the most usual interpretation of this - that the expansion of the term 'presence' is 'in the physical presence of, at the time' - does not include this situation. For reasons to be discussed later, this situation is central to the present investigation and must be included in our definition.

Second, it is unclear whether a supportive provision must, by definition, be directly provided from the source to the receiver. Other possibilities are that a support source could give a provision to a third person who in turn relays it to the receiver, or the source can initiate action which results in some provision being provided to the receiver. This of course, raises the question of who, in fact, is the source - the initiator or the intermediary. Regardless, we should not preclude the possibility that a provision can be relayed from the

source to the recipient indirectly through an intermediary who, because their role is minimal, could not be sensibly regarded as the source. Who the source is would seem to depend on the amount of involvement of the intermediary in determining the supportiveness of the provision's effect on the recipient.

#### **DEFINITIONS ADOPTED FOR THIS INVESTIGATION**

With these points in mind, the definition of social support used in this investigation is based on Gottlieb's:

Social support consists of an item of information, a material item or practical service; provided by another person either directly or indirectly to an individual, through verbal and/or nonverbal behaviour; inferred by their presence; or assumed to be available from them on request and/or as needed; in response to an anticipated or unanticipated actual or hypothetical emotional, behavioural, social, material and/or physical crisis or long-term dependency; and which, by objective and/or subjective assessment, has, or is anticipated by the individual to have beneficial emotional, behavioural, social, material and/or physical effects on them.

A social provision is:

an item of information, a material item or practical service; provided by another person either directly or indirectly to an individual; through verbal and/or nonverbal behaviour,

inferred by their presence, or assumed to be available from them on request and/or as needed.

## MODELS

While research interest in social support has been strong, surprisingly little attention has been given to the specifics of how it works (Lin, Simeone, Ensel and Kuo, 1979, p.109).

### DIRECT EFFECTS AND BUFFERING HYPOTHESES

Two general hypotheses concerning the process of support have been proposed: 'direct effects'; and 'buffering'. The 'direct effects' hypothesis proposes that social support contributes to human well-being in the absence of stressors (Lin, Simeone, Ensel and Kuo, 1979; Gottlieb, 1981b, p.35; Hammer, 1981; Antonucci and Depner, 1982; d'Abbs, 1982, pp.20-23; Thoits, 1982a; Turner, 1983; Shumaker and Brownell, 1984).

The 'buffering' hypothesis holds that social support reduces the effects of stressors upon the physical, psychological and/or social state of the individual: 'the occurrence of events in the presence of social support should produce less distress than should the occurrence of events in the absence of social support' (Thoits, 1982a, p.145). This model has been suggested by many investigators including Antonovsky (1974, 1979), Caplan (1974), Cassel (1974, 1976), Cobb (1976), Kaplan, Cassel and Gore (1977), Henderson, Byrne, Duncan-Jones, McAuley, Adcock, Scott and Steel (1978), Liem and Liem (1978), Pearlin and Schooler (1978), Pilisuk and Froland (1978), Eisenberg (1979), Blythe (1983), Brownell and Shumaker (1984), and Cohen and McKay (1984).

Thoits (1982b) distinguished this 'general buffering hypothesis' from an 'applied buffering hypothesis':

The buffering hypothesis is used to account for variations in psychological disturbance. The applied buffering hypothesis is used to account for variations in psychological vulnerability, where vulnerability is estimated with the interaction of a sociodemographic variable and a life stress measure. (Thoits, 1982b, p.359)

Evidence for the buffering effect of social support is impressive despite conceptual and methodological problems, some of which were discussed earlier (see, for example, Lowenthal and Haven, 1968; Nuckolls, Cassel, and Kaplan, 1972; Weiss, 1973; Caplan, 1974; Cobb, 1974, 1976; Cassel, 1976; Burke and Weir, 1977; Cobb and Kasl, 1977; Kaplan, Cassel and Gore, 1977; Brown and Harris, 1978; Eaton, 1978; Gore, 1978; Henderson, Duncan-Jones, McAuley and Ritchie, 1978; Lazarus and Launier, 1978; Liem and Liem, 1978; Pilisuk and Froland, 1978; Adams, 1979; Antonovsky, 1979; Berkman and Syme, 1979; Eisenberg, 1979; Lin, Simeone, Ensel and Kuo, 1979; Dean, Lin and Ensel, 1980; Henderson, Byrne, Duncan-Jones, Scott and Adcock, 1980; Linn and McGranahan, 1980; Barrera, 1981; Campbell, 1981; House, 1981; Pearlin, Lieberman, Menaghan and Mullan, 1981; Turner, 1981; Wilcox, 1981a, 1981b; Dunkel-Schetter, 1984; and Henderson and Argyle, 1985). Some however, have found no evidence for a buffering effect (for example, Andrews, Tennant, Hewson and Vaillant, 1978; Warheit, 1979; Schaefer, Coyne and Lazarus, 1981; and Williams, Ware and Donald, 1981).

Conceptual and methodological problems include inadequate conceptualisation, definition and operationalisation; confounding stress indicators with those for social

support; and insufficient attention being given to the multidimensionality of support and to the question of which provisions provided by whom, to whom, under which circumstances buffer which stressors to what extent, in relation to which aspects of well-being.

Some researchers, such as Cobb (1976, p.302), claim buffering to be the primary effect of social support while others, such as Antonovsky (1979, p.77) and Cobb (1979, p.99) have gone further in suggesting that because life is virtually always stressful, there is no point in considering the effects of social support in the absence of stress.

But Turner's conclusion is well made: it remains important to know whether support is of greater significance where stress is relatively high than when it is relatively low and how it operates under both conditions.

Given the inevitability of limited resources, it seems important and useful to be able to distinguish those who most need and who might most benefit from an effective social-support intervention. Thus, although all might benefit from enhanced social support, the issues of relative need and relative benefit with respect to psychological distress or disorder remain salient. (Turner, 1983, p.139).

Which, if either, of the two effects is most powerful cannot yet be resolved. While a number of studies support the primacy of the buffering hypothesis (for example, Nuckolls, Cassel and Kaplan, 1972; De Araujo, Van Arsdel, Holmes and Dudley, 1973; Brown, Bholchain and Harris, 1975; Cassel, 1976; Cobb, 1976; Dean and Lin, 1977; Henderson, Byrne, Duncan-Jones, Scott and Adcock, 1980) others claim evidence for the primacy of direct effects (for example, Andrews, Tennant, Hewson and Vaillant, 1978; Dean, Lin,

Tausig and Ensel, 1980; Schaefer, Coyne and Lazarus, 1981; Williams, Ware and Donald, 1981; Aneshensel and Frerichs, 1982; Bell, LeRoy and Stephenson, 1982; Dean and Ensel, 1982; Husaini, Neff, Newbrough and Moore, 1982).

But the existing evidence is highly conflictual and, to date, methodological problems have hampered resolution of the issue. For instance, Thoits' (1982a, p.154) response to the suggestion that support doesn't work in the absence of stress is that it is merely an empirical generalisation from selected studies and not a theoretically derived hypothesis. She describes two well-established theoretical explanations for the direct effects hypothesis: a symbolic interaction explanation (Cooley, 1902; Mead, 1934; Faris and Dunham, 1939; Lemert, 1962; Sarbin, 1968; Thoits, 1981); and Durkheimian anomie theory (Durkheim, 1951; Moriwaki, 1973; Miller and Ingham, 1976; Brown, Davidson, Harris, MacLean, Pollack and Prudo, 1977; Henderson, Duncan-Jones, Adcock, McAuley and Ritchie, 1978; Henderson, Duncan-Jones, Adcock, Scott and Steele, 1978; Berkman and Syme, 1979; Mueller, 1980). Moreover, the reviews of both Thoits (1982a) and Schaefer, Coyne and Lazarus (1981, p.387) concluded that conceptual and operational confounding of stress with social support has produced results biased in favour of the buffering hypothesis. And House (1981, pp.56-57) suggested methodological reasons why the technically stronger longitudinal studies have yielded results in favour of buffering effects while the weaker cross-sectional studies have not. He concluded that, on balance, the evidence is inconclusive either way.

Turner's conclusion is that although resolution of the direct- versus buffering-effects issue must await further methodologically stronger studies, '..... the collective available evidence points to the appropriateness of three assumptions or working hypotheses: (1) social support tends to matter for psychological well-being independent of stressor level; (2) support tends to matter more where stressor level is relatively high; and (3) the extent to

which (1) and (2) are true varies across subgroups of the population defined by class level and, probably, by other variables' (Turner, 1983, p.142).

The present investigation is concerned with both the direct and buffering effects of social support. On the one hand, it was suggested earlier that the **assumption** of support, regardless of the existence of current distress, can be supportive in itself. In this sense then, whether or not the **assumption** of support has a direct or buffering effect depends on the particular respondent's life situation at the time of data collection - it could be more or less stressed. On the other hand, the overriding aim of this investigation was to produce information useful for planning services which will help people at a time of distress of some specific kind - the buffering effect. Thus we are also interested in anticipated support which would, if actualised, buffer stressful life events.

Existing models of, and explanations for how social support works tend to account for **both** buffering and direct effects. For example, Gottlieb (1983, pp.32-37) delineated a two stage process where stressors are subjectively interpreted or reacted to by the individual, this interpretation resulting in certain affective, cognitive and/or physical outcomes. Supportive social resources interact with personal coping resources and intervene in the process at four points: directly affecting stressors by, for example, 'preventing exposure to certain stressors (or) inducing more benign appraisal of the threat'; directly affecting 'health outcomes' by, for example, boosting morale and one's sense of well-being; buffering the effects of stressors on one's subjective reactions by, for example, 'preserving (one's) feelings of self-esteem and sense of mastery when exposed to adversity'; and by buffering the effects of one's subjective reactions to the stressors on affective, cognitive, behavioural and/or physical illness by, for example, protecting the individual against depression when stressful reactions occur (Gottlieb, 1983, p.37).

## OTHER MODELS

Antonucci and Depner (1982, p.241) distinguished between: **social integration** effects of social support which arise from the mere existence of a social relationship; and **social interaction** effects resulting from exchanges within or provisions from a relationship. On this basis, they developed a model which distinguished between direct effects of support upon well-being and 'conditioning effects', where social support moderates or conditions the effects of other forces on well-being. The latter are categorised according to whether they represent **insulating** or **buffering** effects. Insulating effects, where support intervenes prior to the subjective perception of stress, may occur where: support prevents the potentially distressing life event from occurring; where support may objectively change the situation once the event has occurred; or where support helps the individual to positively reinterpret the event. Buffering effects, on the other hand, are described as occurring where 'stress is both objectively and subjectively experienced, but where support allows the individual to cope with the stressful situation' (Antonucci and Depner, 1982, p.241).

Shumaker and Brownell (1984) adopted a different approach and matched provisions (resources) with effects (functions). They identified health-sustaining and stress-reducing functions of support, each of which is served by a range of provisions. Health-sustaining functions include: the gratification of affiliative needs (Kaplan, Cassel and Gore, 1977; Thoits, 1982b), served by such social resources as 'expressions of caring, love, understanding, concern, intimacy, and an enhanced feeling of belonging' (Shumaker and Brownell, 1984, p.23); self-identity maintenance and enhancement (Mitchell, Billings and Moos, 1982; Thoits, 1983), served by resources such as 'feedback regarding aspects of the self and models of appropriate behaviour' (p.23); and self-esteem enhancement (Gottlieb, 1983) served by resources such as reassurance and affirmation of worth,

approval, praise, and expressions of respect for the recipient. These functions and resources can act either in the absence (direct effects) or in the presence (buffering effect) of stress. They can also help determine how one might react to stress in that their existence prior to the advent of stress can reduce the amount of strain experienced by the individual (Mitchell, Billings and Moos, 1982; Wallston, Alagna, DeVellis and DeVellis, 1983).

They identified other resources which are more useful for several functions when stress has already occurred. The first involves assisting cognitive appraisal (Heller and Swindle, 1983; Cohen and McKay, 1984) of either primary or secondary kinds (Lazarus and Launier, 1978). Concerning primary cognitive appraisal, resources such as verbal information about the potentially stressful event and modelled responses to it can assist in broadening the individual's interpretation of the event and in promoting clearer understanding of it. Secondary cognitive appraisal on the other hand, operates when the event has already been interpreted as stressful by the individual concerned and refers to their assessment of their own coping resources. Resources such as 'modelled emotional and behavioural coping strategies, referrals to appropriate professional service agencies, encouragement to seek assistance, and the provision of information and problem-solving techniques' (Shumaker and Brownell, 1984, p.24) can help to broaden the range of coping options available to the individual.

The second stress-reducing function of social support noted by Shumaker and Brownell (1984) involves the direct provision of resources needed to meet the specific needs evoked by the particular stressor. While they made the point that the specific provision should meet the specific need (House, 1981; Cohen and McKay, 1984; Shinn, Lehmann and Wong, 1984) they attempted to categorise neither.

The third stress-reducing function, cognitive adaptation, involves three interrelated processes: searching for the meaning of the event; attempting to regain mastery over one's life; and enhancement of self-esteem. Support resources which enhance self-esteem have been mentioned above. Those which assist in gaining mastery and meaning include information about the threat, methods for regaining control, and modelled behaviours for coping through, for example, self-help groups.

An additional point made by Shumaker and Brownell (1984, p.25) is worth repeating: coping, coping resources and social support are not synonymous. However, this should not be taken to mean that supportive social provisions and coping resources do not overlap. According to the definitions presented earlier, any provision that contributes to coping and is provided through social interaction is supportive.

While Shumaker and Brownell (1984) admitted that resources can serve more than one function, their framework tends to overly emphasise matching resources and functions. Further, while their conceptualisation is eminently useful for service planning and practice in the field of physical health it departs too radically from the classical separation of direct and buffering effects to have wider applicability. Finally, though it is a useful taxonomy, it fails to specify the full range of factors and processes involved in support processes.

Because of his concern with people's access to material and other practical resources as well as to emotional supplies, d'Abbs (1982) preferred Hammer's (1981) model. This takes full account of established knowledge about social networks. According to this model, personal well-being is dependent partly on a core network of frequently-seen friends and (usually) close kin, and partly on a more diversified set of relationships, many of them of less intimacy. This is because social networks provide social support in two ways: by providing interpersonal feedback which maintains self-esteem, one's sense of one's own

identity, and one's sense of belonging; and by providing access to material resources either directly or through access to other people. The former is provided primarily by core social networks of close friends and kin, while the latter is derived from wider networks comprising more instrumental relationships.

The importance of wider, less dense social networks comes from research demonstrating that 'weak social ties' facilitate access to a wider range of material resources, new information, professional services, practical assistance, opportunities to change one's social identity and developing new acquaintances on changing residence (Milgram, 1967; Lee, 1969; Granovetter, 1973, 1974; McKinlay, 1973; Horwitz, 1977a; Lin, Dayton and Greenwald, 1977; Jones, 1980; Hammer, 1981).

D'Abbs (1982, p.23) suggested three propositions:

- 1 While the maintenance of a sense of identity is dependent on the presence of a small core network, opportunities for developing and changing one's identity will be facilitated to the extent that the core network does not form one dense cluster;
- 2 Access to emotional resources, as the 'stress-buffer' proponents contend, is facilitated by a dense, local network of close ties.
- 3 Access to material goods and services, information and new social contacts is facilitated by a large, heterogeneous, loosely knit extended network. Conversely, dense, kin-dominated networks tend to hinder access to these three kinds of resources.

Finally, several authors have pointed to the folly of research models which treat social support as exogenous to the model. For instance, focussing on the buffering role of support, Shinn, Lehmann and Wong (1984) suggest that '..... (such) models incorporate the effects of social support on stressors and on psychological distress, but typically ignore the influences of stressors, psychological distress, personal characteristics of recipients, and environmental constraints on support' (p.55). They cite evidence that the availability of support is affected by one's level of distress (Paykel, Myers, Dienelt, Klerman, Lindenthal and Pepper, 1969; Bohannon, 1970; Weisman and Worden, 1975; Weiss, 1975; Brown and Harris, 1978; Sontag, 1978; Wortman and Dunkel-Schetter, 1979; Eckenrode and Gore 1981; Gore, 1981; Henderson and Duncan-Jones, 1981; House, 1981; Thoits, 1982a; Patterson and McCubbin, 1983; Sprenkle and Cyrus, 1983); the nature and level of one's distress (Coates and Wortman, 1980; Chesler and Barbarin, 1984; Dunkel-Schetter, 1984; Shumaker and Brownell, 1984); one's personal characteristics and actions (Rabkin, 1970; Beels, 1981); and the physical environment (Festinger, Schachter and Back, 1950; Ittelson, Proshansky and Rivlin, 1970; House, 1981; and Zimring, 1981). Thoits (1982b, p.359) also suggested that one's pre-existing level of distress can affect one's exposure to life events and the availability of social support.

Eckenrode and Gore (1981) also noted the interdependence of stress and support. They suggested that assuming they are mutually independent is fallacious in that: sources of support and stress can come from the same source; perceptions of stress and perceptions of the availability of support are not necessarily independent; and stress and support can be causally interrelated. The first proposition is self-evident. With regard to the second they suggested that stress arises from perceiving that current demands are in excess of one's available resources (McGrath, 1970). On the third proposition, Eckenrode and Gore (1981) drew attention to the notion that many stressors affect not only the focal

individual but other members of that individual's 'support network'. For example, an economic slump in a remote region may deplete the resources available in an individual's support network. Or geographic mobility may dissolve at least part of one's support network or render it inaccessible.

Thus, in the buffering process, the availability and provision of support to a distressed individual is reciprocally related to the distress and stressors, and is also a product of individual and ecological factors. Not only should we consider the support process **per se** but we should also consider the availability of support and how **potential** supports are converted into **actual** supports. This means viewing the stressed individual as an active agent in the process of selecting supports and considering factors which constrain its mobilisation. As identified by Eckenrode and Gore (1981), these can be subjective or objective, located in the distressed individual, in the social network, or in the environment.

Subjective constraints would include such things as the values and beliefs individuals may hold with regard to when others should be called on for help, and who those persons should be. Objective constraints include not only such potential barriers to help as physical distance, but also the level of demands on those persons who are potentially available for support. (Eckenrode and Gore, 1981, pp.53-54).

The present investigation attempts to explore such constraints.

## A COMPREHENSIVE FRAMEWORK OF SOCIAL SUPPORT

### Social Support

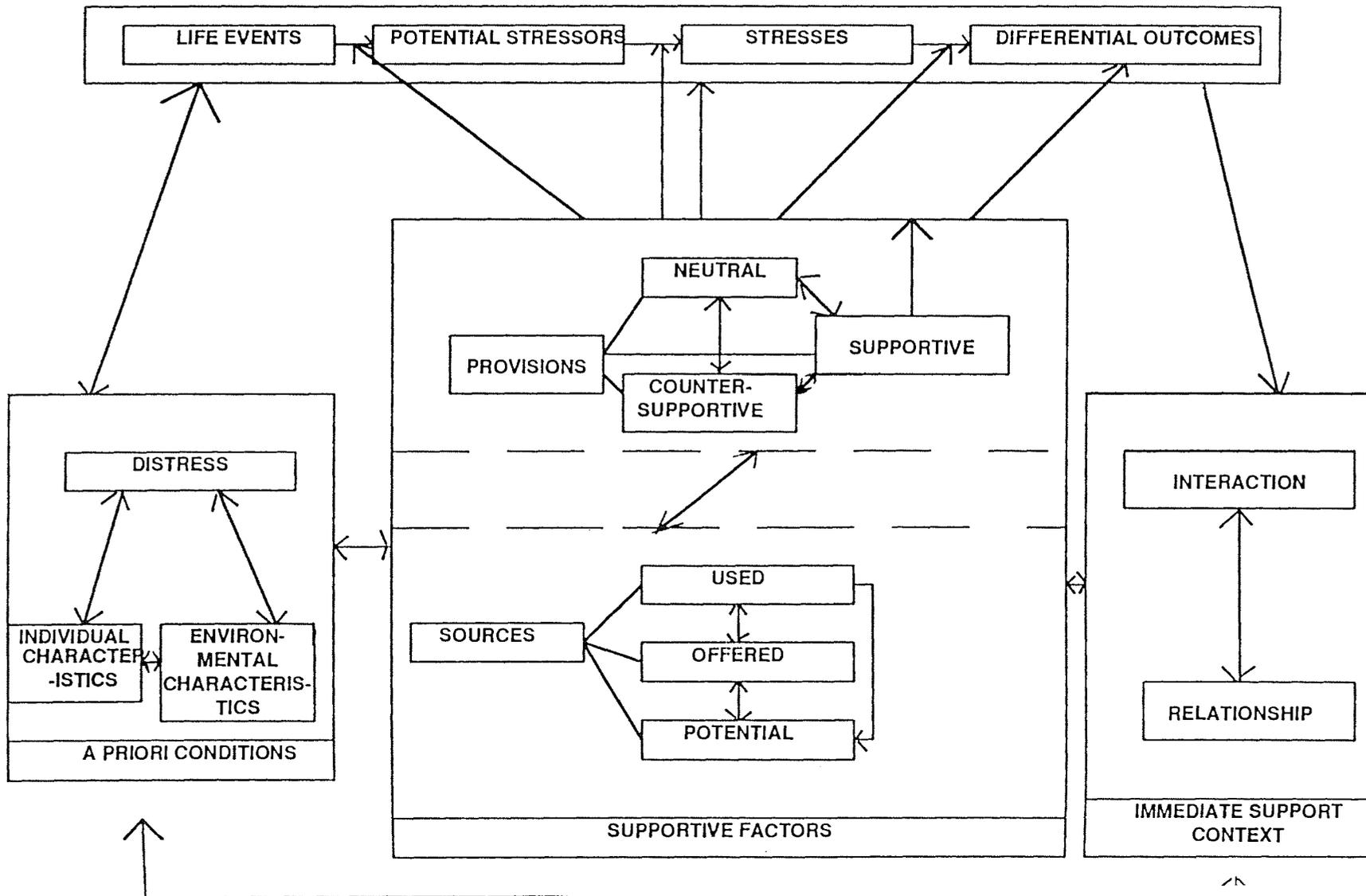
Figure 4.1 summarises and develops the foregoing discussion in the form of a comprehensive framework of social support.

Three sets of conditions exist prior to the onset of the stressor: ego's pre-existing level of distress; ego's characteristics; and physical, social and cultural aspects of their environment. These are causally interconnected.

Supportive sources are distinguished from supportive provisions. Before a 'potentially' supportive source is actually used, the source's assistance must have been offered to and chosen by ego. This is identical to d'Abbs' distinction between 'potential' and 'utilised' support (d'Abbs, 1983, p.7).

Supportive, counter-supportive and/or neutral provisions are transferred directly and/or indirectly by the source to ego. Because we are concerned here only with **supportive** provisions, counter-supportive and neutral provisions are of interest only to the extent that they affect the supportiveness of supportive provisions. As argued earlier, the supportiveness of a particular provision should be assessed according to its effects on ego's well-being. Whether supportive, counter-supportive and/or neutral, other provisions of the same interaction and/or relationship, and all aspects of the same provision affect the supportiveness of a given provision.

FIGURE 4.1: A COMPREHENSIVE FRAMEWORK OF SOCIAL SUPPORT



The context of supportive sources and provisions includes: the social interaction within which the provision is transferred, together with the participants' reactions to it; and the social relationship within which this interaction occurs, its inherent past and present interactions, and the participants' reactions to it. These, too, affect each other. The social network context of the supportive exchange is viewed as a multidimensional component of ego's social environment and hence, as an a priori condition. This is because of the distinction between such conditions and the **immediate social context of the particular supportive provision**. It includes ego's social network per se and ego's 'social support network'.

Following Antonucci and Depner (1982) the distinction is made between 'life events' and 'potential stressors'. The former incorporates the life events in which ego is involved and from which objectively identified potential stressors arise. If experienced by ego as stressful, these will affect one or more aspects of well-being. The question arises as to whether ego's **perception** of a life event as stressful should be differentiated from their experience of stress in reaction to it. The position here is that while a **logical** distinction can be made, the perception of **stressfulness** and the **experience** of stress are presumed by each other. Thus, there seems little value in distinguishing the **perception** of stressfulness from the **experience** of it. This position is also held by Antonucci and Depner (1982) and Gottlieb (1983).

Each of the four overarching components - a priori conditions, supportive factors, the immediate support context and the 'life-events --> potential stressors --> stresses --> differential outcomes' process - are suggested to affect each other.

Because it is the focus of the model, the relationship between supportive factors and the 'life-events --> potential stressors --> stresses --> differential outcomes' process requires more detailed analysis.

First, as suggested earlier, supportive processes can only be fully operationalised by specifying supportive provisions. In a framework of **social support**, provisions which prove to have other effects affect the support process through their effects on the **supportiveness** of supportive provisions.

Following Antonucci and Depner (1982) and Gottlieb (1983), supportive sources and provisions will directly influence: whether or not life events will give rise to particular potential stressors, and a variety of aspects of well-being per se. Following Gottlieb (1983) we can then distinguish between their influence on: the individual's experience of stress in reaction to these potential stressors; and the effects of this stress experience on various aspects of ego's well-being.

In turn, the 'life-events --> potential stressors --> stresses --> differential outcomes' process will influence the ongoing or future operation of supportive factors.

### **Anticipated Social Support**

The overriding aim of the present investigation was to generate information useful in deciding how and where to link formal supportive services with natural and informal supportive networks in remote regions. Consequently, the primary concern is to investigate which provisions, transferred through which kinds of interaction, for which stressors, under which conditions, from whom, residents find supportive for which aspects of well-being.

Three alternative conceptual strategies are available.

Ideally, one would investigate **actual support processes** according to the foregoing model. This concept is unsuitable for the present investigation for several reasons. First, the focus of this study requires that only stressors sufficiently stressful for a person to consider seeking assistance from formal services should be considered. These are relatively infrequent events for most people. This would require either: a cross-sectional study using a large, representative sample; or a relatively long-term, longitudinal study of a smaller sample or population. Any large representative sample of residents of remote regions in Australia would have to include a wide range of geographic regions to be truly representative. This was beyond the resources available for the present investigation. Similarly, a reasonably long-term longitudinal study was not possible because of time limitations. Any undue time limitation on a study with limited resources would restrict it to respondents who suffer more frequent stressors. While appropriate to the investigation of 'at-risk' populations, this would be inappropriate for the present study.

Second, cross-sectional and longitudinal investigation of **actual social support** would require either direct observation or respondent recall. Both have methodological difficulties. Direct observation (with or without the respondent's interpretation of behaviour) requires observation of both support givers and receivers. Given that the present investigation was concerned with residents of sparsely populated regions this would be exceedingly costly, time-consuming and demanding of technical resources for activities such as monitoring telephone conversations. The personal and confidential nature of the stressors being investigated would raise serious difficulties in relation to reliability, validity, access and ethics.

Relying upon respondent recall has its own difficulties. One accepted method for establishing reliability of recalled social network data is respondent consensus (Romney and Weller, 1984). But the intimate and confidential nature of the kinds of problems under investigation restricts us to one or, at best, two recallers. The reliability of such data can be seriously questioned.

Third, a study of **actual** support processes requires observation of the behaviour and interpretations by both the receiver and the provider of support. Again, resources precluded this alternative.

Because of the difficulties involved in usefully investigating **actual social support**, the present study is of **anticipated social support**. This is defined as:

an item of information, a material item or practical service;  
which an individual anticipates would be received from  
another person directly or indirectly, verbally or nonverbally;  
or inferred by their presence; on request and/or as needed  
in response to an envisaged stressful emotional,  
behavioural, social, material and/or physical crisis or long-  
term dependency; and which the individual anticipates  
would have beneficial emotional, behavioural, social, material  
and/or physical effects on them.

An **anticipated social provision** is:

an item of information, a material item or practical service;  
which an individual anticipates would be received from

another person directly or indirectly, verbally or nonverbally;  
or inferred by their presence on request and/or as needed.

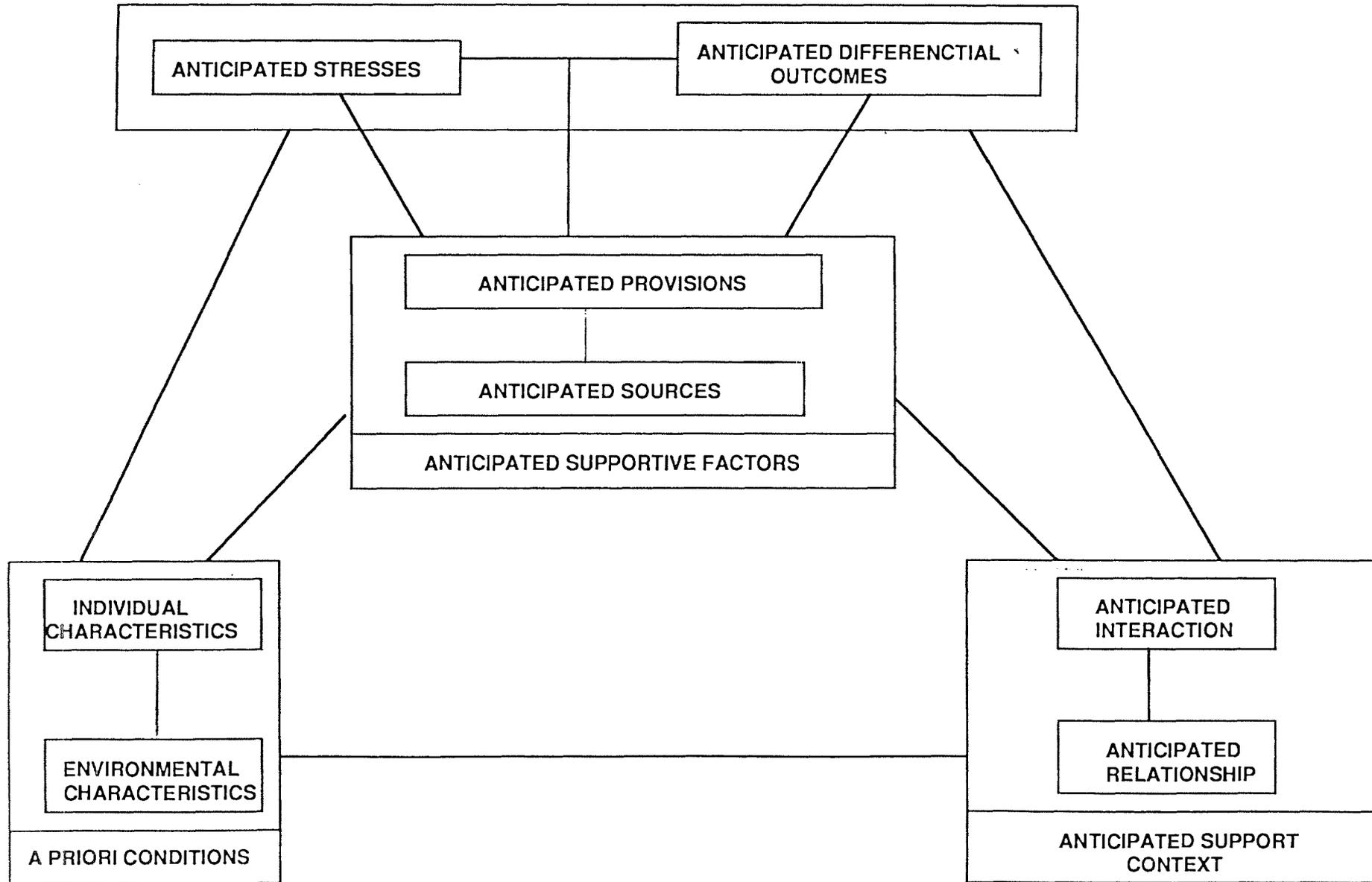
Anticipated social support appears to be similar to 'perceived social support' as defined by Kessler and McLeod (1985) and Wethington and Kessler (1986).

Figure 4.2 identifies the components and component relationships of **anticipated social support**.

'A priori' Conditions' are individual and environmental characteristics. The respondent's level of distress has been excluded from the model for several reasons. First, because our focus is on **anticipated** support, consistency demands that attention be given to anticipated rather than present distress. The validity of the concept of anticipated a priori distress can be questioned because neither the respondent nor the investigator has any current experience or behaviour to refer to. It would also be impossible to disentangle anticipated a priori distress from anticipated stress associated with the envisaged stressful life event.

Reliability demands that anticipated stresses be operationalised according to a particular point of time, preferably the present. Consequently, individual and environmental characteristics are identified as those existing at the time of interview.

FIGURE 4.2: A FRAMEWORK OF ANTICIPATED SOCIAL SUPPORT



This temporal requirement also makes directional causal relationships virtually meaningless. This is because causality requires temporal sequencing. Thus, we are restricted to investigating non-directional associations between components only. For instance, it is meaningless to suggest that **anticipating** receiving a particular provision from a given source causes the anticipation that the provision would be supportive of some particular aspect of ego's well-being. But this in no way diminishes the importance and practical value of knowing that in the event of a given stressor occurring, ego anticipates receiving a particular provision from the particular source and that this is anticipated to be supportive. For service provision, it implies that we stand a good chance of supporting a person in a stressful situation if we can ensure that the anticipated source either has the provision or knows where the distressed person can obtain it.

The 'anticipated support context' includes the two components 'anticipated relationship' and 'anticipated interaction', together with their relationship. They are hypothesised to be related with 'a priori conditions', 'anticipated supportive factors', 'anticipated stresses' and 'anticipated differential outcomes'.

'Anticipated supportive factors' are restricted to two: 'anticipated sources'; and 'anticipated provisions'. They too, are hypothesised to be related with each other. Because they refer to **actual** rather than **anticipated** support processes, 'potential', 'offered' and 'used' sources are irrelevant. However, there is some question as to whether counter-supportive and neutral provisions are relevant to **anticipated social support**. It would seem that data based on such detailed imagination is likely to be unreliable. Moreover, this investigation concerns how to help support sources to be supportive, that is, how to help them do or provide the things that receivers need. Thus while not entirely irrelevant, counter-supportive and neutral provisions are secondary issues.

The model includes 'anticipated stresses' and 'anticipated differential outcomes'. Because all components of a model of anticipated social support must inevitably rely upon ego's perception, **actual** life events and **potential** stressors are irrelevant. This is important in the design of the investigation because only events which are anticipated by the given respondent to be stressful can be included in the analysis.

### SOCIAL SUPPORT AND SOCIAL NETWORKS

A major contribution to the investigation of social support has been the study of personal social networks, their structure and processes (Barnes, 1954, 1972; Bott, 1957, 1971; Mitchell, 1969; Fischer, 1971, 1982; Boissevain and Mitchell, 1973; Laumann, 1973; Boissevain, 1974; Laumann and Pappi, 1976; Fischer, Jackson, Stueve, Gerson, Jones and Baldassare 1977; Leinhardt, 1977; Holland and Leinhardt, 1979; Burt, 1980, 1982; Knoke and Kuklinski, 1982; Marsden and Lin, 1982; Burt and Minor, 1983).

At once a connection between micro and macro level social theory as well as an epistemic link between abstract concepts and empirical research, network models offer a powerful framework for describing social differentiation in terms of relational patterns among actors in a system (Burt, 1980, p.79).

Network analysis has provided innumerable investigators with a conceptual tool which is useful for the study of the interactions through which supportive resources are provided, and the social contexts from which they derive (for example, Bott, 1957, 1971; Wellman, Craven, Whitaker, Stevens, Shorter, Du Toit and Bakker, 1973; Gottlieb, 1975; Tolsdorf,

1976; Fischer, Jackson, Stueve, Gerson, Jones and Baldassare, 1977; Horwitz, 1977a and b; Hammer, Makiesky-Barrow and Gutwirth, 1978; Berkman and Syme, 1979; Lin, Dean and Ensel, 1979a and b; Lin, Simeone, Ensel and Kuo, 1979; Wellman, 1979; Wellman and Leighton, 1979; Hirsch 1980, 1981; Gerstel and Riessman, 1981; Wellman, 1981; Wilcox, 1981a; Fischer, 1982; Burda, Vaux and Schill, 1984; Heller and Mansbach, 1984).

While 'network analyses are more often descriptive than predictive' (Burt, 1980, p.79) network theories do exist (see, for example, Festinger, Schachter and Back, 1950; Granovetter, 1973, 1974; Killworth and Bernard, 1976; Laumann and Pappi, 1976; Hunter, 1978; Burt, 1980; ). Network analysis is used in the present investigation primarily as a descriptive conceptual tool.

Network analysis has several strengths, most of which stem from its direct focus on interaction per se rather than on individuals and their characteristics, and from its use of relational rather than categorical analysis (Wellman, 1981, p.178). It eschews those categorical strategies which investigate 'social structure' according to the relationships between the attributes of individual actors. By focussing on the structural embeddedness of individuals, network analysts have applied genuinely 'relational ways of defining, describing and analysing structural data' (Wellman, 1981, p.179).

From this perspective social structure has no clear, discrete boundaries or subdivisions. Thus, there is no conceptual need to reify a relational phenomenon such as a network cluster into a discrete structure such as a 'corporate group'. Realistically, however, most network research will inevitably be focussed on a particular kind of network, or on a more or less artificially defined social entity. For example, while there is no logical necessity to define a certain collection of people as a 'nuclear family', clearly bounded and separated

from its environment, the network analyst investigating nuclear families must define the phenomenon according to a priori conceptual boundaries. Even here, however, they are well placed to put these to the empirical test and, on this basis, to revise the definition and conduct the analysis accordingly.

One major advantage of not being restricted to one's conceptual boundaries is that network analysis can be used to investigate structural phenomena which traverse what are usually regarded as cultural or social boundaries (Wellman, 1981, p.175).

For the most part, network concepts can be readily operationalised. By and large, network analysis is based on interaction and individuals as the units of observation and analysis. There are two exceptions to this. First, analysis of 'interactional strands' relies upon the conceptual differentiation of different kinds of relations within a given interactional process which, as noted by Burt (1982), are not so clearly separate in reality. Some of the analyses in the present investigation were of this kind. Second, we can analyse links between social units such as families, marriages and corporations (for example, Laumann and Pappi, 1976). Like structure-function analyses, network analysis can assume the entity of these units (Laumann and Pappi, 1976, pp.18-19).

But while the investigation of discrete strands has its difficulties, network analysis is equipped to recognise the intuitive reality of conceptually independent strands in the same interaction or relationship (Burt, 1982). This allows the analyst to investigate the empirical relationships between these different strands. But this again presents a potential hazard: decomposing ties into narrower strands runs the danger of losing sight of the tie itself. After all, 'overall ties link persons and not specific strands' (Wellman, 1981, p.185). At least some relationships and interactions are experienced and responded to by

the participants as wholes, not as sets of discrete strands. Thus, the tie itself should be included as a variable in its own right.

The other major weaknesses of network analysis are methodological. Where we rely strictly upon direct observation of interaction, collection of network data is very time-consuming and expensive. The more efficient strategy is to rely upon respondent self-report, the obvious reliability problems of which are now being addressed with some success by researchers such as Romney and Weller (1984). Similarly, ways to reduce the excessive demands on respondent time and patience of self-report interviewing strategies are now being successfully developed (Burt, 1982). Moreover, network data are highly sensitive to instrumentation and interview strategies

Finally, the analysis of data from large-scale samples is relatively complex, time-consuming and expensive (Burt, 1982).

## DEFINITIONS

Despite early disagreements, Mitchell's definition now seems to be generally accepted:

A social network (is) a specific set of linkages among a defined set of persons, with the additional property that the characteristics of these linkages as a whole may be used to interpret the social behaviour of the persons involved (Mitchell, 1969, p.2).

This definition focusses attention on **both** linkages and the structure of linkage sets.

Fischer continues:

Social actors can be defined as individuals, roles ....., or groups ..... depending on the research question. Since groups consist of networks, links among groups form a higher level of network. A link is the total set of relations between any two actors - that is, the ways in which they are interdependent ....., Since everyone is ultimately related, directly or indirectly, to everyone else, we must 'specify' which links we are interested in for any given network analysis. (Fischer, 1977, p.33).

This is usually done according to one's research aims by specifying the relational content of interest. Fischer's (1977, p.35) suggestion of categorising relations by the joint activities of the two interactants has been adopted in the present study.

This approach seems advantageous for research in that it allows designation of specific behaviours of interest. Its drawbacks as an approach to developing a general scheme include the problem of determining latent activities and more important, the difficulty of formulating a useful typology of all interactional activities. (Fischer, 1977, p.35).

It is adopted here for three reasons. First, despite Mitchell's (1973) threefold classification of relational content - normative content, communication and exchange, there are no established sets of reasonably universal, higher order categories. Second, in a study such as this with immediate, concrete, service provision aims the direct utility of higher order classificatory schemes is of questionable value. And third, as will be seen in Chapter

5, there is an abundance of taxonomies for classifying potentially supportive resources which are well suited to the substantive aims of the present investigation.

A social network may be egocentric or sociocentric. 'An egocentric network is defined with respect to a particular actor and includes only those people who are actually linked to the actor in specified ways' (Fisher, 1977, p.34). This link may be direct or indirect. A direct link involves direct interaction between ego and alter, while in an indirect link alter is related to ego through intermediate links with other alters who are in direct interaction with alter. In a sociocentric network 'a set of persons is distinguished by a shared characteristic or type of relation' (Fisher, 1977, p.34). Sociocentric network analysis is of this set of persons together with their direct and indirect links.

The present investigation focusses exclusively on egocentric social networks, with individuals as the focus. Alters are either individuals, social units or positions within these. Links are connections between the focal individual and another individual, social unit or position. Only direct links were analysed.

## **SOCIAL SUPPORT SYSTEMS**

While it is often used in the literature (for example, Caplan, 1974, p.19; Thoits, 1982a, p.148) the term 'support system' is not used in the present investigation for the reasons outlined by Wellman (1981).

- 1 It implies that one's sources of support are fairly stable through time and across various kinds of adversity.

- 2 It implies that supportive sources, interactions, relationships and provisions do not have neutral or counter-supportive effects on the receiver.
- 3 It assumes that those who can, would, or may provide social support to a person form an integrated 'system' with characteristics usually associated with systems.
- 4 It implies that the relationships between the person's supporters are harmonious and cooperative, at least when it comes to that person's interests.
- 5 It implies that 'solidary systems are more desirable' (Wellman, 1981, p.173).

Disregarding this concept for the purposes of the present investigation is consistent with the central theses of this chapter: only social resources and the means through which they are provided exist; and other aspects of an otherwise supportive interaction, relationship or source can well be countersupportive and/or neutral in their effects.

Wellman (1981) and Gottlieb (1983) both express the same view:

..... there is no such thing as a support system; rather, individuals are embedded in a social network composed of close associates who are important in the individual's affective life and who generate both support and stress at different times and in response to different life demands. Social support arises from interaction in this social field; people's transactions with significant others produce both supportive and conflictual effects. (Gottlieb, 1983, p.29).

The social network should not be viewed exclusively as a support system that is unconditionally helpful to its members and always empathic. While close associates can often be counted on to provide help in emergencies and to offer a psychological sense of community, they also generate conflict and impose demands. Researchers must therefore guard against a romantic view of social support and adopt measures that examine the overall balance of sustaining and discordant influences stemming from social interactions. (Gottlieb, 1983, p.64).

Wellman concluded that:

..... a support system is an analytically constricted social network which defines the network according to supportive ties and assumes that they only can form a single, integrated structure (Wellman, 1981, p.173).

#### **CONTRIBUTIONS OF SOCIAL NETWORK ANALYSIS TO THE INVESTIGATION OF SOCIAL SUPPORT**

The advantages of investigating social support from within a social network perspective are many.

These advantages coincide with and serve the conceptualisation of social support offered in this chapter. Network analysis provides a way of 'examining the total social field within which the individual is embedded' (Turner, 1983, p.113). Not only is support per se

investigated, but so too is 'the capacity or potential of social environments for providing support' (Turner, 1983, p.113). Network analysis also emphasises 'the asymmetric, multifaceted nature of ties and the importance of structural patterns. By treating the content of these ties as flows of resources, it transforms the study of support into the study of supportive resources, and it links the allocation of these resources to large-scale social phenomena' (Wellman, 1981, p.179).

As Wellman has noted, investigating supportive ties in isolation from their social contexts distorts reality in two ways: 'it distorts the content of ties by narrowing them to their supportive elements' (Wellman, 1981, p.179); and 'it distorts the structure of social networks by wrenching these (supportive) ties out of the larger networks in which they are embedded and which give them meaning' (Wellman, 1981, p.179).

Despite this, many researchers have treated social support in isolation, some by assuming that all network ties are supportive, and others by deliberately focussing on supportive ties though recognising that other kinds of ties exist. The former lose information and, hence, analytic power because the concept of social network is at best only a crude approximation to that of social support. The latter forego the opportunity to investigate: the circumstances under which a tie will or will not provide support; what the other effects of a supportive tie might be; effects of the supported individual on their social environment; other neutral and counter-supportive effects on the supported individual of their environment; changes in ties and their content over time; and the differential utilisation by a person of different support sources and resources in response to different kinds of life stresses (Wellman, 1981, p.180).

Network analysis makes it possible to investigate these aspects of the support process. It also makes several other contributions to the study of social support.

- 1 It frees the investigator from the assumption that support is only provided by corporate groups, solidary 'support systems' and incumbents of certain social categories such as kin, friends and formal service providers.
- 2 It contextualises social support, enabling analysis of how aspects of network composition and structure, interactional processes and relationship characteristics affect the flow of supportive resources to a person, their nature and their quality.
- 3 It permits analysis of involuntary ties, their supportiveness, their role in providing access to otherwise inaccessible resources (Granovetter's (1973) 'weak links'), and their effects on a person and other people in their network.
- 4 It links support to wider large scale social structures and patterns such as population density, formal service provision, economic processes, and bureaucratic processes.
- 5 More complete and precise information is obtained by treating support as a set of variables: 'each tie may contain a different package of such resources as emotional help, personal service, material assistance, financial aid, social brokerage, and empathetic understanding' (Wellman, 1981, pp.180-93). Network analysis permits detailed study of each kind of supportive provision, their interrelationships and their respective associations with contextual variables.

In conclusion, though, while network analysis is an indispensable component in the investigation of social support, it is not sufficient in itself. It assists in completing our theoretical picture, and practical intervention should be based on knowledge about the contexts within which support is and is not likely to arise, how, and under which conditions. But it remains what Turner calls 'a proxy measure of social support'.

..... network analysis is properly concerned with the prediction of support and predictive factors should not be confused with the phenomenon being predicted. To estimate the potential of social environments for, in Gottlieb's terms, 'radiating supportive functions to its members' is to predict level of social support, which surely must be measured on other grounds. (Turner, 1983, p.113).

#### **INTEGRATING NETWORK ANALYSIS INTO THE MODELS OF ACTUAL AND ANTICIPATED SOCIAL SUPPORT**

Models of social support and anticipated social support have been presented. These can now be couched within a social network perspective.

One set of a priori environmental characteristics is an individual's personal social network. This is really a 'network of networks' because a different personal network can be constructed for each relational content. Some of the person's sources of supportive provisions will probably be drawn from this total network. Collectively, these can be regarded as a support network, bearing in mind that it, too, is a 'network of networks', each network being defined according to the (supportive) relational content. Nor should we assume that the total support network or any partial network has system characteristics.

For two reasons, a person's support sources will not be drawn entirely from their total social network. First, most strategies for identifying personal social networks delimit them according to one or more criteria. Methodologically, it is usually impossible and unnecessary to include **all** of a person's associates, no matter how infrequent, fleeting, or

superficial their contacts with them might be. Consequently, it is entirely possible that some of a person's support sources will not be included in their social network according to the criteria upon which it is constructed. Thus, for example, although a resident may not include the local school teacher in their usual social network, they may periodically turn to them for advice about a child's educational problems. Second, most people in modern western society would include formal services and official positions within organisations amongst their supports as well as other individuals.

This is even more likely for a person's anticipated support sources. Thus, for example, though a person may never have had direct or even indirect contact with a local politician, this does not necessarily preclude them from identifying the politician as an anticipated support for certain kinds of problems.

Thus, a person's social and support networks should be kept conceptually independent, and their relationship an empirical matter.

A person's social and support networks can be described according to structural, compositional and relational variables. Structural variables describe linking patterns within the network such as density, compositional variables the relative frequency of characteristics such as female gender among alters, and relational variables the relative frequency of relationship characteristics in the network such as intimate relationships or of interactional characteristics such as face-to-face interaction.

It is now possible to include a person's total and partial social and support networks in our comprehensive model of social support. The reader is referred to Figure 4.1 for presentation of the interrelationships of these variable sets with the others contained in

the general model. Because it is the focus of the present investigation more detailed attention will be paid to anticipated social support (see Figure 4.2).

Amongst a person's a priori environmental characteristics are their total social network and partial social networks, the latter being differentiated according to relational content. Either kind of network can be described according to structural, compositional and relational variables. Some of a person's anticipated support sources are likely to be drawn from these networks.

Characteristics of a person's social networks and partial social networks are influenced by and, sometimes, may influence their personal and environmental characteristics. The composition and structure of their social networks can influence the nature of their anticipated support sources, anticipated support networks and anticipated provisions, relationships, interactions, stresses and differential outcomes. Again, the reverse is also often the case. A person's total and partial anticipated support networks are also causally interrelated with their personal characteristics and the nature of their environment, this relationship being sometimes reciprocal and sometimes nonreciprocal.

Moreover, while causality cannot be logically attributed to associations between anticipated phenomena, characteristics of a person's anticipated support networks may be associated with each other, and with their anticipated support sources, provisions, relationships, interactions, stresses and differential outcomes. Thus, for example, the fact that a person's anticipated support network is dense may well entail the anticipation of receiving largely emotional provisions through intimate relationships.

As noted earlier, complete social network analysis would also include investigation of counter-supportive and neutral resources provided in otherwise supportive relationships

and interactions. Network analysis of anticipated social support excludes these factors because counter-supportive and neutral provisions cannot be realistically anticipated or investigated. Furthermore, investigation of these concepts was not central to the present study because its overriding aim was to determine how to help support sources to be more supportive, how to help them do or provide the things that receivers need.

## CHAPTER 5: DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The aim of this investigation was to describe the anticipated supports of people living in non-Aboriginal and partly Aboriginal nuclear families in small remote towns in Far North Queensland. Questions addressed concern which kinds of assistance would be sought by whom, from where, in response to which kinds of personal and family problems, why, and the extent to which supports are expected to contribute toward solving these problems.

Data were collected through individual and family interviews with members of non-Aboriginal and partly Aboriginal nuclear families in three small, remote Far North Queensland towns during both the Dry and Wet seasons.

### POPULATION

#### TOWNS

##### Location

Mainland North Queensland is generally regarded as comprising the Northern, North-West and Far North Statistical Divisions as defined by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (Map 1.1).

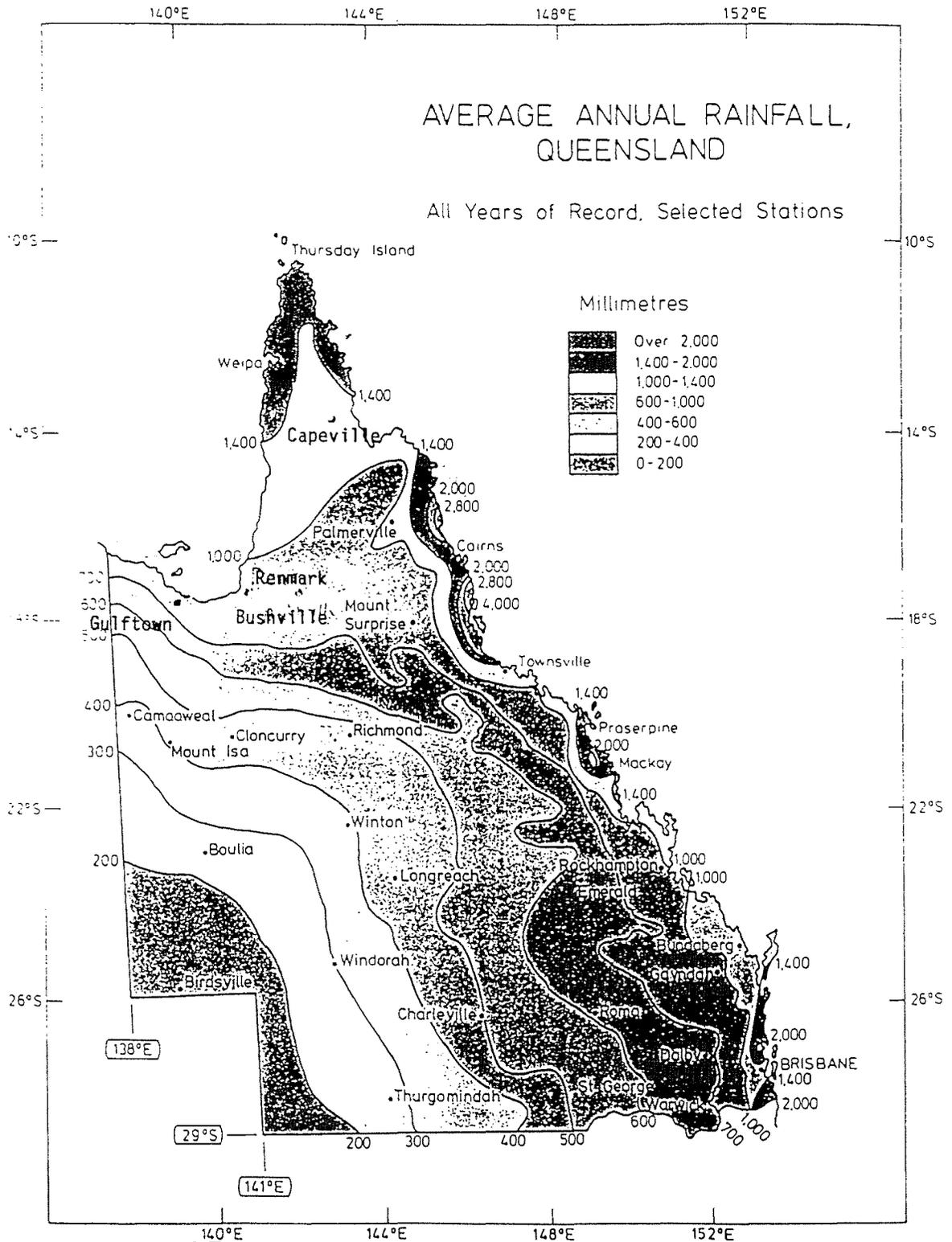
Many remote regions in northern and other parts of Australia, and in other countries such as Canada, are strongly affected by climate to the extent that they can be physically isolated for two to four months each year. In far northern Australia this occurs between November and April during the monsoonal Wet season. Because seasonality was hypothesised to affect social support, data were collected during both

the Wet and Dry seasons and settlements subject to reliable and similar Wet seasons were selected for study.

The unpredictability of the Wet season in the southern regions of North Queensland, together with time constraints, meant that its occurrence in the research towns had to be virtually assured for the year in which Wet season data were to be collected. Consequently, settlements were drawn only from the most northern parts of the region. Average annual rainfall and average summer rainfall are shown in Maps 5.1 and 5.2 respectively. Perhaps more useful, though, are the seasonal rainfall zones and annual rainfall variabilities shown in Maps 5.3 and 5.4 respectively. While the match is not precise, in North Queensland areas with an average rainfall of at least 700mm, an average summer rainfall of at least 600mm, and 'moderate' or 'high' rainfall variability are approximately the same. These also approximately coincide with the 'summer rainfall zone' of 650-1200mm shown in Map 5.2. Research settlements were selected from where these regions overlap.

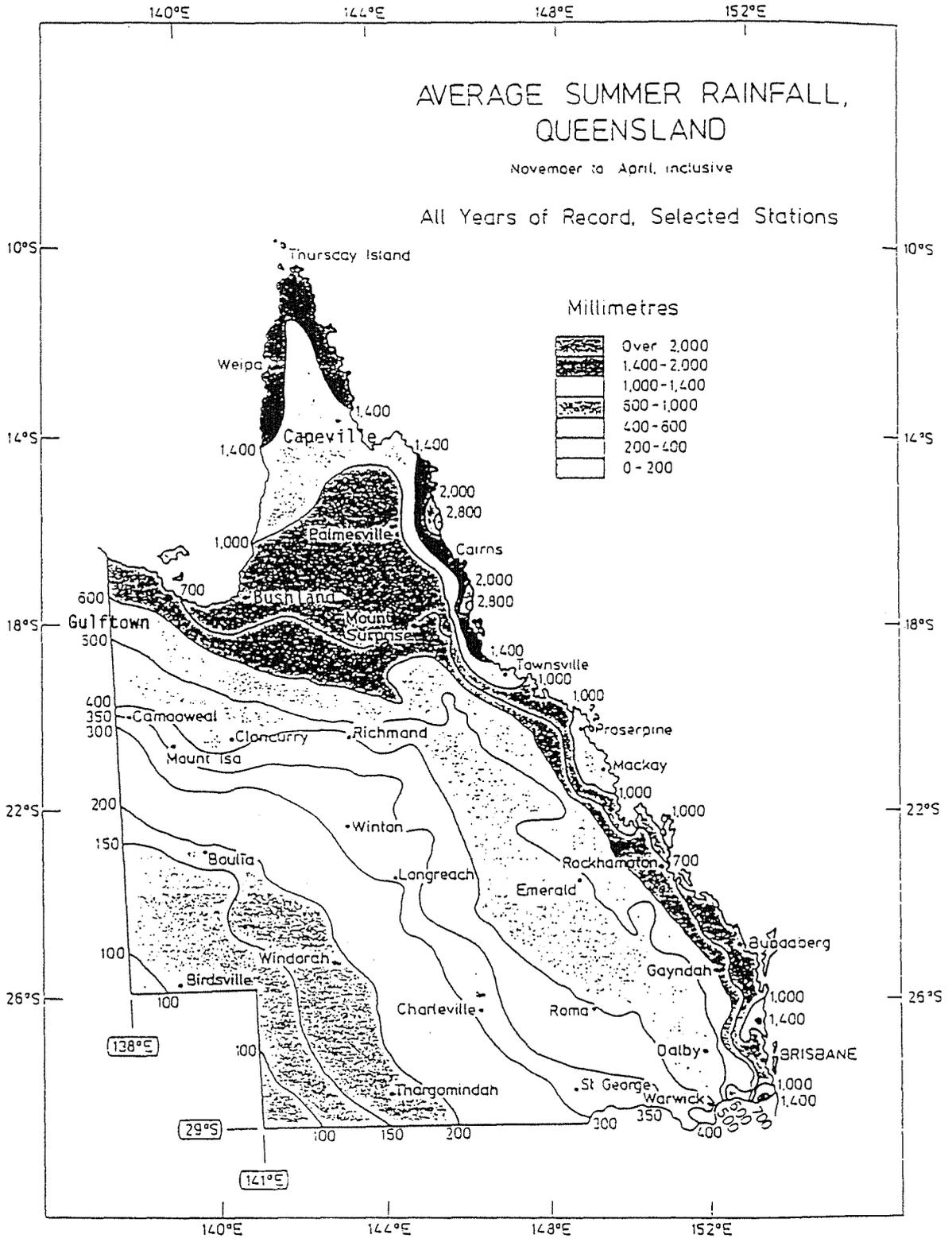
This also helped to ensure the similarity of settlements because the regions chosen were to a large extent based on the beef cattle industry (Map 5.5). Settlements were selected for their similarity because lack of resources precluded investigation of a sufficient number of dissimilar remote settlements in dissimilar regions to permit meaningful comparison.

MAP 5.1: AVERAGE ANNUAL RAINFALL IN QUEENSLAND



From: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Queensland Office (1986), Queensland Yearbook, 1986, No.46, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Queensland Office, Brisbane, facing p.33.

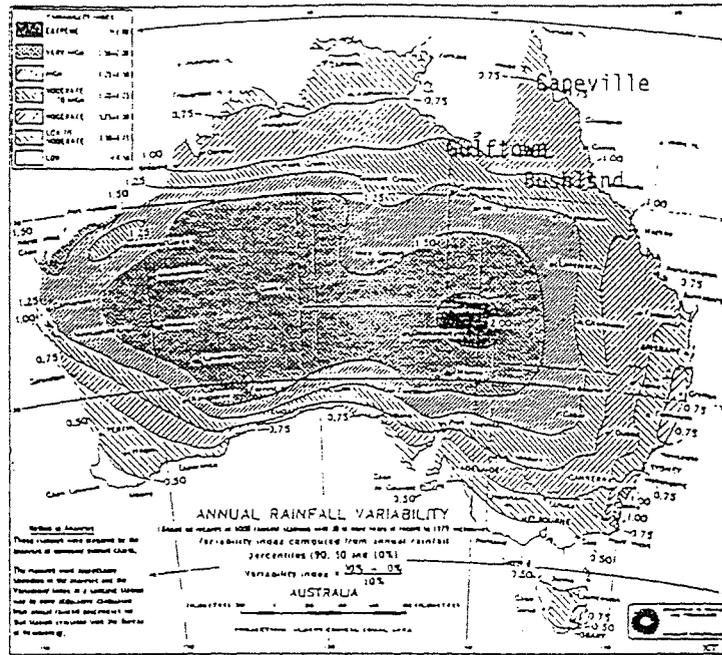
MAP 5.2: AVERAGE SUMMER RAINFALL IN QUEENSLAND



From: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Queensland Office (1986), Queensland Yearbook, 1986, No.46, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Queensland Office, Brisbane, facing p. 32.

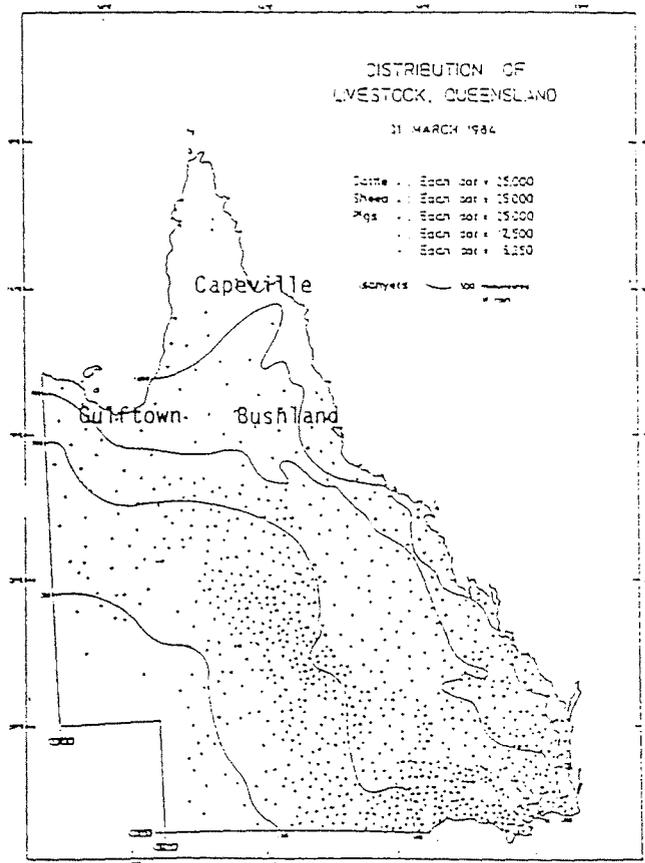


MAP 5.4: ANNUAL RAINFALL VARIABILITY



From: Australian Bureau of Statistics (1986), Yearbook Australia, (1986), Yearbook Australia, 1986, No. 70, ABS, Canberra p.35.

MAP 5.5: DISTRIBUTION OF LIVESTOCK THROUGHOUT QUEENSLAND



From: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Queensland Office (1986), Queensland Yearbook, 1986, No.46, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Queensland Office, Brisbane, facing p. 288.

**Remoteness**

Remoteness is usually defined by distance and/or relative accessibility to larger population centres, population sparseness, and/or difficulties in providing essential services. According to arguments developed in Chapter 3, these regions are the most difficult to provide with personal support services and may be most suited to strategies which link formal services with non-formal supports.

Australian regions most distant from larger population centres have been mapped by Faulkner and French (1983) who plotted Australia's 'remotest half' using an index of cumulated, standardised distances to the nearest town in each of six categories of population size (Map 2.3). Holmes (1985) mapped Australian regions with the least dense populations (Map 2.2), distinguishing regions with population densities of 8-64km<sup>2</sup> from those with 64km<sup>2</sup> or more per person. As noted in Chapter 2, he suggested that servicing the more sparsely populated regions is more difficult because of the distances involved and because of the lack of nucleated and/or linear settlement patterns (Holmes, 1985).

In the research location, the most remote areas are virtually the same whether they are defined by distance or population density. The three research towns are in the remotest half of Australia.

**Settlement Selection**

Because of limited resources a small number of similar rather than diverse settlements were chosen. This was to provide the opportunity for cautious generalisation to other similar communities, should results for the research towns prove to be similar. A heterogeneous sample, on the other hand, would have been too small to know whether differences between towns were due to the occurrence of chance characteristics in small populations. This would have made even cautious generalisation impossible.

Consequently, settlements had to be drawn from the same broad region. Some relevant dimensions for sampling were identified. Because literature isolating these appears to be lacking (though see, for example, Abramson, 1979, and Holmes, 1985) a series of preliminary interviews were conducted throughout North Queensland partly to establish relevant sampling dimensions (Cheers, 1985; Walder, 1986). These were with 33 people who had lived in remote settlements for substantial periods of time and/or had been involved in providing formal services to them.

Nine sampling dimensions were identified from these interviews and the available literature:

- 1 Remoteness;
- 2 The reasonably reliable annual occurrence of a Wet season;
- 3 Population dispersion, for example Holmes' (1985) nucleated versus dispersed settlement patterns;
- 4 Population size (also noted by Abramson, 1979);
- 5 Settlement permanence, for example, long established service towns compared with temporary local government road maintenance camps;
- 6 Population turnover;
- 7 Main industry base, for example, mining, beef cattle, sheep, dairy, crops or tourism;

- 8 Employment pattern, for example, self-employment compared with paid employment;
- 9 Ethnic composition - in the research location the main distinction is between Aboriginal communities, mostly non-Aboriginal settlements, and those with significant Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations.

As discussed earlier, settlements were drawn from the remotest half of Australia, areas with clear access problems to larger regional service centres, and regions subject to a reliable annual Wet season.

Nucleated rather than dispersed settlements were sampled because residents could be more easily identified and accessed given limited resources. Relatively impermanent settlements, and those with rapid population turnover were rejected because of the need to collect data on the same population at two points in time.

Small settlements were chosen for three reasons. First, in addition to the questions focussed on in this report, the investigator was also interested in the relationship between social network density and family boundary strength. Small remote settlements provide a natural case of high network density. Second, these kinds of settlements also provide a rather extreme test of the assumption frequently made in the literature that local key helpers are important sources of personal support in rural areas. Third, small settlements are typical of remote northern Australia.

Given the small number of settlements which could be surveyed, each would have to be large enough to ensure a sufficient number of resident families for results to be meaningful. This ruled out cattle stations, small mining communities and several other types of tiny settlements. Consequently, only towns with non-Aboriginal populations of 80 to 200 were considered.

Single industry settlements were not included. In the region in question these are either tourist centres, mining towns, or cattle stations. Tourist centres were rejected because of the investigator's interests and cattle stations because they were too small. The latter would also probably have been difficult to access (Holmes, 1985, p.19; Walder, 1986) and extremely difficult to sample according to variables important in this investigation. Single company mining towns were rejected because they have been well served by behavioural scientists in recent years. Based on an earlier preliminary study (Cheers, 1985) and other information (Walder, 1986), smaller mining settlements comprising private miners appear to have rapid population turnover, and residents are usually highly interrelated through kinship. As with cattle stations, they are too small to be considered and they appear to have too little in common to provide a single research population.

Only towns with a mix of public servants and private entrepreneurs were included because virtually all towns in northern Australia have this mix.

Aboriginal settlements were excluded because the researcher lacks detailed understanding of Aboriginal culture and because these were already being investigated in North Queensland by researchers with relevant knowledge and expertise.

Consequently, established service towns were sampled. In the region in question, these can be virtually entirely non-Aboriginal or can include both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal residents. Towns with significant Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations were investigated because there are probably more of these in remote northern Australia than those which lack a significant Aboriginal group.

For several reasons the decision was made to investigate only the non-Aboriginal populations. First, while some towns with both populations are reasonably socially integrated others have two fairly distinct communities. In view of the lack of research on community integration in service towns in this region it seemed to be most reasonable and empirically safest in the first instance to assume that support processes, service needs, and the most effective service structures would be different for each population. Second, human services, provisions, and policies usually distinguish between the two populations. Third, given the major cultural differences involved, an entirely different design and methodology would have been required for each population. Thus, two studies would have been necessary. This was not possible given the scope of, and limited resources available for this study. Aboriginal populations were excluded for the same reasons as were entirely Aboriginal communities.

### **The Towns**

Within the region, only Gulftown, Capeville and Bushland satisfied all of the foregoing conditions (Map 1.1). All are nucleated settlements within the region in question. They are small established towns with reasonably stable populations, and all are based on the beef cattle industry, supplemented with a little tourism. Each has significant Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations and substantial proportions of public servants and private entrepreneurs in their populations.

The Faulkner and French (1983) definition of remoteness is inadequate for our present purposes in that it is based solely on distance. It does not specifically consider distance from regional service centres, difficulty in travelling to other centres, or the effects of the Wet season.

Gulftown and Capeville are remote on all counts. By road, **Gulftown** is 230km from Renmark to the east and 397km from Cloncurry to the south. The nearest regional

service centre is Mt Isa, 514km away. The entire road to Renmark and the first 150km to Cloncurry and Mt Isa require a four-wheel drive vehicle, and involve slow, difficult and uncomfortable roads which are impassable for long periods during the Wet season. Road travel is expensive because of the distances involved and the wear and tear on vehicles. There is no rail service, though at the time of data collection, the air service was reliable and on a twice per week basis.

By road, **Capeville** is 382km from Cooktown to the south-east, 487km from Mareeba to the south and 245km from Weipa to the north-west. The nearest regional service centre is Cairns, 551km away. Road travel is expensive, requires a four-wheel drive vehicle and is over slow, difficult and uncomfortable roads often rendered impassable by monsoonal rains. Capeville residents are isolated by road from all other towns during every Wet season. Access by air can also often be impossible because Capeville's airstrip is 30km and two rivers away from the township. Capeville does not have a rail service.

While **Bushland** is in Australia's remotest half by virtue of sheer distance, it is not as remote as Gulftown or Capeville in other ways. By road, it is 151km from Renmark and 148km from Kingston. The regional service centre, Cairns, is 562km away via Kingston. Renmark, Kingston and Cairns are accessible over well maintained, though not all-weather roads which are negotiable with only a little difficulty by conventional vehicles. These can be impassable during Wet seasons, though infrequently. There is also a rail link to Renmark, though this is used almost exclusively by tourists.

Gulftown, Capeville and Bushland are remote by any standards.

**Gulftown** is a service town, a 'watering hole' for tourists and people in the wider region, and a seat of local government. It also has a Telecom maintenance facility. Until several years ago Gulftown was a base for trawlers fishing the Gulf and Peninsular

waters. All but one of these moved to Karumba 250km away when the Queensland Government moved its fishing licensing office. Throughout its history, Gulftown has been a service town, a fishing town and a local government administration centre. At the time of interviews, very few non-Aboriginal residents had lived in Gulftown for more than 10 years, though this was clearly not the case for the Aboriginal population.

Gulftown is located on a small salt water river about 30km from the coast in totally flat terrain with extremely sparse vegetation. Sand and mud flats lie between the town and the coast. In heavy Wet seasons and when tides are unusually high, the sea can come to within a few hundred metres of the town. To the casual observer Gulftown appears to be a small, traditional, rugged, extremely remote and isolated town with a slightly 'bureaucratic' tinge. It is hot and humid all year round; dry, dusty and windy from May to October; and Wet and almost unbearably hot and humid from November to April. Because of its small permanent place in the pioneer phase of white Australian history, its location and excellent fishing Gulftown receives a small but steady stream of tourists throughout the Dry season. It is fairly well serviced for a small remote town, but extremely geographically isolated. Residents work in local, state and federal government departments, small private commercial enterprises or the fishing industry. There are two beef cattle properties between 20km and 30km from town, though one of these is better known as a fishing resort.

**Capeville** was founded about a hundred years ago. Like Gulftown, it is now primarily a service town, a 'watering hole' for tourists and people in the region and a Telecom maintenance centre. However, it is not a seat of local government, this being Cooktown, 382km away. Capeville is a popular one to three night resting place for tourists and others travelling the Peninsular Developmental Road. For periods throughout its history, Capeville has been a successful mining and timber town, though these industries have not operated for the last few decades. At the time of interviews a small mining exploration concern was conducting local feasibility studies

for a major international company. Residents work in small commercial enterprises, state and federal government departments, the beef cattle industry or, more recently, with the mining exploration company. There are several very large beef cattle properties in the region, one on the edge of town.

Capeville is situated on the intersection of two rivers in a scenic, well vegetated location completely surrounded by hills. It is about 50km from the coast. Tourists see the town as a pretty oasis, a small patch of civilisation in an extremely remote and forbidding area. Capeville has the atmosphere of, and is a stable, economically strong, long established town with a solid core of residents who can trace their history in the region through several generations. It is hot and humid throughout the year, but especially from November to April.

Like Gulftown, **Bushland** is a seat of local government. It, too, is a service town for the beef cattle industry, a 'watering hole' for people in the region, and a popular resting place for a small steady stream of tourists throughout the Dry season. Bushland started as a large mining town late last century, at one time having a population in the tens of thousands. Mining has also been a major industry at other points throughout the town's history, though never continuously for a long period. At the time of Dry season interviews, a major international mining company was conducting feasibility studies locally. When the investigator returned six months later to conduct Wet season interviews a full-scale mining operation had commenced about 10km from town. Several residents had secured employment with the company and around 20 recently arrived workers were living in town. The latter were living close together in their own community in and around the town's caravan park. However, most mine employees were living in a separate community at the self-contained mine site. None of the recently arrived mining employees had been in town for the three months necessary to be included in this investigation.

Bushland's residents work in local, state or federal government departments, small commercial enterprises, the mining company and the beef cattle industry. There are several properties within 30km of town and two town families have properties about 100km away operated by other members of their extended families.

Bushland has the appearance of a small, remote, dry, dusty, rugged frontier town. It is 150km from the coast and does not have a local river. It is situated in mostly flat terrain with consistent, though not dense vegetation. Bushland is hot and humid throughout the year, almost unbearably so from November to April. The town has three extended families who can trace their history through several generations, and many residents have lived locally for more than 10 years. More partly Aboriginal people live in Bushland, both absolutely and relative to the total population, than in either Gulftown or Capeville. Bushland's Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities also appear to be more integrated with each other.

All three towns have some services: mains power supply, a reliable water supply (though variable in quality), service stations, a mechanic, one or two other qualified tradespeople, a State Emergency Service representative, two general stores which are also agents for banks and airline companies, a caravan park, and a hotel. Capeville also has a guesthouse and Gulftown and Capeville small Telecom maintenance facilities. At the time of data collection, the only human services available in each town were a primary school, a kindergarten, a small (approximately 12 bed) hospital and a remote area nurse, the Royal Flying Doctor Service which visits once each week, a police sergeant with one or two constables, a local residents' representation organisation, and an Aboriginal housing cooperative. Though Gulftown and Capeville have a church and resident lay minister, these serve the Aboriginal community virtually exclusively. Bushland's nearest churches are 150km away. A small number of welfare services visit very occasionally, though Bushland does have a resident social security agent. Unemployment and alcoholism are high in the Aboriginal populations who also

suffer from a number of other physical and social problems. Most other services can only be obtained from the main regional service centres (Cairns and Mt Isa) around 500km from each town, though Bushland residents can obtain a small range of (mostly non-human) services from Renmark and Kingston 150km away.

### **Town Comparability**

Small area census information was reviewed to ensure the suitability of the towns for this study and their comparability on the dimensions used for settlement selection. The bounded localities of Gulftown and Bushland are ABS collector's districts in their own right. However, Capeville falls within a wider collector's district. This presents no major difficulties because the district contains no other towns and the miniscule populations of only two cattle stations.

Table 5.1 presents relevant 1986 census information. Total population sizes were very similar. Each town had approximately equal proportions of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal residents, though Bushland's Aboriginal population was relatively smaller than in the other two towns. In 1986 none of the towns had any Torres Strait Islander residents (ABS, 1986), and this was also the case in 1987 and 1988 when field trips were conducted.

TABLE 5.1: TOWN DEMOGRAPHY

POPULATION CHARACTERISTIC	TOWN		
	GULFTOWN %	CAPEVILLE %	BUSHLAND %
<b>TOTAL POPULATION</b>	<b>N=232</b>	<b>N=273</b>	<b>N=229</b>
<b>Ethnicity</b>			
Non-Aboriginal	45.6	51.5	61.0
Aboriginal	54.4	48.5	39.0
	<b>N=226</b>	<b>N=270</b>	<b>N=223</b>
<b>Industry Sector</b>			
Public service	57.5	35.3	54.5
Private enterprise	42.5	64.7	45.5
	<b>N=73</b>	<b>N=85</b>	<b>N=66</b>
<b>Industries</b>			
Agriculture, forestry, fishing, hunting	12.5	22.2	7.7
Mining	2.5	2.2	15.4
Manufacturing	2.5	-	3.1
Electricity, gas, water	2.5	-	-
Construction	2.5	17.8	3.1
Wholesale, retail, trade	5.0	18.9	3.1
Transport and storage	2.5	6.7	-
Communication	2.5	-	4.6
Finance, property and business services	-	-	-
Public administration, defence	36.3	7.8	35.4
Community services	23.8	20.0	16.9
Recreation, personal and other services	7.5	4.4	10.8
	<b>N=80</b>	<b>N=90</b>	<b>N=65</b>
<b>Occupation</b>			
Managers and administrators	14.1	13.7	11.7
Professionals	-	7.4	3.3
Para-professionals	11.5	8.4	3.3
Tradespersons	11.5	14.7	15.0
Clerks	14.1	4.2	10.0
Sales and personal services	2.6	7.4	6.7
Plant and machine operators	11.5	11.6	20.0
Labourers and related workers	32.1	30.5	26.7
Inadequately described and NCI	2.6	2.1	3.3
	<b>N=78</b>	<b>N=95</b>	<b>N=60</b>

TABLE 5.1: TOWN DEMOGRAPHY (Continued)

POPULATION CHARACTERISTIC	TOWN		
	GULFTOWN %	CAPEVILLE %	BUSHLAND %
<b>Residence on 30/6/85</b>			
Same	68.6	83.1	70.9
Different	31.4	16.9	29.1
Total counted at home on 30/6/86*	N=185	N=213	N=196
<b>Residence on 30/6/81</b>			
Same	41.1	62.9	40.3
Different	58.9	37.1	59.7
Total counted at home on 30.6.84*	N=185	N=213	N=196
<b>Residence on 30/6/80</b>			
Same local government area**	87.7	91.6	85.7
Not same lga	12.3	8.4	14.3
Total counted at home on 30/6/81*	N=179	N=154	N=140
<b>Residence on 30/6/76</b>			
Same local government area*	70.4	92.9	76.4
Not same lga	29.6	7.1	23.6
Total counted at home on 30/6/81*	N=152	N=140	N=127
<b>NOTE:</b> * These are lower than total populations because some people were counted who were not at their usual place of residence at the time.			
** This information is not readily accessible for 1986 small area census data.			
Source: ABS, 1986.			

Field trips revealed that Bushland had more non-Aboriginal and partly Aboriginal nuclear families (23) than either Capeville (14) or Gulftown (10).

For each town most residents interviewed at home by the ABS on 30th June 1986 had been in the same residence one year earlier and around half five years earlier. However, the true figures for residential stability within the town would probably be higher than this because some people would have lived in the town, though not necessarily in the same residence, in 1985 and 1981 respectively. Looking at regions we find that almost all residents counted in the 1981 census lived within the region at

30th June 1980 and most on the same day in 1976. (This information is not in a readily accessible form in 1986 census material). Thus, the populations of the towns were reasonably geographically stable and the three towns had similar rates of population turnover. If there was a difference, Bushland had a slightly lower rate than the other two towns.

In 1986 the mix of public and private employment was approximately equal for Gulftown and Bushland, though Capeville had slightly more residents working in the private than the public sector. This probably reflects the lack of local government employment in Capeville. For the same reason Capeville also had relatively fewer residents working in public administration and slightly more in other industries. Distributions of occupations were extremely similar. Each town's labour force was spread widely over most industries and occupations.

In sum, then, in 1986 Gulftown, Capeville and Bushland satisfied the nine foregoing conditions for inclusion in this study. They were also sufficiently similar with respect to remoteness, rainfall, population size, ethnic composition, residential stability and employment patterns to be compared within the parameters of the present study.

## **RESIDENTS AND FAMILIES**

### **Residents**

Three months continuous residence in the settlement immediately prior to the commencement of the first data-collection period was regarded as the minimum required for the respondent to be able to provide reliable responses. Residents themselves or, in the case of young children, their primary carers decided whether their 'normal place of residence' was the town.

As is often the case in remote settlements, many residents such as children attending boarding school and itinerant workers often spend long periods away from the settlement. Others, such as truckers and railway workers, are regularly absent for shorter periods. All these were regarded as residents if they or their primary carers claimed the town to be their normal place of residence. To be a resident nuclear family, at least one child and one childrearer must normally reside in the settlement.

The town's physical boundary was more difficult to determine. ABS collector's districts were inappropriate because they do not necessarily reflect residents' subjective assessments of who is and who is not a resident of the town and because the boundaries of Capeville's built-up area do not coincide with those of one or more collector's district(s). Consequently, town boundaries were defined to include the following.

- 1 People whose normal residence was within the built-up area of the town.
- 2 People who normally interacted face-to-face and on an ongoing basis with, and who were regarded as town residents by a significant proportion of residents of the built-up area. A 'significant proportion' was determined by the investigator on the basis of field observations and informal interviews.

Residential status was determined during the Dry season field trip through observation and discussion with residents. In reality, the only three doubtful families were two cattle station owners or managers each approximately 35km from two towns, and the owners of a tourist complex 18km from Gulftown. These were excluded because, though they were willing to be interviewed, work commitments made interviews impossible during the Dry season and local flooding made them physically inaccessible during the Wet.

**Nuclear Families**

The nuclear family was defined following Harris (1983, pp.3-49). He suggested four necessary and, in total, sufficient conditions for a social aggregate to be considered a nuclear family.

- 1 It must comprise a group of individuals jointly engaged in childrearing activities, including at least one childrearer and at least one child.
- 2 There must be intensive, strongly affective relationships amongst these individuals which have developed at least partly from joint involvement in childrearing activities over a prolonged period of time.
- 3 They must hold strong expectations for each others' involvement in, and behaviour in relation to childrearing activities.
- 4 The relationship(s) between childrearsers must have had, and may continue to have, a sexual component.

Harris (1983) distinguished between the elementary family, comprised of a primary carer and child(ren), and the nuclear family which includes other central caregiver/s.

The following definition was adopted for the present investigation:

A nuclear family is a group of people, comprising at least one adult and one child, who are engaged in childrearing activities and who have developed an intensive affective relationship including expectations for each other's behaviour in relation to childrearing activities. This affect and these expectations have

developed from a prolonged period of joint engagement in this function and these activities. These people are either: residing in sufficiently close physical proximity to enable ongoing face-to-face interaction; regularly and frequently residing in close proximity; or, where a person is residing in a distant location for prolonged periods, they regard the place of family residence as his or her usual place of residence. Where one or more children often reside in a distant location for prolonged periods: the adults maintain responsibility for decisions directly concerning the child and which could reasonably be anticipated to have major and lasting effects on the child's total development; and the child is not part of another nuclear family as defined herein. No nuclear family member is engaged in childrearing activities within the family because of an official position in a formal organisation.

This definition omits Harris' condition that the childrearingers have had, and may continue to have a sexual relationship. This appears to be an unnecessary restriction which excludes many groups which meet all other conditions. In any case, the existence of a past and/or present sexual relationship could not be verified in this study. Affective ties need not, of course, involve only positive feelings.

A number of situations are encompassed by this definition.

- 1 Families with two opposite gender childrearingers.
- 2 Families with other than two opposite gender childrearingers.

- 3 Joint childrearsers who are not legally married.
- 4 Joint childrearsers who have never interacted sexually with each other.
- 5 Joint childrearsers not residing in the same household.
- 6 Childrearsers who may be regularly and frequently absent from the family dwelling - for example, truckers and seasonal workers.
- 7 Situations where children live for extended periods in geographically distant locations - for example, at boarding school or with relatives.

The definition excluded people engaged in childrearing functions primarily because of their position as paid or unpaid employees of statutory and voluntary organisations.

'Prolonged period of contact' was operationalised as one year of childrearing interaction immediately preceding the first interview. This may include a period of preparing for a first child, even before conception. It was not necessary for the childrearing interaction to have occurred in the present town.

For the purposes of this study, a non-Aboriginal family was defined as one where at least one of the primary carers does not identify themselves as Aboriginal, and whose members, in sum, identify more with the non-Aboriginal than the Aboriginal community. This was determined through discussion with childrearsers.

**RESEARCH DESIGN AND PROCEDURE**

As suggested by d'Abbs,

(The) exchange of informal support involves three elements: social relationships; needs or functions served by these relationships; and situations which give rise to these needs or functions (d'Abbs, 1982, p.58).

As discussed in Chapter 4 he also suggested that research on at least non-formal support can be placed in three groups 'depending on which of these elements are taken as the focus for data collection' (p.58).

Group 1 consists of studies in which the researcher first attempts to gather general data on respondents' social relationships, and then either tries to find out which relationships provide particular support functions, or draws inferences about support availability from the network data (d'Abbs, 1982, p.58).

This kind of study can have three weaknesses. First, as suggested in Chapter 4, social network variables are approximate measures of support only. Second, the social networks of most people are too large for small-scale studies. And third, the labour-saving device of only asking respondents about their three or four closest friends is based on the dubious assumption either that these are the respondent's supports or that they are representative of the respondent's wider support network.

(In Group 2 studies) ..... the researcher begins by specifying certain properties or functions of social relationships which are held to be especially relevant to support availability, and then asks respondents how many people, or which people, are associated with these functions (d'Abbs, 1982, p.58).

D'Abbs suggested that this approach 'appears to offer the most promising means of studying the general structures and processes involved in informal support systems ..... especially if the researcher elects to investigate ..... how respondents might search for particular resources under hypothetical circumstances ..... (rather than) how they did in reality seek the resources' (d'Abbs, 1982, p.62).

As discussed in Chapter 3, the present investigation concerned the provision of formal services in relationship with non-formal supports. Personal support services are usually differentiated according to, and provided in response to situations experienced as problematic. Thus, our overriding concern here is with where people would seek supportive provisions from in particular situations, rather than 'general structures and processes involved in informal support systems' or 'properties or functions of social relationships which are held to be especially relevant to support availability'. However, the latter have also been investigated.

Group 3 studies take particular situations as the starting point: for example, the hunt for a job or an abortionist. The researcher then studies the relationships drawn into the search for support, and the outcomes of various support-seeking strategies. (D'Abbs, 1982, p.59).

A variant of this approach is to focus on a small number of situations which typically involve high levels of stress for people involved in them. Such an approach is useful where, for substantive or theoretical reasons, we are interested in the situation itself. This is the case in the present investigation given the concern with formal support services and linking strategies. This study, then, is probably best regarded as a Group 3 investigation, though it does have elements of Group 2 designs.

The starting point for the present study was a range of problematic situations. For each of these, anticipated sources of support and anticipated support provisions were investigated. Provided a comprehensive range of situations is specified, as was the case here, this information can be used to investigate respondents' support networks.

In reality, though, which kinds of provisions a person seeks tends to be fairly closely associated with the kind of problematic situation they are in and what they need. For example, when financially destitute we need and are most likely to seek money and/or other kinds of material supplies. For this reason, the taxonomy developed later combines situations, needs and provisions.

However, this strategy does have its difficulties. The first arises from the need to prejudge the supportiveness of the anticipated provision given to the respondent in a specified situation by a certain source - a common, yet dubious procedure. This was handled here in three ways. First, situations were presented to respondents as being sufficiently stressful to warrant seeking support. Second, respondents were provided with the response options of (a) not seeking support from anywhere at all, and (b) self-reliance. (Both these strategies were incorporated in the preamble to Questions 5 to 30, Individual Interviews, Appendix 1). It can be reasonably suggested that where respondents cite an anticipated support despite being given these options, they would find the situation sufficiently stressful to warrant seeking external assistance. Finally, respondents were asked to estimate the extent to which their anticipated

support would contribute toward solving the problem. Across all needs, only 3.0% of sources cited in all of the 2467 responses were given a rating of less than 2cm on a 10cm visual analogue. Almost 90% were given a rating of 5cm or higher. This indicates that respondents overwhelmingly chose sources they thought would be substantially helpful in the situation.

The second difficulty of the research strategy is that situations must be specified with sufficient generality so that the data is manageable and so that interview time is kept to a minimum. Listing too many specific concrete situations would lead to inordinate demands being made of respondents' time and an unmanageable amount of data given the resources for this study. However, situations would also have to be sufficiently specific to elicit valid responses. So a compromise between comprehensiveness and specificity had to be found. This, in fact, is another reason why situations and not provisions were taken as the starting point - to be both comprehensive and reasonably precise, a vast array of provisions would have had to be specified. Situations, on the other hand, can be specified more generally.

Information was collected during Dry and Wet season field trips according to a cross-sectional census design. During both trips formal interviews were conducted with virtually all people living in non-Aboriginal and partly Aboriginal families in the three towns as these were defined earlier. In these interviews information was collected about respondents and their families, members of respondents' intimate social networks, their anticipated supports for 26 needs, why they believed they would seek help from these sources, how they thought they would contact them when the need arose, and the extent to which they thought their sources would contribute toward solving the problems presented. Supplementary information was obtained through observations, discussions and interviews with residents, especially long-term residents and those who their neighbours regarded as central in the life of their town.

For several reasons respondents were presented with hypothetical situations and asked about anticipated supports. They were not questioned about their actual support seeking behaviour and neither was it directly observed. A small population had to be selected because of the resources available and because of the focus on small remote towns. Because the overriding aim of the study was to develop implications for human services, only those needs could be investigated which are sufficiently severe to warrant seeking support from human service organisations. Too few people in these towns would have directly experienced these needs recently to form a sufficiently large population to obtain meaningful results. Similarly, waiting for a sufficiently large number of residents to experience them would probably have taken a number of years, and many respondents would have been lost through out-migration.

In any case, as discussed in Chapter 4, potential or anticipated support can be stress-reducing in itself. In Gottlieb's (1988) words:

..... it is likely that people who believe they can mobilize support will experience less anxiety about the stressor's implications for their well-being and thereby bring greater confidence to the work of coping with its demands ..... a secondary appraisal leading to the belief that supportive provisions are available can condition a more benign primary appraisal (of the stakes), shoring up the individual's ability to regulate his or her emotions and address the instrumental demands imposed by the stressor. (Gottlieb, 1988, p.36). (Original author's parentheses).

## FIELD TRIPS

Information was collected during a Dry season field trip in June and July of 1987 and a Wet season trip during January and February of 1988.

In the Dry season, the investigator travelled alone by four wheel drive vehicle and, when in towns, camped in the local caravan park. He camped on the side of the road when travelling between towns. Many residents spontaneously commented that in the towns this increased his credibility and acceptability with residents because it demonstrated participation in genuine remote Far North Queensland conditions and lifestyle.

The investigator deliberately avoided entering a town through potentially influential residents and did not stay in hotels or boarding houses during the first trip. Lacking detailed and extensive local knowledge, this might have prejudiced at least some residents' reactions to him. For example, a 'contact' may have been an influential member of a faction within the town and for this and other reasons may have been unacceptable to some residents. As the researcher had visited Gulftown and Capeville during earlier exploratory field trips he wrote to residents he already knew informing them of his forthcoming visit. He arrived in Bushland totally unknown and unannounced, as he had in Gulftown and Capeville on previous occasions.

Road travel to Gulftown and Capeville is always impossible during at least part of the Wet season and camping would have been physically unbearable. Consequently, during the second field trip the investigator travelled to these towns by air, staying with the remote area nurse, her husband and their family at the Gulftown hospital and in the guesthouse at Capeville. He travelled by four wheel drive vehicle to Bushland, staying in the 'tracker's quarters' owned by the Queensland Police Department and adjacent

to the police station. These arrangements had no noticeable effect on residents' reactions to him or the information they gave.

On arrival in each town in the Dry season the investigator set up camp, renewed old acquaintances and obtained a list of families potentially eligible for formal interview from one or more knowledgeable informants. He also generally placed himself in situations where he would be visible to residents and where he and they felt obliged to make each other's acquaintance. He verified and completed his list of eligible respondent families and individuals through local knowledge. Initial visits were made to potentially eligible families, during which members' eligibility for formal interviews was established, information about the family was obtained and appointments for individual interviews were made (Family Interview Schedule, Appendix 1). He approached apparently highly motivated families first, leaving potentially more reluctant ones until later. In this way, the latter would be more highly motivated to participate when their turn came. He was generally pleasant, courteous, friendly and persistent, freely joined in the social life of the town, tried to adhere strictly to local norms and customs, and remained neutral with regard to local politics, social processes and issues. He scrupulously maintained confidentiality.

Wet season field trips were less complex because rapport had already been established with residents and the investigator knew which families were eligible for formal interview.

## **RESPONDENTS AND RESPONSE RATES**

### **Dry Season**

As shown in Table 5.2, 186 respondents living in 45 families were interviewed either directly, by way of, or with the assistance of another family member during the Dry season (Individual Interviews and Response Schedules, Appendix 1). 89

respondents were childrearsers and 97 children. 87 childrearsers were interviewed directly and alone, the other 2 through their spouses. 48 children were interviewed by way of a parent, 27 with the assistance of a parent and 22 by themselves. In general, preschool children (5yrs and under) were interviewed by way of a parent, primary school children (6yrs to 11yrs) with the assistance of a parent, and adolescents (12yrs and older) alone. Some older children were interviewed by way of a parent and the two childrearsers by way of their spouses because they were absent from town at the time. Responses from all Dry season interviews which did not directly involve the respondent were checked with them during the Wet season field trip.

Only one family member, a mother who was absent from town at the time, was not interviewed. Her husband did not believe he could accurately represent her. Table 5.2 presents respondent frequencies according to their town.

High population mobility and inaccurate census records means that we must rely on local knowledge and the investigator's diligence for an accurate estimate of the total population of non-Aboriginal and partly Aboriginal families and individuals resident in the towns at the time.

Two families near Gulftown and one near Bushland declined to be interviewed because of pressing work commitments. Though they volunteered for interview during the Wet season, this could not be pursued because access was physically impossible due to local flooding. The families managed beef cattle properties approximately 30km from town. These were the only families living outside the towns which could possibly be regarded as eligible for inclusion in this study. With them excluded, the investigation was of families living clearly within or on the fringes of the built-up areas of the towns.

TABLE 5.2: NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS BY TOWN

	TOWN			TOTALS
	GULFTOWN	CAPEVILLE	BUSHLAND	
<b>DRY SEASON</b>				
Families	10	14	21	45
Individuals				
Childrearsers*	20	28	41	89
Children	26	27	44	97
Total	46	55	85	186
<b>WET SEASON</b>				
Families	6	12	19	37
Individuals				
Childrearsers*	12	24	38	74
Children	18	24	40	82
Total	30	48	78	156
<b>Note:</b>	One childrearser was not interviewed. She is included here for the sake of completion.			

All members of all eligible families in Gulftown were interviewed.

One Capeville family, involving a non-Aboriginal man married to an Aboriginal woman and their natural children, was not approached because they had declined an interview during an exploratory study two years previously. Three eligible Bushland families were not interviewed. One was an outright refusal and interviews could not be arranged with the other two. The interview with another Bushland family was unusable. This and the previous Capeville 'refusal' seemed to result from the unsuitability of the research design to families which identified strongly with local Aboriginal cultures.

This gave a response rate of 90% of all eligible families and 91.2% of all eligible family members. The refusal rate was 2.2% for families and 2.6% for individuals. Dry season respondents, then, were virtually the entire populations of non-Aboriginal and partly Aboriginal families living in or on the fringes of the built-up areas of the three towns at the time of data collection.

**Wet Season**

Eight families with a total of 30 members were either absent from or had permanently left town during the Wet season field trip (Table 5.2).

**INTERVIEWS, INTERVIEW SCHEDULES AND RESPONSE SCHEDULES****Dry Season**

Two kinds of semi-structured formal interviews were conducted during the Dry season. Interview and response schedules are presented in Appendix 1.

An initial family interview was conducted during which information was collected about: the likelihood of the family being available for interview during the Wet season (Questions 1 and 2); family membership (Questions 3 to 19); and family members and the family as a whole (Questions 20 to 41). Where possible, individual interviews were also arranged at this time (Questions 42 to 45). Responses were recorded on the interview schedule and response sheets. Family interviews lasted from 30 to 90 minutes with a mode of around one hour.

Individual interviews were also conducted. During these information was collected about respondents' intimate social networks (Questions 1 to 4, 33 to 54 and 55 to 59), their anticipated support sources for 26 needs (Questions 4, 5a to 30a, and 31 to 59), why they would seek help from these sources (Questions 5b to 30b), how they would contact them (Questions 5c to 30c), and the extent to which they believed their sources would contribute to solving each problem presented (Questions 5d to 30d). An interview schedule was constructed for childrearsers and suitably modified for adolescents, primary school children and preschool children respectively. Responses were recorded on the interview and response schedules. Interviews with childrearsers varied between 30 minutes (one respondent) and four hours (three respondents), the

modal length being around two hours. Those with children were shorter depending on the age of the child.

Questions, definitions and preambles on interview schedules were read to the respondents and/or their assistants and the investigator recorded their responses on the interview and response schedules. The visual analogues in Questions 5d to 30d were completed by respondents and/or their assistants, though this often meant that the interviewer had to temporarily take over immediate respondent tasks such as cooking dinner, nursing babies, tightening bolts under machinery, and panning for gold. The network density response schedule was completed by the interviewer first writing the names of respondents' intimates and natural supports along the top and down the left hand side and then asking the respondent and/or their assistant about the relationships between each pair of intimates/supports.

Where necessary, probes were conducted to elicit more detailed information and/or to verify the validity and/or reliability of responses. These were especially necessary for the questions requiring qualitative responses (Questions 5b to 30b and 55 to 58). Most respondents were quickly engaged in the interview process through Questions 1 to 30 which they found particularly interesting. They also quickly became engrossed in the network density question (Question 59). They found the more descriptive Questions 31 to 58 more mundane, though non-threatening.

Extensive coding was necessary after the field trip, especially for the qualitative responses, and simple calculations were required on the network density data to transform them into scores which could be used in analyses.

### **Wet Season**

Interviews were also conducted during the Wet season. As with the Dry season, different schedules were constructed for childrearsers, adolescents, primary school

children and preschool children (Individual Interview Schedules, Appendix 1). In these, most respondents were reminded of their Dry season responses concerning their intimates, their preferred supports, why they chose those supports, and how they would contact them. For each question in turn they were asked whether they would change their response for the Wet season and, if so, how. This procedure was adopted because heavy demands had been placed on respondents during the Dry season and because the investigator did not wish to threaten his rapport with individual residents and the towns more generally. To run through the entire Dry season procedure again would have reduced rapport with and increased resistance from individual respondents and the towns in general, thereby reducing both the response rate and reliability of responses.

All respondents completed the visual analogues indicating the extent to which they thought their supports would contribute to solving the problem without knowledge of their Dry season ratings. These were not time consuming and respondents found them engaging and enjoyable.

Wet season interviews with childrearsers lasted from fifteen minutes to two hours for adults with a mode of around one hour. Interviews with children were also considerably shorter than those conducted during the Dry season.

All interviews except those with primary and preschool children and the two with respondents' partners were conducted with the respondent alone, out of the hearing of other family members. Care was taken to ensure that ample time was available for interviews, and second sessions were sometimes necessary to complete the process.

## VARIABLES AND DEFINITIONS

### SITUATIONS AND PROVISIONS

A taxonomy combining problematic situations and relevant provisions was developed from previous empirical and theoretical literature concerning social support, and from earlier exploratory research in the region (Cheers, 1985 and 1991). This is the approach which Jacobsen (1986) identified as deriving from "needs' theories of stress' (p.251):

..... if **stress** is defined in terms of unmet needs or the absence of social relationships through which 'supplies' may be provided, then **social support** is defined in terms of resources that meet needs, social relationships through which an individual's needs are met, or both (Jacobsen, 1986, pp.251-52) (original author's emphases).

### Dimensions

There have been many attempts to classify problematic situations and relevant social provisions, but none specifically directed toward generating implications for linking formal and non-formal supports. Five dimensions have been suggested.

- 1 'Everyday' compared with 'emergency' or 'crisis' situations (Wellman, Craven, Whitaker, Stevens, Shorter, Du Soit and Bakker, 1973, p.154).
- 2 Reciprocity of support (d'Abbs, 1983).

- 3 The duration of the dependency (d'Abbs, 1983).
- 4 The extent to which the situation and the subsequent dependency were foreseen (d'Abbs, 1983).
- 5 The kind of provision received (d'Abbs, 1983).

The implicit dimension underlying Wellman's (1981) dichotomy between 'everyday' as against 'emergency' or 'crisis' situations appears to be 'severity of need'. Because the present investigation was focussed specifically on the kinds of situations for which people often seek formal services, only the more severe needs were investigated. 'Severity of need' was standardised through wording of questions, by asking respondents to anticipate that the situation presented was sufficiently stressful to require action to alleviate the distress, and by providing a self-help option.

D'Abbs' (1983) dimension of reciprocity was not investigated here for reasons discussed in Chapter 4. His other three were introduced in Chapter 4.

D'Abbs (1983) described 'duration' and 'foreseenness' as follows:

The main distinction with respect to duration is between short- and long-term dependency or between situations that call for temporary provision of support on the one hand and, on the other, continuing provision. Care for the frail aged and the handicapped involves long-term dependency, as does childcare under the criterion used here, even though the need for childcare may cover fewer years than care for an aged person.

The distinction between foreseen and unforeseen dependency applies to short-term support situations, and serves to separate out crisis situations, in which it is the rapidity with which support can be mobilised that is crucial for successful coping, from situations which are normally anticipated, such as house-minding or setting up a first home. (D'Abbs, 1983, pp.5-6).

Duration was directly relevant to and therefore used in the present investigation. But the distinction between foreseen and unforeseen dependency could not be applied because it would be impossible for respondents to make the distinction for anticipated support for hypothetical situations.

### **Need Situations**

The taxonomy of need domains, needs and situations presented in Table 5.3 was developed from relevant literature (Kaplan, 1975; Pinneau, 1975; Miller and Ingham, 1976; Dean and Lin, 1977; Kaplan, Cassel and Gore, 1977; Andrews, Tennant, Hewson and Vaillant 1978; Gottlieb and Todd, 1979; Lopata, 1979; Dean, Lin and Ensel, 1980; Hirsch, 1980; Barrera, 1981; Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko, 1981a; House, 1981; Lin, Dean and Ensel, 1981; Schaefer, Coyne and Lazarus, 1981; Wellman, 1981; Antonucci and Depner, 1982; Fischer, 1982; Moos and Mitchell, 1982; Thoits, 1982; d'Abbs, 1983; Institute of Family Studies, 1983; Turner, 1983; Ell, 1984; Shumaker and Brownell, 1984; Winkler and van Keppel, 1984; Henderson and Argyle, 1985) and earlier exploratory studies in the region (Cheers, 1985, 1991).

Community issues have not been included in previous studies of social support, presumably because they are shared community concerns rather than purely individual or family problems. However, to overlook these is to deny that community

issues are widely recognised in social policy, social welfare and social work literature as having major effects on the lives of individuals. Furthermore, an earlier exploratory study (Cheers, 1985) revealed that the kinds of problems which residents of small, remote North Queensland towns regard as most important are indeed those identified here as shared community concerns. Invariably, these arise from perceived service deficiencies or what residents regard as inappropriate policies, procedures, decisions and/or actions of government departments and other organisations (Cheers, 1991).

Each need situation was examined to assess whether d'Abbs' (1983) 'duration of dependency' dimension could be meaningfully applied. The dimension was not applied to the community issues because these are long-term almost by definition, and certainly perceived as such by residents. Nor was it applied to personal unemployment, health, education, legal or child development problems because whether a person anticipates that the situation would continue for a short or long time would probably make no difference to where they would seek assistance from in the first instance. The dimension was not applied to psychological, social integration or childrearer problems because it would be difficult for respondents to discriminate between long- and short-term problems for hypothetical situations. Even when a person has these problems in reality, whether they will be short- or long- term is probably of little concern at the time and probably would have little effect on where they would first turn for assistance. However, respondents were likely to be able to discriminate between short- and long-term dependencies for child care and material problems in interviews. Results reported in Chapter 6 confirm these two assumptions. These and all of the other foregoing assumptions were also confirmed in pretesting of interview schedules with members of two Townsville families. This analysis resulted in the 25 need situations presented in Table 5.4.

TABLE 5.3: NEED DOMAINS, NEEDS AND SITUATIONS

DOMAIN	NEED	SITUATION
<b>COMMUNITY ISSUES</b>	Needs common to a number of individuals in the community and perceived deficiencies in services intended to meet them.	Health Education Child care Essential services: for example, power and water supply, and road conditions. Unemployment
<b>PERSONAL UNEMPLOYMENT</b>	The desire for employment when unemployed.	
<b>SPECIALISED NEEDS</b>	The perceived need for consultation about and/or assistance with one's own problems or those of other family members.	Health Education Legal problems
<b>SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS</b>	The perceived need for assistance with personal social and/or emotional problems.	Child development Psychological problems Social integration problems: feeling estranged or alienated from society. Childrearer problems: difficulties in the relationship between joint childrearsers.
<b>CHILD CARE PROBLEMS</b>	The perceived need for assistance with child care.	Constant care Occasional care
<b>MATERIAL PROBLEMS</b>	The perceived need for material necessities and/or practical assistance with necessary tasks.	Spousal Incapacity: one's joint child-rearer/s is/are unable to perform their usual chores because of incapacity. House maintenance Accommodation Destitution: the need for material necessities such as food, clothing and money.

### Provisions

None of the previous taxonomies of provisions proved entirely satisfactory for this study (for example, Lopata, 1979; Barrera, 1981; Fischer, 1982; Institute of Family Studies, 1983; Winkler and van Keppel, 1984). Some have been oriented specifically

toward a particular kind of adversity such as widowhood (Lopata, 1979 ) or placing one's child for adoption (Winkler and van Keppel, 1984). Because they were designed specifically for investigations of social support networks, others have used categories which are too broad or items which are too narrow to be useful in the present study. Still others focus exclusively on emotional, social and other intangible provisions and omit material and practical resources.

As far as the author is aware, the present study is one of the first to investigate social support in a way which might yield direct implications for formal services and the question of how to link these with non-formal sources of help. Consequently, taxonomies have not been developed which classify situations and provisions in a way which parallels how formal services are distinguished in the real world. This must be done in research of this kind because, without the parallels, it is difficult to develop specific implications for particular formal services. In other words, it would be difficult to discuss how formal services can link with non-formal supports when services, needs and provisions have been categorised very differently. On the other hand, however, it is important not to depart too radically from previous taxonomies, for otherwise results of this investigation could not be compared with those of others.

Existing taxonomies were reviewed and the following one developed with these points in mind. Provisions were broadly classified as 'Sharing Tasks', 'Problem-solving Assistance and/or Intervention', 'Information and/or Referral', 'Emotional Assistance', 'Social Integration', and 'Representation'. Pretesting revealed that respondents could not distinguish between 'Information and/or Referral' and 'Problem-solving Assistance and/or Intervention' when presented with hypothetical situations and asked about anticipated support seeking behaviour. The remaining broad provisions were defined as follows.

TABLE 5.4: SELECTION OF NEED SITUATIONS AND PROVISIONS

NEED SITUATION	PROVISIONS				
	Sharing tasks	Problem solving assistance and/or intervention	Emotional assistance	Social integration	Representation
<b>COMMUNITY ISSUES</b> Health Education Child care Essential services Unemployment	Irrelevant				Included Included Included Included
<b>PERSONAL UNEMPLOYMENT</b>	Irrelevant	Included	Trivial	Trivial	Irrelevant
<b>SPECIALISED NEEDS:</b> Health Education Legal problems	Irrelevant	Included Included Included	Irrelevant		
<b>SOCIAL EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS:</b> Child development Psychological problems Social integration problems Childrearer problems	Irrelevant Trivial Trivial Trivial	Included Included Redundant Included	Trivial Included Redundant Trivial	Irrelevant Redundant Included Irrelevant	Irrelevant
<b>CHILD CARE PROBLEMS:</b> Constant: temporary prolonged Occasional: temporary prolonged	Included	Irrelevant	Irrelevant	Irrelevant	Irrelevant
<b>MATERIAL PROBLEMS:</b> Incapacity: temporary prolonged Household: temporary prolonged Accommodation: temporary permanent Destitution: temporary prolonged	Included	Redundant	Trivial	Irrelevant	Irrelevant
<b>KEY</b>					
Included: The need-provision combination was investigated.					
Irrelevant: The provision is not relevant to the need situation.					
Trivial: The provision may be relevant to the need situation but it is trivial given the aims of the investigation.					
Redundant: The need-provision combination is redundant given another combination.					

**Sharing Tasks** involves providing practical assistance in performing ongoing tasks of living such as caring for children, household maintenance, transportation, and relating to government departments and other organisations. This category has also been used by Weiss (1974), Barrera (1981), Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko (1981a), Fischer (1982), Moos and Mitchell (1982), d'Abbs (1983), Institute of Family Studies (1983), Turner (1983), and Shumaker and Brownell (1984).

**Problem-solving Assistance and/or Intervention** involves providing information relevant to problem-solving, and/or the source of help directly intervening in an attempt to solve the problem. The distinction between the two is trivial for this investigation. Problem-solving assistance has also been investigated by Gottlieb and Todd (1979), Barrera (1981), Froland, Pancoast, Chapman, and Kimboko (1981a), House (1981), Wellman (1981), Fischer (1982), and Turner (1983).

In assisting with problem-solving, the source might provide information about how to deal with the situation. This could include knowledge, ideas, suggestions, feedback, interpretations, guidance, advice, directives or appraisals pertaining to the stressful situation, the individual's reaction to it and/or how the individual might change the situation or reduce its stressful consequences. Assisting with problem-solving might also involve the source sharing with ego their observations of ego's progress in managing the situation.

Intervening in a situation involves an attempt to reduce the source of the problem by, for example, obtaining needed resources or by securing the action of other people or organisations. In contrast with 'Representation' (see below) this kind of intervention does not involve attempting to change the policies, procedures, decisions or actions of government departments or other organisations.

**Emotional Assistance:** As discussed in Chapter 4 definitions of emotional assistance are prone to confuse the provision with the possible or likely effects of the provision. Those that focus exclusively on the provision define it as certain kinds of information pertaining to the support's feelings or attitudes toward ego and/or to the support's perceptions of the nature of their relationship with ego. Including both, emotional assistance is information that:

ego is liked, valued, cared about, understood by, and important to the source of the information and, perhaps, other people; and/or

the source, and perhaps other people, is concerned about, has confidence in, and will listen to ego, and can be trusted with ego's open expression of their feelings, thoughts and other intimate disclosures.

Emotional assistance was specifically mentioned and/or included in instruments by Pinneau (1975), Dean and Lin (1977), Kaplan, Cassel and Gore (1977), Gottlieb and Todd (1979), Lopata (1979), Hirsch (1980), Barrera (1981), Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko (1981a), House (1981), Schaefer, Coyne and Lazarus (1981), Antonucci and Depner (1982), Moos and Mitchell (1982), Institute of Family Studies (1983), Turner (1983), Shumaker and Brownell (1984).

**Social Integration:** Descriptions of 'social' provisions generally refer to information that the individual belongs to and is part of: a wider group of people who share at least some of their beliefs, values and interpretations of reality, and from which they can derive a sense of social identity and a feeling of belonging; a network of mutual obligation in which others can be counted on should the need arise; and/or a group of people who can provide company in recreational activities. As the present

investigation was focussed on stressful situations in which people often seek outside help, the mere provision of company was not regarded as indicating a sufficient level of stress to warrant inclusion here. Social integration has also been mentioned and/or included in instruments by Moos and Mitchell (1982), Thoits (1982b), and Henderson and Argyle (1985).

Social integration, then, was defined as:

providing information that the person belongs to: a wider collectivity which shares at least some of ego's beliefs, values and interpretations of reality; and/or a network of mutual obligation in which others can be counted on should the need for extra assistance arise.

Representation involves the attempt by someone other than ego to change or reverse the policies, procedures, decisions or actions of government departments, other organisations or their employees which are contributing to or have contributed to ego's stress. Representation has apparently been overlooked by all previous researchers and scholars with the exception of Gottlieb and Todd (1979). As with other developed countries, the provision has been permanently incorporated into formal Australian welfare services and is widely recognised by scholars and researchers as a legitimate component of welfare and social work services. Furthermore, preliminary investigation suggested that the kinds of problems which residents of small, remote North Queensland towns regard as most important involve perceived service deficiencies or arise from what they regard as inappropriate policies, procedures, decisions and/or actions of government departments, other organisations and/or their employees (Cheers, 1991). Consequently, representation would be important to them as a group.

An exhaustive taxonomy combining provisions and need situations was not appropriate because the kind of provision required is usually implied by the need situation, because some distinctions are trivial and/or meaningless given the aims of this investigation, and because some problem-provision combinations are identical or virtually identical with others. Table 5.4 presents all possible combinations of needs and provisions, those selected for the present investigation, and the main reasons for rejecting those not included. With one exception, only one kind of provision was investigated for each need. The exception was the inclusion in the taxonomy of both 'problem-solving assistance and/or intervention' and 'emotional assistance' for psychological problems. Both were included because each is theoretically equally relevant to the need and because this would probably also accord with lay perceptions. For the sake of readability, need-provision combinations included in this investigation will be referred to hereafter simply as 'needs'.

Table 5.5 presents each of the needs investigated with childrearsers and the interview questions asking about each (Individual Interview Schedules, Appendix 1).

Most needs were regarded as irrelevant to children because in the culture being investigated the responsibility for defining the situation as sufficiently stressful to warrant seeking help and for taking action to alleviate it would normally rest with the childrearsers. However, some needs were presented to children because they directly concern them and because the child would often be in a position to take the initiative in seeking support for them. Needs presented to children are identified in Table 5.5. Question numbers are identical for the same need in childrearsers' and childrens' interview schedules though wording was changed to cater to different age groups (Individual Interview Schedules, Appendix 1).

TABLE 5.5: NEEDS AND INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

DOMAIN	NEED	CHILD-REARER INTERVIEW QUESTIONS	PRESENTED TO CHILDREN AGED:		
			HIGH SCHOOL OR LEFT SCHOOL	PRIMARY SCHOOL	PRE-SCHOOL
COMMUNITY ISSUES	Health	Question 24	√		
	Education	Question 25			
	Child Care	Question 26	√		
	Essential services	Question 28			
	Unemployment	Question 27			
PERSONAL UNEMPLOYMENT		Question 23	√		
SPECIAL-ISED NEEDS	Health	Question 13	√	√	
	Education	Question 14			
	Legal problems	Question 22			
SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS	Child development	Question 16	√	√	√
	Psychological problems	Question 17			
	Emotional problems	Question 29			
	Social integration problems	Question 30			
	Childrearer problems	Question 15			
CHILD CARE PROBLEMS	Constant:				
	temporary	Question 8			
	prolonged	Question 7			
	Occasional:				
	temporary	Question 10			
	prolonged	Question 9			
MATERIAL PROBLEMS	Incapacity:				
	temporary	Question 5			
	prolonged	Question 6			
	Household:				
	temporary	Question 12			
	prolonged	Question 11			
	Accommodation:				
	temporary	Question 18			
permanent	Question 19				
Destitution:	temporary	Question 20			
	prolonged	Question 21			

## RESPONDENT AND RESPONDENT FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS

Because of the lack of previous research on social support in small remote settlements it was important for the present study to include a large number of variables.

Data were collected for the respondent and respondent family characteristics presented and defined in Appendix 2, Tables 1 and 2 respectively. Only those which cannot be fully presented in tabular form are discussed here.

### Respondents

Respondent town, family, gender, age, residential length, ethnicity, education, absence, location, boarding school attendance, boarding school location, and self-reliance are fully presented in Appendix 2, Table 1 it seems likely that each of these will affect support seeking behaviour.

Family position has been relatively neglected in previous research (though see, for example, Bryson and Thompson, 1972; Fischer, 1982; d'Abbs, 1983; and Richards and Salmon, 1983). The two family positions of **childrearer** and **child** were defined. They are complementary components of nuclear family structure and, because of this, are defined in relation to each other. A childrearer is:

a person who assumes, and is recognised by both the relevant community and (where possible) by the child concerned as having responsibility for the continuing day-to-day physical, social and emotional well-being of the child and/or for those decisions which directly concern the child and could reasonably be anticipated to have major and lasting effects on their total development.

Where decision-making power alone is the defining condition: spatial separation is the reason why the childrearer/s cannot be responsible for the child on a day-to-day basis; the separation is in the best interests of the child as determined by the childrearer/s; and both the childrearer/s and child would wish to end the separation if it were no longer thought to be necessary.

A child, on the other hand, is:

a person in relation to whom at least one other person assumes, and is recognised both by the relevant community and (where possible) by the child as having responsibility for engaging in the functions and tasks of childrearer as defined here.

The second condition, decision-making power, is essential in remote area research because spatial separation is often necessary for the child's educational, health and/or social needs or because of the childrearer's employment. The relevant community comprises other residents in the childrearer's settlement, and any other caregivers that might be involved in the child's everyday life.

It is possible that the supports of children and childrearsers might differ.

Residential permanence is conceptually independent of residential length. Whether a person expects to be permanently rather than temporarily settled in the region may influence their integration into local social processes, the extent to which they maintain ties with associates from elsewhere and, consequently, who they seek support from and where these supports are located. Residential permanence was

determined by the expressed expectations of the respondent or, in the case of children, their primary carers. Qualitative values were preferred to anticipated number of years for two reasons. First, it was assumed that a respondent's perception of their permanence in the region is more likely to affect their choice of supports than the number of years they expect to live there. Second, perceived permanence would probably be a more reliable and valid measure of the concept than anticipated years of residence. In any case, the latter only gives the illusion of being more concrete.

Education level was included because it has also been found to influence social networks and social support. The classification used here follows the ABS taxonomy. Education is often included in social support research because of its possible association with a person's awareness of available resources and their ability to access them.

Occupation, mining occupation, employment mode and employing organisation were included to compare the results of this investigation with those of mining town studies and with local wisdom, both of which suggest that these factors may affect social structure and, hence, social support in remote settlements. Each variable refers to those activities which regularly occupy the greatest proportion of the respondent's total time spent in productive work. Productive work was defined as those activities which clearly contribute to the wider economy and/or to the welfare of other people or the community as a whole. It includes income-producing work as it is commonly understood as well as unpaid involvement in welfare activities, domestic tasks and childrearing activities.

Employment mode refers to whether the respondent was self-employed, an employee, a home-manager, employed in a collective group such as a cooperative or religious order, or was unemployed. Self-employment was defined as income-producing productive work as part of a private enterprise in which the respondent has

a substantial financial interest relative to other investors. An employee works in an organisation in which they have little or no financial interest relative to other investors. Home-management and unemployment are self-evident.

Employing organisation is the kind of organisation the respondent was working in - a private enterprise, a local, state or federal government department, a semi-government organisation, a community-based organisation, whether they held an elected government position, or whether they were not in paid employment.

Occupation was classified following the ABS taxonomy and respondents were also asked whether they worked primarily in the mining industry.

Location was defined as how far away from town a regularly absent resident usually is. Preliminary investigation found that 50km by road was the approximate limit of ready face-to-face accessibility to other family members. Preliminary investigation also identified the values for absence and boarding school location (Cheers, 1991). It seems likely that whether a person is regularly absent from town and, if so, how far away they are may affect their support seeking behaviour.

### **Families**

Respondent family characteristics investigated are presented in Appendix 2, Table 2, along with their definitions and values. Only characteristics which cannot be fully presented in tabular form are discussed here.

Many family characteristics have counterparts amongst individual characteristics. Both sets of variables were included because exploratory research (Cheers, 1985, 1991) indicated that many residents of remote regions experience and perceive a difference between the individual in their own right and as a member of a particular kind of family with a certain place within the social structure.

Family town was included to enable comparison between towns, and family type and family size because they may be related to family member support seeking.

It is likely that family income would influence members' access to social provisions and geographically distant supports. Family income was defined as the combined annual before-tax income of all family members. This measure is based on the assumptions that (a) other factors held constant, the maximum possible financial resources available to an individual family member varies directly with total family income (although equal internal distribution of income is not assumed), and (b) in an emergency requiring access to outside support a family's total financial resources would normally be made available to the member who needs them.

The reviews of both Young (1977) and Richards and Salmon (1983) have demonstrated that family life cycle stage is an influential explanatory variable in demography and sociology. It has been shown to influence family members' social networks (Bryson and Thompson, 1972; Shulman, 1976; Fischer, 1982; d'Abbs, 1983; Richards and Salmon, 1983), especially those of women (Richards and Salmon, 1983).

As noted by Richards and Salmon (1983):

..... (family) life stage must be categorized so as to distinguish not only the biological fact of childbirth but the socially defined stages of childhood and, therefore, parenthood (p.5).

And further:

..... Studies of women's family roles that derive from their accounts clearly show the importance for them of children's age, in particular of the transition from preschool to school age. (Richards, 1978; Harper and Richards, 1979). But this is rarely recognized where life stage is used as an independent variable, and even more rarely is there separate classification of the transitional phase, where a woman experiences the constraints and opportunities of preschoolers and school age children. .... few studies have classified transitional stages, particularly when families have preschool and school age children. Expecting this stage, especially for the mother to be different from either neighbour 'true' stage, we coded it separately, and found it always behaved differently. (Richards and Salmon, p.5). (Original authors' emphasis).

The classification of family life stage in Appendix 2, Table 2 is based on stages identified by Richards and Salmon (1983), although the classification is different in several respects. First, Richards and Salmon's focus on 'couples' is broadened to the 'nuclear family' as defined above. Second, their category of 'Young Childless Couples' is omitted because it does not fit comfortably within the definition of 'nuclear family' used in the present investigation. However, this is added for the variable 'living group life stage of intimates and supports' to be defined later. Third, three further stages have been identified within their 'School-age Children' stage: primary school children only, primary and high school children and high school children only. This is for two reasons: the transition from primary to high school in these towns usually has major effects on family life because it always means the commencement of boarding school many hundreds of kilometres away; and adolescents tend to be more

independent than primary school age children. It is plausible that both variables would make for differences in children's and, perhaps, their parents' support networks.

Family residential length was defined as the length of time for which the childrears had lived in the town together. Family residential permanence was defined according to whether childrears thought they would live locally permanently, more-or-less permanently or temporarily. Defining residential permanence in this way is more valid than defining it in terms of childrears' expectations for the period while dependent children are part of the family. It is likely that family residential length and permanence would be related to family member support seeking.

A family's ethnic composition is based on the ethnicity of family members as this was defined earlier. It was included because it was expected to have some influence on the ethnicity of family members' supports and, perhaps, some of their other characteristics. Values presented in Appendix 2, Table 2 were derived from inspection of the data.

Families were also coded according to the main income earner's education, occupation, whether they worked in a mining occupation, employment mode and employing organisation. Inclusion of these variables was based on the assumption that where the main income earner stands on these variables has most influence on where the family is placed within local social and economic structures. In turn, the family's social and/or economic position may influence family member support seeking. The main income earner was regarded as the family member whose employment was contributing most to total family income at the time of interview.

It is plausible that family absence, absence pattern, location, boarding school attendance, and boarding school location might all influence family member support seeking.

Finally, information was collected about access to suitable long-range transport in reasonably good condition and to long-range communication devices such as a telephone or two-way radio. The availability of these may influence family member support seeking.

### **Respondents' Intimate Social Networks**

Characteristics of respondents' intimate social networks were treated as independent variables in this study.

**Intimates:** Respondents were asked about members of their intimate, or 'first order zone' social networks (hereafter referred to as 'intimates'). Identifying intimates posed problems in this study, which needed to be addressed. Traditionally, intimates have been identified by (a) the frequency of their interaction with ego, (b) the subjective significance or value to ego of their relationship with the intimate, and/or (c) the amount of positive regard which ego holds for the intimate. In this study, identifying intimates by frequency of interaction alone would have biased respondents' intimate social networks toward local residents and away from more geographically distant, though perhaps more significant intimates with whom they interact less frequently. On the other hand, taking the value of the relationship to the respondent as the sole criterion may have included significant but inactive relationships, especially with intimates who are geographically distant. Finally, positive regard is not synonymous with interaction frequency, relationship importance or intimacy. Administering an integrated multidimensional scale combining frequency of interaction and the value of the relationship would have placed heavy demands on respondents' time and patience to obtain data which, after all, was only for a few independent variables.

The solution involved including only relationships with some minimal personal value to the respondent so that positive regard was not a necessary condition for inclusion,

and permitting respondents to include intimates with whom they were maintaining contact other than through face-to-face interaction.

Consequently, a person's intimate social network was defined as comprising:

Those individuals with whom the respondent interacts directly on a regular basis, either face-to-face and/or in other ways, and with whom they maintain a relationship which they value for its own sake and not merely because of benefits obtained from the fulfilment of reciprocal or non-reciprocal formal contractual obligations. The intimate social network includes these people, together with their relationships with the respondent and with each other.

This definition has several components. First, a respondent's intimate social network was identified by the respondent or, in the case of young children, by one or more other family members. Time and resources precluded direct observation of these. Second, direct respondent-intimate interaction was necessary though this need not be face-to-face. Third, the respondent was required to associate with intimates regularly, though not necessarily frequently. Because respondents were expected to vary widely on what they regard as regular interaction, this was left to them to interpret. Finally, the respondent had to value their relationship with the intimate for its own sake and not merely because of the fulfilment of formal contractual obligations, whether reciprocal or not. This excluded, for example, purely professional or commercial transactions, though it was possible for a respondent to have both an intimate and a contractual relationship with the same support.

For the sake of validity, respondents were free to include members of their own nuclear family as intimates. While they almost always did this, there were some exceptions.

Intimate social networks were defined by way of Question 1 on the Individual Interview Schedules (Appendix 1).

Once intimates were identified, data could be collected concerning their characteristics, those of their 'living groups', and the nature of their relationships with respondents. All information was obtained from respondents because time and resources precluded direct contact with most of the intimates themselves.

Validity of this information was verified in several ways.

- 1 It was verified directly with intimates who were also respondents.
- 2 It was verified directly with intimates who were not also respondents but who lived locally or who were visiting town during either field trip. This was done only with respondent permission and where it would not threaten rapport with the respondent or other residents.
- 3 Where the same intimate was reported by two or more respondents and these provided different information, the report of the respondent with the closest reported relationship with the intimate was taken as the most accurate. For this purpose several criteria were used to determine relationship closeness: kinship; closeness of kinship; relationship intimacy; relationship duration; the existence of a friendship; whether the respondent had once lived in close physical proximity with the intimate (in the same residence or settlement); and recency of direct contact with the intimate. For the most part, information

provided by childrearsers was regarded as more valid than that provided by children, unless the intimate was a close friend and/or peer of the child.

Respondents sometimes checked information for some intimates with another family member and a decision was reached by the two.

In the final analysis, there was serious doubt about information pertaining to only two intimates. In these cases unclear information was coded as missing data.

That we can have some confidence in the reliability of respondents' reports about their intimates, supports, and respondent-intimate/support relationships has been suggested on the basis of empirical studies by Killworth and Bernard (1976, 1979), Bernard and Killworth (1977), Bernard, Killworth and Sailer (1980 and 1982), Hammer (1984) and Romney and Weller (1984).

**Intimates' Characteristics:** These are presented in Appendix 2, Table 3. All but two are either obvious, defined fully in Appendix 2, Table 3, or are identical to corresponding respondent characteristics. The two remaining variables are living group position and service location.

A 'living group' was defined as the social unit within which the intimate lives on an ongoing day-to-day basis. To comprise a living group, members must live in the same dwelling, share finances and major financial decisions, be personally significant to each other, have strong affective relationships (positive and/or negative), share important personal events, and regard the unit as relevant to personal decision-making. The concept is operationalised in the **Definition of a Living Group** on the Individual Interview Schedules (Appendix 1). Living groups of virtually all supports involved and most intimates involved either kin relations or the support living by

themselves. Other kinds of living groups, such as religious orders, were mentioned only very occasionally.

Two living group positions were defined: 'childrearer' and 'child'. These were defined earlier as respondent characteristics. A third 'other' category was added.

An intimate's settlement of residence was classified according to whether it was a centre for formal essential and personal support services, and, if so, the breadth of services available at the centre. The importance of this factor lies in the question of how to link remote settlement residents with formal supports. For example, if many residents' intimates live in major service locations, then we might be able to assume that residents potentially have links with distant services and potential access to information about them. Service locations were classified as shown in Appendix 2, Table 3.

Essential services include (a) the administration and provision of local government services, (b) the administration and provision of state or federal government services, (c) non-welfare financial services, (d) substantial education services, (e) substantial health services, and (f) non-welfare professional and/or trades services. A substantial health service includes a hospital and resident doctor, and a substantial education service both primary and high school grades. More than four of these were necessary for a town to be considered as a service centre. This lower limit was set to exclude the research towns, all of which had a police station, a branch of the State Emergency Service, one trade service, and two, a local government office.

**Intimates' Living Group Characteristics:** These are presented in Appendix 2, Table 4. All are either obvious, completely defined in the table, or virtually identical with corresponding respondent family characteristics.

Living group life stage is a nominal variable. However, restricting living groups to those with dependent children (stages 2 to 8 in Appendix 2, Table 2) produces an ordinal scale identical to family life stage discussed above.

**Relationship Characteristics** Respondent-intimate relationship characteristics were identified by respondents because time and resources precluded direct observation. In reality, however, many respondents often checked information with other family members while being interviewed.

Relationship characteristics are presented in Appendix 2, Table 5. Two of these require further elaboration.

Seven categories of kinship were identified.

- 1 The intimate is a current member of the respondent's present nuclear family.
- 2 The intimate was once a member of the respondent's present nuclear family, though this is no longer the case. For example, the intimate may be an adult child no longer living at home.
- 3 The respondent and the intimate were once members of the same nuclear family, though one or both are no longer living in this family. For example, the intimate could be an adult respondent's parent.
- 4 The intimate was once a member of the same nuclear family as another member of the respondent's present nuclear family, though one or both are no longer living in this family. This would hold, for example, for a respondent's father-in-law.

- 5 The intimate is now in the same nuclear family as either: someone who was once a member of the same nuclear family as the respondent, though one or both are no longer living in this family; or someone who was once a member of the same nuclear family as someone else within the respondent's present nuclear family, though one or both are no longer living in this family. An example of the former is a respondent's brother's wife; and of the latter their wife's sister's husband.
- 6 The intimate has a more distant kin relationship than those covered by the foregoing.
- 7 The intimate is not kin.

The discriminator for residential location was 100km from the respondent's town. This was chosen because exploratory research (Cheers, 1985, 1991) indicated that reasonably accessible and frequent face-to-face interaction is difficult beyond this distance. In these areas it is almost identical to Fischer's (1982, p.166) definition of a local rural region as including all areas within a 60 minute driving radius.

**Social Network Characteristics:** The kinds of people an individual maintains an intimate relationship with, the relationships they have with them, and how they usually contact them are likely to be related to who they turn to for support for which kinds of provisions. For example, respondents with highly geographically dispersed networks may choose to seek support from distant sources.

Consequently, compositional, relational and structural characteristics of respondents' social networks were analysed as independent variables. All were derived from characteristics of a respondent's individual intimates or their living groups. Compositional variables describe the relative frequency of characteristics of intimates such as female gender; relational variables describe the relative frequency of

relationship characteristics such as the importance of intimates to the respondent or interactional characteristics such as the primary means of contact between a respondent and their intimates; and structural variables describe linking patterns within an individual's total network such as network density. Network characteristics analysed for this report are presented in Appendix 2, Table 6.

In all, 26 social network variables were calculated. 12 of these were included in the analyses reported in Chapter 6. The other 14 were either trivial with respect to the purposes of this investigation, had insufficient variance to justify analysis, were too imprecise to be useful and/or were confounded with other network characteristics. These variables and the reasons for their exclusion from analyses are presented in Table 1, Appendix 3.

Social network density requires further elaboration. This is the proportion of all possible links between a respondent's intimates which involve a reciprocal or non-reciprocal intimate relationship. Operationally, it was only necessary for one intimate to regard another as an intimate for an intimate relationship to exist between the two. It has often been suggested that a dense social network provides a greater possibility of social support than an unconnected one. But investigators have also found that dense social networks may result in a person receiving less, rather than more, support for some problems because they are less likely to have weak links. A 'weak link' includes at least one network member who has few other connections within ego's total network but who, partly because of this, provides a path to people, groups and networks outside of ego's usual social orbit. These weak links, then, have the potential to provide a person with access to resources which are not otherwise available from within their social network.

The respondent themselves determined whether intimate links existed within their social networks because time and resources precluded either asking network

members themselves or more direct methods of observation. Where an intimate was also a respondent information could often be checked directly against their own list of intimates. Where two or more respondents gave conflicting information, the investigator followed the same procedure for verifying information outlined for intimates' characteristics.

### **RESPONDENTS' SUPPORT SOURCES AND SUPPORT NETWORKS**

Respondents were asked to specify from whom or where they would first seek assistance for each of the needs presented (Preamble to and Questions 5a to 30a, Individual Interview Schedules, Appendix 1). Responses were coded as either a source number, preferred self-reliance, the respondent's deliberate and justified (by them) decision to do nothing at all, 'don't know', or 'not applicable'.

Respondents were asked for **Initial** supports because these would be the ultimate point of linkage between formal services and non-formal supports. However, it was not necessary for the respondent to anticipate that this support would directly provide all the assistance they needed. They were at liberty to choose any kind of source including formal service organisations and their functionaries, other organisations, non-formal sources and natural supports. Respondents were also told they could choose local or non-local sources and, amongst natural supports, other members of their immediate (nuclear) family, relatives and friends. All these guidelines were incorporated into the Preamble to Questions 5 to 30 (Individual Interview Schedules, Appendix 1).

Reliability of source selections was tested with 22 members of five randomly selected families. During Wet season interviews these were not informed of their Dry season responses whereas all other respondents and/or their assistants were.

The reliability coefficient is the proportion of Wet and Dry responses that coincide. Where different sources were cited for clear reasons, more often than not because of seasonality, responses were not included in calculations. Table 5.6 presents reliability coefficients. These were 0.85 for all needs, 0.85 for childrearsers and 0.78 for children. Reliability varied between 0.64 and 1.00 for each need, though only three were below 0.80 - permanent accommodation, and education and child care as community issues. For childrearsers, psychological problems and unemployment as a community issue were also below 0.80. For children reliability was only moderate for education problems. Thus, the reliability of source selection was generally high, slightly higher for childrearsers than children, though only moderate for some needs.

Respondents were asked for information concerning supports, supports' living groups, respondent-support relationships, and the supportive interaction which they envisaged would occur.

### **Support and Support Living Group Characteristics**

The most fundamental distinction is between named and unnamed supports. A named support was a person to whom the respondent referred specifically by name and would seek help from partly because of their personal characteristics, resources and/or their personal relationship with them. An unnamed support, on the other hand, was an organisation, a formal position within an organisation, or a class of people such as unspecified local residents referred to collectively. Where necessary, initial source selections were probed. Virtually all named supports were natural sources and all unnamed supports were other kinds of sources.

TABLE 5.6: RELIABILITY OF SOURCE SELECTION

NEED	CHILDREARERS (N=10)					CHILDREN*					ALL RESPONDENTS (N=22)				
	Same responses (s)	Different responses without a reason (d)	Different responses with a reason	(s+d)	Reliability $\frac{s}{(s+d)}$	Same responses (s)	Different responses without a reason (d)	Different responses with a reason	(s+d)	Reliability $\frac{s}{(s+d)}$	Same responses (s)	Different responses without a reason (d)	Different responses with a reason	(s+d)	Reliability $\frac{s}{(s+d)}$
<b>COMMUNITY ISSUES</b>															
Health	8	2	-	10	0.80	-	-	-	-	-	8	2	-	10	0.80
Education	6	4	-	10	0.60	1	-	1	1	1.00	7	4	1	11	0.64
Child care	6	3	1	9	0.67	-	-	-	-	-	6	3	1	9	0.67
Essential services	8	2	-	10	0.80	-	-	-	-	-	8	2	-	10	0.80
Unemployment	7	2	1	9	0.78	2	-	-	2	1.00	9	2	1	11	0.82
<b>PERSONAL UNEMPLOYMENT</b>	8	1	1	9	0.89	-	-	2	-	-	8	1	3	9	0.89
<b>SPECIALISED NEEDS</b>															
Health	10	-	-	10	1.00	-	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	10	1.00
Education	10	-	-	10	1.00	3	2	2	5	0.60	13	2	2	15	0.87
Legal problems	10	-	-	10	1.00	-	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	10	1.00
<b>SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS</b>															
Child development	8	2	-	10	0.80	-	-	-	-	-	8	2	-	10	0.80
Psychological problems	7	3	-	10	0.70	10	1	1	11	0.91	17	4	1	21	0.81
Emotional problems	9	1	-	10	0.90	9	1	-	10	0.90	18	2	-	20	0.90
Social integration problems	9	1	-	10	0.90	9	1	-	10	0.90	18	2	-	20	0.90
Childrearer problems	7	1	2	8	0.88	-	-	-	-	-	7	1	2	8	0.88

TABLE 5.6: RELIABILITY OF SOURCE SELECTION (Continued)

NEED	CHILDREARERS (N=10)					CHILDREN*					ALL RESPONDENTS (N=22)				
	Same responses (s)	Different responses without a reason (d)	Different responses with a reason	(s+d)	Reliability $\frac{s}{(s+d)}$	Same responses (s)	Different responses without a reason (d)	Different responses with a reason	(s+d)	Reliability $\frac{s}{(s+d)}$	Same responses (s)	Different responses without a reason (d)	Different responses with a reason	(s+d)	Reliability $\frac{s}{(s+d)}$
<b>CHILD CARE PROBLEMS</b>															
Constant:															
temporary	7	1	2	8	0.88	-	-	-	-	-	7	1	2	8	0.88
prolonged	6	1	3	7	0.86	-	-	-	-	-	6	1	3	7	0.86
Occasional:															
temporary	8	1	1	9	0.89	-	-	-	-	-	8	1	1	9	0.89
prolonged	8	1	1	9	0.89	-	-	-	-	-	8	1	1	9	0.89
<b>MATERIAL PROBLEMS</b>															
Spousal Incapacity:															
temporary	8	1	1	9	0.89	-	-	-	-	-	8	1	1	9	0.89
prolonged	7	1	2	8	0.88	-	-	-	-	-	7	1	2	8	0.88
Household:															
temporary	8	1	1	9	0.89	-	-	-	-	-	8	1	1	9	0.89
prolonged	8	1	1	9	0.89	-	-	-	-	-	8	1	1	9	0.89
Accommodation:															
temporary	5	1	4	6	0.83	-	-	-	-	-	5	1	4	6	0.83
permanent	7	2	1	9	0.78	-	-	-	-	-	7	2	1	9	0.78
Destitution:															
temporary	8	-	2	8	1.00	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	2	8	1.00
prolonged	8	2	-	10	0.80	-	-	-	-	-	8	2	-	10	0.80
<b>ALL</b>	<b>201</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>236</b>	<b>0.85</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>0.78</b>	<b>235</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>275</b>	<b>0.85</b>

NOTE: \* N = 2 for the community issues, 7 for education problems and 12 for the social-emotional problems.

All intimates' and intimates' living group characteristics presented earlier were also recorded for named supports who were not also intimates. Additional source characteristics investigated are presented in Appendix 2, Table 7.

Source characteristics presented in Appendix 2, Table 7 variously refer to named or unnamed supports or both. 'Support positions' and 'living group support positions' refer only to named sources; 'formal positions' to both named and unnamed sources; and 'administrative level', 'organisation type', 'government level', 'service area', 'welfare service area', 'essential service area', and 'Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander service area' all refer to unnamed sources only.

'Support type' refers to the kind of source it is. People seek help from a 'natural' support because of the source's personal characteristics and/or because of the nature of their relationship with them. They seek help from a formal support because the source's official primary function is to provide the support in question. Formal supports can be narrowly defined or defined more broadly to include services which overlap with but are not usually regarded as personal support services. The latter includes, for example, the State Emergency Service and local government. Though an informal support does not have the primary function of providing the support in question, it tends to do so because of an involvement with people. Included, for example, are sporting clubs and the Country Women's Association. A person usually seeks help from an informal support because they are associated with it in other ways and/or because they don't know where else to turn. Finally, we can assume that some sources have a support function, though exactly what it is remains unclear; a source can have a combination of different kinds of support positions; or it may not have any support positions at all.

The variable 'support positions' refers to the kind of support positions held by the source. With one exception they were classified in the same way as 'support type'.

The exception was that a support was classified as 'natural' only if they were a key natural helper in the sense of being a private person from whom a range of other unrelated people seek assistance. 'Source living group support positions' refers to positions held by members of the source's living group, including the source, and was classified in a similar way to the corresponding individual variable.

'Administrative level' is easy to define though difficult to code. At the 'low' administrative level are front-line functionaries such as school teachers and child care workers with the Queensland Department of Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs. At the 'middle' level are immediate supervisors of front-line functionaries and/or people responsible for substantial budgets such as school principals, hospital matrons and regional supervisors with the Department of Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs. At the 'high' level are administrators with supervisory responsibilities for a large number of staff, control over large budgets and those with ultimate responsibility for services. Included here are Regional Directors and Assistant Directors of the Departments of Education and Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs, regional Hospital Boards and Shire Councils. Finally, at the 'very high' level are the highest ranking state and federal officials such as Directors-General and state and federal government Ministers.

Finally, the variable 'organisation type' requires further elucidation. A 'semi-government' organisation, such as a local hospital, is one which is heavily regulated by government although administratively semi-autonomous. A 'community-based organisation' is one which is not a semi-government organisation and is administered and mostly controlled by a management committee selected from the community it serves. A regional neighbourhood centre is an example. Profit-making enterprises include, for example, local stores and private professional practitioners such as doctors and solicitors. Finally a private boarding school was the most frequently cited example of a non profit-making private enterprise.

### **Respondent-Support Relationship Characteristics**

Information about respondent-support relationships was also collected. Characteristics included all those presented earlier for respondent-intimate relationships, and 'network links', which had three states.

- 3 **Intimate:** The source was also cited as an intimate by the respondent.
- 2 **Personal Contact:** Though the respondent did not report the source as an intimate, they were maintaining contact on a personal level.
- 1 **Neither:** The respondent did not report the source to be an intimate; nor were they maintaining contact with them on a personal level.

The variable 'relationship importance' reported earlier for respondent-intimate relationships was expanded to include a fourth value to account for the situation where the support was not also cited as an intimate by the respondent. This transformed the full scale into a nominal one, though the ordinality of three original values could still be used when only supports who are also intimates were being referred to.

### **Support Networks**

As with respondents' social networks, their support network characteristics were derived from source and source living group characteristics. The 21 variables included in analyses reported in Chapter 6 are presented in Appendix 2, Table 8. However, a further 43 were defined and calculated. Reasons why these were not included in analyses are presented in Appendix 3, Table 2. They were excluded primarily because they were trivial for the purposes of the present investigation, they were imprecise, they did not add information to that provided by other more useful

variables, they had insufficient variability for meaningful analysis and/or they were confounded with other more useful variables.

### **REASONS FOR SUPPORT SELECTION**

For each need presented, respondents were asked for the main reason why they would initially seek help from the support they cited (Questions 5b to 30b, Individual Interview Schedules, Appendix 1). The question was left open-ended because of the lack of previous research on the issue and because the investigator wished to preserve response expression. Responses were classified according to both the general and specific taxonomies presented in Table 1, Appendix 4.

Reliability of these responses was tested on the same 22 respondents in five families used for evaluating the reliability of source selections. These gave main reasons for source selection without knowing their Dry season responses. Different Dry and Wet season source selections were excluded from analysis. Of the 233 identical responses only 2 were given for different reasons in each season (reliability coefficient=0.99).

### **METHOD OF SEEKING SUPPORT**

Respondents were asked how they anticipated they would contact their chosen support (Questions 5c to 30c, Individual Interview Schedules, Appendix 1). Responses were coded as either face-to-face interaction, telephone or telegram, correspondence, indirect contact, or a combination of these. Indirect contact was defined as contact initially occurring through another person or intermediary. This initial contact had to be for the sole purpose of establishing contact with the support in a way which would be acceptable to the respondent. This variable proved to be redundant because virtually all responses indicated either face-to-face or telephone

contact, the choice depending on whether the source was living locally. Results for it, then, are not reported in Chapter 6.

## SUPPORT EVALUATION

Finally, respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they believed the extra help provided by their anticipated support would contribute to solving the problem presented (Questions 5d to 30d, Individual Interview Schedules, Appendix 1). They did this for each of the 26 needs by checking an unmarked 10cm line, or visual analogue, which was anchored at zero and at the maximum possible contribution. Visual analogue scales have been shown to have satisfactory psychometric reliability and construct validity (Aitkin, 1969; Teasdale and Fennel, 1982; Nurius, Lovell and Edgar, 1988).

Reliability of these was examined by conducting this part of the interview twice in the Wet season with 20 randomly selected childrearsers. The repeat interview was conducted between two and three weeks after the initial interview with respondents knowing who they selected in the first Wet season interview, though not the rating they gave them. Only responses indicating a support or self-help were included in analyses.

Pearson's  $r$ 's are presented in Table 5.7. For all responses mean difference between ratings was 0.96 with a standard deviation of 1.24. Over half the differences were less than 1.00. The two sets of ratings were moderately correlated (root-mean-square=0.69). Eight needs were highly correlated, 14 moderately and four showed only weak associations. So overall reliability was moderate though it varied amongst needs. Respondents were most consistent in their ratings of supports providing assistance with constant prolonged child care and temporary and prolonged occasional child care; temporary household assistance; health care; and health,

TABLE 5.7: RELIABILITY OF ANTICIPATED SUPPORT CONTRIBUTION RATINGS\*

NEED	r	MEAN DIFFERENCE	STANDARD DEVIATION OF MEAN DIFFERENCE	n
<b>COMMUNITY ISSUES</b>				
Health	0.87	1.07	0.86	19
Education	0.77	1.12	1.36	18
Child Care	0.70	0.97	1.43	15
Essential services	0.84	1.17	1.19	19
Unemployment	0.81	1.04	1.33	15
<b>PERSONAL UNEMPLOYMENT</b>	0.57	1.49	1.83	20
<b>SPECIALISED NEEDS</b>				
Health	0.83	0.49	0.68	20
Education	0.57	1.21	1.45	19
Legal problems	0.71	0.92	1.00	19
<b>SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS</b>				
Child development	0.54	1.15	1.24	19
Psychological problems	0.63	1.02	1.24	20
Emotional problems	0.56	0.72	0.92	20
Social integration problems	0.74	0.53	0.79	19
Childrearer problems	0.76	0.86	0.87	20
<b>CHILD CARE PROBLEMS</b>				
Constant: temporary	0.71	0.63	0.93	18
prolonged	0.87	0.53	0.65	18
Occasional: temporary	0.81	0.62	0.76	18
prolonged	0.81	0.61	0.75	18
<b>MATERIAL PROBLEMS</b>				
Spousal incapacity: temporary	0.74	0.65	0.82	20
prolonged	0.52	0.96	1.32	20
Household: temporary	0.82	0.47	0.54	20
prolonged	0.72	0.66	0.80	20
Accommodation: temporary	0.45	1.12	1.31	20
permanent	0.36	1.52	1.82	18
Destitution: temporary	0.21	1.73	2.23	19
prolonged	0.36	1.71	1.72	19
<b>ALL NEEDS</b>	0.69**	0.96	1.24	
<b>NOTE:</b>	*Includes self-reliance responses **Root-mean-square of all r's.			

unemployment and essential services as community issues. They were least consistent for supports helping with prolonged incapacity; education, child development and psychological problems; accommodation and destitution; and personal unemployment and emotional difficulties. There were no other clearly discernible patterns in these results.

### **SUMMARY OF VARIABLES**

Table 5.8 summarises all variables analysed. Characteristics of intimates and respondent-intimate relationships are not included in Table 5.8 because, for this thesis, they have only been used to derive respondent social network characteristics.

### **ANALYSES**

All analyses were conducted on a main-frame VMS computer system with the SPSSx programme.

How analyses were conducted, statistics used, and qualitative data management strategies varied according to the analysis at hand. Because of this, further details of analyses will be presented in relevant sections of Chapter 6.

TABLE 5.8: VARIABLES ANALYSED

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	
<b>Respondent Characteristics</b>	
Town	Occupation
Family	Mining occupation
Family position	Employment mode
Gender	Employing organisation
Age	Absence
Residential length	Location
Residential permanence	Boarding school attendance
Ethnicity	Boarding school location
Education	Self-reliance
<b>Respondent Family Characteristics</b>	
Town	Mining occupation
Type	Employment mode
Size	Employing organisation
Income	Absence
Family life stage	Absence pattern
Residential length	Location
Residential permanence	Boarding school attendance
Ethnicity	Boarding school location
Education	Transport access
Occupation	Communication access
<b>Respondent Social Network Characteristics</b>	
Local kin	
Network size	
Non-family network size	
Network kin	
Non-family network kin	
Local intimates	
Network distance	
Local network residential length	
Local network living group residential length	
Rural network	
Network density	
Non-family network density	
<b>Respondent Support Network Characteristics</b>	
Named/unnamed support network	
Local supports	
Support network distance	
Rural supports	
Support network contribution	
Named support network size	
Non-family named support network size	
Named support network intimates	
Names support network kin	
Non-family named support network kin	
Local non-family named supports	
Named support network distance	
Local named support network residential length	
Local named supports' living group residential length	
Rural named support network	
Named support network density	
Non-family named support network density	
Named support network contribution	
Unnamed support network size	
Local unnamed supports	
Unnamed support network contribution	

TABLE 5.8: VARIABLES ANALYSED (Continued)

**DEPENDENT VARIABLES****Support Characteristics**

Respondent/respondent family  
 Town  
 Living group position  
 Gender  
 Age  
 Residential place  
 Residential length  
 Ethnicity  
 Occupation  
 Mining occupation  
 Employment mode  
 Employing organisation  
 Residential place size  
 Service location  
 Formal support positions  
 Other formal positions  
 Living group type  
 Living group residential length  
 Living group life stage  
 Living group ethnicity  
 Living group occupation  
 Living group mining occupation  
 Living group employment mode  
 Living group employing organisation  
 Living group ethnicity  
 Living group formal support positions  
 Living group other formal positions  
 Named or unnamed support  
 Support type  
 Support positions  
 Supports living group support positions  
 Formal positions  
 Administrative level  
 Organisation type  
 Government level  
 Service area  
 Welfare service area  
 Essential service area  
 Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander service area

**Respondent-Support Relationship Characteristics**

Kin, friend or neither  
 Kinship  
 Intimacy  
 Relationship importance  
 Relationship duration  
 Relationship permanence  
 Distance  
 Residential location  
 Primary contact method

## CHAPTER SIX: RESULTS

Dry season responses formed the baseline for Wet season comparisons. Consequently, most results refer to the Dry season. The very few Wet season differences are reported at the end of this chapter.

### THE POPULATION

This population description refers to Dry season respondents only.

186 respondents living in 45 families were interviewed either directly, by way of, or with the assistance of another family member during the Dry season. One other family member, a female childrearer, was not interviewed because she was absent from town during field trips. She has been included in this description so that family profiles are complete.

As indicated in Table 6.1 almost half of the 187 family members were living in Bushland, slightly less than one third in Capeville and one-quarter in Gulftown. The 45 families were distributed in similar fashion: 21 were in Bushland, 14 in Capeville and 10 in Gulftown (Table 6.4). 12 family members were Aboriginal, five childrearsers and seven children.

TABLE 6.1: RESPONDENTS BY TOWN, POSITION AND GENDER

CHARACTERISTIC	TOWN						ALL RESPONDENTS	
	GULFTOWN		CAPEVILLE		BUSHLAND			
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
<b>ALL RESPONDENTS</b>	46	24.6	55	29.4	86	46.0	187	100.0
<b>FAMILY POSITION</b>								
Childrearsers	20	43.5	28	50.9	42	48.8	90*	48.1
Children	26	56.5	27	49.1	44	51.2	97	51.9
Totals	46	100.0	55	100.0	86	100.0	187	100.0
<b>RESPONDENT GENDER</b>								
Male	22	47.8	27	49.1	43	50.0	92	49.2
Female	24	52.2	28	50.9	43	50.0	95	50.8
Totals	46	100.0	55	100.0	86	100.0	187	100.0
<b>CHILDREARER GENDER</b>								
Male	10	50.0	14	50.0	20	47.6	44	48.9
Female	10	50.0	14	50.0	22	52.4	46	51.1
Totals	20	100.0	28	100.0	42	100.0	90	100.0
<b>CHILD GENDER</b>								
Male	12	46.2	13	48.1	23	52.3	48	49.5
Female	14	53.8	14	51.9	21	47.7	49	50.5
Totals	26	100.0	27	100.0	44	100.0	97	100.0
NOTE: One female childrearser is included for the sake of completion, though she was not interviewed about her support-seeking.								

## INDIVIDUALS

90 family members were childrearsers and 97 children (Table 6.1). 87 childrearsers were interviewed directly and alone and three by way of their spouses. 40 children were interviewed by way of a parent, 27 with a parent and 22 by themselves. 92 respondents were male and 95 female, 44 and 46 for childrearsers and 48 and 49 for children.

### Childrearsers

Most of the following information is presented more precisely in Table 6.2.

TABLE 6.2: CHILDREARER CHARACTERISTICS BY TOWN

CHARACTERISTIC	T O W N			ALL CHILD-REARERS	
	GULFTOWN	CAPEVILLE	BUSHLAND		
<b>AGE</b>	$\mu=35.2$ $\sigma=6.7$	$\mu=38.1$ $\sigma=7.8$	$\mu=32.9$ $\sigma=7.8$	$\mu=35.0$ $\sigma=7.8$ $\text{eta}^2=0.08$	
<b>RESIDENTIAL LENGTH</b>	$\mu=5.8$ $\sigma=8.4$	$\mu=6.7$ $\sigma=10.2$	$\mu=13.4$ $\sigma=11.7$	$\mu=9.6$ $\sigma=11.1$ $\text{eta}^2=0.10$	
	(f)	(f)	(f)	(f)	(%)
0-1 year	4	12	10	26	28.9
2-11 years	14	9	11	34	37.8
12 years or more	2	7	21	30	33.3
<b>RESIDENTIAL PERMANENCE</b>					
Temporary	6	10	12	28	32.6
More-or-less permanent	3	10	9	22	25.6
Permanent	11	8	17	36	41.9
Undecided	-	-	4	4	-
<b>TEMPORARY OR PERMANENT</b>					
Temporary	6	10	12	28	43.8
Permanent	11	8	17	36	56.3
<b>ETHNICITY</b>					
Aboriginal	-	1	4	5	5.6
Other	20	27	38	85	94.4
<b>EDUCATION</b>					
No qualifications	9	12	21	42	47.2
Non-trade certificates	2	1	9	12	13.5
Diploma, trade or equivalent	9	11	10	30	33.7
Degree, graduate diploma	-	4	1	5	5.6
Postgraduate degree	-	-	-	-	-
Unknown	-	-	1	1	-

TABLE 6.2: CHILDREARER CHARACTERISTICS BY TOWN  
(Continued)

CHARACTERISTIC	T O W N			ALL CHILD-REARERS	
	GULFTOWN	CAPEVILLE	BUSHLAND		
<b>OCCUPATION</b>					
Professional	-	2	-	2	2.2
Semi-professional	3	4	3	10	11.1
Trade; Technical	1	3	1	5	5.6
Administration	3	3	2	8	8.9
Clerical	2	1	1	4	4.4
Sales	-	1	1	2	2.2
Service	4	4	-	8	8.9
Farming	-	1	3	4	4.4
Fishing	1	-	-	1	1.1
Transport	1	-	2	3	3.3
Home management	4	8	17	29	32.2
Other semi-skilled	-	-	5	5	5.6
Other unskilled	1	1	4	6	6.7
None; unemployed	-	-	3	3	3.3
<b>MINING OCCUPATION</b>					
Mining	-	4	4	8	9.2
Not mining	20	24	35	79	90.8
Combination	-	-	-	-	-
Unknown	-	-	3	3	-
<b>EMPLOYMENT MODE</b>					
Self-employed	8	14	5	27	30.0
Employee	8	6	17	31	34.4
Home-manager	4	8	17	29	32.2
Collective	-	-	-	-	-
Other	-	-	-	-	-
Not employed	-	-	3	3	3.3
Combination	-	-	-	-	-
<b>SELF-EMPLOYED OR EMPLOYEE</b>					
Self-employed	8	14	5	27	46.6
Employee	8	6	17	31	53.4
<b>EMPLOYING ORGANISATION</b>					
Private enterprise	8	14	9	31	34.4
Public service	5	6	11	22	24.4
Elected government position	-	-	-	-	-
Semi-government organisation	2	-	2	4	4.4
Community based organisation	-	-	-	-	-
Other	5	8	17	30	33.3
Not employed	-	-	3	3	3.3

**TABLE 6.2: CHILDBREARER CHARACTERISTICS BY TOWN  
(Continued)**

CHARACTERISTIC	T O W N			ALL CHILD- REARERS	
	GULFTOWN	CAPEVILLE	BUSHLAND		
<b>PRIVATE ENTERPRISE OR PUBLIC SERVICE</b>					
Private enterprise	8	14	9	31	54.4
Public service or semi- government	7	6	13	26	45.6
<b>ABSENCE</b>					
Never; rarely	16	22	41	79	88.8
Regularly; short periods	-	3	1	4	4.5
Regularly; long periods	2	1	-	3	3.4
Longer	2	1	-	3	3.4
Unknown	-	1	-	1	-
<b>LOCATION</b>					
Never or rarely absent	16	22	41	79	88.8
0-49km	4	5	1	10	11.2
50km or more	-	-	-	-	-
Unknown	-	1	-	1	-
<b>TOTALS</b>	20	28	42	90	

Childrearsers' ages ranged from 20 to 54 years, with a mean of 35.0 years and standard deviation of 7.8 years.

Average length of residence was 9.6 years with a large standard deviation of 11.1 years. 28.9% of the childrearsers had lived within the region for less than two years, 37.8% for between two and 11 years, and 33.3% for 12 years or more. One half of all childrearsers had lived within the region for less than five years.

Slightly more childrearsers intended to reside permanently in town than either temporarily or more-or-less permanently.

Almost one half did not have tertiary qualifications beyond high school. Most of those with qualifications had trade certificates, diplomas or their equivalent. A few

childrearers had other occupational certificates and only five had degrees or graduate diplomas.

All ABS occupational groups were represented with one-third of childrearers being home managers. Only eight were employed in the mining industry. Of those who were neither home managers nor unemployed there were a few more employees than self-employed residents. Almost all of these were either public servants or working in a private enterprise. The four exceptions were employed in local hospitals (classified as semi-government organisations in Australia). Combining these with public servants there were only slightly more private enterprise employees than public servants.

Only 10 of the 89 childrearers for whom the information exists were regularly absent from town. These were absent for varying lengths of time, none regularly more than 50km away.

### **Children**

The following information is presented more precisely in Table 6.3.

Children ranged from 0 to 17 years, with a mean of 8.0 years and standard deviation of 5.1 years.

They had lived in their regions for an average of 5.1 years with a standard deviation of 5.3 years. 30.9% had lived locally for less than two years, 54.6% for two to eleven years, and 14.4% for 12 years or more.

Children were equally likely to be temporary or permanent residents, with less than one in five more-or-less permanent.

TABLE 6.3: CHILD CHARACTERISTICS BY TOWN

CHARACTERISTIC	T O W N			ALL CHILD-REN	
	GULFTOWN	CAPEVILLE	BUSHLAND		
<b>AGE</b>	$\mu=7.8$ $\sigma=4.9$	$\mu=8.9$ $\sigma=4.8$	$\mu=7.6$ $\sigma=5.4$	$\mu=8.0$ $\sigma=5.1$	$\eta^2=0.01$
<b>RESIDENTIAL LENGTH</b>	$\mu=4.0$ $\sigma=5.0$	$\mu=3.7$ $\sigma=4.8$	$\mu=6.5$ $\sigma=5.5$	$\mu=5.1$ $\sigma=5.3$	$\eta^2=0.06$
	(f)	(f)	(f)	(f)	(%)
0-1 year	7	10	13	30	30.9
2-11 years	16	14	23	53	54.6
12 years or more	3	3	8	14	14.4
<b>RESIDENTIAL PERMANENCE</b>					
Temporary	11	12	16	39	42.9
More-or-less permanent	4	8	5	17	18.7
Permanent	11	7	17	35	38.5
Undecided	-	-	6	6	-
<b>TEMPORARY OR PERMANENT</b>					
Temporary	11	12	16	39	52.7
Permanent	11	7	17	35	47.3
<b>ETHNICITY</b>					
Aboriginal	-	2	5	7	7.2
Other	26	25	39	90	92.8
<b>BOARDING SCHOOL ATTENDANCE</b>					
Attends	4	5	11	20	20.6
Doesn't Attend	22	22	33	77	79.4
<b>BOARDING SCHOOL LOCATION</b>					
0-499km	1	2	10	13	65.0
500km or more	3	3	1	7	35.0
<b>TOTALS</b>	26	27	44	97	

TABLE 6.4 FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS BY TOWN

CHARACTERISTIC	T O W N			ALL FAMILIES	
	GULFTOWN f	CAPE-VILLE f	BUSH-LAND f	f	%
<b>FAMILY TYPE</b>					
Restricted natural family	8	12	19	39	86.7
Extended natural family	-	-	1	1	2.2
Restricted step family	2	2	1	5	11.1
<b>FAMILY SIZE</b>					
3	2	4	7	13	28.9
4	3	6	7	16	35.6
5	1	4	4	9	20.0
6	4	-	3	7	15.6
<b>FAMILY INCOME</b>					
\$19,999 or less	1	2	3	6	14.6
\$20,000 - \$29,999	4	5	7	16	39.0
\$30,000 - \$39,999	2	3	5	10	24.4
\$40,000 or more	2	4	3	9	22.0
Unknown	1	-	3	4	-
<b>FAMILY LIFE STAGE</b>					
Preschool	2	4	7	13	28.9
Pre/primary school	2	2	6	10	22.2
Primary school	2	2	-	4	8.9
Primary/high school	2	4	3	9	20.0
High school	-	1	2	3	6.7
High school/left school	-	-	1	1	2.2
Left school	-	1	1	2	4.4
Other	2	-	1	3	6.7
<b>FAMILY RESIDENTIAL LENGTH</b>					
	$\mu=4.4$ $\sigma=5.6$	$\mu=4.6$ $\sigma=7.2$	$\mu=9.1$ $\sigma=7.7$	$\mu=6.7$ $\sigma=7.4$ $\text{eta}^2=0.10$	
0-1 year	2	6	5	13	28.9
2-11 years	7	6	9	22	48.9
12 years or more	1	2	7	10	22.2
<b>FAMILY RESIDENTIAL PERMANENCE</b>					
Temporary	3	5	7	15	34.9
More-or-less permanent	2	5	4	11	25.6
Permanent	5	4	8	17	39.5
Undecided	-	-	2	2	-

TABLE 6.4 FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS BY TOWN (Contineud)

CHARACTERISTIC	T O W N			ALL FAMILIES	
	GULFTOWN	CAPE-VILLE	BUSH-LAND	f	%
	f	f	f		
<b>TEMPORARY OR PERMANENT</b>					
Temporary	3	5	7	15	46.9
Permanent	5	4	8	17	53.1
<b>FAMILY ETHNICITY</b>					
Partly Aboriginal	-	1	2	3	6.7
Not Aboriginal	10	13	19	42	93.3
<b>FAMILY EDUCATION</b>					
No qualifications	2	4	7	13	28.9
Non trade certificates	2	-	8	10	22.2
Trade; diploma or equivalent	6	7	5	18	40.0
Degree; graduate diploma	-	3	1	4	8.9
Postgraduate degree	-	-	-	-	-
<b>FAMILY OCCUPATION</b>					
Professional	-	2	-	2	4.4
Semi-professional	3	3	3	9	20.0
Trade; technical	1	1	1	3	6.7
Administration	3	2	2	7	15.6
Clerical	-	-	-	-	-
Sales	-	-	-	-	-
Service	2	2	-	4	8.9
Farming	-	1	2	3	6.7
Fishing	1	-	-	1	2.2
Transport	-	-	2	2	4.4
Home management	-	-	1	1	2.2
Other semi-skilled	-	-	5	5	11.1
Other unskilled	-	1	2	3	6.7
Other	-	-	-	-	-
None, unemployed	-	-	3	3	6.7
Combination	-	2	-	2	4.4
<b>FAMILY MINING OCCUPATION</b>					
Mining	-	3	4	7	16.7
Not mining	10	11	14	35	83.3
<b>FAMILY EMPLOYMENT MODE</b>					
Self-employed	5	9	3	17	37.8
Employee	5	5	14	24	53.3
Home management	-	-	1	1	2.2
Not employed	-	-	3	3	6.7

TABLE 6.4 FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS BY TOWN (Continued)

CHARACTERISTIC	T O W N			ALL FAMILIES	
	GULFTOWN	CAPE-VILLE	BUSH-LAND	f	%
	f	f	f		
<b>SELF-EMPLOYED OR EMPLOYEE</b>					
Self-employed	5	9	3	17	41.5
Employee	5	5	14	24	58.5
<b>FAMILY EMPLOYING ORGANISATION</b>					
Private enterprise	6	9	8	23	51.1
Public service	3	5	9	17	37.8
Semi-government	1	-	1	2	4.4
Other	-	-	-	-	-
Not employed	-	-	3	3	6.7
<b>PRIVATE ENTERPRISE OR PUBLIC SERVICE</b>					
Private enterprise	6	9	8	23	54.8
Public service or semi-government	4	5	10	19	45.2
<b>FAMILY ABSENCE</b>					
None	6	8	16	30	66.7
1	-	4	1	5	11.1
2	2	1	3	6	13.3
3 or more	2	1	1	4	8.9
<b>FAMILY ABSENCE PATTERN</b>					
Never; rarely	6	8	16	30	66.7
Regularly; short periods	-	2	-	2	4.4
Regularly; long periods	1	1	-	2	4.4
Longer	3	3	5	11	24.4
<b>FAMILY LOCATION</b>					
0-49km	-	1	-	1	6.7
50km or more	4	5	5	14	93.3
<b>FAMILY BOARDING SCHOOL ATTENDANCE</b>					
None	8	11	15	34	75.6
1	1	1	2	4	8.9
2	-	2	3	5	11.1
3 or more	1	-	1	2	4.4

TABLE 6.4 FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS BY TOWN (Continued)

CHARACTERISTIC	T O W N			ALL FAMILIES	
	GULFTOWN f	CAPE- VILLE f	BUSH- LAND f	f	%
<b>FAMILY BOARDING SCHOOL LOCATION</b>					
0-499km	-	1	5	6	54.5
500km or more	2	2	1	5	45.5
<b>TRANSPORT ACCESS</b>					
Family owns vehicle	10	13	21	44	97.8
Immediate access	-	1	-	1	2.2
<b>COMMUNICATION ACCESS</b>					
Home device	9	14	21	44	97.8
Immediate access	1	-	-	1	2.2
<b>TOTALS</b>	10	14	21	45	

One in five children attended boarding school, two thirds of these more than 500km away.

#### FAMILIES

Most of the following information is presented in Table 6.4.

39 of the 45 families were restricted natural nuclear families and five were step-families. The other involved a mother, her child and the mother's sister. The mother and child lived in a caravan adjoining a house owned by the sister and the latter's husband. Even though he lived in the house, the husband was not a respondent because the two women agreed he was not the child's childrearer and because he and his wife had no children of their own.

38 families had one to three children and only seven four.

Only 3 families were partly Aboriginal. All involved Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal spouses and their natural children.

Most families were reasonably comfortable financially, though six had low incomes.

Half of the families were in early stages of the family life cycle with either preschool children only or a combination of these and primary school children. The remainder were spread fairly evenly through the later stages.

Average length of family residence was 6.7 years with a large standard deviation of 7.4 years. Half had been living in the region for less than four years and more than one quarter for less than two years. 10 of the 45 had lived locally for 12 years or more. Similar numbers of families were living temporarily, permanently or more-or-less permanently in their towns.

The largest number of main income earners had trade qualifications, diplomas or their equivalent. More than one-quarter had no qualifications whatsoever and slightly less than one-quarter certificates which were not full trade qualifications. Only four of the 45 had degrees or graduate diplomas.

Their occupations varied widely, with seven employed in the mining industry. Almost all were either employees or self-employed, with the former predominating. Similarly, almost all were either working in a private enterprise or the public service (including two in semi-government organisations), with slightly more of the former. Three stated they were unemployed, though one solo parent would more accurately be identified as a home manager.

were unemployed, though one solo parent would more accurately be identified as a home manager.

One-third of the families included one or more members who were regularly absent from town, 13 of 15 for long periods. One or more children in 11 families attended boarding schools and two or more in seven families. Boarding schools were more than 500km away from five families. Four other families included childrearsers who were regularly absent because of their work, three usually more than 50km away.

Only one family did not own a vehicle which was suited to long-distance travel in the region, and one did not have a long-range communication device in the home. Immediate access to these was possible for both families.

#### **DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TOWNS**

The main difference between towns was that almost half of all respondents and families were in Bushland. Slightly more of the remainder were in Capeville than Gulftown.

Otherwise, respondents and families differed only slightly between towns.

Capeville childrearsers were slightly older than their Gulftown or Bushland counterparts. Bushland families had lived locally longer than those in the other two towns, as had childrearsers and children, though differences for the latter were negligible.

Relatively fewer of Bushland's main income earners and childrearsers more generally had achieved a full trade certificate, degree or graduate diploma compared with Gulftown's and Capeville's.

The only difference with regard to occupation was that none of the eight childrearers working in the mining industry were in Gulftown.

Disregarding home-managers and the unemployed, Bushland's main income earners and childrearers were more likely to be employees than self-employed whereas those in Capeville were more likely to be self-employed. Those in Gulftown were equally likely to be either. Bushland was also the only town to have main income earners who were not employed outside the home: one was a home manager and three were unemployed.

This was also reflected in main income earners' and childrearers' employing organisations. In Bushland, they were slightly more likely to be public servants and in Capeville employed in private enterprises.

Thus, both Capeville and Bushland families and family members had some distinguishing characteristics. The only strong difference was that Bushland families and childrearers had lived locally longer than those in the other two towns. Capeville childrearers were slightly older, and they and the main income earners among them were more likely to be self-employed and working in private enterprises. Bushland childrearers were more likely to be public servants and employees than those in the other two towns and, as a group, they had achieved slightly less educationally.

In general, then, respondent families and their members differed very little from town to town with regard to the characteristics analysed. As discussed in Chapter 5, the towns were also very similar in many other ways. For the most part, then, the following discussion assumes that respondents in the three towns can be regarded as a single population, though this is modified where required.

## SUPPORT SOURCES REGARDLESS OF NEED

Support sources and their links with respondents were analysed regardless of the need or needs for which they were reported.

### ANALYSES

Some of the dependent variables under investigation were characteristics of sources and others of respondent-source links. These were analysed separately. One data file included information for all respondent-source links and another for all sources. The latter was derived from the former. Occasionally, a respondent reported two or more individual supports for a single need. Each was listed separately in these files because for this part of the analysis interest was in the supports themselves and their links with respondents rather than where people would seek help from in particular situations. Given this focus, preserving combined sources would have involved some loss of data. Combined sources were recorded as such for analyses of support-seeking behaviour for specific needs.

No named support was reported in more than one town. However, 21 unnamed sources were cited in two towns, and two in three. This raised the issue of whether to treat each link between a single source and different towns as if each was a separate source for analyses of source characteristics. (Clearly, the issue did not arise for analyses of respondent-source links). Of the 23 sources cited in two or more towns, 18 were administrators, 19 were in regional centres, 17 were government or semi-government departments, 13 were organisations or government officials, and 16 were formal support positions. Taking each link between a source and a town as a separate source increased the number of unnamed sources by 25 from 163 to 188, or 15.3%, and made for only very slight differences of up to 6% for some distributions of

unnamed source characteristics. The representation of unnamed compared with named sources was increased slightly, as were the proportions of unnamed sources in government or semi-government organisations, administrative occupations, and formal support positions in regional service centres. On the other hand, the representation of unnamed sources identified as semi-professionals and those from community-based organisations were reduced.

For two reasons it was decided to double- or triple-count unnamed sources mentioned in two or three towns for analyses of source characteristics. First, double counting was necessary for between town comparisons of sources. Second, because they knew more about them, respondents were usually more specific in reporting local unnamed sources than non-local. For example, while a respondent might refer to the Brisbane office of a government department they would be more likely to refer more specifically to either the local Shire Council, Chairperson, Clerk or Deputy Clerk. In itself this would increase the representation of local unnamed sources in the data relative to non-local. Because they were more likely to be associated with non-local unnamed sources this would also reduce the representation in the data of the very characteristics of those sources most frequently mentioned in two or more towns. Double counting increased the representation of these characteristics, thereby reducing this bias.

The extent to which sources were reported by two or more respondents was also calculated. The number of respondents using a given source was useful for examining individual sources. However, this was limited when applied to types of supports, such as those providing education services. The sum of links with all sources of that type would depend partly on the number of sources so coded. Consequently, average usage was operationalised as the ratio of the sum of the number of respondents citing each source of a particular type to the number of

sources of that type. For example, if there were two sources, A and B, of type X, and three respondents cited source A and five (including these three) source B, average linkage for source type X would be  $8/2$  or 4.0. This measure is limited, however, in that it does not take account of the variation in usage amongst sources of the same type. This did not create problems for analyses of named supports because each of these were reported by very few respondents. However, some unnamed sources were cited by many respondents. Results for these are reported separately in this chapter.

Analyses were also conducted of links between sources and respondent families, and a separate data file for these was derived from the respondent-source links file. Even so, results are more accurately reported as links with individuals rather than families because respondents were interviewed as individuals. For this reason, then, most results are reported for links with individuals, while those pertaining to links with families are only reported where they better serve the purposes at hand. Results were very similar for both kinds of analyses.

All analyses involving named sources were conducted (a) including and (b) excluding those mentioned only by other family members. Similarly, analyses involving links between named sources and respondents were also conducted (a) including and (b) excluding links between sources and other family members. While results from both kinds of analysis are reported here those from the latter are emphasised. This is for two reasons. First, within-family sources were almost constants in that it was rare for children not to cite at least one childrearer and for both childrearsers not to cite each other as supports, even if only for one need. 95 of the 97 children reported at least one parent as a support, and 73 of the 90 childrearsers reported their partners. Second, family members were also constants or virtual constants for some dependent variables such as where the source lived in relation to respondents, whether they were kin, and the permanence of their relationship with the respondent.

Nevertheless, within-family sources should not be overlooked. For many needs they were positive choices for respondents, rather than the inevitable consequence of the norms of non-Aboriginal Australian society.

Most results are reported separately for named and unnamed sources because few variables were common to both. The alternative was to distinguish between natural and non-natural sources, the latter including both formal and informal supports. The named/unnamed distinction was used because it proved to be more precise, because it involved the least loss of data and because it was very highly correlated with the natural/non-natural distinction anyway.

While it may be theoretically sound, the distinction between natural and non-natural supports proved to be imprecise. Distinctions amongst formal and informal non-natural sources were also imprecise because classification of the source varied according to the service under examination. Thus, for example, while a hospital would be a formal source for health needs, it would be an informal source for various welfare needs. Consequently, while all individual sources could be coded according to whether they were named or unnamed, 34 could not be coded according to a single support type and four were regarded as a combination of two or more types. These 38 represented 8.1% of all the 470 sources and 23.3% of the 162 unnamed sources.

The two variables were almost identical anyway: all of the 307 named sources were natural supports (rather than informal or formal) compared with only 10 of the 163 unnamed sources ( $\phi=0.95$ ).

Results are not reported for source or source living group occupation, mining occupation, employment mode and employing organisation. This is because these

proved to be trivial given the purposes of this investigation and because analysis showed that they were not related to respondent characteristics.

Nor are results reported for source residential place size or living group ethnicity. The former proved to be trivial and the latter added little useful information to respondent ethnicity.

For the most part, only positive results are reported. Nil results are reported only where they contribute significant information.

**ALL SOURCES**

As presented in Table 6.5 495 sources were reported, 429 by at least one respondent who was not in the same family and 66 only by other family members. The latter were linked with an average of 3.50 respondents each.

**TABLE 6.5: NAMED AND UNNAMED SOURCES: FREQUENCIES AND AVERAGE USAGE**

SOURCE TYPE	SOURCES		LINKS		AVERAGE USAGE SOURCES/ LINKS
	f	%	f	%	
<b>ALL SOURCES</b>					
Named	307	62.0	587	47.9	1.91
Unnamed	188	38.8	638	52.1	3.39
All	495	100.0	1225	100.0	2.47
<b>WITHIN FAMILY ONLY</b>	66	13.3	231	18.9	3.50
<b>NON-FAMILY SOURCES</b>					
Named	241	56.2	356	35.8	1.48
Unnamed	188	43.8	638	64.2	3.39
All	429	86.7	994	81.1	2.32

62% of all non-family supports were named and 38.8% unnamed. Unnamed sources were linked with an average of 3.39 respondents, all named sources with 1.91, and non-family named sources with 1.48. (Table 6.5).

As Table 6.6 shows, over one-third of all non-family sources were located up to 100km from town and slightly less than two-thirds were further away. Average usage for local sources was higher than for non-local (3.12 and 1.87 respectively). This trend held for both unnamed and non-family named sources, though the difference was greater for unnamed.

**TABLE 6.6: NON-FAMILY NAMED AND UNNAMED SOURCES BY RESIDENTIAL LOCATION**

RESIDENTIAL LOCATION	SOURCE TYPE				ALL SOURCES	
	NON-FAMILY NAMED		UNNAMED			
	%	AVERAGE USAGE	%	AVERAGE USAGE	%	AVERAGE USAGE
LOCAL	38.4	1.74	33.7	5.16	36.4	3.12
NON-LOCAL	61.5	1.31	66.3	2.55	63.6	1.87
ALL	100.0	1.91	100.0	3.39	100.0	2.47
TOTALS	239		184		423	

Slightly less than one half of all non-family sources were in respondents' towns, this being slightly higher for unnamed than for named sources. Most of the rest were more than 500km away. (Table 6.7).

**TABLE 6.7: NON-FAMILY NAMED AND UNNAMED SOURCES BY DISTANCE AND SERVICE LOCATION**

	SOURCE TYPE		ALL SOURCES %
	NON-FAMILY NAMED %	UNNAMED %	
<b>DISTANCE</b>			
Town	42.2	50.2	47.4
500km or more	42.5	44.2	43.5
Other	15.3	5.6	9.1
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0
ALL (Respondent-source links)	353	631	984
<b>SERVICE LOCATION</b>			
Not a service centre	64.7	44.1	55.8
Regional centre	17.0	45.8	29.5
Satellite centre	4.3	4.5	4.3
State capital	3.8	3.9	3.9
Other	10.2	1.7	6.5
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0
ALL (Sources)	235	179	414

Almost all sources were either in a regional centre or not in an Australian service location at all. Most of the latter were in respondents' towns. Almost half of the unnamed sources were in regional service centres and most of the remainder were not in an Australian service location. Almost two-thirds of named sources were not in service locations and one in five were in regional centres. Only 18 of the 429 non-family sources were in satellite centres, eight unnamed and 10 named, and only 16 in Brisbane, seven unnamed and nine named. (Table 6.7).

#### UNNAMED SOURCES

79.5% of unnamed supports were either local (33.7%) (Table 6.6) or in regional service centres (45.8%) (Table 6.7). On average, local unnamed sources were cited by 5.16 respondents (Table 6.6) each and those in regional centres by 3.05 respondents.

As presented in Table 6.8 six specific kinds of sources accounted for 223, or 69.7%, of the 320 links between respondents and local unnamed sources. These were: the three local hospitals reported by 75 of the 89 childrearsers; teachers and principals at the three local schools reported by 43; five Gulf and Bushland Shire Councils and officials together with the local Cape Shire Council representative in Capeville reported by 40; general local employers in each town reported by 19; general local employees reported by 17; and the Capeville Progress Association reported by nine of the 28 Capeville childrearsers. Local schools were cited by 16 of the 64 children who were asked about education problems, and local employers by four adolescents. No other specific kind of local unnamed source was mentioned by more than nine respondents.

Table 6.8 also shows that seven specific kinds of sources accounted for 183, or 73.2%, of the 250 links between respondents and unnamed sources in the regional centres. These included two Members of State and two of Federal Parliament, together reported by 45 childrearsers. One of these was a particularly popular Member of State Parliament reported by 34, or over one-third, of all childrearsers. Other frequently mentioned unnamed sources included private solicitors and one respondent's employer's solicitor; the Department of Social Security; the Royal Flying Doctor Service; the Queensland Education Department; the Commonwealth Employment Service; and various boarding schools. The Commonwealth Employment Service was also reported by two adolescents and boarding schools by four children. No other specific kind of unnamed regional source was mentioned by more than six respondents.

TABLE 6.8 MOST FREQUENTLY CHOSEN UNNAMED SOURCES

SOURCES	CHILDREARERS CITING (N=89)	CHILDREN CITING (N=97)*
<b>LOCAL</b>		
Hospitals	75	-
Schools	43	16
Shire councils	40	-
General local employers	19	4
General local employees	17	-
Capeville Progress Association	9(of 28 Capeville residents)	-
Number of links	203	20
<b>REGIONAL</b>		
Members of Parliament	45	-
Popular Member of Parliament	34	-
Private solicitors	41	-
Department of Social Security	21	-
Royal Flying Doctor Service	20	-
Queensland Education Department	19	-
Commonwealth Employment Service	16	2
Boarding schools	15	4
Number of links	177	6
<b>NOTE:</b> *Number of child respondents varied according to need.		

40 unnamed supports were neither local nor in regional centres. 22 of these were not in Australian service locations. Of the 18 that were, eight were in satellite centres, seven in Brisbane, and three in other Australian service centres. These were highly respondent specific, each being mentioned by an average of only 1.6 respondents, none by more than five. They also varied widely. Most frequently mentioned were the Cape Shire Council (five respondents), the Commonwealth Employment Service in a satellite centre (five respondents), and the Renmark Hospital Board (four respondents).

### **Differences Between Towns**

There was only one difference between unnamed sources chosen by respondents in each town. Local government sources were cited by 17 of Gulftown's 20 childrearsers, 22 of Bushland's 41, but only six of Capeville's 28. Capeville was the only town which was not a seat of local government. As will be shown later, local government was one of the sources most frequently mentioned by respondents seeking representation for issues affecting the town as a whole. Three local voluntary organisations were also cited: the Capeville Progress Association, the Bushland Residents and Ratepayers Association, and the Gulftown Branch of the Country Women's Association. Only the Capeville organisation was cited by a number of respondents, 10 of the 28 childrearsers. The Gulftown and Bushland organisations, on the other hand, were only reported by one and two childrearsers respectively. While these frequencies are too small to be conclusive and they are derived from only three towns, they do suggest that residents who have immediate access to local government tend to use it as a source of representation while those who don't are more inclined to use local citizens' organisations.

### **NAMED SOURCES**

307 named supports accounted for 62.0% of all sources, with an average usage of 1.91 respondents each. 66 named sources were reported only by other family members, with an average usage of 3.50 respondents. Thus, 241 named sources were reported by at least one respondent who was not a member of their nuclear family. These accounted for 56.2% of all non-family sources and 78.5% of all named sources. On average, each was cited by only 1.48 respondents and 1.13 families. (Table 6.5).

227 non-family named sources were adults. Average usage of these was 1.48 respondents, 1.75 for local sources and 1.32 for non-local. Average usage by respondent families was only 1.15 for these sources, 1.33 for local and 1.03 for non-local.

11 non-family named sources were children. (Living group position data were missing for three non-family named sources).

### **Within-family Sources**

Two of the 66 within-family sources were neither children nor childrearsers. One, the husband of the woman helping to raise her sister's young daughter, was introduced earlier. Though he was not a childrearser, his wife cited him as a support for child development problems, psychological and emotional difficulties, and for prolonged and temporary destitution. Consequently, he and his wife were regarded as an immediate family for the purposes of her support seeking.

The other within-family source who was neither a child nor a childrearser was the local fiance of a young woman who was defined as a 'child' for this investigation. When the woman was interviewed they were planning to live together in the immediate future, and this had eventuated by the time Wet season interviews were conducted six months later. She chose him for assistance with psychological, emotional and social integration problems. They were treated as an immediate family with respect to her support seeking behaviour, though he was not included as a respondent.

61.5% of the 231 within-family links involved children seeking assistance from other family members and 38.5% childrearsers. 202 links involved childrearsers as sources and 27 children. Almost as many wives chose husbands as husbands wives, and a few childrearsers chose children, more daughters than sons. Children chose mothers

TABLE 6.9: WITHIN-FAMILY SOURCES

RESPONDENTS AND SOURCES	f	%
<b>CHILDREARERS CITING</b>	89	38.5
'Wives'	39	43.8
'Husbands'	33	37.1
Children	16	18.0
Daughters	11	
Sons	5	
Combination	1	1.1
All	89	100.0
<b>CHILDREN CITING</b>	142	61.5
Childrearsers	130	91.5
'Mothers'	88	67.7
'Fathers'	42	32.3
Siblings	11	7.7
Sisters	7	
Brothers	4	
Combination	1	0.7
All	142	99.9
<b>GENDER</b>		
Females cited	145	62.8
'Mothers'/'wives'	127	87.6
'Daughters'/sisters	18	12.4
Males cited	86	37.2
'Fathers'/'husbands'	75	87.2
'Sons'/brothers	9	10.5
Combination	2	2.3
<b>ALL WITHIN FAMILY LINKS</b>	231	100.0

### Key Natural Helpers

**Local** Local key natural helpers used by a number of residents living in non-Aboriginal and partly Aboriginal families did not exist in these towns. This is all the more remarkable when it is considered that a source had only to be mentioned by one respondent for one of 26 needs for the two to be linked.

Each of two sources were reported by six respondents, seven by four, and four by three. 85% of all non-family named sources were reported by only one or two respondents, 56.3% by one.

Reviewing links with families rather than individuals: of 87 local named non-family sources, seven were reported by only three families each, 15 by two and 65 by one. Three of those reported by three families had close kinship ties with one family reporting them, and one with two.

Thus, three sources were reported by three non-kin families. One was a Capeville mining employer who had lived locally for one year. He was cited by two employee families for assistance related to their employment, and by another family on whose property he had erected a makeshift home. Employees and their wives chose him for temporary and prolonged accommodation because they regarded him as responsible for their housing. He was also reported by employee families and the property owner for assistance with prolonged destitution and unemployment because he may have been able to provide them with work.

Another source reported by three families was the Capeville remote area nurse, coded as a named rather than an unnamed source for these respondents because they regarded her as a personal friend. Four of the seven times they mentioned her were for needs at least indirectly connected with her professional position and/or experience: for health, emotional and social integration problems. She was also chosen for assistance with prolonged and temporary occasional child care, and for child care as a community issue.

The other source mentioned by three families was a Capeville woman, reported by four individuals. One woman cited her for 10 needs, this woman's husband for three, and two other women for two needs each.

Seven of her 17 citations were because of her resources or professional expertise: for prolonged and temporary household assistance because the respondent was renting a house from her and therefore believed that she had some responsibility for maintaining it; for permanent and temporary accommodation because she owned several local houses; and for health problems because she was a trained nursing sister.

She was reported 10 times by two respondents because of more personal qualities: for temporary incapacity because she was willing to help and locally available; for the four child care needs because she was locally available and because the children in both families got along well together; and for problems of social integration because of the respondent's relationship with her. She was also chosen for representation on issues concerning health, education and essential services because of her personal qualities, contacts and lobbying skills.

On this evidence, then, none of these could be regarded as a local key natural helper. The Capeville woman comes closest, though she was only reported by four of the 28 Capeville childrearsers in only three of their 14 families, often because of her material resources or professional expertise rather than for personal qualities and skills.

**Non-local** Four non-local named sources were reported by three respondents each, but only one by three families. One was the regional representative of the Department of Social Security who visited the town periodically, one the popular M.P. introduced earlier, and the other a minister of religion servicing the town. They were cited by

respondents who reported personal relationships with them. All were chosen for needs and reasons directly associated with their formal positions.

#### **Named Non-family Adult Sources**

227 of the 241 non-family named sources were adults and 11 dependent children. (Relevant data were not available for the other three). The adults had 338 links with respondents, and the children 15. Because so few non-family named sources were mentioned by more than two respondents, average usage is not relevant to the following discussion.

**Relationship Intimacy and Importance** 73.1% of respondent relationships with adult non-family sources were with intimates. Virtually all the remainder were reported as personal relationships, with only eight being neither. While this preference for intimates held for both kin and friends it was stronger for kin. (Table 6.10).

96.4% of intimates were either important or extremely important to respondents, whether they were kin or friends. However, while 84.8% of intimate kin were extremely important, this was the case for only 35.6% of intimate friends ( $\phi=0.50$ ). (Table 6.10).

**Relationship Permanence and Duration** 82.5% of respondent-source relationships were permanent, 10.1% probably permanent, and only 25 temporary. While all those with kin were permanent, this was the case for only 62.5% of those with friends ( $\phi=0.50$ ). (Table 6.10).

Respondents had known sources for an average of 15.9 years though relationships with kin were much longer than those with friends ( $\eta^2=0.58$ ) (Table 6.11).

**TABLE 6.10: NON-FAMILY NAMED ADULT SOURCE AND RESPONDENT-SOURCE RELATIONSHIP CHARACTERISTICS**

CHARACTERISTIC	ALL SOURCES/ LINKS %	SOURCE TYPE	
		KIN %	FRIENDS %
<b>LIVING GROUP POSITION</b>			
Childrearsers	46.3	31.9	65.3
Other adults	53.7	68.1	34.7
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0
All sources	N=227	N=185	N=144
<b>GENDER</b>			
Male	39.6	33.0	40.3
Female	60.4	67.0	59.7
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0
All sources	N=227	N=185	N=144
<b>LIVING GROUP LIFE STAGE</b>			
Intending couple	2.7	1.6	3.5
Preschool children	9.0	2.2	19.1
Preschool; primary school children	7.2	6.0	12.8
Primary school children only	8.6	8.7	9.2
Primary and high school children	7.7	4.9	10.6
High school children only	7.7	6.0	6.4
High school children and children who have left school	0.5	-	0.7
Children who have left school only	1.8	2.7	0.7
Have had children in past	32.0	47.3	11.3
Other family	2.3	1.1	3.5
Other solo	13.5	11.4	14.9
Other couple	5.9	7.6	5.0
Other living group	1.4	0.5	2.1
Total sources	100.3	100.0	99.8
All sources	N=222	N=184	N=141
<b>CHILDREARERS</b>			
Preschool	20.2	6.9	30.3
Pre/primary school	16.2	19.0	20.2
Primary school	19.2	27.6	14.6
Primary/high school	17.2	15.5	16.9
High school	17.2	19.0	10.1
High school; left school	1.0	-	1.1
Left school	4.0	8.6	1.1
Other family	5.1	3.4	5.6
Totals	100.1	100.0	99.9
All sources	f=99	f=58	f=89

TABLE 6.10: NON-FAMILY NAMED ADULT SOURCE AND RESPONDENT-SOURCE RELATIONSHIP CHARACTERISTICS (Continued)

CHARACTERISTIC	ALL SOURCES/ LINKS %	SOURCE TYPE	
		KIN %	FRIENDS %
<b>NON CHILDREARERS</b>			
Intending couple	4.9	2.4	9.6
Had children	57.7	69.0	30.8
Other solo	24.4	16.7	40.4
Other couple	10.6	11.1	13.5
Other living group	2.4	0.8	5.8
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.1
All sources	f=123	f=126	f=52
<b>KIN, FRIEND OR NEITHER</b>			
Kin	54.7		
Friend	42.6		
Neither	2.7		
Totals	100.0		
All links	N=338		
<b>KINSHIP</b>			
Present family, past member	7.0	7.0	
Past family	46.5	46.5	
Direct kin of other family	30.3	30.3	
Family of direct kin	8.6	8.6	
Other kin	7.6	7.6	
Totals	100.0	100.0	
All links	N=185	N=185	
<b>RELATIONSHIP INTIMACY</b>			
Intimate	73.1	84.9	62.5
Personal contact	24.6	15.1	36.1
Neither	2.4	-	1.4
Totals	100.1	100.0	100.0
All links	N=338	N=185	N=144
<b>RELATIONSHIP IMPORTANCE</b>			
Extremely important or important	96.4	93.7	95.6
Not important	3.6	6.3	4.4
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0
All links	f=247	f=158	f=90
<b>RELATIONSHIP PERMANENCE</b>			
Permanent	82.5	100.0	62.5
Probably permanent	10.1	-	22.9
Temporary	7.4	-	14.6
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0
All links	N=338	N=185	N=144
<b>RESIDENTIAL LOCATION</b>			
Local	38.3	25.5	68.8
Non-local	61.7	74.5	31.3
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.1
All sources	N=227	N=184	N=144

TABLE 6.10: NON-FAMILY NAMED ADULT SOURCE AND RESPONDENT-SOURCE RELATIONSHIP CHARACTERISTICS (Continued)

CHARACTERISTIC	ALL SOURCES/ LINKS %	SOURCE TYPE	
		KIN %	FRIENDS %
<b>DISTANCE</b>			
0-499km	26.3		
500km or more	73.7		
Totals	100.0		
All links	N=338		
<b>SERVICE LOCATION</b>			
Satellite	7.3		
Regional	26.3		
Brisbane	6.6		
Not a service location	43.1		
Other	16.8		
Totals	100.1		
All sources	N=227		
<b>CONTACT</b>			
Some face-to-face	69.0		
No face-to-face	31.0		
Totals	100.0		
All links	N=338		
<b>SUPPORT POSITIONS</b>			
Natural	7.5	10.8	7.7
Informal	4.9	2.2	7.0
Formal	10.2	4.9	14.7
Broad formal/informal	8.4	3.2	16.8
Unclear	3.5	5.9	2.8
Combination	7.1	7.0	12.6
None	58.4	65.9	38.5
Totals	100.0	99.9	100.1
All sources`	N=226	N=185	N=143
<b>LIVING GROUP SUPPORT POSITIONS</b>			
Natural	7.1	7.6	4.9
Informal	3.5	1.1	5.6
Formal	8.8	4.3	14.0
Broad formal/informal	8.0	3.2	12.6
Unclear	3.5	5.4	2.8
Combination	15.5	12.4	32.2
None	53.5	65.9	28.0
Totals	99.9	99.9	100.1
All sources	N=226	N=185	N=143

Note: Kin and Friend frequencies do not total to All Source/Links frequencies for many variables because the former denote links and the latter sources.

**Gender** 60.4% of sources were women, this remaining approximately the same for kin and friends (Table 6.10).

**Age** Sources' ages ranged from 14 to 88 years, averaging 42.9 years though varying widely. Kin were older than friends ( $\eta^2=0.15$ ). (Table 6.11).

**Living Group Position** 46.3% of sources were current childrearsers and 53.7% were not. 65.3% of friends were childrearsers though this was the case for only 31.9% of kin ( $\phi=0.33$ ). (Table 6.10).

**TABLE 6.11: NON-FAMILY NAMED ADULT SOURCES AND RESPONDENT-SOURCE RELATIONSHIPS BY AGE, RELATIONSHIP DURATION AND RESIDENTIAL LENGTH**

CHARACTERISTIC	ALL SOURCES/ RELATIONSHIPS %	SOURCE TYPE	
		KIN %	FRIENDS %
<b>AGE</b>			
$\mu$	42.9	47.6	36.1
$\sigma$	15.1	15.2	11.2
$\eta^2$	0.15		
All sources	N=227	N=185	N=144
<b>RELATIONSHIP DURATION</b>			
$\mu$	15.9	25.5	4.4
$\sigma$	13.9	11.3	4.9
$\eta^2$	0.58		
All links	N=338	N=185	N=144
<b>LOCAL RESIDENTIAL LENGTH</b>			
$\mu$	12.4	25.4	8.3
$\sigma$	15.7	19.2	11.8
$\eta^2$	0.24		
All sources	f=83	f=46	f=92
0-1 year	22.9%	-	35.9%
2-11 years	42.2%	30.4%	42.4%
12 or more years	34.9%	69.6%	21.7%
<b>NOTE:</b> Kin and Friend frequencies do not total to All Source/Relationships frequencies for Age and Local Residential Length because the former denote links and the latter sources.			

**Living Group Life Stage** Childrearsers' families were fairly evenly spread throughout the family life cycle. Relatively more childrearing friends than kin had preschool children only while kin were slightly more likely to have high school children only. Amongst non-childrearsers, relatively more kin than friends had raised children in the past whereas friends were more likely to be living by themselves. (Table 6.10).

**Kin and Friends** 54.7% of respondent-source relationships were with kin, 42.6% with friends, and only 9 of the 338 were with non-family adult sources who were neither (Table 6.10). 68.8% of friends were local and 74.5% of kin non-local ( $\phi=0.43$ ).

Some differences between kin and friends have already been reported. Kin were more likely to be intimates and extremely important to respondents. Their relationships with respondents were more likely to be permanent and were of longer duration. Kin tended to be older than friends, and were less likely to be current childrearsers. Those who were current childrearsers were more likely to have older children.

**Kinship** Close kin were identified as people who had once been in the same nuclear family as the respondent or another member of the respondent's present nuclear family, excluding previous members of their present family such as adult 'children'. More than three-quarters of the relationships with non-family kin supports were with close kin, with a slight preference for direct relatives. Only 16.2% were with more distant kin. (Table 6.10).

**Local and Non-local Sources** As indicated in Table 6.10, 61.7% of adult non-family named sources were non-local and 38.3% were local. Most non-local sources

lived further than 500km from respondents. On average, each local source was reported by 1.75 respondents and each non-local source by 1.31.

43.1% of all non-family named supports did not live in an Australian service location. Most of those who did, lived in regional centres, 10 in satellite centres and 9 in Brisbane. Respondents maintained some face-to-face contact with 69.0% of their supports meaning, of course, that they did not with almost one-third. (Table 6.10).

Local non-family named sources were dominated by friends and non-local by kin: 32.2% of links with local sources were with kin and 67.9% were with friends ( $\phi=0.43$ ). Because of this, comparisons between local and non-local sources were highly confounded with kinship. For this reason, further discussion will compare local and non-local kin and friends.

The only difference between local and non-local kin was in relation to kinship. While almost all non-local kin were close relatives (88.5%), this was the case for less than two-thirds (61.9%) of local kin ( $\phi=0.30$ ).

There were two slight differences between local and non-local friends: local friends were a little younger than non-local (33.8 and 41 years respectively,  $\eta^2=0.09$ ) and were more likely to be childrearsers (75.8% compared with 42.2%,  $\phi=0.33$ ).

Local kin and friends and non-local kin and friends differed in the same ways as did kin and friends more generally. Kin were more likely to be intimates and extremely important to respondents; their relationships with respondents were more likely to be permanent and of longer duration; they tended to be older; they were less likely to be current childrearsers; and those who were current childrearsers were more likely to have older children.

**Length of Residence of Local Sources** Because local residential length and local living group residential length were highly correlated ( $r=0.93$ ), results are reported only for the former.

Average local residential length of all non-family named adult sources was 12.4 years, ranging from 0 to 69 years. Almost one-quarter had lived locally for less than two years, almost half for two to 11 years, and one-third for 12 years or more. (Table 6.11).

Kin had lived locally three times longer than friends ( $\eta^2=0.24$ ). Around one-third of friends had lived locally for less than two years though no kin had done so. Over two-thirds of kin had lived locally for 12 years or more compared with only one-fifth of local friends. (Table 6.11).

**Support Positions** 29.7% of non-family named adult sources held one or more support positions, whether formal, informal, natural or a combination of these. Other members of the living groups of another 5.2% were in such positions. It is difficult to regard these results as anything but unremarkable without comparative data. It is also difficult to assess the reliability and validity of this information without further evidence. Consequently, these two variables are not discussed further.

**Australian Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders** 20 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people were reported by 34 respondents. 10 were local, eight were within the broad region but more than 100km from town, and two were further away.

18 of the 34 relationships with these supports involved Aboriginal respondents, five the white wife of an Aboriginal man, and 11 white respondents living in white families. All relationships with Aboriginal respondents were kin relationships, 14 between direct

kin or in-laws and four with more distant kin. All non-kin relationships between white respondents and Aboriginal supports were reported as friendships.

Five non-Aboriginal sources living in partly Aboriginal families were reported by 11 respondents: a local white couple fostering Aboriginal children reported by four respondents; a non-local woman cited by four Aboriginal relatives; and two other non-local friends of three white respondents.

Thus, most Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander sources were local and almost all were kin. Most were reported by Aboriginal respondents or a non-Aboriginal woman married to an Aboriginal man. Still, though, some non-Aboriginal respondents did mention Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander friends.

#### **Non-family Child Sources**

11 children, five boys and six girls, were reported by 15 respondents. 11 relationships were between school friends. The other four involved a local adolescent girl cited by her two older joint childrearing sisters and a married couple because she regularly provided paid child care assistance for them.

Eight relationships involved local children and seven non-local, six of these living more than 500km away. Four non-local relationships had developed and were maintained through attendance at the same boarding school.

13 of the 15 relationships were with important or extremely important members of respondents' intimate social networks. Nine were permanent, four 'probably permanent' and one temporary. The temporary relationship and the two reported to be 'personal contacts' were between the young child carer and her employers. Only two, both between kin, had existed for five years or more. The remainder averaged 2.6 years in duration.

### **Differences Between Towns**

The only difference between towns was that Gulftown respondents had no local non-family kin whatsoever. Consequently, while 39 Bushland and eight Capeville respondents chose local kin for at least one need, Gulftown respondents chose none. However, this difference was noticeable only for reporting of local non-family kin. Because of small numbers it did not have notable effects on the distribution of other source characteristics.

### **SUMMARY**

The main points arising from this analysis of sources regardless of need are as follows.

#### **All Sources**

- 1 Respondents chose both named and unnamed and local and non-local sources.
- 2 Most sources, whether named or unnamed, were either close at hand or far distant.
- 3 Overall, there were more non-local than local and named than unnamed sources.
- 4 Unnamed sources were more widely used than named, both locally and non-locally. Local sources were more widely used than non-local, whether named or unnamed.
- 5 Named sources were respondent - or at least family-specific.

- 6 Fewer than half of all sources were in a service location. Most of these were in regional service centres.

#### **Unnamed Sources**

- 7 Almost all unnamed sources were either in the research towns or in regional service centres. Very few were in regional satellite centres or in Brisbane, the state capital.
- 8 Local sources cited most frequently were hospitals, schools, shire councils, general employers, general employees and, for Capeville residents, the Capeville Progress Association.
- 9 Most frequently cited sources in regional centres were one particularly popular Member of State Parliament, private solicitors, the Department of Social Security, the Royal Flying Doctor Service, the Queensland Education Department, the Commonwealth Employment Service, and private boarding schools.

#### **Named Sources**

- 10 Almost all within-family-selections were of childrearsers.
- 11 Almost as many wives chose husbands as husbands wives.
- 12 Children cited their mothers twice as often as their fathers.
- 13 There were no local or non-local key helpers for the non-Aboriginal and partly Aboriginal family sub-populations of these towns.

- 14 Outside their immediate families, respondents preferred as supports important and extremely important members of their intimate social networks, people who they had known for some time, and people they had permanent relationships with. This was stronger for kin, though it also held for friends.
- 15 Though more women than men were cited as supports, the difference was not great.
- 16 Almost all non-family named adult supports were either kin or friends. Overall, friends tended to live locally and kin outside the local region. Non-local kin were more closely related to respondents than local kin. When choosing kin, respondents clearly preferred close kin. Kin were more likely than friends to be intimates, extremely important to respondents, engaged in permanent relationships with them of longer duration, older, not current childrearsers, and those that were current childrearsers tended to have older children. Local kin were similar to non-local and local friends similar to non-local. Local kin and friends and non-local kin and friends differed in the same ways as kin and friends more generally. Local kin had lived within the region for three times longer than local friends. Local friends tended to be younger than non-local and were more likely to be current childrearsers.
- 17 Most non-local non-family named adult sources were more than 500km away and in regional service centres.
- 18 Respondents had not maintained regular face-to-face contact with one-third of their non-family named adult sources over the previous two years.

- 19 Almost all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander sources were within the local region. Most were cited by Aboriginal respondents, almost all of these kin, though a few were selected by non-Aboriginal respondents.
- 20 Most non-family child supports were chosen by same gender peers. Both boys and girls were chosen. Child supports were overwhelmingly important, permanent members of respondents' intimate social networks and most had been fairly short-term acquaintances.
- 21 Sources cited by respondents in the three towns differed in only two respects. Respondents in Capeville, the only town which was not a seat of local government, failed to cite local government apparently preferring their local citizens organisation; and Gulftown respondents had no local kin whatsoever.

#### **SUPPORT SOURCES FOR EACH NEED: ANALYSES**

Childrearsers were asked where, if anywhere, they would first go for help with each of the 26 needs. Depending on their age, children were asked the same question for between three and seven needs.

Most responses indicated one source only. Initial responses indicating two or more sources were probed and the respondent was encouraged to choose one. Remaining combined sources were treated as a single source for analyses reported in this section.

For some combined sources it was possible to preserve some information for relationship, but not source characteristics. This occurred, for example, where a

respondent may have chosen two or more close male and female kin for a single need who were living in the same location. While source characteristics such as gender could not be specified, relationship characteristics such as kinship could be preserved by identifying the relationship number for one of the respondent-source relationships. Of course, this could not be done where relationships were not identical with respect to the characteristics being considered.

#### **SUPPORT SOURCES FOR EACH NEED: CHILDREARERS**

89 childrearsers were asked about 26 needs, giving a total of 2314 responses. As shown in Table 6.12, 92.2% of responses indicated either an external source or self-reliance. (Table 6.12).

#### **NON-SOURCE AND LOW CONTRIBUTION RESPONSES**

Results reported in this section are presented in Table 6.12.

There were three kinds of 'non-source responses' (neither self-reliance nor an external source). These indicated either that the need could not arise given the respondent's circumstances, that the respondent did not know what they would do, or that they deliberately would not do anything about the situation. In 'low contribution' responses, respondents indicated that their chosen source would contribute less than 20% (or 2cm on a 10cm line) toward resolving the problem at hand.

10.5% of all responses were either non-source or low contribution responses. Four in ten respondents gave these for child care and unemployment issues, one in four for issues concerning essential services, and one in five for permanent accommodation.

TABLE 6.12: CHILDREARERS' SOURCE, SELF-RELIANCE, NON-SOURCE AND LOW CONTRIBUTION RESPONSES BY NEED

NEED	SOURCE OR SELF-RELIANCE RESPONSES				NON-SOURCE AND LOW CONTRIBUTION RESPONSES							ALL RESPONSES		
	SOURCE %	SELF-RELIANCE %	ALL		IRRELEVANT f	DON'T KNOW f	DO NOTHING f	ALL		LOW CONTRIBUTION f	ALL			
			f	%				f	%		f	%	f	%
<b>COMMUNITY ISSUES</b>														
Health	97.6	2.4	84	94.4	-	3	2	5	5.6	-	5	5.6	89	100.0
Education	93.8	6.2	81	91.0	-	5	3	8	9.0	6	14	15.7	89	100.0
Child care	93.5	6.5	62	69.7	5	17	5	27	30.3	10	37	41.6	89	100.0
Essential services	93.8	6.2	81	91.0	-	6	2	8	9.0	15	23	25.8	89	100.0
Unemployment	98.4	1.6	62	69.7	1	14	12	27	30.3	10	37	41.6	89	100.0
<b>PERSONAL UNEMPLOYMENT</b>	77.1	22.9	83	93.3	3	3	-	6	6.7	2	8	9.0	89	100.0
<b>SPECIALISED NEEDS</b>														
Health	100.0	-	89	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	89	100.0
Education	100.0	-	82	92.1	7	-	-	7	7.9	1	8	9.0	89	100.0
Legal problems	98.9	1.1	87	97.8	-	2	-	2	2.2	3	5	5.6	89	100.0

TABLE 6.12: CHILDREARERS' SOURCE, SELF-RELIANCE, NON-SOURCE AND LOW CONTRIBUTION RESPONSES BY NEED  
(Continued)

NEED	SOURCE OR SELF-RELIANCE RESPONSES				NON-SOURCE AND LOW CONTRIBUTION RESPONSES							ALL RESPONSES		
	SOURCE %	SELF-RELIANCE %	ALL		IRRELEVANT f	DON'T KNOW f	DO NOTHING f	ALL CONTRIBUTION		LOW CONTRIBUTION f	ALL		N	%
			f	%				f	%		f	%		
<b>SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS</b>														
Child development	96.5	3.5	86	96.6	-	3	-	3	3.4	2	5	5.6	89	100.0
Psychological problems	66.3	33.7	86	96.6	1	2	-	3	3.4	-	3	3.4	89	100.0
Emotional problems	67.4	32.6	86	96.6	2	1	-	3	3.4	1	4	4.5	89	100.0
Social integration problems	69.0	31.0	84	94.4	3	2	-	5	5.6	2	7	7.9	89	100.0
Childrearer problems	89.5	10.5	86	96.6	-	3	-	3	3.4	3	6	6.7	89	100.0
<b>CHILD CARE PROBLEMS</b>														
Prolonged: constant	73.5	26.5	83	93.3	6	-	-	6	6.7	-	6	6.7	89	100.0
occasional	71.6	28.4	81	91.0	6	2	-	8	9.0	1	9	10.1	89	100.0
Temporary: constant	69.5	30.5	82	92.1	7	-	-	7	7.9	-	7	7.9	89	100.0
occasional	69.1	30.9	81	91.0	7	1	-	8	9.0	1	9	10.1	89	100.0

TABLE 6.12: CHILDREARERS' SOURCE, SELF-RELIANCE, NON-SOURCE AND LOW CONTRIBUTION RESPONSES BY NEED  
(Continued)

NEED	SOURCE OR SELF-RELIANCE RESPONSES				NON-SOURCE AND LOW CONTRIBUTION RESPONSES								ALL RESPONSES	
	SOURCE %	SELF-RELIANCE %	ALL		NON-SOURCE				LOW CONTRIBUTION		ALL			
			f	%	IRRELEVANT f	DON'T KNOW f	DO NOTHING f	ALL f %		f	f %	N	%	
<b>MATERIAL NEEDS</b>														
Incapacity: prolonged	79.5	20.5	88	98.9	-	1	-	1	1.1	-	1	1.1	89	100.0
temporary	68.5	31.5	89	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Household: prolonged	57.5	42.5	87	97.8	1	1	-	2	2.2	1	3	3.3	89	100.0
temporary	56.8	43.2	88	98.9	1	-	-	1	1.1	-	1	1.1	89	100.0
Accommodation: permanent	62.7	37.3	75	84.3	2	12	-	14	15.7	4	18	20.2	89	100.0
temporary	84.7	15.3	85	95.5	1	3	-	4	4.5	2	6	6.7	89	100.0
Destitution: prolonged	96.1	3.9	77	86.5	4	8	-	12	13.5	-	12	13.5	89	100.0
temporary	97.5	2.5	79	88.8	3	7	-	10	11.2	-	10	11.2	89	100.0
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>81.5</b>	<b>18.5</b>	<b>2134</b>	<b>92.2</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>7.8</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>244</b>	<b>10.5</b>	<b>2314</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Non-source Responses**

There were 180 non-source responses representing 7.8% of all responses. One in three respondents gave these for child care and unemployment as community issues, 14 for permanent accommodation and 12 and 10 for prolonged and temporary destitution respectively.

53.3% of non-source responses were 'don't know', 33.3% indicated that the need was irrelevant to the respondent's circumstances, and 13.3% indicated that the respondent would not do anything about the problem. Most 'don't know' responses were given for child care and unemployment as community issues - 17 and 14 respectively. These represented 19.1% and 15.7% respectively of all responses for these items. 12 were also given for permanent accommodation, representing 13.5% of all responses for this need. The other 53 'don't know' responses were spread across 18 needs.

More than half of the 'need irrelevant' responses were given for child care and education problems by respondents without children of the relevant ages. The remainder were spread over 12 needs.

Half of the 24 'do nothing' responses were for unemployment as a community issue, these representing 13.5% of all responses for this issue. All other responses of this kind were for the four other community issues.

**Low Contribution Responses**

64, or 3.0% of all responses indicating either self-reliance or a source were low contribution responses. In 19 of these the source was not anticipated to contribute anything at all.

41 low contributions were anticipated for four representation needs: 15 for essential services, 10 for child care services, 10 for unemployment problems and six for education problems. These represented 18.5%, 16.1%, 16.1% and 7.4% of all positive responses for each need respectively.

The question arose as to whether to include these low evaluation responses in analyses. Excluding them would be in strict accordance with the definition of social support offered in Chapter 4. However, respondents overwhelmingly adhered to the investigator's instruction to report a source only if they believed the source would contribute toward solving the problem. These responses have been included in analyses reported here for three reasons: probing confirmed that respondents firmly believed they would contact these sources despite being pessimistic about their likely contribution; restricting respondents only to sources they anticipated would be helpful was mostly successful; and there were too few low contribution responses to noticeably affect results.

### **Summary**

Overall, then, four in ten respondents gave non-source or low contribution responses for child care and unemployment as community issues. A number also gave these for essential services as a community issue and for permanent accommodation. For all issues except essential services most were 'don't know' responses. For essential services, most were low contribution responses. Low contribution responses were also given for child care and unemployment as community issues and a number of respondents would deliberately do nothing about unemployment as a community issue. Rightly, respondents with older children regarded child care and education problems as irrelevant to their families.

## SELF-RELIANCE OR SUPPORT-SEEKING

Results reported in this section are presented in Table 6.12.

Respondents generally complied with the investigator's request to report self-reliance sparingly and chose external sources more frequently than self-reliance for all needs. Self-reliance represented 18.5% of all responses.

Almost all respondents chose to seek representation for the five community issues. Virtually all would seek extra assistance for those needs generally regarded in Australian society as requiring specialised professional assistance - health, education and legal problems - and for child development and childrearer problems. Most also indicated that they would seek assistance with finding employment.

Compared to most other needs, more respondents chose self-reliance for three of the five social-emotional needs - psychological, emotional and social integration problems - and for all four child care needs. Interestingly, the proportion preferring self-reliance for these social-emotional problems is virtually identical with the 30% found by Veroff, Douvan, and Kulka (1981) for periods of 'unhappiness'.

Of the eight material needs, virtually all respondents chose to seek assistance for destitution, and most for prolonged incapacity and temporary accommodation. Relatively more preferred self-reliance, however, for temporary incapacity, household assistance, and permanent accommodation.

In sum, then, substantially more respondents reported sources other than themselves for these needs rather than self-reliance. This was particularly strong for the five

TABLE 6.13: CHILDREARERS' WITHIN-FAMILY, NON-FAMILY NAMED AND UNNAMED SOURCES BY NEED

NEED	SOURCE TYPE									ALL SOURCES f %	
	NAMED				UNNAMED		COMBINATION				
	WITHIN-FAMILY %	NON-FAMILY %	COMBINATION %	ALL f %		f	%	f	%		
<b>COMMUNITY ISSUES</b>											
Health	25.0	75.0	-	12	14.6	70	85.4	-	-	82	100.0
Education	25.0	75.0	-	4	5.3	73	94.7	-	-	76	100.0
Child care	42.9	57.1	-	7	12.1	51	87.9	-	-	58	100.0
Essential services	33.3	66.7	-	6	7.9	70	92.1	-	-	76	100.0
Unemployment	11.1	88.9	-	9	14.3	53	84.1	1	1.6	63	100.0
<b>PERSONAL UNEMPLOYMENT</b>	16.7	83.3	-	6	9.4	58	90.6	-	-	64	100.0
<b>SPECIALISED NEEDS</b>											
Health	50.0	50.0	-	10	11.2	79	88.8	-	-	89	100.0
Education	85.7	14.3	-	14	17.1	68	82.9	-	-	82	100.0
Legal problems	19.2	80.8	-	26	30.2	60	69.8	-	-	86	100.0
<b>SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS</b>											
Child development	80.0	20.0	-	35	42.2	45	54.2	3	3.6	83	100.0
Psychological problems	78.4	21.6	-	51	89.5	6	10.5	-	-	57	100.0
Emotional problems	63.0	37.0	-	54	93.1	4	6.9	-	-	58	100.0
Social integration problems	61.2	38.8	-	49	84.5	7	12.1	2	3.4	58	100.0
Childrearer problems	68.9	31.1	-	74	96.1	2	2.6	1	1.3	77	100.0

TABLE 6.13: CHILDREARERS' WITHIN-FAMILY, NON-FAMILY NAMED AND UNNAMED SOURCES BY NEED (Continued)

NEED	SOURCE TYPE										
	NAMED					UNNAMED		COMBINATION		ALL SOURCES	
	WITHIN-FAMILY %	NON-FAMILY %	COMBINATION %	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
<b>CHILD CARE PROBLEMS</b>											
Prolonged: constant	1.8	98.2	-	55	90.2	6	9.8	-	-	61	100.0
occasional	3.9	96.1	-	51	87.9	6	10.3	1	1.7	58	99.9
Temporary: constant	2.0	98.0	-	51	89.5	6	10.5	-	-	57	100.0
occasional	4.1	95.9	-	49	87.5	6	10.7	1	1.8	56	100.0
<b>MATERIAL NEEDS</b>											
Incapacity: prolonged	8.9	91.1	-	56	78.9	14	19.7	1	1.4	71	100.0
temporary	7.7	92.3	-	52	85.2	8	13.1	1	1.6	61	99.9
Household: prolonged	18.9	81.1	-	37	72.5	13	25.5	1	2.0	51	100.0
temporary	15.0	85.0	-	40	80.0	10	20.0	-	-	50	100.0
Accommodation: permanent	-	87.5	12.5	16	34.0	31	66.0	-	-	47	100.0
temporary	-	100.0	-	57	79.2	15	20.8	-	-	72	100.0
Desititution: prolonged	2.4	97.6	-	42	56.8	32	43.2	-	-	74	100.0
temporary	1.8	98.2	-	55	68.8	25	31.3	-	-	80	100.0
<b>TOTALS</b>	26.8	73.0	0.2	918	52.5	817	46.8	12	0.7	1747	100.0

community issues, for those needs for which established specialised services exist in urban Australia, and for child development and childrearer problems. The trend was not as strong for the other three social-emotional problems and child care problems, and there was wide variation amongst the eight material needs.

#### **OVERALL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SOURCES CHOSEN FOR VARIOUS NEEDS**

Results reported in this section are presented in Table 6.13.

Sources differed substantially across needs.

##### **Named or Unnamed Sources**

Unnamed sources were strongly preferred for the five community issues and for assistance with finding employment. They were also preferred for the three needs generally regarded as requiring specialised assistance, strongly for health and education, though one-third preferred named sources for legal problems. About as many childrearsers chose named or unnamed sources for child development problems, though named supports were strongly preferred for the other social-emotional needs (childrearer, psychological, emotional and social integration problems). Almost all respondents chose named sources for the four child care needs. Finally, most respondents preferred named sources for all but two material needs. The exceptions were permanent accommodation for which unnamed sources were clearly preferred, and prolonged destitution for which almost one-half chose unnamed sources.

The most frequently cited unnamed sources were mostly specific to particular needs.

**Named Sources: Family or Non-family**

Respondents' preference for other family members or non-family named sources also varied amongst needs. Of those for which a number of respondents chose named sources, other family members were strongly preferred for education problems and the five social-emotional needs. Non-family sources, on the other hand, were strongly preferred for legal problems, and the child care and material needs.

**Need Groupings**

Given this diversity of preferred sources amongst needs and given the population size, all 26 needs could not be profitably compared according to the same source and respondent-source relationship characteristics. Consequently, they were grouped according to both the type of need and the kinds of sources preferred within a given group. Meaningful within-group comparisons and, where possible, comparisons across types of needs could then be made.

Consequently, the following presentation is structured according to need groupings. Needs within each group are then discussed and compared. This is important because the development of policy implications requires that some attention be given to each need. A summary discussion of all needs, including comparisons across groups, completes the section. The six need groupings are as follows.

- 1 The five community issues (health, education, child care, essential services and unemployment) for which unnamed sources were overwhelmingly preferred.
- 2 Personal unemployment, for which unnamed sources were overwhelmingly preferred.

- 3 The three needs for which widely recognised professional services exist within Australian society (health, education and legal problems). Unnamed sources were preferred for these, especially health and education.
- 4 The five social-emotional needs (child development, psychological, emotional, social integration and childrearer problems). Other family members were preferred for all of these except child-development. Many respondents chose non-family named and unnamed sources for this.
- 5 The child care needs, for which non-family named sources were reported almost exclusively.
- 6 The eight material needs, all but two of which attracted a strong preference for non-family named sources.

#### **COMMUNITY ISSUES: HEALTH, EDUCATION, CHILD CARE, ESSENTIAL SERVICES AND UNEMPLOYMENT**

Table 6.14 presents results reported in this section.

Taking the five community issues together, the popular Member of Parliament received one in every four citations and the shire councils one in five. Other Members of Parliament were reported for the five issues, but each by few respondents. These three kinds of sources were the only ones to be reported for all issues, though the Capeville Progress Association was reported for four. Other sources were issue specific.

TABLE 6.14: UNNAMED SOURCES CHOSEN BY CHILDREARERS FOR THE COMMUNITY ISSUES

SOURCE	COMMUNITY ISSUE					ALL ISSUES	
	HEALTH	EDUCATION	CHILD-CARE	ESSENTIAL SERVICES	UNEMPLOYMENT	f	%
MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT	27	15	12	21	34	109	34.4
Popular member	22	12	10	17	17	78	71.6
Other members (3)	5	3	2	4	17	31	28.4
SHIRE COUNCILS	12	2	5	31	14	64	20.2
CITIZENS ORGANISATIONS	5	-	4	9	2	20	6.3
Capeville	4	-	4	8	2	18	90.0
Other	1	-	-	1	-	2	10.0
'RELEVANT AUTHORITY'	-	-	1	8	1	10	3.2
LOCAL SCHOOLS	-	22	6	-	-	28	8.8
QUEENSLAND EDUCATION DEPARTMENT	-	15	-	-	-	15	4.7
PARENTS AND CITIZENS ASSOCIATIONS	-	9	-	-	-	9	2.8
LOCAL KINDERGARTENS	-	-	6	-	-	6	1.9
LOCAL HOSPITALS	7	-	-	-	-	7	2.2
QUEENSLAND HEALTH DEPARTMENT	6	-	1	-	-	7	2.2
HOSPITAL BOARD	4	-	-	-	-	4	1.3
OTHER LOCAL PEOPLE	-	2	2	-	-	4	1.3
OTHER	9	8	14	1	2	34	10.7
ALL SOURCES	70	73	51	70	53	317	100

The popular M.P. was chosen in almost one-third of all selections of unnamed sources for **health** issues. Local government was also chosen frequently, and four Capeville respondents chose their Progress Association.

More than half of the respondents seeking representation from unnamed sources for **education** issues would contact either the local school or the Queensland Education Department. The popular M.P. and the local Parents and Citizens Associations were also reported by a number of respondents.

A greater variety of unnamed sources were reported for **child care** than for any other issue, each by fewer respondents. While the one M.P. was again the most popular choice, several respondents also reported local government, the Capeville Progress Association, local schools, and local kindergartens.

Almost half of those reporting unnamed sources for **essential services** cited local government, though eight of the 28 Capeville childrears preferred their local Progress Association. The popular M.P. was also reported by a number of respondents. Because the item referred to a range of services for which several authorities were responsible, some respondents simply replied that they would approach whichever authority was responsible for the service in question.

The popular M.P., the three other Members and local government were reported most frequently for representation concerning the local **unemployment** problem.

Very few named sources were reported for the five community issues. Overall, 20 of the 38 chosen were in relevant formal positions, nine were prominent local people with perceived relevant influence, four were involved in providing services, and five were private individuals. Sources chosen for health issues were more likely to be

prominent local people and less likely to be in relevant formal positions than those reported for other needs.

### **Summary**

The sources chosen most frequently across all community issues were one particular Member of State Parliament, Shire Councils and, for Capeville residents, the local Progress Association.

For each issue, most respondents would approach either these sources or those they believed to be the relevant authorities. For health, the most frequently mentioned authorities were the local hospital, the hospital board or the Queensland Health Department; for education the local school or the Queensland Education Department; and for essential services local government or other relevant authorities. Respondents did not share a common view as to which organisations were relevant to child care services. Members of Parliament and local government were most frequently mentioned for the unemployment problem.

Very few named sources were selected for these issues. Most were either: in official positions which involve representing the interests of local residents; in official positions directly or indirectly connected with providing the services in question; or were prominent local people.

### **PERSONAL UNEMPLOYMENT**

Almost all respondents seeking help with employment would approach unnamed sources. 36 of these 58 would contact specified or unspecified potential employers directly. The six who chose named sources also cited local employers. In all, then, 42 of the 64 respondents seeking help chose potential employers, 35 local and seven

non-local. Another 17 respondents would go to the Commonwealth Employment Service, 16 to regional offices and one to a satellite centre. The other five reported other potentially useful non-local contacts. Overall, then, 35 respondents chose local sources and 29 non-local.

### **SPECIALISED NEEDS: HEALTH, EDUCATION AND LEGAL PROBLEMS**

Almost all respondents chose unnamed sources for health and education problems, and most for legal difficulties.

#### **Health**

72 of the 79 respondents choosing unnamed sources for health problems reported the local hospital, five the Royal Flying Doctor Service, one both of these, and one a non-local general medical practitioner. Two of the five citing the Royal Flying Doctor Service were remote area nurses and another one of their partners.

Five of the 10 childrearers who preferred named sources chose trained nurses from within their intimate social networks, one his partner who was an allied health professional, and the other four chose close intimate kin.

#### **Education**

68 childrearers indicated that they would seek help for their children's educational problems from unnamed sources and 14 from named. All unnamed sources were teachers or principals in local, boarding or correspondence schools or the local kindergarten.

12 of the 14 respondents who preferred named sources cited other members of their families, 11 their joint childrearsers and one his son. Five women chose their partners and six men theirs. The two other named sources were experienced qualified school-teachers as well as personal associates of respondents.

### Legal Problems

Over two-thirds of respondents seeking help with legal problems would contact unnamed sources (Table 6.13). Only four of these 60 chose local sources, in each case the police sergeant. 54 chose sources in regional centres. 50 indicated a preference for specialised professional assistance, 43 from private solicitors, and the remainder from a private accountant, employers' solicitors or public legal aid services.

26 respondents would take their legal problems to named sources (Table 6.13). Five of these were joint childrearsers, all males (Table 6.15).

**TABLE 6.15: OTHER FAMILY MEMBERS CHOSEN BY CHILDREARERS FOR LEGAL, SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL, CHILD CARE AND MATERIAL PROBLEMS**

NEED	SOURCE			ALL SOURCES
	HUSBAND	WIFE	OTHER	
<b>SPECIALISED NEEDS</b>				
Health	-	5	-	5
Education	5	6	1	12
Legal problems	5	-	-	5
<b>SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS</b>				
Child development	10	18	-	28
Psychological problems	17	22	1	40
Emotional problems	14	20	-	34
Social integration problems	9	21	-	30
Childrearsers problems	23	28	-	51

TABLE 6.16: CHILDREARERS' CITATIONS OF NON-FAMILY NAMED SOURCES BY KIN/FRIEND AND RESIDENTIAL LOCATION FOR LEGAL, SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL, CHILD CARE AND MATERIAL PROBLEMS

NEED	SOURCE TYPE											ALL SOURCES
	RESIDENTIAL LOCATION			KIN, FRIEND, OTHER			LOCAL		NON-LOCAL		OTHER	
	LOCAL	NON-LOCAL	OTHER	KIN	FRIEND	OTHER	KIN	NON-KIN	KIN	NON-KIN		
<b>SPECIALISED NEEDS</b>												
Legal problems	5	16	-	12	9	-	4	1	8	8	-	21
<b>SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS</b>												
Psychological problems	7	4	-	3	8	-	2	5	1	3	-	11
Emotional problems	7	13	-	10	9	1	3	4	7	6	-	20
Social integration problems	4	15	-	10	8	1	2	2	8	7	-	19
Childrearer problems	6	17	-	14	9	-	4	2	10	7	-	23
<b>CHILD CARE PROBLEMS</b>												
Prolonged: constant	25	29	-	43	9	2	14	11	29	-	-	54
occasional	40	9	-	23	21	5	14	26	9	-	-	49
Temporary: constant	34	16	-	29	19	2	14	20	15	1	-	50
occasional	40	7	-	21	22	4	15	25	6	1	-	47
<b>MATERIAL PROBLEMS</b>												
Incapacity: prolonged	13	37	1	45	5	1	10	3	34	3	1	51
temporary	25	23	-	32	16	-	11	14	21	2	-	48
Household: prolonged	27	2	1	14	15	1	12	15	2	-	1	30
temporary	30	2	2	15	17	2	13	17	2	-	2	34
Accommodation: permanent	6	8	-	11	2	1	4	2	7	1	-	14
temporary	31	24	2	37	17	3	16	15	21	3	2	57
Destitution: prolonged	9	29	3	32	6	3	6	3	26	3	3	41
temporary	14	35	5	43	11	-	7	7	32	3	5	54

**TABLE 6.17: KIN CHOSEN BY CHILDREARERS FOR LEGAL, SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL, CHILD CARE AND MATERIAL PROBLEMS**

NEED	TYPE OF KIN			ALL KIN	UN-KNOWN
	CLOSE	DISTANT	OTHER		
<b>SPECIALISED NEEDS</b> Legal problems	12	-	-	12	-
<b>SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS</b> Emotional problems Social integration problems Childrearer problems	8 8 13	2 2 1	- - -	10 10 14	- - -
<b>CHILD CARE PROBLEMS</b> Prolonged: Constant Occasional Temporary: Constant Occasional	39 19 24 17	4 4 5 4	- - - -	43 23 29 21	- - - -
<b>MATERIAL PROBLEMS</b> Incapacity: Prolonged Temporary Household: Prolonged Temporary Accommodation: Permanent Temporary Destitution: Prolonged Temporary	41 26 12 13 10 30 26 34	2 5 - - 1 5 5 4	2 1 - - - 2 1 1	45 32 14 15 11 37 32 43	- - 2 2 - - - 4

TABLE 6.18: CHILDREARERS' NON-FAMILY NAMED SOURCES BY GENDER AND KIN/FRIEND

NEED	SOURCE TYPE									ALL SOURCES
	GENDER			KIN			FRIENDS			
	MALE	FEMALE	BOTH	MALE	FEMALE	BOTH	MALE	FEMALE	BOTH	
<b>SPECIALISED NEEDS</b> Legal problems	14	7	-	6	6	-	8	1	-	21
<b>SOCIAL EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS</b>										
Child Development	1	3	3							7
Psychological Problems	5	6	-							11
Emotional Problems	4	16	-	1	9	1	3	6	-	20
Social Integration	5	13	1	1	9	1	4	4	-	19
Childrearer Problems	5	16	2	2	11	1	3	6	-	23
<b>CHILD CARE PROBLEMS</b>										
Prolonged: Constant	-	54	-							54
Occasional	-	43	6							49
Temporary: Constant	-	43	7							50
Occasional	-	42	5							47

TABLE 6.18: CHILDREARERS' NON-FAMILY NAMED SOURCES BY GENDER AND KIN/FRIEND (Continued)

NEED	SOURCE TYPE									ALL SOURCES
	GENDER			KIN			FRIENDS			
	MALE	FEMALE	BOTH	MALE	FEMALE	BOTH	MALE	FEMALE	BOTH	
<b>MATERIAL PROBLEMS</b>										
Incapacity:										
Prolonged	4	39	8							51
Temporary	6	34	8							48
Household:										
Prolonged	5	19	6							30
Temporary	5	23	6							34
Accommodation:										
Permanent	1	13	-							14
Temporary	13	35	9							57
Destitution:										
Prolonged	10	24	7							41
Temporary	13	39	2							54

TABLE 6.19: CHILDREARERS' NON-FAMILY NAMED SOURCES BY RELATIONSHIP INTIMACY, IMPORTANCE AND PERMANENCE

NEED	RELATIONSHIP CHARACTERISTIC									ALL SOURCES
	INTIMACY			IMPORTANCE			PERMANENCE			
	INTIMATE	PERSONAL CONTACT	NEITHER	EXTREMELY	IMPORTANT	NEITHER	PERMANENT	PROBABLY PERMANENT	TEMPORARY	
<b>SPECIALISED NEEDS</b> Legal Problems	17	4	-	12	5	-	20	1	-	21
<b>SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS</b> Psychological problems	10	1	-	7	3	-	11	-	-	11
Emotional problems	18	1	1	14	4	-	19	1	-	20
Social integration problems	17	1	1	12	5	-	17	1	1	19
Childrearer problems	21	1	1	16	4	1	21	1	1	23
<b>CHILD CARE PROBLEMS</b> Prolonged:										
constant	47	7	-	38	7	2	51	1	2	54
occasional	35	14	-	22	11	2	35	9	5	49
Temporary:										
constant	39	10	1	28	8	3	41	5	4	50
occasional	35	12	-	21	12	2	34	8	5	47

TABLE 6.19: CHILDREARERS' NON-FAMILY NAMED SOURCES BY RELATIONSHIP INTIMACY, IMPORTANCE AND PERMANENCE (Continued)

NEED	RELATIONSHIP CHARACTERISTIC									ALL SOURCES f
	INTIMACY			IMPORTANCE			PERMANENCE			
	INTIMATE f	PERSONAL CONTACT f	NEITHER f	EXTREMELY IMPORTANT f	IMPORTANT f	NEITHER f	PERMANENT f	PROBABLY PERMANENT f	TEMPORARY f	
<b>MATERIAL PROBLEMS</b>										
Incapacity: prolonged	46	5	-	40	5	1	50	1	-	51
temporary	40	8	-	29	10	1	43	3	2	48
Household:										
prolonged	23	6	1	11	13	-	22	5	3	30
temporary	23	7	4	11	13	-	26	6	2	34
Accommodation:										
permanent	13	1	-	11	1	1	12	1	1	14
temporary	45	9	3	31	11	3	51	3	3	57
Destitution:										
prolonged	31	7	3	23	8	-	40	1	-	41
temporary	41	8	5	30	10	1	51	3	-	54

TABLE 6.20: CHILDREARERS' FRIEND SOURCES BY RELATIONSHIP DURATION

NEED	$\mu$ (years)	$\sigma$ (years)	f	LESS THAN TWO YEARS f
<b>SPECIALISED NEEDS</b> Legal problems	9.6	4.6	9	-
<b>SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS</b> Psychological problems	9.9	8.0	8	1
Emotional problems	8.1	8.1	9	1
Social Integration problems	6.8	7.7	8	1
Childrearer problems	7.1	6.3	9	1
<b>CHILD CARE PROBLEMS</b> Prolonged: Constant	3.1	4.2	9	5
Occasional	1.6	2.3	21	14
Temporary Constant	2.4	3.4	19	12
Occasional	1.6	2.4	22	14
<b>MATERIAL PROBLEMS</b> Incapacity: Prolonged	6.0	3.5	5	-
Temporary	4.6	4.7	16	6
Household: Prolonged	4.9	4.7	15	4
Temporary	5.2	4.6	17	4
Accommodation: Permanent	3.0	4.2	2	1
Temporary	4.4	6.2	17	7
Destitution: Prolonged	11.2	3.7	6	1
Temporary	5.8	4.2	11	1

21 non-family named sources were chosen for legal assistance. All but four were important intimates and all but one were in permanent relationships with respondents (Table 6.19). Only three of the 21 relationships had existed for less than four years, and none for less than two (Table 6.20). Kin and friends were chosen as frequently as each other (Table 6.18). Men outnumbered women two to one, though the imbalance only held for friends: kin were equally male or female, while eight of the nine friends were men (Table 6.18). All relatives were close kin (Table 6.17). Most sources lived outside the local region, eight of the 12 kin and all but one non-kin (Table 6.16).

### **Summary**

Recognised specialised services exist in Australian society for three of the needs covered in this investigation. Clearly visible, local services were available for health and education needs (the hospital and the school) and these were overwhelmingly preferred for these problems. The only exceptions were non-local medical services, only reported occasionally, and distant schools which were attended by children in some of these families.

For legal problems, however, the established specialised services were non-local, mostly in distant regional centres. While the majority of respondents were prepared to consult these sources, some still preferred named supports. Most of the latter sought help from permanent, intimate friends and relatives, the majority of whom were not living locally. All relatives were close kin. Overall, men were chosen twice as frequently as women, though the imbalance only held for non-kin. Few joint childrearsers were chosen, all males.

**SOCIAL AND EMOTIONAL NEEDS: CHILD DEVELOPMENT, PSYCHOLOGICAL, EMOTIONAL, SOCIAL INTEGRATION, AND CHILDREARER PROBLEMS**

Named sources were overwhelmingly preferred for psychological, emotional, social integration, and childrearer problems. Slightly more unnamed than named sources were chosen for child development issues. Amongst named sources, most respondents preferred joint childrearsers for all these needs. (Table 6.13).

**Child Development**

45 respondents chose 13 unnamed sources for child development problems and 35 named.

Of the 45 preferring unnamed sources 40 chose either health or education services. Health services were cited more than twice as frequently as education services. The Royal Flying Doctor Service and the local hospital were the most popular health professionals and current teachers of respondents' children the most popular educationists. A few respondents were prepared to travel or communicate over long distances to consult with sources in private medical practices, hospitals or other organisations which they believed were more directly relevant and/or more highly trained professionals. (Table 6.21).

28 of the 35 childrearsers seeking help from named sources would go to their partners, women being chosen almost twice as frequently as men (Table 6.15). The other seven reported trusted and respected relatives, friends in relevant official positions and one close, reasonably long-term friend.

**TABLE 6.21: CHILDREARERS' UNNAMED SOURCES FOR CHILD DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS**

SOURCE	CITATIONS	
<b>HEALTH SERVICES</b>	28	
Royal Flying Doctor Service		11
Remote area nurse		11
Private general practitioners		4
Private psychiatrist		1
Regional hospital		1
<b>EDUCATION SERVICES</b>	12	
Local schools		5
Boarding schools		3
Local kindergarten		2
Queensland Education Department		1
Other		1
<b>OTHER</b>	5	

#### Psychological Problems

51 of the 57 childrearsers seeking help with psychological problems chose named sources, 40 their partners. Slightly more men chose their partners than women chose theirs (Table 6.15).

Amongst non-family named sources, men and women (Table 6.18), local and non-local sources, and kin and friends were chosen (Table 6.16). All non-family named sources were either kin or friends (Table 6.16). Only one, a friend of six years, was not an important intimate and all respondent-source relationships were reported to be permanent (Table 6.19). Only one relationship, with a local friend who was a permanent, extremely important intimate, had existed for less than two years (Table 6.20).

Five of the six respondents reporting unnamed sources preferred the Royal Flying Doctor Service and the other the local hospital.

### **Emotional Assistance**

54 of the 58 respondents seeking emotional assistance chose named sources, 34 their partners. Slightly more females were chosen than males (Table 6.15).

Only two of the 20 named non-family sources were not intimates and only one respondent-source relationship was not permanent (Table 6.19). Kin and friends were chosen equally (Table 6.16). Eight of the ten kin were close relatives (Table 6.17), seven of these either mothers or mothers-in-law. Respondents had known the nine friends for an average of 8.1 years, only one for less than two years (Table 6.20). The only named source which was neither kin, nor a friend was a non-local priest known personally to the respondent for 13 years.

16 women and four men were chosen, the difference being greater for kin (Table 6.18). All men were selected by other men. 13 respondents chose non-local sources and seven local. Both local and non-local kin and friends were chosen. (Table 6.16).

Only four unnamed sources were reported: the remote area nurse, the Royal Flying Doctor Service, unspecified non-local friends and the local police sergeant.

### **Social Integration**

49 of the 58 respondents seeking assistance with social integration chose named sources and seven unnamed.

30 of the 49 seeking assistance from named sources chose their partners, with more than twice as many women being chosen as men (Table 6.15). Only two of the 19 non-family named sources were not intimates and were not in permanent relationships with the respondent (Table 6.19). These were a non-local medical practitioner who

the respondent had known for six years and reported as a friend, and the priest mentioned earlier.

15 of the 19 non-family named sources were non-local, this holding for both kin and friends (Table 6.16). Eight of the 10 kin were close relatives (Table 6.17) and five were respondents' mothers. Respondents had known friends for an average of 6.8 years, only one for less than two years (Table 6.20).

13 named non-family sources were women and five were men, though the difference only held for kin (Table 6.18). Three of the men worked in formal positions relevant to social and emotional difficulties, two clergy and one general medical practitioner. All men were chosen by other men.

The seven unnamed sources were varied: two clergy, the Royal Flying Doctor Service, a general medical practitioner, Lifeline Incorporated (a non-government welfare organisation), an unspecified group of non-local friends, and an unspecified relevant government department.

### **Childrearer Problems**

74 of the 77 respondents seeking help for this need preferred named sources, 51 their partners. Only slightly more female partners were chosen than male (Table 6.15).

Only two of the 23 non-family named sources were not intimates, one the priest referred to earlier; only one intimate was not important to the respondent; and only two respondent-source relationships were not permanent (Table 6.19).

14 of the 23 non-family named sources were kin and nine friends (Table 6.16). Only one kin was not a close relative (Table 6.17). 11 were mothers or mothers-in-law.

Respondents had known friends for an average of 7.1 years (Table 6.20). Only one friendship had existed for less than two years, the source reported to be an extremely important, though temporary intimate (Table 6.19).

16 of the 23 non-family named sources were women, and five were men, though the difference only held for kin (Table 6.18). Three of the men were chosen by other men.

17 non-family named sources were non-local and six local, this holding for both kin and friends (Table 6.16).

Only two unnamed sources were chosen: a local remote area nurse and a non-local priest.

### **Summary**

Compared with the community issues and the specialised needs, respondents overwhelmingly preferred named to unnamed sources for psychological, emotional, social integration and childrearer problems. Both were chosen with equal frequency for child development problems.

Unnamed sources most frequently cited for child development problems were health care professionals, especially the local remote area nurse and the locally available Royal Flying Doctor Service, and current teachers of respondents' children. Unnamed sources were chosen sparingly for the other social-emotional needs: the hospital and the Royal Flying Doctor Service for psychological and emotional problems, and clergy and health professionals for social integration and childrearer problems.

Amongst named sources, partners were preferred for all these needs. More female partners were chosen than male for each, though the difference was noteworthy only for social integration and child development problems.

Respondents chose both kin and friends for these needs, and clearly preferred important, permanent intimates with whom they had reasonably long-term relationships. Non-local sources outnumbered local.

Too few non-family named sources were chosen for child development or psychological problems to warrant further comment. For the three other social-emotional needs (emotional, social integration and childrearer problems) respondents clearly preferred their closest relatives, mostly mothers and mothers-in-law. While women were preferred this was stronger for kin than friends. Male sources were chosen by men and most of these had occupational roles relevant to these problems.

For these needs, then, neither distance nor kinship were crucial to respondents when choosing amongst non-family named sources. Characteristics of the respondent-source relationship and, for kin, source gender were more important.

## **CHILD CARE**

Named sources were overwhelmingly preferred to unnamed for assistance with child care (Table 6.13). Because of how the need was presented, very few joint childrearsers were chosen.

### **Unnamed Sources**

The only unnamed sources chosen were general employees (mostly local), local residents and the local preschool centre.

**Non-family Named Sources**

No men were chosen by themselves for child care assistance, though they were occasionally cited together with a woman, usually their partner (Table 6.18).

More respondents chose local than non-local sources for all child care needs except prolonged constant assistance. Both were chosen with equal frequency for this need. Relatively more chose local sources for occasional than for constant care. (Table 6.16).

Kin and non-kin were chosen about equally for occasional care; kin more frequently for constant temporary child care; and kin far more frequently for constant prolonged child care. Both local and non-local kin were chosen for all needs. Only one non-local, non-kin source, a child's godmother, was selected for temporary assistance. Relatively more respondents chose non-local kin for constant than occasional care. (Table 6.16).

Virtually the same number of respondents chose local kin for the four child care needs. The differences were in the choice between non-local kin and local non-kin: non-local kin were clearly preferred for prolonged constant child care; local non-kin were clearly preferred for occasional child care, whether temporary or prolonged; and both were chosen about equally for constant temporary child care. Overall, more respondents chose non-local kin for constant than occasional care, whereas more chose local non-kin for occasional assistance. Far more chose local non-kin than local kin for all needs except prolonged constant child care, for which slightly more chose local kin. (Table 6.16).

These results become more meaningful later when we compare source selections of respondents with local kin with those who had no kin living locally.

Kin were similar regardless of need. As reported earlier, virtually all were women (Table 6.18); almost all were close relatives (Table 6.17); all were important intimates of and in permanent relationships with respondents selecting them (Table 6.19), and they averaged around 55 years of age (Table 6.22). Most were mothers or mothers-in-law.

For each child care need, most respondents chose important intimates with whom they had permanent reasonably long-term relationships (Table 6.19). This, however, merely reflected the high proportion of kin chosen for these needs.

**TABLE 6.22: AGE OF CHILDREARERS' KIN SOURCES FOR CHILD CARE AND MATERIAL PROBLEMS**

NEED		$\mu$	$\sigma$	f
<b>CHILD CARE PROBLEMS</b>				
Prolonged:	Constant	53.2	11.7	43
	Occasional	57.4	11.6	23
Temporary:	Constant	56.4	12.4	29
	Occasional	55.5	11.8	21
<b>MATERIAL PROBLEMS:</b>				
Incapacity:	Prolonged	57.8	12.2	36
	Temporary	58.3	12.6	26
Household:	Prolonged	41.7	19.7	11
	Temporary	42.1	18.9	12
Accommodation:	Permanent	59.4	9.3	11
	Temporary	55.2	14.1	31
Destitution:	Prolonged	58.3	12.4	28
	Temporary	56.7	13.1	35

Local non-kin were the clear alternative to kin for child care needs. Almost all of these were regarded as friends rather than personal associates by respondents. Those who were not friends were either local young women or other sources who would be paid to provide child care assistance. They were chosen, and hence coded as named sources, at least partly because of their personal relationship with respondents and their families.

Partly because of this local friends are given special focus in this discussion. However, there are other reasons. First, local friends were generally important in respondents' local support networks. Second, earlier analyses of sources regardless of need focussed on kin and friends because too few other non-family named sources were chosen to permit meaningful analysis. Thus, results from those and present analyses can be considered together only if they share a common focus. Third, sources who were neither kin nor friends were mentioned by more than one respondent only for the child care needs. Consequently, comparison across needs, especially child care and material needs, is cleaner if we focus on local friends rather than local non-kin. Finally, local friends chosen as sources proved to be a fairly homogeneous group which could be profitably discussed in its own right. Including other local non-kin would have diluted results pertaining to this group.

As shown in Table 6.23, local friends selected for each of the child care needs were more similar than dissimilar. For each need, more than half were intimates and, of these, more were important rather than extremely important to respondents. Around half their relationships with respondents were permanent. These had existed for an average of only one to three years, the majority for less than two years. Most were current childrearsers around 29 to 35 years, and most of these were mothers of young children. They had lived locally for varying lengths of time, half for less than two years. One child was chosen, a local 16 year old girl selected for all four needs by a couple for whom she was a regular employed child carer.

### **Summary**

Almost all respondents chose named rather than unnamed sources for the four child care needs, and almost all unnamed selections were of natural supports. Unspecified local employees were the most frequently cited unnamed source. Almost all non-family named sources were female.

TABLE 6.23: CHARACTERISTICS OF CHILDCAREERS' LOCAL FRIEND SOURCES FOR CHILD CARE AND MATERIAL PROBLEMS

CHARACTERISTIC	CHILDCARE PROBLEMS				MATERIAL PROBLEMS			
	PROLONGED		TEMPORARY		INCAPACITY	HOUSEHOLD		ACCOMMODATION
	CONSTANT	OCCASIONAL	CONSTANT	OCCASIONAL	TEMPORARY	PROLONGED	TEMPORARY	TEMPORARY
<b>LIVING GROUP POSITION</b>								
Childrearer (f)	7	16	15	15	11	11	11	10
Other adult (f)	2	5	3	6	3	4	6	4
<b>AGE</b>								
$\mu$	35.1	29.5	32.4	29.0	36.1	39.7	37.8	37.5
$\sigma$	12.9	6.5	10.5	6.8	10.4	10.6	13.0	7.0
<b>LOCAL RESIDENTIAL LENGTH</b>								
$\mu$	7.1	5.4	5.6	3.2	14.2	8.6	13.0	5.8
$\sigma$	8.2	9.8	7.7	4.3	17.9	17.3	15.9	7.7
Less than two years (f)	4	10	11	9	5	1	2	3
<b>FAMILY LIFE STAGE</b>								
Preschool or pre/primary (f) school	4	11	9	10	3	1	2	2
Other (f)	3	5	6	5	8	10	9	8
<b>INTIMACY</b>								
Intimates (f)	7	12	12	13	10	9	10	9
Personal associates (f)	2	9	6	8	4	6	7	5

TABLE 6.23: CHARACTERISTICS OF CHILDREARERS' LOCAL FRIEND SOURCES FOR CHILD CARE AND MATERIAL PROBLEMS (Continued)

CHARACTERISTIC	CHILDCARE PROBLEMS				MATERIAL PROBLEMS			
	PROLONGED		TEMPORARY		INCAPACITY	HOUSEHOLD		ACCOM- MODATION
	CONSTANT	OCCASIONAL	CONSTANT	OCCASIONAL	TEMPORARY	PROLONGED	TEMPORARY	TEMPORARY
<b>IMPORTANCE</b>								
Extremely (f)	4	1	4	2	8	1	2	4
Important (f)	3	10	6	10	2	8	8	4
Not especially important (f)		1	2	1	-	-	-	1
<b>DURATION</b>								
$\mu$	3.1	1.6	2.2	1.6	4.5	4.9	5.2	2.6
$\sigma$	4.1	2.3	3.5	2.3	5.0	4.7	4.6	2.5
Less than two years (f)	4	14	12	14	6	4	4	6
<b>PERMANENCE</b>								
Permanent (f)	7	8	10	9	9	7	9	10
Probably permanent (f)	1	9	5	8	3	5	6	2
Temporary (f)	1	4	3	4	2	3	2	2
<b>TOTALS</b>	9	21	18	21	14	15	17	14

NOTES: 1 Frequencies for relationship importance do not total to the total number of local friends because the variable was only applied to intimates.

2 Needs are reported only where nine or more local friends were chosen.

The same number of respondents chose local kin for the four needs. However, non-local kin were overwhelmingly preferred when the assistance required was greatest - for prolonged constant child care. Fewer non-local kin and far more local friends were chosen for the less demanding occasional situations. More respondents would seek help from non-local kin rather than local others for constant temporary care than when the need was occasional, though not as many as for prolonged constant assistance. The preference for non-local kin over local others also held for constant compared with temporary assistance more generally.

Regardless of need, most kin were close relatives, mostly mothers and mothers-in-law, and all were important permanent intimates.

Local friends chosen for each child care need were far more similar than dissimilar: around half were intimates, mostly important rather than extremely important to respondents; half had permanent relationships with respondents; most were recent friends; most were mothers in young families; and half were recent arrivals in the region.

Seven points stand out from these findings.

- 1 Respondents clearly preferred sources with whom they had close personal relationships for child care assistance, though this partly reflected their frequent choice of kin.
- 2 Depending on the need, a number of respondents were prepared to seek help from impermanent non-intimate local friends and other associates.
- 3 They chose females almost exclusively.

- 4 For prolonged constant care many preferred to seek the assistance of geographically distant kin rather than use local people who they didn't know as well.
- 5 Mothers and mothers-in-law were in great demand for these needs even though they may have been living far away.
- 6 Local non-kin used for child care assistance were mostly mothers of young children, many only recent arrivals in town. Respondents regarded them as temporary, though fairly close friends.
- 7 In the most general terms, respondents were more likely to choose sources with whom they had close, permanent and long-term relationships for the more extensive forms of assistance.

#### **MATERIAL NEEDS: INCAPACITY, HOUSEHOLD TASKS, ACCOMMODATION, DESTITUTION**

Among the material needs, unnamed sources were clearly preferred to named only for permanent accommodation and almost as many were chosen for prolonged destitution. Otherwise, named sources were clearly preferred for these needs. (Table 6.13).

#### **Unnamed Sources**

Unnamed sources were classified into (a) those involving some use of the respondent's private resources and/or initiative, (b) government, semi-government and non-government welfare organisations, and (c) local natural sources (local friends

TABLE 6.24: UNNAMED SOURCES SELECTED BY CHILDREARERS FOR THE MATERIAL NEEDS

SOURCE	NEED								ALL MATERIAL NEEDS
	INCAPACITY		HOUSEHOLD		ACCOMMODATION		DESTITUTION		
	PRO-LONGED	TEM-PORARY	PRO-LONGED	TEM-PORARY	PERMANENT	TEMPORARY	PRO-LONGED	TEMPORARY	
<b>PRIVATE RESOURCES</b>	11	6	9	10	23	10	7	7	83
Employer	4	2			11	3	1	4	25
Union					1				1
Real estate agent					6				6
Insurance company					2		1		3
Bank	1						1	1	3
Hotel					1	6			7
Caravan park					1				1
Guest house						1			1
Employers: local					1		4	2	7
Employees: local	5	4	9	9					27
Employees: non-local	1			1					2
<b>WELFARE ORGANISATIONS</b>	3	2	1		7	3	24	11	51
Department of Social Security	2	1			1		18	5	27
Aboriginal Housing Cooperative					1	2			3
State Housing Commission					1				1
Commonwealth Employment Service			1		1				2

TABLE 6.24: UNNAMED SOURCES SELECTED BY CHILDREARERS FOR THE MATERIAL NEEDS (Continued)

SOURCE	NEED								ALL MATERIAL NEEDS
	INCAPACITY		HOUSEHOLD		ACCOMMODATION		DESTITUTION		
	PRO-LONGED	TEM-PORARY	PRO-LONGED	TEM-PORARY	PERMANENT	TEMPORARY	PRO-LONGED	TEMPORARY	
WELFARE ORGANISATIONS (Cont)									
Department of Community Services					2	1			3
Relevant authority					1		1		2
Local hospital	1	1						1	3
Police sergeant							1	1	2
Non-government organisations							4	4	8
LOCAL NATURAL SOURCES			2		1	2		2	7
OTHER			1				1	5	7
ALL UNNAMED SOURCES	14	8	13	10	31	15	32	25	148

and other residents in general). Where the latter were mentioned it was only by one or two respondents.

The following discussion refers to Table 6.24.

Respondents choosing unnamed sources preferred to use their private resources and/or initiative rather than welfare organisations to cope with all material needs except destitution. Welfare organisations were preferred for the latter, especially prolonged destitution.

Most of the respondents who preferred unnamed sources for prolonged destitution chose welfare organisations, especially the Department of Social Security. Far fewer chose this department for temporary destitution. Four respondents chose non-local non-government welfare organisations for both needs. Most of those relying on their own resources and initiative for prolonged destitution would seek work locally and most would seek relief from their employers in the temporary situation.

Most respondents seeking help from unnamed sources for permanent accommodation preferred to use their own private resources and initiative. Most of these would either approach their employer or contact a non-local real estate agent. Welfare organisations cited were varied. For temporary accommodation problems local private accommodation such as the hotel or guesthouse was the obvious choice.

Almost all respondents preferring unnamed sources for prolonged or temporary household assistance chose to employ a local person. Employees were also preferred for help in the event of incapacity, though some respondents would seek help from their employers.

**Non-family Named Sources**

Outside the immediate family, women were clearly preferred to men or male/female combinations for each of these needs. However, a number of men were chosen for all except permanent accommodation, either alone or in combination with women. (Table 6.18).

Respondents clearly preferred important intimates and sources with whom they had permanent relationships for all these needs (Table 6.19).

Local rather than non-local sources were overwhelmingly preferred for household assistance, and non-local for destitution and prolonged incapacity. Both were chosen about equally for accommodation and temporary incapacity. (Table 6.16).

Kin were clearly preferred to non-kin for incapacity, accommodation and destitution, while both were chosen equally for household assistance (Table 6.16).

Local kin were chosen consistently for all needs, and non-local non-kin were rarely selected. More non-local kin than local non-kin were chosen for incapacity, accommodation and destitution, and more local non-kin for household assistance. The preference for non-local kin was overwhelming for destitution and prolonged incapacity, clear for permanent accommodation and temporary incapacity, and marginal for temporary accommodation. The preference for local non-kin for household assistance was overwhelming. (Table 6.16).

The relative preference for local and non-local kin and non-kin becomes clearer later when we compare the selections of respondents with local kin and those without local kin.

Almost all kin were close relatives (Table 6.17) and most were women. Their average age varied between 55 and 60 years for incapacity, accommodation and destitution, but was only 42 years for household assistance. While most kin chosen for incapacity, accommodation and destitution were mothers and mothers-in-law, those chosen for household assistance included a greater number of younger local kin.

Because of small numbers, meaningful results can only be reported for local friends for temporary incapacity, household assistance, and temporary accommodation. Intimates were preferred for these needs, though a number of non-intimates were also chosen. Both permanent and impermanent friends were reported. The average respondent-source relationship was between two and a half and five years, and some were less than two years. Local friends averaged between 36 and 40 years of age for each need and more were current childrearsers than were not, though a number of non-childrearsers were chosen. Childrearsers were spread throughout the family life cycle, though their children tended to be older rather than younger. On average they had lived locally for relatively long periods of time (Table 6.23).

#### **Within-family and Child Sources**

Some respondents chose other family members for incapacity and household assistance, mostly adolescent daughters. The family member assisting with destitution was the husband of the woman helping her sister to raise her daughter. The only non-family child reported was the 16 year old sister of these women who they would ask for household assistance should the need arise.

#### **Summary**

Named sources were preferred for all material needs except permanent accommodation. Most respondents chose unnamed sources for this need. Almost as many chose unnamed sources as chose named for prolonged destitution.

When choosing unnamed sources most of these residents preferred to rely on their private resources and initiative rather than welfare organisations for all material needs except destitution. Welfare organisations, especially the Department of Social Security, were preferred for this need.

Respondents chose obvious unnamed sources for these needs: the Department of Social Security for prolonged destitution; this, non-government welfare organisations and employers for temporary destitution; employers and real-estate agents for permanent accommodation; local hotels and a guesthouse for temporary accommodation; and paid local employees for household assistance and incapacity.

Almost no within-family supports were chosen.

When choosing non-family named sources, respondents overwhelmingly preferred women, extremely important intimates and sources with whom they had permanent relationships.

Sources chosen for household assistance were different to those reported for the other material needs. For household assistance, both kin and non-kin were chosen rather than mostly kin, local non-kin were preferred to non-local kin, local kin were younger, and more sisters and sisters-in-law were chosen than for the other needs.

For the other six needs, respondents collectively preferred kin to non-kin, non-local kin to local non-kin, closer to more distant kin, and older kin, mostly mothers and mothers-in-law. The preference for non-local kin over local non-kin was overwhelming for destitution and prolonged incapacity.

Sufficient local friends were chosen to enable meaningful discussion only for household assistance, temporary incapacity and prolonged accommodation. Both intimates and non-intimates were reported for all these needs, though more of the former, and both permanent and impermanent friends. Respondents had known their local friends for relatively long periods, though a number of recent acquaintances were also reported. Local friends were in their late thirties, women, and current childrearsers in families spread throughout the family life cycle, and had lived locally for relatively long periods.

#### **DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TOWNS**

The very few differences between sources chosen by residents of each town can be explained by three factors.

- 1 Lacking a local Shire Council office, fewer Capeville respondents chose local government for most of the community needs and more chose their local citizens' association.
- 2 No Burketown respondent had any local non-family kin whatsoever.
- 3 The average residential length and average age of local sources in Capeville, especially kin, was heavily influenced by one 70 year old mother/mother-in-law who had lived in Capeville for all of her life and who was chosen consistently for many needs by her daughter and son-in-law.

## **SUMMARY**

### **Non-source and Low Contribution Responses**

These generally represented only a small proportion of all responses for the needs investigated. They were frequently reported for child care, unemployment and essential services as community issues, as well as for permanent accommodation.

Most such responses for child care and unemployment indicated that the respondent did not know who to contact or that they were pessimistic about how much their source could contribute to solving the problem. In addition, a number of respondents reported that they would deliberately not do anything about the local unemployment problem; some were pessimistic about their sources' likely contribution to improving essential services, and some were unclear about who they would contact for permanent accommodation.

### **Self-reliance**

Respondents generally complied with the investigator's request to report self-reliance sparingly. Still, though, a number preferred this option for personal unemployment, psychological, emotional and social integration problems, the child care needs, incapacity, household assistance and permanent accommodation. It was rarely chosen for the five community issues, the specialised needs, child development, childrearer problems, and destitution.

### **Named or Unnamed Sources**

Whether respondents preferred named or unnamed sources depended on the need, though the preference was clear for all but two. Unnamed sources were preferred almost exclusively for the five community issues and for personal unemployment, health and education problems. They were also clearly preferred for legal problems

and permanent accommodation. Named sources, on the other hand, were clearly preferred for all social-emotional needs except child development, child care assistance, and for all material needs except permanent accommodation and prolonged destitution. Only slightly more respondents chose named sources for prolonged destitution and a few more chose unnamed sources for child development.

Unnamed sources tended to be specific to particular needs, though some consistency was apparent for the five community issues. While the kinds of named sources chosen also varied according to need, respondents generally preferred close kin and friends with whom they had permanent relationships and who they had known for some time. For many needs, these factors were more important than distance and, for some needs, kinship, in determining respondents' supports.

### **Community Issues**

Almost all respondents chose unnamed sources for the five community issues. Even the named sources were personal associates either in a relevant formal position or perceived to have relevant influence. The popular M.P., shire councils and, for Capeville residents, their local Progress Association were the most frequently mentioned sources across all the community issues. Respondents appeared to be happy to use normal official channels within the Education Department to air their grievances about education services; essential services were seen to be a legitimate local government issue; as a group they did not share a common view about where to seek representation from for child care services, perhaps because there were none in these towns; the M.P. and local government were seen to be most relevant to health service issues; and M.P.'s. and local government to the local unemployment problem.

**Personal Unemployment**

Respondents would seek work through the usual channels. Those committed to staying in the region would 'do the rounds' of local employers and those not so committed would leave town and report to an office of the Commonwealth Employment Service.

**Specialised Needs**

Respondents were willing to use generally recognised organisations and qualified personnel for physical health, education and legal problems, perhaps after consulting their partner. This was especially the case for health and education problems where even those who preferred named sources chose close relatives and friends with relevant training and experience.

Relevant organisations and professionals, mostly solicitors, were also preferred for legal problems, though a number of respondents chose named sources. This may have been because legal expertise was not available locally. As with other needs, respondents preferred close kin and friends for legal assistance, though there was no clear preference between the two. This was the only need for which men were preferred, though only for within family selections and amongst friends. As with other needs, distance did not operate as a constraint on source selection.

**Social-emotional Problems**

Child development problems resemble the specialised needs in some ways and the social-emotional problems in others. Specialised sources of assistance are available for these problems in urban Australia, though they are not universally recognised. Moreover, they are not available on a continuing basis in remote areas. Child development issues are also social-emotional problems which often attract some public stigmatisation.

Results reflected this. As with the specialised needs, the majority of respondents preferred unnamed sources, mostly the Royal Flying Doctor Service, the remote area nurse and the child's school. As with the social-emotional needs, almost half chose named sources, mostly their partners.

For the other social-emotional problems, respondents overwhelmingly preferred named sources. Joint childrearsers were clearly preferred, then only closest friends and kin. Male childrearsers chose their partners a little more frequently than females chose theirs, this being particularly pronounced for social integration problems. These are arguably the most intense of the social-emotional issues investigated here. Mothers and mothers-in-law were clearly the preferred kin for these problems, though men and women were chosen equally amongst friends. When choosing amongst non-family named sources, the respondent-source relationship was the decisive factor rather than distance or kinship. There was little consistency in the few unnamed sources selected.

### **Child Care**

Respondents chose non-family named sources almost exclusively for the four child care needs. The only unnamed source chosen with any consistency was local employees, employed to either look after the children or assist with the family business. Women were overwhelmingly preferred to men for these needs.

Local kin were consistently chosen for each need and almost no non-local non-kin were chosen at all. Thus, variation between the four child care needs was due to more or less respondents choosing non-local kin or local non-kin. In general, the greater the demands placed on the source and the greater the dependency, the more likely a respondent was to choose non-local kin. Conversely, local non-kin were more likely to be chosen for the less demanding needs. Thus, non-local kin were cited more

frequently for prolonged constant child care and local non-kin for occasional care. Both were chosen about equally for temporary constant child care.

As with other needs, mothers and mothers-in-law were preferred amongst kin. Local friends cited for child care assistance tended to be mothers of young children. While most were important intimates, fewer than those chosen for the social-emotional difficulties were permanent friends and respondents had known them for a shorter period. The closest, most permanent, and longest respondent-source relationships were found amongst sources chosen for prolonged constant child care.

### **Material Needs**

Named sources were clearly preferred for all these except permanent accommodation, and these and unnamed sources were chosen equally for prolonged destitution.

Unnamed sources depended on the need, but those selected most frequently were relevant and obvious choices: the Department of Social Security for prolonged destitution; this, non-government welfare organisations and employers for temporary destitution; employers and real-estate agents for permanent accommodation; local hotels and a guesthouse for temporary accommodation; and paid local employees for household assistance and incapacity.

When choosing unnamed sources most respondents preferred to rely on their private resources and initiative rather than welfare organisations for all material needs except destitution. For many, it seems, asking for this kind of assistance would be too demanding of even their closest kin and friends.

Though named sources varied to some extent according to the problem they were similar to those chosen for many other needs. In general, they were close kin and

friends. As with child care, local kin were chosen consistently, the variation between needs depending largely on the choice between non-local kin and local non-kin. Kin were preferred for the more demanding and perhaps more personally embarrassing needs of incapacity, accommodation and destitution. This was especially so for perhaps the most demanding of the material needs, destitution and prolonged accommodation. Local non-kin, on the other hand, would suffice for household assistance, the least demanding, dependency creating, and personally embarrassing of the material needs.

As with the child care needs, local friends chosen for the material needs were not necessarily the close, permanent long-term friends chosen for the social-emotional needs.

#### **Child Care Compared with Material Needs**

Similar non-family named sources were chosen for both sets of needs. However, there were also some differences.

- 1 While women were clearly preferred for all these needs, more men were chosen for material than for child care needs either by themselves or in combination with women (Table 6.18).
- 2 Kin sources chosen for household assistance were younger and more likely to be local than those chosen for all other material and child care needs (Tables 6.16 and 6.22).
- 3 Local friends chosen for child care assistance had been known to respondents for a slightly shorter period than those chosen for all material needs except accommodation; they were more likely to be younger mothers of younger

families; and, with the exception of those chosen for prolonged constant child care, more had lived locally for a shorter period. This suggests the existence of informal reciprocal networks amongst parents of young children in these towns. (Table 6.23).

## SUPPORT SOURCES FOR EACH NEED: CHILDREN

### PSYCHOLOGICAL, EMOTIONAL, AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION PROBLEMS

All children were asked to select sources for psychological, emotional and social integration problems. For each need, around 95% replied that they would seek assistance rather than rely on their own resources. Almost all preferred one or both parents (80% to 85%), mostly mothers (around 60%), many both parents (around 25%), and very few fathers (around 10%).

All but two of the very few non-family named sources chosen for each need were intimates, and all but two were permanent associates. Males and females, kin and friends, and peers and non-peers were all chosen. Most peers were boarding school friends.

### EDUCATION

64 children attending or recently completing school were asked about education problems. 61 replied that they would seek extra assistance. 41 of these preferred named sources, 19 unnamed, and one a combination of the two. All who reported unnamed sources chose their school teachers and/or principals. 37 of the 41

preferring named sources chose other members of their immediate families. Mothers (73.0%) were overwhelmingly preferred to fathers (16.2%), both parents (5.4%), or siblings (5.4%). The four non-family named sources were intimates, two peers and two adults.

## **UNEMPLOYMENT**

Of the 23 adolescents asked about unemployment, 12 did not know what they would do. Eight reported that they would seek assistance: four from general local employers, two from the regional office of the Commonwealth Employment Service, and two from local male adult friends who they believed would employ them. The latter were both intimates.

## **COMMUNITY ISSUES: EDUCATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT**

18 of the 23 adolescents asked about education and unemployment as community issues did not know what they would do. For each, only three could give a positive response, and these showed no consistency.

## **SUMMARY**

Most children reported within-family sources, especially their mothers, for social and emotional problems. Those seeking help from outside the family chose permanent members of their intimate social networks, often peers.

A majority of children also reported within-family supports for educational problems, almost all their mothers. All non-family sources were intimates. The remainder would go to their school teachers.

Of the few adolescents who could indicate where they would seek employment from, most cited local employers. As a group, though, they were unable to indicate who they would approach concerning unemployment and education as community issues. Most did not appear to have thought seriously about these.

## REASONS FOR SOURCE SELECTION

### ALL NEEDS

Appendix 5 summarises all responses to questions concerning why respondents chose their preferred sources.

### Non-source Responses and Self-Reliance

Results in this section are presented in Table 6.25.

In 487, or 18.9%, of responses respondents either did not cite a source or indicated self-reliance. 81.3% of these indicated self-reliance, most simply because they preferred this for the need in question.

Removing responses for which self-reliance was given as the main reason left 230 'not applicable', 'don't know', 'do nothing' and 'self-reliance' responses. Reasons given most frequently for these were that the situation did not pose a problem for the respondent, respondents' general preference for family-reliance, their possession of relevant resources, their lack of interest in the problem, their pessimism that anything could be done about it, and the lack of suitable local sources.

TABLE 6.25: REASONS FOR NON-SOURCE AND SELF-RELIANCE RESPONSES

REASON	Not Applicable, Don't know, Do Nothing Responses  %	RESPONSE TYPE		
		Self-reliance Responses  %	All Non- Source Responses  %	Non- Source Responses given for reasons other than self-reliance
<b>RESOURCES</b> Resources	-	5.1 100.0	4.1 100.0	8.7 100.0
<b>PREFERRED SELF-RELIANCE</b>	1.1	64.6	52.8	-
<b>PREFERRED FAMILY RELIANCE</b>	-	6.8	5.5	11.7
Most problems		96.3	96.3	96.7
Confidentiality in small community		3.7	3.7	3.7
<b>NEGATIVE REASONS</b>	13.2	7.8	8.8	18.7
No alternative	-	29.0	20.9	20.9
No local sources	91.7	51.6	62.8	62.8
Inaccessibility of preferred source	8.3	6.5	7.0	7.0
Inaccessibility of kin	-	9.7	7.0	7.0
Other	-	3.2	2.3	2.3
<b>INACTION</b>	83.4	13.9	26.9	57.0
Hopeless	-	25.0	19.7	19.7
Not interested	9.5	40.6	27.6	27.6
Town too small	4.8	-	1.3	1.3
Service not needed	-	-	2.6	2.6
Not a problem for town	-	9.4	3.9	3.9
Not a problem for self	85.7	25.0	38.2	38.2
Inadequate representation	-	-	6.6	6.6
<b>OTHER</b>	2.3	1.8	1.9	3.9
<b>TOTALS</b>	91	396	487	230
<b>%</b>	18.7	81.3	100.0	47.2
<b>% OF ALL RESPONSES</b>	3.5	15.3	18.9	8.9

### All Sources

Non-source responses and self selections were removed. The main reason given for 26.1% of the remainder was the source's access to relevant resources and, for another 23.8%, the respondent-source relationship. Kin preference was given for 19.0% of responses, and the relevance of the source's formal position for 13.8%. (Appendix 5).

49.6% of all unnamed sources were chosen because they could provide relevant resources, more than half of these expertise and almost one-third material resources. 31.9% of unnamed sources were chosen simply because they occupied a relevant formal organisational position, though this was also frequently cited along with their local availability or confidence in their ability to assist with the problem. (Appendix 5).

54.1% of non-family named sources were chosen because the respondent preferred kin, more than half of these because the respondent belonged to a particularly close kin network and some because the respondent generally preferred kin as supports. 20.1% of non-family named sources were selected because of their relationship with the respondent. Mentioned most frequently were their friendship, often cited in conjunction with local availability, and the respondent's perception of the source as being the closest person to them emotionally. 14.5% of non-family named sources were chosen because they could provide relevant resources, either personal skills and qualities or material provisions. (Appendix 5).

Local and non-local unnamed sources were chosen for much the same reasons (Table 6.26) as were local and non-local non-family named sources (Table 6.28).

Because unnamed, non-family named and within-family sources were chosen for different reasons, further results will be reported for each separately.

### Unnamed Sources

Local and non-local unnamed sources were chosen for much the same reasons: for resources, either relevant expertise or material provisions; or because of their formal relevance. The only differences were that: local availability was frequently cited for local sources, either alone or in conjunction with formal relevance; and formal relevance was cited along with confidence in the source for a number of non-local but no local sources. (Table 6.26).

**TABLE 6.26: REASONS FOR CHOOSING UNNAMED SOURCES BY RESIDENTIAL LOCATION**

REASON	RESIDENTIAL LOCATION			ALL UN- NAMED SOURCES %
	LOCAL %	NON- LOCAL %	COM- BINATION %	
AVAILABILITY	8.4	0.3	56.7	4.4
RESOURCES	50.0	48.5	-	49.6
EFFECTIVENESS	2.3	2.1	-	2.2
SOURCE RESPONSIBLE	3.5	7.1	-	5.0
FORMAL RELEVANCE	27.1	36.7	40.0	31.9
Relevance	51.7	74.1	100.0	
Relevance and relationship	2.6	4.4	-	
Relevance and local	45.7	1.4	-	
Relevance and confidence	-	20.1	-	
NEGATIVE REASONS	5.8	4.7	-	5.1
OTHER	2.9	0.6	31.3	1.8
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>f</b>	<b>428</b>	<b>379</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>837</b>

Other results reported in this section are presented in Table 6.27.

TABLE 6.27: REASONS FOR SELECTING MOST FREQUENTLY CHOSEN UNNAMED SOURCES

SOURCE	REASON	SELECTIONS FOR REASON		ALL SELECTIONS
<b>LOCAL</b>				
Hospital	Resources Expertise	86	79	102
School	Resources Expertise	57	51	88
Local Government	Formal relevance Relevance and local Source responsible	28	19	70
Capeville Progress Association	Relevance and local	18		18
Local Employers	Resources (employment)	29		29
Local Employees	Local availability Preferred self- reliance Inaccessibility of preferred source	25 9 11		45
<b>NON-LOCAL</b>				
Popular Member of Parliament	Relevance Relevance and confidence	36	28	79
Other Members of Parliament	Relevance	11		15
Department of Social Security	Resources (finance)	29		32
Commonwealth Employment Service	Resources (employment)	26		28
Queensland Education Department	Relevance	19		23
Royal Flying Doctor Service	Resources Expertise Contacts	24	16 8	28
Private Solicitors	Expertise	42		49
Boarding Schools	Expertise Relevance	13 6		19

**Local Sources** Local unnamed sources chosen most frequently were hospitals, schools, local government, the Capeville Progress Association, local employers and local employees.

Local hospitals, school teachers and principals were chosen because they could provide relevant resources, almost always professional expertise.

Local government was usually chosen because it was relevant, Gulftown and Bushland respondents also sometimes citing local availability. Local government was also chosen because respondents believed it was responsible for solving the problem. The Capeville Progress Association was always cited because of formal relevance and local availability.

Local employers were always cited because they might be able to provide a job.

Local employees were chosen mostly because they were locally available, because the respondent wished to rely on their own resources to manage the problem, or because of the inaccessibility of preferred non-family named sources.

**Non-local Sources** Non-local unnamed sources reported most frequently were the four Members of Parliament, especially the popular Member, the Australian Department of Social Security, the Commonwealth Employment Service, the Queensland Education Department, the Royal Flying Doctor Service, private solicitors, and boarding schools.

The popular Member of Parliament was usually chosen because of his position, though sometimes also because of respondents' confidence in him. All explicit

statements of confidence in a source were directed towards him. Other M.P.s.were also usually selected because of their formal position.

The Australian Department of Social Security was usually chosen because it could provide financial assistance, the Commonwealth Employment Service because it may be able to help find a job, and Queensland Education Department officials (excluding teachers and principals) because of their position. The Royal Flying Doctor Service was chosen either because of professional expertise or because the doctor could refer patients to specialists. Professional expertise was also given as the main reason for consulting private solicitors and either this or formal relevance for boarding schools.

#### **Named Sources**

**Other Family Members** 66.8% of all selections of other family members were because of the respondent-source relationship. Most of these involved children seeking help from one or both parents, essentially because they were dependent on them. Almost all selections of parents by children were because of childhood dependence. Virtually all other within family selections for relationship reasons were because the respondent regarded their joint childrearer as their closest friend. Most other joint childrearer selections were because the respondent preferred to keep the problem in question within the immediate family. Male and female childrearsers chose each other for much the same reasons. (Table 6.28)

Children were selected by childrearsers because they preferred family and kin as supports. The 10 siblings were chosen either because of specific relationship qualities or a close bond.

**Non-family Adult Sources** Results reported in this section are presented in Table 6.29.

TABLE 6.28: REASONS FOR CHOOSING OTHER FAMILY MEMBERS

REASON	RESPONDENT AND SOURCE TYPE							ALL WITHIN FAMILY SELECTIONS	
	CHILDREARER SELECTING CHILDREARER			CHILDREARERS SELECTED BY CHILDREN	CHILDREN SELECTED BY CHILDREARERS	SIBLINGS SELECTED BY CHILDREN	f	%	
	FEMALES SELECTED BY MALES	MALES SELECTED BY FEMALES	ALL						
%	%	f	%	%	%	f	%		
<b>PREFERRED FAMILY RELIANCE</b>	<b>40.2</b>	<b>49.5</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>44.2</b>	<b>0.7</b>	<b>64.3</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>20.6</b>
Most problems	17.6	35.4	26	26.3	-	100.0	-	35	31.8
This need	80.4	64.6	72	72.7	-	-	-	74	67.3
Confidentiality	2.0	-	1	1.0	-	-	-	1	0.9
<b>RESPONDENT-SOURCE RELATIONSHIP</b>	<b>42.5</b>	<b>35.1</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>39.3</b>	<b>90.5</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>356</b>	<b>66.8</b>
Childhood dependence	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	233	65.4
Closest person	96.3	85.3	81	92.0	-	-	40.0	102	28.7
Close	-	-	-	-	-	-	10.0	1	0.3
Specific relationship quality	3.7	14.7	7	8.0	-	-	50.0	20	5.6
<b>OTHER</b>	<b>17.3</b>	<b>15.4</b>		<b>16.5</b>	<b>8.8</b>	<b>35.7</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>12.6</b>
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>		<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>		<b>100.0</b>
<b>f</b>	<b>127</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>224</b>		<b>285</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>533</b>	

Kin were chosen for different reasons than friends.

Almost all kin were chosen because respondents preferred kin for support, 59.3% of these because they were part of a close kin network and 22.3% because of a general preference for kin.

44.4% of friend selections, on the other hand, were because of the respondent-source relationship. 43.3% of these were also because of local availability, 19.2% because the source was a close friend, and 18.3% because of their relationship with the respondent's family, especially the children. 30.3% of friends were chosen because of their resources, either personal skills and qualities or material resources such as accommodation. Some friends (9.8%) were chosen because they were locally available.

There was no consistency in reasons given for choosing sources who were neither kin nor friends.

Local and non-local kin were chosen for the same reasons. However, reasons for choosing local and non-local friends differed. Local friends were more likely to be chosen because they were locally available and non-local friends for their resources. Local kin, on the other hand, were rarely chosen because of their availability and accessibility.

**Non-family Children** 10 of the 22 selections of children outside the family were for relationship reasons, eight because the child was already effectively providing the support indicated (child care), and four because of kin preference.

TABLE 6.29: REASONS FOR CHOOSING ADULT KIN AND FRIENDS BY RESIDENTIAL LOCATION

REASON	SOURCE TYPE								ALL KIN AND FRIENDS	
	ADULT KIN			ADULT FRIENDS			OTHER/ BOTH			
	LOCAL	NON-LOCAL	ALL	LOCAL	NON-LOCAL	ALL	ALL	f	%	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%			
<b>AVAILABILITY</b>	-	-	-	12.9	-	9.8	-	23	3.3	
Local								23	-	
<b>RESOURCES</b>	5.9	6.6	6.4	24.7	48.2	30.3	1.8	100	14.5	
Resources				31.8	11.1	23.9		27	27.0	
Information about resources				2.3	-	1.4		3	3.0	
Contacts				15.9	7.4	12.7		12	12.0	
Expertise				-	18.5	7.0		6	6.0	
Expertise and relationship				2.3	29.6	12.7		13	13.0	
Skills				47.7	33.3	42.3		39	39.0	
<b>FORMAL RELEVANCE</b>	-	1.4	0.9	-	14.3	3.4	1.8	13	1.9	
Relevance					25.0	25.0		4	30.8	
Relevance and relationship					75.0	75.0		9	69.2	
<b>KIN PREFERENCE</b>	85.9	87.2	86.7	-	-	-	63.1	374	54.1	
Close kin network	69.8	52.7	59.3				52.9	226	60.4	
Preference for most problems	10.3	29.9	22.3				15.7	77	20.6	
Preference for this need	-	13.0	8.0				8.6	35	9.4	
Preference, availability, accessibility	19.8	3.3	9.7				11.4	34	9.1	
Preference, power	-	0.5	0.3				5.7	1	0.3	
Preference, expertise	-	0.5	0.3				5.7	1	0.3	

TABLE 6.29: REASONS FOR CHOOSING ADULT KIN AND FRIENDS BY RESIDENTIAL LOCATION (Continued)

REASON	SOURCE TYPE							ALL KIN AND FRIENDS	
	ADULT KIN			ADULT FRIENDS			OTHER/ BOTH		
	LOCAL	NON-LOCAL	ALL	LOCAL	NON-LOCAL	ALL	ALL	f	%
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
RESPONDENT-SOURCE RELATIONSHIP	7.4	2.4	4.3	48.3	32.1	44.4	13.5	39	20.1
Closest person				-	5.6	1.0		9	6.5
Close				12.8	50.0	19.2		26	18.7
Friend				5.8	-	4.8		6	4.3
Friend availability				50.0	11.1	43.3		52	37.4
Relationship with family				22.1	-	18.3		24	17.3
Relationship with family, convenience				4.7	-	3.8		6	4.3
Specific relationship quality				4.7	33.3	9.6		16	11.5
OTHER	0.7	2.4	1.7	14.1	5.4	12.1	19.8	42	6.1
TOTALS	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0
f	135	211	346	178	56	234	111	691	

**Non-family Aboriginal and Islander Sources** These were chosen for the same reasons as were all non-family named sources: 16 of 36 citations were for relationship reasons, 12 because of kin preference, and four because of resources.

### **Differences Between Towns**

Reasons for source selection varied little between the three towns. Only three overall differences were apparent.

Having no local kin, Gulftown respondents did not give kin preference as a reason for choosing local non-family named sources. Capeville respondents did so 36.2% of the time and those in Bushland 51.8% of the time. The differences between the towns with respect to reasons why other non-family named sources were chosen were minimal.

Second, the popular M.P. was chosen more frequently by Bushland respondents because of their confidence in him. Consequently, Bushland residents were more likely to choose non-local unnamed sources because of their position and because they had confidence in the source, rather than because of relevance itself.

The third difference arose from Capeville respondents' relative reluctance to choose local government sources and their use of their Progress Association. Respondents in the three towns did not differ substantially in their reasons for choosing local government: for the most part they gave formal relevance either by itself or in conjunction with local availability, or the view that local government was responsible for solving the problem. However, local availability was never given as a reason for choosing local government by Capeville respondents and all reports of the Progress Association (as well as the single mention of the Bushland Residents and Ratepayers Association) were because of formal relevance as well as local availability. Overall,

then, Capeville respondents were less likely to give formal relevance as the single main reason for choosing local unnamed sources than those in the other two towns, and more likely to give formal relevance as well as local availability.

Local government was used most where, and because, it was located in town. Where it was some distance away, residents made relatively greater use of their local citizens organisation because of relevance and local availability.

Taken together, four results suggest that, at least for some needs, Capeville residents may use their Progress Association as a local alternative to their geographically-distant shire council. First, local government and the Progress Association were chosen mostly because of their relevance and their local availability. Second, Capeville residents never chose local government because of local availability and always chose their Progress Association for this reason. Third, Capeville was the only town where residents preferred their Progress Association to local government. And, fourth, Capeville was the only town which was not a seat of local government.

## **SPECIFIC NEEDS**

### **Childrearers**

**Self-reliance and other Non-source Responses** Results reported in this section are presented in Table 6.30.

For most needs, preferred self-reliance was given most frequently as the main reason for not seeking extra assistance. These responses are excluded from analyses reported in this section.

TABLE 6.30: CHILDREARERS' REASONS FOR GIVING NON-SOURCE AND SELF-RELIANCE RESPONSES BY NEED

REASON	NEED																						ALL NEEDS f %					
	COMMUNITY ISSUES						SPECIALISED NEEDS PROBLEMS			SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS				CHILD CARE PROBLEMS			MATERIAL PROBLEMS											
	Health	Education	Child Care	Essential Services	Unemployment	Personal Unemployment	Health	Education	Legal Problems	Child Development	Psychological Problems	Emotional Problems	Social Integration Problems	Childrearer Problems	Prolonged: Constant	Prolonged: Occasional	Temporary: Constant	Temporary: Occasional	Incapacity: Prolonged	Incapacity: Temporary	Household: Prolonged	Household: Temporary			Accommodation: Permanent	Accommodation: Temporary	Destitution: Prolonged	Destitution: Temporary
RESOURCES Resources	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	6	1	1	20	4.2
PREFERRED SELF-RELIANCE	1	5	3	2	-	17	-	-	-	2	24	21	20	8	12	12	13	13	12	21	21	21	14	6	2	-	250	52.5
PREFERRED FAMILY RELIANCE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	3	3	4	3	2	2	4	4	-	-	-	-	27	5.7
Most problems Confidentiality in a small community												1	1	3	3	4	3	1	2	4	4					26		
NEGATIVE REASONS	1	-	1	1	1	2	-	-	1	-	1	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	2	2	4	1	2	1	41	8.6
No alternative	1			1					1			1	1							1		1				7		
No local sources			1		1	2					1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2			2	2	3	1	2	1	27	
Inaccessibility of preferred source												1	1						2	1						3		
Inaccessibility of kin																												
Other																			1							1		

TABLE 6.30: CHILDREARERS' REASONS FOR GIVING NON-SOURCE AND SELF-RELIANCE RESPONSES BY NEED  
(Continued)

REASON	NEED																							ALL NEEDS				
	COMMUNITY ISSUES					Personal Unemployment	SPECIALISED NEEDS PROBLEMS			SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS				CHILD CARE PROBLEMS				MATERIAL PROBLEMS										
	Health	Education	Child Care	Essential Services	Unemployment		Health	Education	Legal Problems	Child Development	Psychological	Emotional Problems	Social Integration Problems	Childrearer Problems	Prolonged: Constant	Prolonged: Occasional	Temporary: Constant	Temporary: Occasional	Incapacity: Prolonged	Incapacity: Temp	Household: Prolonged	Accommodation: Permanent	Accommodation: Temporary			Destitution: Prolonged	Destitution: Temporary	
<b>PREFERRED INACTION</b>	5	6	15	6	20	1	-	1	1	-	6	5	5	-	4	5	5	7	-	3	10	11	4	3	3	3	129	27.1
Hopeless	1	2	2	1	9																						15	
Not interested	2	2	5	4	9																						22	
Town too small			1																								1	
Service not needed			2																								2	
Not a problem for town			3																								3	
Not a problem for self	1	1	1	1		1		1	1		6	5	5		4	5	5	7		3	10	11	4	3	3	3	81	
Inadequate representation	1	1	1		2																						5	
<b>OTHER</b>	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	1	9	1.9
<b>TOTAL with Preferred Self Reliance Responses</b>	7	11	20	11	21	20	-	1	2	3	32	30	29	10	21	22	24	25	17	28	38	39	34	16	9	6	476	100.0
<b>TOTAL without Preferred Self-Reliance responses</b>	6	6	17	9	21	3	-	1	2	1	8	9	9	2	9	10	11	12	5	7	17	18	20	10	7	6	226	

A deliberate decision to take no action whatsoever was the most frequent justification for other non-source responses for each of the five community issues. The belief that the problem could not be solved or the respondent's lack of interest in it were given as main reasons for inaction for all these issues, especially for unemployment.

Most non-source responses for psychological, emotional and social integration difficulties were because the respondent did not believe them to be particularly troublesome.

Main reasons given for non-source responses for child care were that the situation would not be a problem for the respondent and a general preference for family reliance.

A number of reasons for non-source responses were given for the material needs. Most frequently given for household assistance was that the situation would not present a problem to the respondent, and for accommodation the fact that the respondent had the relevant resources to deal with the problem.

**Unnamed Sources** 10 or more unnamed sources were selected for the five community issues; personal unemployment; health, education and legal problems; child development problems; and for assistance with household tasks, accommodation and destitution and prolonged incapacity (Table 6.31).

For the most part, unnamed sources and reasons for choosing them were specific to particular needs.

Formal relevance was by far the most frequently cited reason for selecting unnamed sources for the five community issues, sometimes in conjunction with local availability

TABLE 6.31: CHILDREARERS' REASONS FOR CHOOSING UNNAMED SOURCES BY NEED

REASON	NEED																
	COMMUNITY ISSUES					Personal Unemployment	SPECIALISED NEEDS				Child Development	MATERIAL PROBLEMS					
	Health	Education	Child Care	Essential Services	Unemployment		Health	Education	Legal Problems	HOUSEHOLD		ACCOMMODATION	DESTITUTION	INCAPACITY			
									Prolonged	Temporary	Prolonged	Temporary	Prolonged	Temporary	Prolonged		
AVAILABILITY	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	7	5	1	1	-	-	4
Local						3					7	5	1	1			4
Most available						1											
RESOURCES	7	4	1	2	3	52	79	67	50	35	1	-	19	10	25	19	4
Resources					2	50			1		1		18	10	25	15	4
Information about resources					1												
Information about need								6		3							
Contacts	1					2	1		2	10						2	
Expertise	2						78	61	45	21						1	
Expertise and relationship				1					1								
Skills	1									1							
Power	3	4	1	1									1			1	

TABLE 6.31: CHILDREARERS' REASONS FOR CHOOSING UNNAMED SOURCES BY NEED (Continued)

REASON	NEED																
	COMMUNITY ISSUES					Personal Unemployment	SPECIALISED NEEDS				Child Development	MATERIAL PROBLEMS					
	Health	Education	Child Care	Essential Services	Unemployment		Health	Education	Legal Problems	HOUSE- HOLD		ACCOM- MODA- TION		DESTI- TUTION		INCA- PACITY	
										Prolonged		Temporary	Prolonged	Temporary	Prolonged	Temporary	Prolonged
<b>EFFECTIVENESS</b>	1	2	1	-	4	-	-	5	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Success with need		1						3									
Success with need and formal position					1												
Professional experience					1			2									
Personal and professional experience					1				1								
Best chance of success	1	1	1		1												
<b>SOURCE RESPONSIBLE</b>	4	4	1	6	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	3	-	1	4
<b>FORMAL RELEVANCE</b>	53	62	44	50	34	-	-	4	1	-	-	1	-	4	2	1	
Relevance	35	45	25	35	23				1			1		4	2		1
Relevance and relationship	3	3	2	1				2						4	2		
Relevance and local	9	10	13	17	6												
Relevance and confidence	6	4	4	7	5			2									

TABLE 6.31: CHILDREARERS' REASONS FOR CHOOSING UNNAMED SOURCES BY NEED (Continued)

REASON	NEED																
	COMMUNITY ISSUES					Personal Unemployment	SPECIALISED NEEDS			Child Development	MATERIAL PROBLEMS						
	Health	Education	Child Care	Essential Services	Unemployment		Health	Education	Legal Problems		HOUSE-HOLD	ACCOMMODATION	DESTINATION	INCAPACITY			
									Prolonged	Temporary	Prolonged	Temporary	Prolonged	Temporary	Prolonged		
<b>NEGATIVE REASONS</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	-	-	<b>1</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	-	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	-
No alternative	2	1		1	2	1			1	2	1	1	1		1	3	
No local sources			1	1	2					3					2	3	
Inaccessibility of personal source																	
Inaccessibility of kin										2							
Unavailability of kin											1	1					
Not local	2																
Other			1														
<b>OTHER</b>	<b>1</b>	-	<b>1</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	-	<b>1</b>	-	-	<b>1</b>
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>14</b>

NOTE: Only needs for which ten or more childrearsers chose unnamed sources are included.

and confidence in the source, though these were rarely suggested as reasons for source selection for other needs (Table 6.31). 21 of the 22 selections of local citizen's organisations were because of formal relevance and their local availability.

For each issue, the popular M.P. was almost always reported because of formal relevance, either by itself or in conjunction with confidence in him. Most local government selections were also because of their relevance to the issue, either by itself or in conjunction with local availability. Several respondents reported local government for essential services or local unemployment because they believed it was responsible for doing something about these issues. (Table 6.32).

Other unnamed sources were frequently reported for specific issues. For education, local schools, the Queensland Education Department and local Parents and Citizens Associations were almost always reported because they were relevant, the latter also often because they were locally available. For child care, local schools and kindergartens were also selected because they were relevant and locally available. Local hospitals were cited for health issues for a variety of reasons: formal relevance by itself or in conjunction with local availability; their access to more powerful contacts; or because they were regarded as responsible for solving the problem.

Almost all unnamed sources were selected for health, education and unemployment problems because they could provide needed resources. This was also cited for most selections for child development and legal problems, and for accommodation and legal problems; and material resources for accommodation, destitution, and unemployment, namely housing, finance and other material necessities, and work respectively. Professional expertise and the source's access to more specialised assistance were both frequently mentioned for child development problems. (Table 6.31).

TABLE 6.32: CHILDREARERS' REASONS FOR CHOOSING THE POPULAR MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

SOURCE	REASON	COMMUNITY ISSUES								ALL COMMUNITY ISSUES
		HEALTH	EDUCATION		CHILD CARE	ESSENTIAL SERVICES		UNEMPLOYMENT		
POPULAR MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT	SOURCE RESPONSIBLE	1	1	-	1	2	5			5
	FORMAL RELEVANCE	19	10	9	14	13	65			36
	Relevance	11	6	5	6	8				3
	Relevance and relationship	2	-	-	1	-				-
	Relevance and local	-	-	-	-	-				-
	Relevance and confidence	6	4	4	7	5				26
OTHER	-	1	1	2	2	6				
TOTALS	20	12	10	17	17	76				
LOCAL GOVERNMENT	SOURCE RESPONSIBLE	-	-	1	5	4	10			
	FORMAL RELEVANCE	10	2	4	25	6	47			28
	Relevance	6	-	2	17	3				-
	Relevance and relationship	-	-	-	-	-				-
	Relevance and local	4	2	2	8	3				19
	Relevance and confidence	-	-	-	-	-				-
OTHER	2	-	-	1	3	6				
TOTALS	12	2	5	31	13	63				

Some respondents would approach employers for accommodation problems because they regarded them as responsible for solving the problem. Local employees and general local residents were cited by some respondents for household assistance, mostly because they were locally available or because the respondents wished to use their own resources. Finally, employers were chosen for assistance with prolonged incapacity because they were regarded as responsible for resolving the problem, employees because they were locally available and accessible, and welfare organisations because they could provide relevant resources.

**Non-family Named Sources** As discussed above, reasons for choosing kin and friends were different.

10 or more kin were chosen for legal, emotional, social integration and childrearer problems, the four child care needs and the eight material needs. Kin preference was clearly the main reason for choosing kin for all of these except legal assistance. Relevant expertise, contacts and personal skills were the main reasons for selecting kin for legal problems. (Table 6.33).

For all child care and material needs except destitution, membership of a close kin network was the main reason for selecting kin. A number of respondents also selected kin for destitution because of a general preference for kin. (Table 6.33).

Local and non-local kin were selected for much the same reasons for those needs for which sufficient kin were chosen to permit comparison.

Sufficient friends were chosen to permit meaningful discussion for the four child care needs, temporary incapacity, household assistance, temporary accommodation and temporary destitution.

Almost all friends were chosen for the child care needs either because they were locally available or for relationship reasons. Even when chosen for relationship reasons, though, local availability was often still one reason for selecting them. In addition to just being a friend, some respondents also cited the source's relationship with the respondent's family, particularly their children. (Table 6.34).

Friends were chosen for material assistance for different reasons: for temporary incapacity and household assistance because of friendship, local availability or both; and for temporary accommodation and temporary destitution either for material resources or because the source was a locally available friend. (Table 6.34).

Too few local and non-local friends were chosen for any single need to permit reliable analysis.

Because respondents so overwhelmingly chose kin because of kin preference the differences between (a) local kin and friends and (b) non-local kin and friends were the same as those between kin and friends more generally for all needs where sufficient numbers made meaningful comparison possible.

Too few non-family kin or friends were chosen to permit meaningful discussion of the relationship between other source characteristics and the reasons for their selection.

**Within-family Sources** Sufficient joint childrearsers were chosen to permit meaningful discussion only for education, child development, psychological, emotional, social integration and childrearser problems. Most joint childrearsers were selected for education, childrearser and child development problems because respondents were committed to joint problem solving for these particular needs. They

TABLE 6.33: CHILDCAREGIVERS' REASONS FOR CHOOSING NON-FAMILY KIN

REASON	NEED															
	Legal Problems	SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS			CHILD CARE PROBLEMS				MATERIAL PROBLEMS							
		Emotional Problems	Social Integration Problems	Childrearer Problems	PRO-LONGED		TEMPO-RARY		INCAPACITY		HOUSEHOLD		ACCOM-MODATION		DESTITUTION	
					Constant	Occasional	Constant	Occasional	Prolonged	Temporary	Prolonged	Temporary	Permanent	Temporary	Prolonged	Temporary
<b>RESOURCES</b>	7	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	2	3
Resources									1	1					2	3
Contacts	2								1							
Expertise and relationship Skills	2			2												
<b>KIN PREFERENCE</b>	4	8	8	11	43	23	29	21	42	31	14	15	11	36	30	36
Close Kin Network	4	7	6	8	27	18	21	15	23	21	11	12	7	18	11	16
Preference for most problems					9	2	4	2	9	6	1		3	13	11	14
Preference for this need		1	2	3	4	1			7	1				2	7	5
Preference, availability, accessibility					3	2	4	4	3	3	2	3	1	3	1	1
<b>OTHER</b>	1	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
<b>TOTALS</b>	12	10	10	14	43	23	29	21	45	32	14	15	11	37	32	39

NOTE: Only needs for which ten or more childrearsers chose non-family kin are included.

TABLE 6.34: CHILDCAREGIVERS' REASONS FOR CHOOSING FRIENDS

REASON	NEED													
	CHILD CARE PROBLEMS						MATERIAL PROBLEMS							
	PROLONGED		TEMPORARY		INCA-PACITY	HOUSEHOLD		ACCOM-MO-DATION	DESTITUTION					
	CON-STANT	OCCASIONAL	CON-STANT	OCCASIONAL		PRO-LONGED	TEM-PORARY			TEM-PORARY	TEMPORARY			
AVAILABILITY	-	6	6	4	4	5	5	3	3	3	3	1	1	-
Local														
RESOURCES	1	2		1		2		1	3		3	9	8	4
Resources														2
Information about resources													1	1
Contacts														1
Expertise and relationship														1
Skills	1	2		1		2		1	3		3			
RESPONDENT-SOURCE	6	12		12		13		12	6		8	5		6
RELATIONSHIP														
Close								2				1		2
Friend								1			1			1
Friend, availability	2	4		6		5		9	5		6	4		2
Relationship with family	3	6		4		5					1			
Relationship with family,	1	2		1		2								
convenience														
Specific relationship				1		1								1
quality														
OTHER	2	1		2		2		-	3		5	2		1

TABLE 6.34: CHILDCAREGIVERS' REASONS FOR CHOOSING FRIENDS (Continued)

REASON	NEED								
	CHILD CARE PROBLEMS				MATERIAL PROBLEMS				
	PROLONGED		TEMPORARY		INCA-PACITY	HOUSEHOLD		ACCOM-MO-DATION	DESTITUTION
	CON-STANT	OCCASIONAL	CON-STANT	OCCASIONAL	TEM-PORARY	PRO-LONGED	TEM-PORARY	TEM-PORARY	TEMPORARY
TOTALS	9	21	19	22	16	15	17	17	11
<p>NOTES: 1 Only needs for which ten or more childcaregivers chose friends are included.</p> <p>2 Prolonged constant child care is included because the other three child care needs are included.</p>									

would turn to their partner for psychological, emotional and social integration problems because they regarded them as the closest person to them emotionally. (Table 6.35).

Males and females were chosen for much the same reasons for those needs for which sufficient joint childrearsers were chosen to justify meaningful comparison.

### **Child Respondents**

Regardless of need, almost all children chose childrearsers because they were dependent on them for the need in question (Table 6.28). Gender made no difference.

Children chose sufficient non-family sources for meaningful discussion only for education, psychological, unemployment, emotional and social integration problems. Sources were chosen for education problems (mostly teachers) for their professional expertise; for unemployment (most local employers) because they could help find a job; and for psychological, emotional and social integration problems (all named sources) because of the closeness of the child-source relationship.

### **Differences Between Towns**

Insofar as numbers permit meaningful comparison reasons for source selection according to need did not vary between towns.

## **GEOGRAPHIC CONSTRAINTS AS A REASON FOR RESPONSES**

Geographic constraints were sometimes cited as the entire or part of the main reason for some selections. Reasons classified as referring to geographic constraints are given in Table 6.36.

TABLE 6.35: REASONS FOR CHOOSING JOINT CHILDREARERS

REASON	NEED					
	EDUCATION	SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL NEEDS				
		CHILD DEVELOPMENT	PSYCHOLOGICAL PROBLEMS	EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS	SOCIAL INTEGRATION PROBLEMS	CHILD-REARER PROBLEMS
<b>RESOURCES</b>	3	3	2	2	1	1
Information about need						
Expertise and relationship	2	2	2			1
Skills	1	1		2	1	
<b>PREFERRED FAMILY RELIANCE</b>	8	22	6	1	1	48
Most problems	1	3	3	1	1	7
This need	7	19	3			40
Confidentiality						1
<b>RESPONDENT-SOURCE RELATIONSHIP</b>	-	1	29	30	28	-
Closest person		1	27	28	25	
Specific relationship quality			2	2	3	
<b>OTHER</b>	-	1	2	-	-	1
<b>TOTALS</b>	11	27	39	33	30	50

NOTE: Only needs for which 11 or more respondents chose joint childrearsers are presented.

TABLE 6.36: REASONS CODED AS GEOGRAPHIC CONSTRAINTS

REASON	SOLE OR ONE REASON
<b>AVAILABILITY</b> Local	Sole reason
<b>FORMAL RELEVANCE</b> Relevance and local	One reason
<b>KIN PREFERENCE</b> Preference, availability, accessibility	One reason
<b>RESPONDENT-SOURCE RELATIONSHIP</b> Friend availability Relationship with family, convenience	One reason One reason
<b>NEGATIVE REASONS</b> Inaccessibility of preferred source	Sole reason
Inaccessibility of friends	Sole reason
Inaccessibility of kin	Sole reason

Most results reported in this section are presented in Table 6.37.

#### All Needs

Geographic constraints were at least part of the main reason for only 9.4% of all responses and 1.6% of all non-source or self-reliance responses. They were given as a reason for 9.9% of selections of all external sources, 11.6% of unnamed sources, and 11.9% of non-family named sources.

They were the only main reason for 3.2% of all responses, 1.6% of all non-source or self-reliance responses. They were the only main reason for selecting 3.1% of external sources, 4.9% of unnamed sources and 3.5% of all non-family named sources.

Geographic constraints were never given as a reason for selecting other family members.

As would be expected, local sources were chosen more frequently for geographic reasons. They were part of the reason for 24.2% of all local source selections, 22.2% of local unnamed source selections and 26.6% of local non-family named adult source selections.

Geographic constraints were given as the sole main reason for choosing local sources 23.7% of the time, local non-family named sources 14.1% of the time and local unnamed sources 9.6% of the time.

The frequency with which geographic factors were cited as reasons for responses did not differ between towns.

#### **Each Need**

The extent to which geographic constraints were given as reasons for source selection varied widely amongst needs. They were given as at least part of the reason for around one in five selections for essential services as a community issue, occasional child care, temporary constant child care, temporary incapacity and household assistance. They were also cited for around 1 in 10 responses for health, education and child care as community issues, prolonged constant child care, prolonged incapacity and temporary accommodation. They were rarely or never



TABLE 6.37: GEOGRAPHIC CONSTRAINTS GIVEN BY CHILDREARERS AS REASONS FOR RESPONSES BY NEED (Continued)

REASON	NEED																	ALL RES- PONS- SES N %	
	SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS					CHILD CARE PROBLEMS				MATERIAL PROBLEMS									
	CHILD DEVELOPMENT	PSYCHOLOGICAL PROBLEMS	EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS	SOCIAL INTEGRATION PROBLEMS	CHILDREARER PROBLEMS	PROLONGED		TEMPORARY		INCA-PACITY		HOUSE-HOLD		ACCOM-MODATION		DESTI-TUTION			
						CON-STANT	OCC-ASION AL	CON-STANT	OCC ASION AL	PROLONGED	TEMPORARY	PROLONGED	TEMPORARY	PERMANENT	TEMPORARY	PROLONGED	TEMPORARY		
AVAILABILITY Local	-	-	-	-	-	3	9	6	8	4	6	11	6	1	2	1	1	61	28.1
FORMAL RELEVANCE Relevance and local	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	55	25.3
KIN PREFERENCE Preference, availability, accessibility	-	-	-	-	-	4	2	5	4	4	3	2	4	1	3	1	1	34	15.7
RESPONDENT-SOURCE RELATIONSHIP Friend, availability Relationship with family, convenience	-	1	-	-	1	2	5	7	6	2	10	6	7	-	6	1	1	55	25.3
		1			1	2	5	7	6	2	10	6	7		6	1	1	55	

TABLE 6.37: GEOGRAPHIC CONSTRAINTS GIVEN BY CHILDREARERS AS REASONS FOR RESPONSES BY NEED (Continued)

REASON	NEED																	ALL RES- PONS- SES N %	
	SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS					CHILD CARE PROBLEMS				MATERIAL PROBLEMS									
	CHILD DEVELOPMENT	PSYCHOLOGICAL PROBLEMS	EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS	SOCIAL INTEGRATION PROBLEMS	CHILDREARER PROBLEMS	PROLONGED		TEMPORARY		INCA-PACITY		HOUSE-HOLD		ACCOM-MODATION		DESTI-TUTION			
						CON-STANT	OCC-ASION AL	CON-STANT	OCC-ASION AL	PROLONGED	TEMPORARY	PROLONGED	TEMPORARY	PERMANENT	TEMPORARY	PROLONGED	TEMPORARY		
<b>NEGATIVE REASONS</b>	2	-	1	1	1	-	1	1	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	12	5.5
Inaccessibility of preferred source	2	-	1	1	1	-	1	1	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	12	5.5
Inaccessibility of friends							1	1	1	2	1						1	7	
Inaccessibility of kin																			
<b>SOLE REASON: Total</b>	2	-	1	1	1	3	10	7	9	6	7	11	6	1	2	1	2	73	
% of all responses	2.2	-	1.1	1.1	1.1	3.4	11.2	7.9	10.1	6.7	7.9	12.4	6.7	1.1	2.2	1.1	2.2	3.2	
<b>ONE REASON: Total</b>	2	1	1	1	2	9	17	19	19	12	20	19	17	2	11	3	4	217	
% of all responses	2.2	1.1	1.1	1.1	2.2	10.1	19.1	21.3	21.3	13.5	22.5	21.3	19.1	2.2	12.4	3.4	4.5	9.4	
<b>ALL RESPONSES</b>	89	89	89	89	89	89	89	89	89	89	89	89	89	89	89	89	89	2314	

mentioned as reasons for selecting sources for unemployment as a community issue, personal unemployment, the specialised needs, the social and emotional problems, permanent accommodation or destitution.

Geographic constraints were rarely mentioned as the sole main reason for source selection. They were the sole reason for slightly more than 1 in 10 selections for occasional child care assistance, and for prolonged household assistance.

#### **REASONS FOR RESPONSES: SUMMARY**

##### **All Needs**

A simple preference for self-reliance was the main reason for not seeking outside assistance rather than unavailability of preferred sources or pessimism about an external source being able to assist. A variety of reasons were given for 'not applicable', 'don't know' and 'do nothing' responses.

Reasons given for selecting unnamed sources, non-family named sources and other family members were different.

Unnamed sources were chosen primarily because they were relevant or because they possessed resources relevant to the need, especially material resources and professional expertise. This did not differ according to source location. Reasons for choosing particular unnamed sources were source specific and logical. Whether or not residents had confidence in a Member of Parliament depended on who that Member was rather than the fact that they held the formal position.

Reasons for selecting non-family named sources depended on whether they were kin or friends. Kin were chosen primarily because the respondent preferred kin for support and this, in turn, was usually because they belonged to a close kin network.

Friends, on the other hand, were chosen mostly because of their relationship with the respondent and/or the respondent's family, particularly their children. Some were also chosen for their resources. While local friends were chosen a little more frequently because of their local availability non-local friends were more likely to be selected because they possessed relevant resources.

Within family selections are easily explained. Children selected their parents because they were dependent on them, both for the need in question and more generally; and childrearsers chose each other because of a preference for joint problem-solving and/or because they regarded their partner as the closest person to them emotionally.

Finally, there were three differences between towns. First, because Gulftown respondents did not have local non-family kin they did not cite kin preference as a reason for selecting local sources. Second, because the popular Member of Parliament was selected relatively more frequently by Bushland residents, and because he was the only source chosen because respondents had confidence in him, Bushland respondents were more likely than those in the other two towns to cite confidence in the source as a reason for their selections. Third, Capeville residents were the only respondents to consistently choose their local citizens organisation as an alternative to local government and, because of this, more frequently cited local availability and relevance rather than just relevance itself as the main reason for choosing local unnamed sources.

**Specific Needs**

For most needs, preferred self-reliance was the main reason why respondents would not seek assistance from other people or organisations. Some respondents would not seek assistance for the five community issues, especially unemployment, either because they had no interest in the problem or because they were pessimistic about ever resolving it. The other main reason for not seeking help for the social-emotional, child care and material needs was that the issue would not be a problem to the respondent.

Reasons for choosing unnamed sources were specific to particular needs: professional expertise for specialised needs; relevant resources for material needs and personal unemployment; and formal relevance for the community issues.

For all needs, kin and friends were chosen for different reasons. For all except three needs kin were chosen because of kin preference, mostly because the respondent belonged to a particularly close kin network. For destitution respondents were more likely to report kin preference as the main reason for source selection regardless of whether they had a close kin network or not. For legal assistance, relevant expertise, whether professional or personal, and relevant contacts were more important in source selection than kin preference. For all needs local and non-local kin were chosen for much the same reasons.

For three of the child care needs friends were chosen for relationship reasons, sometimes also because they were locally available. However, for prolonged constant care respondents were more concerned to only choose friends with whom they had a strong relationship. Friends were chosen for material needs mostly because of friendship, local availability or because they possessed relevant resources. Too few

non-local friends were chosen to permit meaningful comparison with local friends by need.

Local kin and friends were chosen for much the same reasons as were non-local kin and friends.

Joint childrearsers were chosen for education, childrearser and child-development problems because the respondent believed in joint problem-solving for these issues. However, they were chosen for psychological, emotional and social-emotional problems more because their partner regarded them as the closest person to them emotionally. Gender made no difference. For each need childrearsers were chosen by children because of childhood dependence and, as with their parents, gender made no difference. Children chose sources other than their parents for various needs for obvious reasons.

### **Geographic Constraints**

One in four local sources were chosen at least partly because the respondent was forced by distance from other sources to choose from amongst local possibilities. This was especially the case for all child care situations except prolonged constant, temporary incapacity, household assistance and essential services as a community issue. All but essential services are probably less embarrassing, less socially stigmatised, less demanding of sources, and/or less dependency creating than most of the other personal problems investigated. Distance, then, was not a factor in source selection where a respondent was looking for professional expertise for the specialised needs, for intense emotional support for the highly private social-emotional needs, for long-term accommodation which would place major demands on the source or for unemployment as a community issue.

## SOURCE RATINGS: ALL NEEDS

## CHILDREARERS

## All Sources

Overall, respondents consistently believed their sources would contribute substantially toward resolving these problems. Mean rating for 2467 sources and self selections was 7.88 (on a scale of 0-10) with a standard deviation of 2.44. The contributions of almost one-third were anticipated to resolve the problem entirely. Almost one-half were rated at nine or higher and almost 90% at five or higher. (Table 6.38)

TABLE 6.38 SOURCE RATINGS

SOURCE TYPE	RATINGS				
	$\mu$	$\sigma$	10 %	9 or more %	N
ALL SOURCES	7.88	2.44	31.4	48.5	2467
SELF-RELIANCE	8.77	2.26	51.8	69.6	392
ALL EXTERNAL SOURCES	7.71	2.44	27.4	44.1	2075
OTHER FAMILY MEMBERS	8.58	1.81	43.1	55.2	527
NON-FAMILY ADULT SOURCES	8.29	1.92	24.7	46.9	676
UNNAMED SOURCES	6.63	2.76	16.8	29.3	832
<b>DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SELECTED SOURCE TYPES</b>					
Self-reliance and all external sources:				eta <sup>2</sup> = 0.03	
Other family members and non-family named adults:				eta <sup>2</sup> = 0.01	
Non-family named and unnamed sources:				eta <sup>2</sup> = 0.10	

**Sources Compared with Self-reliance** Self-reliance was not anticipated to contribute much more to problem resolution than approaching external sources.

However, self-reliance was more likely to resolve the problem entirely and to be rated at nine or higher. (Table 6.38).

**Non-family Named Sources, Unnamed Sources and their Location** Non-family adult sources were anticipated to contribute more toward solutions than unnamed (Table 6.38). They were also more likely to resolve the problem entirely and to be rated at nine or higher (Table 6.38). These differences held for both local and non-local sources (Table 6.39).

#### **Unnamed Sources**

**Location** Overall, anticipated contributions of local and non-local unnamed sources were the same (Table 6.39), regardless of how far away the latter were ( $\rho=0.04$  for unnamed source rating and distance).

**Local Sources** Most of the information contained in this section is presented in Appendix 7.

Local hospitals were rated much the same as other unnamed sources, though the Bushland hospital (8.84) a little higher than the hospitals in Gulftown (7.26) and Capeville (7.24) ( $\eta^2=0.16$ ).

Local schools were also rated similarly to other unnamed sources and this did not vary between towns.

TABLE 6.39: DIFFERENCES BETWEEN RATINGS OF LOCAL AND NON-LOCAL SOURCES

SOURCE TYPE	$\mu$	$\sigma$	f
<b>NON-FAMILY NAMED ADULTS</b>			
All	8.29	1.92	676
Local	8.35	1.80	365
Non-local	8.22	2.05	309
<b>UNNAMED SOURCES</b>			
All	6.63	2.76	832
Local	6.83	2.53	423
Non-local	6.36	3.00	379
<b>ALL NON-FAMILY NAMED ADULTS AND UNNAMED SOURCES</b>			
All	7.37	2.56	1508
Local	7.53	2.35	788
Non-local	7.19	2.78	688
<b>KIN</b>			
All	8.55	1.81	334
Local	8.87	1.36	133
Non-local	8.33	2.02	200
<b>FRIENDS</b>			
All	7.80	2.00	234
Local	7.85	1.96	178
Non-local	7.61	2.14	56
<b>ALL KIN AND FRIENDS</b>			
All	8.29	1.92	568
Local	8.22	1.83	311
Non-local	8.12	1.90	256
<b>DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SELECTED SOURCE TYPES</b>			
Named and unnamed sources:		$\eta^2 = 0.10$	
Local and non-local sources:		$\eta^2 = 0.12$	
Local and non-local sources-		named:	$\eta^2 = 0.00$
		unnamed:	$\eta^2 = 0.01$
Named and unnamed sources-		local:	$\eta^2 = 0.10$
		non-local:	$\eta^2 = 0.11$
Kin and friends -		local:	$\eta^2 = 0.08$
		non-local:	$\eta^2 = 0.02$
<b>NOTE:</b> Totals do not summate perfectly because source combinations are not reported.			

Local government sources were also anticipated to contribute about as much as other unnamed sources toward resolving problems. Though Capeville respondents chose the Cape Shire Council five times only, they rated its potential contribution (2.56) very poorly compared with ratings of the Gulf and Bush Shire Councils (5.24 and 6.43 respectively) ( $\eta^2=0.18$ ). This resulted from very low ratings for the three Shire sources based in Cooktown (0.23). In contrast, the Shire representative based in Capeville was rated far higher by the two respondents who chose him (5.3).

Local citizens organisations were given approximately the same rating as other unnamed sources, though 20 of the 22 selections of these were of the Capeville Progress Association. This organisation was given the same rating as local government sources in general (5.60), though a far higher rating than sources within the Cape Shire Council (2.56).

Local employers were also anticipated to contribute as much to problem resolution as other unnamed sources. Towns could not be compared because of small numbers.

Finally, local employees' contributions were also given the same rating as other unnamed sources though, again, there was some variation between towns: 8.22 for Bushland, 6.50 for Capeville and 5.75 for Gulftown ( $\eta^2=0.16$ ).

**Non-local Sources** Boarding schools were rated at about the same level as other unnamed sources. Small numbers did not permit between town comparisons of these.

Private solicitors were also rated at about the same level as other unnamed sources, with ratings differing between towns: 5.93 for Bushland, 7.65 for Capeville and 8.32 for Gulftown ( $\eta^2=0.14$ ).

The other frequently cited non-local unnamed sources, the Commonwealth Employment Service, the Department of Social Security, the Royal Flying Doctor Service and the Queensland Education Department, were all rated at about the same level as other unnamed sources. Too few of each of these were chosen to permit between-town comparisons.

Ratings were also available for the 114 selections of elected representatives, 79 of these the popular M.P. As a group these were rated at about the same level as other unnamed sources. Though the popular Member was also rated (6.24) at the same level as other unnamed sources ( $\eta^2=0.03$ ), he was rated higher than the other three M.P.'s. (3.75,  $\eta^2=0.09$ ). But this resulted entirely from high ratings in Bushland (7.98, compared with 3.97 in Capeville and 4.80 in Gulftown,  $\eta^2=0.41$ ).

**Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander Services** These were rated similarly to other unnamed sources.

#### **Named Sources**

**Non-family Adults** The mean rating for non-family adult sources was 8.29 (Table 6.38). Local and non-local sources, whether kin or friends were rated similarly (Table 6.39). However, there was a slight trend for kin to be rated higher than friends in general and at the local and non-local levels (Table 6.39).

Analyses were conducted of the relationship between ratings and non-family named source characteristics broken down by kin/friend, residential location and both. The only relationship found was a positive association with respondent-source relationship duration for local sources ( $r=0.33$ ). However, this did not hold for non-local sources or for local kin or friends more specifically.

**Within-family Sources** Mean ratings of other family members did not differ from those given to non-family adults, though they were more likely to resolve the problem entirely (Table 6.38). Male and female childrearsers rated each other equally, and children rated mothers and fathers similarly.

**Differences Between Towns** The only difference between towns not noted previously was that Bushland children rated their parents a little higher than those in the other two towns (9.39 compared with 8.49 for Gulftown and 8.23 for Capeville,  $\eta^2=0.10$ ).

## SOURCE RATINGS: EACH NEED

### CHILDREARERS

#### All Sources

Average contribution of childrearsers' sources varied according to need ( $\eta^2=0.18$ ). It was high for the child care and material needs, and for the social-emotional needs, though sources chosen for child development were rated lower than the others. Amongst the specialised needs, ratings were high for health care and relatively moderate for education and legal problems. Respondents were less hopeful about the potential contribution their sources could make to their finding employment than they were about the other personal problems. Sources were anticipated to contribute least to resolving the five community issues, especially unemployment and essential services. (Table 6.40 and Figure 6.1).

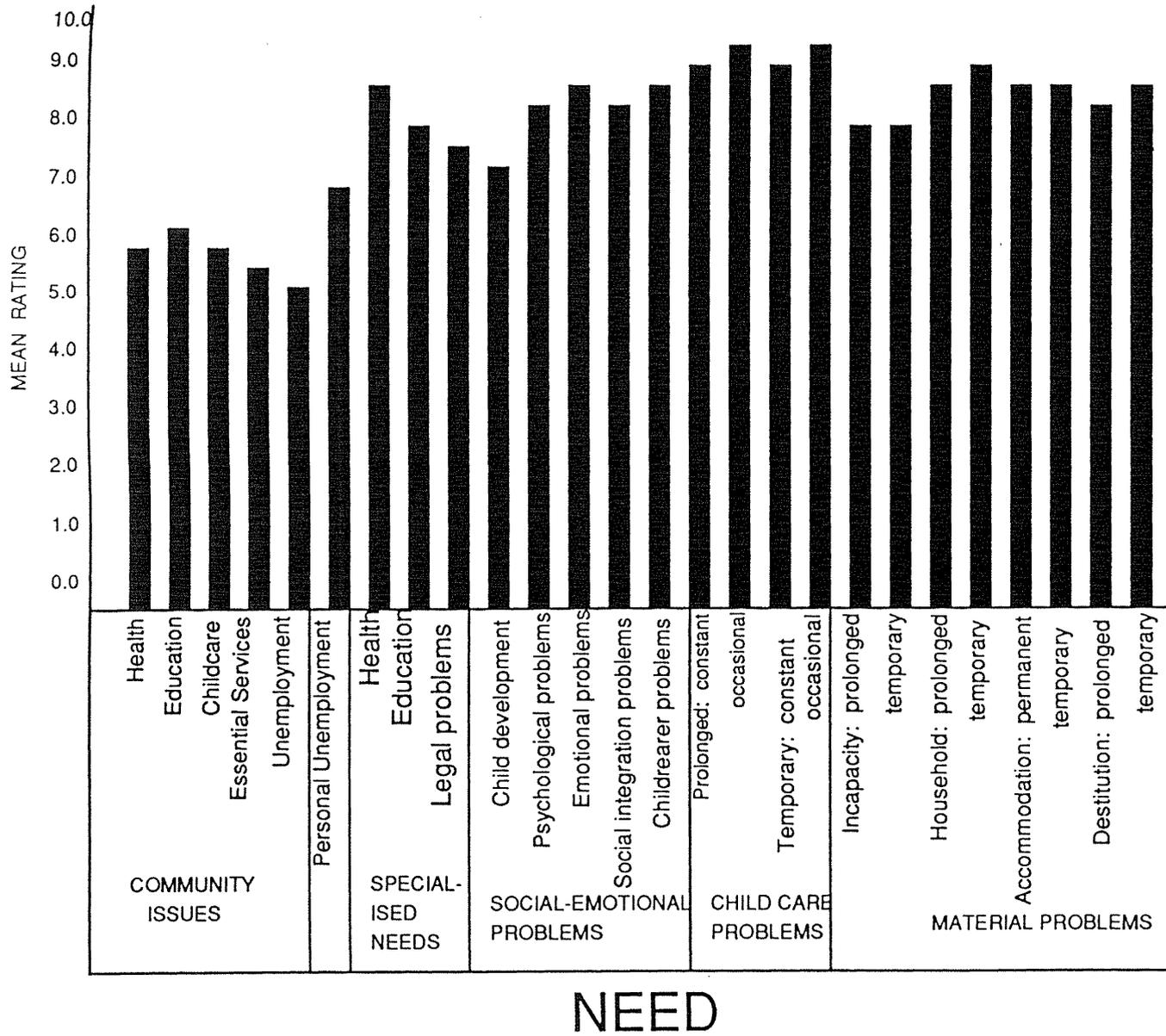
TABLE 6.40: CHILDREARERS' SOURCE RATINGS BY NEED AND SOURCE TYPE

NEED	SOURCE RATINGS																	
	SOURCE TYPE																	
	SELF-RELIANCE			EXTERNAL* SOURCES			OTHER FAMILY MEMBERS			NAMED NON-FAMILY SOURCES			UNNAMED SOURCES			ALL SOURCES		
	$\mu$	$\sigma$	f	$\mu$	$\sigma$	f	$\mu$	$\sigma$	f	$\mu$	$\sigma$	f	$\mu$	$\sigma$	f	$\mu$	$\sigma$	f
<b>COMMUNITY ISSUES</b>																		
Health	5.35	6.58	2	5.88	2.87	81	6.75	1.48	2	7.80	1.82	8	5.57	2.89	70	5.87	2.93	83
Education	7.15	1.70	4	5.97	2.58	76	7.75	0.92	2	8.37	1.46	3	5.85	2.59	72	6.13	2.63	80
Child care	7.43	3.61	3	5.75	2.66	58	8.00	3.46	3	6.83	1.32	4	5.53	2.65	51	5.83	2.70	61
Essential services	2.78	3.20	5	5.39	2.90	74	6.28	0.28	2	9.23	0.91	3	5.20	2.88	69	5.23	2.97	79
Unemployment	0.00	0.00	1	5.22	2.94	58	6.30	0.00	1	6.38	3.32	6	4.97	2.88	50	5.13	3.00	59
<b>PERSONAL UNEMPLOYMENT</b>	7.50	2.57	19	6.75	2.74	63	9.30	0.00	1	8.94	1.04	5	6.52	2.76	57	6.93	2.71	82
<b>SPECIALISED NEEDS</b>																		
Health	-	-	-	8.40	1.92	88	7.24	1.97	5	7.34	2.80	5	8.55	1.84	78	8.40	1.92	88
Education	-	-	-	7.79	2.23	82	8.22	1.74	12	7.45	3.18	2	7.70	2.32	68	7.79	2.23	82
Legal problems	0.00	0.00	1	7.65	2.24	85	7.56	2.25	5	8.09	1.89	20	7.52	2.36	60	7.56	2.38	86
<b>SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS</b>																		
Child development	6.67	5.77	3	7.42	2.17	81	8.23	1.76	28	8.37	1.70	6	6.98	2.16	45	7.39	2.31	84
Psychological problems	8.86	1.48	27	7.68	2.32	56	8.50	1.88	40	7.53	2.23	11	4.92	2.30	6	8.06	2.15	83
Emotional problems	8.70	1.55	27	8.02	1.96	58	8.61	1.88	34	7.80	1.83	19	7.63	1.68	4	8.24	1.86	85
Social integration problems	7.55	3.13	24	8.22	1.55	57	8.73	1.69	30	8.04	1.62	19	7.30	1.89	7	8.02	2.14	81
Childrearer problems	7.44	2.88	9	8.11	2.27	75	9.08	1.74	51	6.29	2.13	23	6.35	1.63	2	8.04	2.33	84

TABLE 6.40: CHILDREARERS' SOURCE RATINGS BY NEED AND SOURCE TYPE (Continued)

NEED	SOURCE RATINGS																	
	SOURCE TYPE																	
	SELF-RELIANCE			EXTERNAL* SOURCES			OTHER FAMILY MEMBERS			NAMED NON-FAMILY SOURCES			UNNAMED SOURCES			ALL SOURCES		
	$\mu$	$\sigma$	f	$\mu$	$\sigma$	f	$\mu$	$\sigma$	f	$\mu$	$\sigma$	f	$\mu$	$\sigma$	f	$\mu$	$\sigma$	f
<b>CHILD CARE PROBLEMS</b>																		
Prolonged: constant	9.12	2.14	22	8.28	1.99	60	9.10	0.00	1	8.47	1.69	53	6.72	3.87	5	8.51	2.05	82
occasional	9.84	0.49	23	8.45	1.86	57	9.25	1.06	2	8.71	1.52	48	6.22	3.13	6	8.85	1.71	80
Temporary: constant	9.53	1.21	24	8.44	1.92	57	8.90	0.00	1	8.64	1.75	49	6.38	2.43	6	8.76	1.81	81
occasional	9.87	0.41	25	8.33	2.10	55	9.35	0.92	2	8.72	1.40	46	4.73	3.45	6	8.81	1.89	80
<b>MATERIAL PROBLEMS</b>																		
Incapacity: prolonged	8.19	2.62	17	8.08	2.03	71	9.42	1.43	6	8.11	1.99	50	7.48	2.27	14	8.11	2.14	88
temporary	8.61	2.02	28	7.69	1.95	60	8.98	2.05	4	7.76	1.78	47	6.69	2.73	8	7.98	2.01	88
Household: prolonged	9.46	1.19	37	8.36	2.10	49	9.11	1.71	7	8.72	1.81	28	7.23	2.53	12	8.83	1.84	86
temporary	9.47	1.16	38	8.54	1.76	49	9.09	1.85	7	8.73	1.66	31	7.77	1.93	10	8.95	1.59	87
Accommodation:																		
permanent	9.43	1.32	28	7.73	2.94	46	-	-	-	7.47	3.17	13	7.70	2.93	31	8.37	2.58	74
temporary	8.35	3.15	13	8.64	2.07	71	-	-	-	8.78	1.83	54	7.97	2.83	15	8.59	2.25	84
Destitution: prolonged	2.47	4.39	3	8.10	2.35	73	9.30	0.00	1	8.66	1.99	37	7.23	2.58	32	8.07	2.41	76
temporary	10.00	0.00	2	8.18	2.20	76	9.20	0.00	1	8.46	2.04	48	7.14	2.44	22	8.22	2.19	78
<b>ALL NEEDS</b>	8.77	2.27	385	7.55	2.50	1716	8.58	1.81	248	8.29	1.92	638	6.65	2.77	806	7.77	2.50	2101
<b>DIFFERENCES (eta<sup>2</sup>)</b>	0.30			0.17			0.04			0.10			0.17			0.18		
<b>NOTES:</b> * Totals for sources other than oneself do not summate to totals for external sources because source combinations have not been reported.																		

**FIGURE 6.1: CHILDREARERS' SOURCE RATINGS BY NEED**



**Sources Compared with Self-reliance** Self-reliance was anticipated to contribute more toward problem resolution than assistance obtained from other sources for almost all needs where comparison was possible and where a difference could be discerned. Differences were greatest for occasional child care, household assistance and permanent accommodation. The exception was social integration problems where the difference was in favour of external sources, but only slightly. (Tables 6.40 and 6.41).

**Local and Non-local Sources** The respective contributions of local and non-local sources depended on the need, though most differences were small. Ratings for local sources were higher for psychological problems and non-local sources for education problems. However, these results should be viewed cautiously because of the small numbers involved. (Tables 6.42 and 6.43).

**Non-family Named Compared with Unnamed Sources** Too few of both kinds of sources were selected for most needs to make comparison possible. The trend was for named sources to be rated higher than unnamed, though differences were small. Amongst needs with sufficient numbers for comparison to be meaningful, differences in favour of named sources were discernible only for prolonged household assistance and prolonged destitution. (Tables 6.40 and 6.41).

**Local and Non-local Non-family Named and Unnamed Sources** Sufficient local named and unnamed sources were chosen to make comparison possible only for prolonged household assistance and temporary accommodation. For both needs named sources were rated higher than unnamed, though only the difference for prolonged household assistance was noteworthy. (Tables 6.42 and 6.43).

**TABLE 6.41: DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CHILDREARERS' SOURCE RATINGS BY NEED FOR SELECTED SOURCES AND NEEDS**

NEED	SOURCE COMPARISON			
	Self-Reliance and External Sources $\eta^2$	Non-Family Named and Unnamed Sources $\eta^2$	Within-Family and Non-Family Named Sources $\eta^2$	Within-Family and Unnamed Sources $\eta^2$
<b>SPECIALISED NEEDS</b>				
Health	-	-	-	-
Education	-	-	-	0.03
Legal problems	-	0.01	-	-
<b>SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS</b>				
Child development	-	-	-	0.08
Psychological problems	0.07	-	0.02	-
Emotional problems	0.03	-	0.01	-
Social integration problems	0.02	-	0.01	-
Childrearer problems	0.01	-	0.34	-
<b>CHILD CARE PROBLEMS</b>				
Prolonged: constant	0.03	-	-	-
occasional	0.14	-	-	-
Temporary: constant	0.08	-	-	-
occasional	0.14	-	-	-
<b>MATERIAL PROBLEMS</b>				
Incapacity: prolonged	0.00	0.02	-	-
temporary	0.05	-	-	-
Household: prolonged	0.01	0.11	-	-
temporary	0.08	0.06	-	-
Accommodation: permanent	0.10	0.00	-	-
temporary	0.00	0.03	-	-
Destitution: prolonged	-	0.09	-	-
temporary	-	0.08	-	-
<b>NOTE:</b> Differences between source types at least one of which has a frequency of less than nine are not reported.				

TABLE 6.42: CHILDREARERS' RATINGS OF NON-FAMILY NAMED AND UNNAMED SOURCES BY RESIDENTIAL LOCATION AND NEED

NEED	SOURCE TYPE																	
	LOCAL									NON-LOCAL								
	NON-FAMILY NAMED			UNNAMED			ALL			NON-FAMILY NAMED			UNNAMED			ALL		
	$\mu$	$\sigma$	f	$\mu$	$\sigma$	f	$\mu$	$\sigma$	f	$\mu$	$\sigma$	f	$\mu$	$\sigma$	f	$\mu$	$\sigma$	f
<b>COMMUNITY ISSUES</b>																		
Health	7.00	1.78	5	6.18	2.05	25	6.31	2.00	30	8.75	1.06	2	5.23	3.28	44	5.38	3.29	46
Education	10.00	0.00	1	5.88	2.01	33	6.00	2.10	34	7.55	0.50	2	5.82	3.06	38	5.91	3.01	40
Child care	6.70	1.84	2	5.76	2.54	30	5.82	2.49	32	6.95	1.34	2	5.24	2.90	20	5.39	2.82	22
Essential services	9.90	0.00	1	5.28	2.36	36	5.41	2.45	37	8.90	0.99	2	5.05	3.40	26	5.33	3.43	28
Unemployment	-	-	-	5.65	1.73	16	5.65	1.73	16	6.38	3.32	6	4.65	3.25	34	4.91	3.28	40
<b>PERSONAL UNEMPLOYMENT</b>	8.94	1.04	5	7.01	2.50	29	7.30	2.43	34	-	-	-	6.00	2.97	28	6.00	2.97	28
<b>SPECIALISED NEEDS</b>																		
Health	8.57	1.47	3	8.64	1.76	71	8.64	1.74	74	5.50	3.96	2	7.22	2.50	6	6.79	2.71	8
Education	5.20	0.00	1	7.27	2.44	47	7.23	2.44	48	9.70	0.00	1	9.10	1.47	10	9.15	1.41	11
Legal problems	6.90	2.10	5	6.40	1.92	4	6.68	1.91	9	8.48	1.71	15	7.59	2.38	56	7.78	2.28	71
<b>SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS</b>																		
Child development	5.50	0.00	1	6.42	1.90	19	6.38	1.86	20	8.94	1.08	5	7.30	2.33	24	7.59	2.24	29
Psychological problems	8.04	2.16	7	4.50	0.00	1	7.60	2.36	8	6.63	2.34	4	5.00	2.56	5	5.72	2.46	9
Emotional problems	7.23	1.60	7	8.70	1.27	2	7.56	1.59	9	8.17	1.94	12	6.55	1.48	2	7.94	1.92	14
Social integration problems	8.33	0.94	4	8.70	0.00	1	8.40	0.83	5	7.97	1.78	15	7.07	1.11	6	7.71	1.64	21
Childrearer problems	6.22	2.54	6	7.50	0.00	1	6.40	2.37	7	6.31	2.05	17	5.00	0.00	1	6.25	2.01	18
<b>CHILD CARE PROBLEMS</b>																		
Prolonged: constant	8.44	1.48	25	6.15	4.22	4	8.12	2.10	29	8.49	1.89	28	9.00	0.00	1	8.51	1.86	29
occasional	8.54	1.60	39	6.22	3.13	6	8.23	1.99	45	9.44	0.78	9	-	-	-	9.44	0.78	9
Temporary: constant	8.46	1.78	34	6.38	2.43	6	8.15	2.00	40	9.06	1.68	15	-	-	-	9.06	1.68	15
occasional	8.76	1.34	39	4.73	3.45	6	8.22	2.19	45	8.50	1.81	7	-	-	-	8.50	1.81	7

TABLE 6.42: CHILDREARERS' RATINGS OF NON-FAMILY NAMED AND UNNAMED SOURCES BY RESIDENTIAL LOCATION AND NEED (Continued)

NEED	SOURCE TYPE																	
	LOCAL									NON-LOCAL								
	NON-FAMILY NAMED			UNNAMED			ALL			NON-FAMILY NAMED			UNNAMED			ALL		
	$\mu$	$\sigma$	f	$\mu$	$\sigma$	f	$\mu$	$\sigma$	f	$\mu$	$\sigma$	f	$\mu$	$\sigma$	f	$\mu$	$\sigma$	f
<b>MATERIAL PROBLEMS</b>																		
Incapacity: prolonged	8.56	1.80	14	6.90	2.22	7	8.00	2.06	21	7.88	2.05	35	8.35	2.40	6	7.95	2.08	41
Household: temporary	7.64	1.68	25	6.72	2.03	5	7.49	1.74	30	7.90	1.91	22	6.63	4.22	3	7.75	2.20	25
Household: prolonged	8.79	1.75	26	7.38	2.59	11	8.37	2.10	37	7.80	3.11	2	5.50	0.00	1	7.03	2.57	3
Accommodation: temporary	8.67	1.69	29	7.56	1.91	9	8.41	1.79	38	9.55	0.64	2	-	-	-	9.55	0.64	2
Accommodation: permanent	7.71	3.30	7	6.00	3.86	8	6.80	3.59	15	7.18	3.30	6	8.38	2.38	22	8.13	2.58	28
Destitution: temporary	8.64	1.83	31	7.90	2.98	12	8.43	2.20	43	8.97	1.85	23	8.27	2.66	3	8.88	1.91	26
Destitution: prolonged	8.91	1.50	9	9.01	1.76	7	8.96	1.56	16	8.59	2.14	28	6.61	2.65	23	7.69	2.56	51
Destitution: temporary	8.44	1.77	14	7.84	2.44	9	8.21	2.03	23	8.46	2.17	34	6.65	2.41	13	7.96	2.36	47
<b>ALL NEEDS</b>	8.37	1.77	340	6.87	2.51	405	7.55	2.33	745	8.20	2.07	296	6.36	3.0	372	7.17	2.79	668
<b>DIFFERENCES (<math>\eta^2</math>)</b>	0.12			0.21			0.20			0.14			0.17			0.21		

TABLE 6.43: DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CHILDREARERS' RATINGS OF LOCAL AND NON-LOCAL NON-FAMILY NAMED AND UNNAMED SOURCES BY NEED

NEED	SOURCE COMPARISON				
	Local and Non-local sources $\eta^2$	Local and Non-local Named Sources $\eta^2$	Local and Non-local Unnamed Sources $\eta^2$	Local Named and Unnamed Sources $\eta^2$	Non-local Named and Unnamed Sources $\eta^2$
<b>COMMUNITY ISSUES</b>					
Health	0.03	-	0.03	-	-
Education	0.00	-	0.04	-	-
Child care	0.01	-	0.01	-	-
Essential services	0.00	-	0.00	-	-
Unemployment	0.01	-	0.01	-	-
<b>PERSONAL UNEMPLOYMENT</b>	0.06	-	-	-	-
<b>SPECIALISED NEEDS</b>					
Health	-	-	-	-	-
Education	0.10	-	0.04	-	-
Legal problems	0.03	-	-	-	0.03
<b>SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS</b>					
Child development	0.08	-	0.04	-	-
Psychological problems	0.62	-	-	-	-
Emotional problems	-	-	-	-	-
Social integration problems	-	-	-	-	-
Childrearer problems	-	-	-	-	-
<b>CHILD CARE PROBLEMS</b>					
Prolonged: constant	0.01	-	-	-	-
occasional	0.06	0.06	-	-	-
Temporary: constant	0.04	0.03	-	-	-
occasional	0.00	0.00	-	-	-
<b>MATERIAL PROBLEMS</b>					
Incapacity: prolonged	0.00	0.03	-	-	-
temporary	0.00	0.01	-	-	-
Household: prolonged	-	-	-	0.09	-
temporary	-	-	-	0.07	-
Accommodation: permanent	0.04	-	-	-	-
temporary	0.01	0.01	-	0.02	-
Desituation: prolonged	0.05	0.00	-	-	0.15
temporary	0.00	0.00	0.06	0.02	0.12

**NOTE:** Differences between source types at least one of which has a frequency of less than nine are not reported.

Amongst needs for which sufficient numbers permit meaningful comparison between non-local named and unnamed sources the only differences were for the former to be rated higher for destitution. (Tables 6.42 and 6.43).

### **Unnamed Sources**

Results reported in this section are presented in Table 6.40 and Figure 6.2.

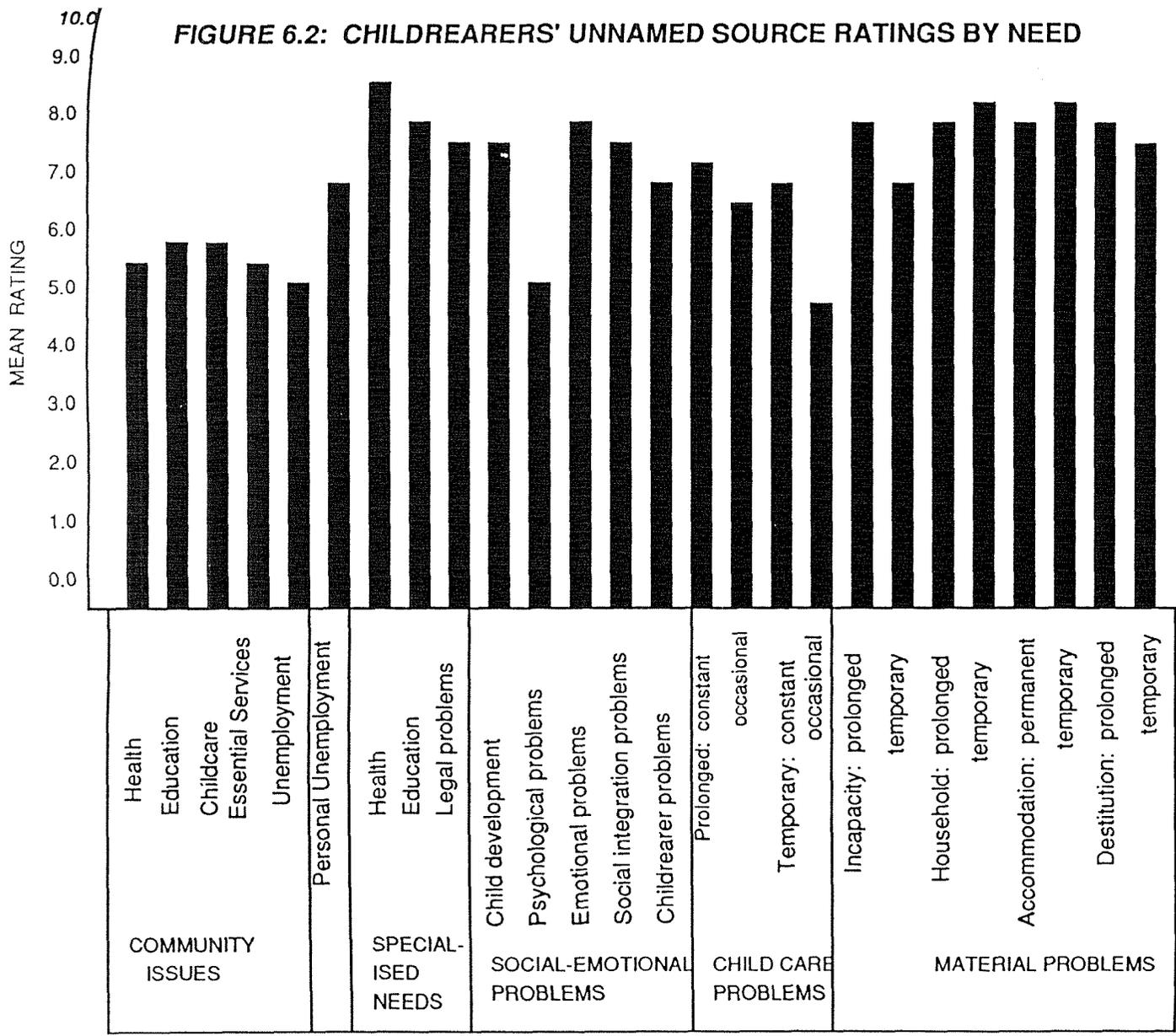
The contributions of unnamed sources varied according to need ( $\eta^2=0.17$ ).

Unnamed sources chosen for health problems, mostly local hospitals, were clearly anticipated to contribute more than those chosen for other needs. Unnamed sources cited for the other two specialised needs, education (mostly teachers and principals) and legal problems (mostly private solicitors), were also rated relatively highly. Sources reported for most material needs were generally rated higher than those chosen for many other needs, though the eight chosen for temporary incapacity were rated lower than the rest.

Very few unnamed sources were chosen for the child care needs. In general, their anticipated contribution was around the average for all unnamed sources, though those assisting with occasional temporary child care were rated lower than the rest.

With the exception of child development, few unnamed sources were chosen for the social and emotional needs. Unnamed sources chosen for child development were rated at about the same level as all unnamed sources.

Unnamed sources assisting with personal unemployment also received approximately the same rating as all unnamed sources.



Sources that would be approached for representation were rated lower than all unnamed sources. Taken together, the average contribution of these was 5.45 compared with 7.40 for unnamed sources cited for all other needs ( $\eta^2=0.12$ ).

Because of numbers chosen, local and non-local unnamed sources could only be meaningfully compared for a few needs. For these, there were no clear differences.

For the most part, the most commonly cited unnamed sources were associated with one or a group of needs. Consequently, results for these will be reported for the needs with which they were associated. Other sources were mentioned very infrequently and, of these, most were also need specific. Results for these are not reported.

**Community Issues: Local government, Citizens Organisations, Elected Representatives, Members of Parliament, Hospitals and Schools** For these sources, ratings were compared for (a) all sources for each issue, (b) each source with all unnamed sources for each issue, and (c) each source across all issues. No clear differences were discernible.

**Health** Local hospitals were selected by 71 of the 78 respondents who chose unnamed sources for personal health care. They were not rated much higher than all other sources for this need (8.64 and 7.42,  $\eta^2=0.06$ ). The Bushland hospital was rated higher than the Gulftown hospital which was rated higher than the Capeville hospital (9.37, 8.33 and 7.61 respectively,  $\eta^2=0.19$ ).

**Education** 44 of the 68 unnamed sources chosen by childreaners for assistance with education problems were local school teachers or principals, 13 were their counterparts in private boarding schools, and the remaining 11 were various

educators at two or more schools. The combined mean contribution for these was relatively high (8.25). Respondents rated local educators a little lower than those in boarding schools (7.14 and 8.88 respectively,  $\eta^2=0.10$ ).

**Legal Problems** 29 of the 43 non-local unnamed sources chosen for assistance with legal problems were private solicitors. They were rated lower than other non-local unnamed sources (7.36 and 8.38 respectively,  $\eta^2=0.08$ ).

**Child Development** A variety of unnamed sources were chosen for assistance with child development problems. 40 of the 45 were involved in delivering health (29) or education (11) services. Of these, education sources were rated higher than health (8.04 and 6.71 respectively,  $\eta^2=0.10$ ).

Three more specific kinds of unnamed sources were reported relatively frequently for these problems. Respondents assessed their potential contribution differently: local schools were rated highest (mean=8.12), the Royal Flying Doctor Service next (6.67), and local hospitals lowest (5.56) ( $\eta^2=0.19$ ).

**Prolonged Destitution** The Department of Social Security was the most frequently reported unnamed source for this need. The 18 respondents who cited this source rated it slightly lower than the 14 who selected other sources (6.59 and 8.06,  $\eta^2=0.08$ ).

**Personal Unemployment** The Commonwealth Employment Service and local employers were cited most frequently for assistance with finding employment. Respondents appear to have had more hope of finding work through local employers than through the Commonwealth Employment Service (7.96 and 4.75 respectively,

$\eta^2=0.29$ ). There were no differences between local and non-local sources or named and unnamed sources for this need.

### **Within-family Sources**

Sufficient joint childrearsers were chosen to permit meaningful discussion only for education and the social-emotional needs. The overall trend was for within-family sources to be rated higher than either non-family named or unnamed sources, though differences were generally small (Tables 6.40 and 6.41).

**Within-family Compared with Non-family Named Sources** Sufficient numbers of both kinds of sources were chosen to permit meaningful analysis only for psychological, emotional, social integration and childrearser problems. The only difference was for childrearser problems, within-family sources being rated higher than other named sources. (Tables 6.40 and 6.41).

**Within-family Compared with Unnamed Sources** Numbers permit this comparison only for education and child development problems. There was a weak tendency for within-family sources to be rated higher than unnamed sources for child development problems. (Tables 6.40 and 6.41).

**Childrearsers chosen by other Childrearsers** Childrearsers were chosen with some frequency by other childrearsers for six needs: education, child development, psychological, emotional, social integration and childrearser problems. Ratings were consistently high for each of these. Childrearsers were rated a little higher for childrearser problems than for the other social-emotional needs. (Table 6.44).

TABLE 6.44: CHILDREARERS' RATINGS OF JOINT CHILDREARERS BY NEED

NEED	SOURCE GENDER							ALL JOINT CHILD-REARERS		
	MALE			FEMALE			DIFF-ER-ENCE eta <sup>2</sup>	x	σ	f
	x	σ	f	x	σ	f				
<b>SPECIALISED NEEDS</b> Education	9.02	1.26	5	7.82	1.81	6	0.14	8.36	1.64	11
<b>SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS</b> Child development	7.97	2.31	9	8.34	1.49	17	0.01	8.21	1.77	26
Psychological problems	7.82	2.44	17	8.41	1.81	21	0.02	8.15	2.11	38
Emotional problems	8.73	1.45	13	7.70	2.43	20	0.06	8.10	2.13	33
Social integration problems	8.91	1.00	9	8.23	1.69	20	0.04	8.44	1.52	29
Childrearer problems	9.09	1.38	22	9.07	2.02	26	0.00	9.08	1.74	48

Ignoring education problems where numbers do not permit further breakdown, there were no noteworthy differences between ratings received by male and female childrearsers. (Table 6.44).

#### Non-family Named Sources

For most needs, non-family named sources were anticipated to contribute slightly less than within-family sources and more than unnamed (Tables 6.40 and 6.41).

#### Non-family Named Sources compared with Self-reliance

Comparing for each need, the overall trend was for self-reliance to be rated higher than non-family named sources (Tables 6.40 and 6.41). Of those needs where numbers permit meaningful comparison, self-reliance was rated higher for psychological and emotional problems, child care and permanent accommodation (Table 6.40).

**All Non-family Named Sources** The contributions of these varied according to need though, for the most part, only a little. On average, they came close to solving the problem entirely for child care situations and for the material needs, though their contribution was lower for permanent accommodation and temporary incapacity than for the other needs. Respondents believed that the five sources they would approach for a job would be able to provide one. Their contribution to resolving legal problems was also anticipated to be high, though slightly lower for the very few chosen to assist with health and education problems. (Table 6.40 and Figure 6.3)).

Of the social and emotional problems, non-family named sources were anticipated to contribute most to child development and least to childrearer problems, and to make moderate contributions to resolving psychological, emotional and social integration problems (Table 6.40).

Though few named non-family sources were chosen for representation on the five community issues these were rated a little higher than their unnamed and, for four issues, their within-family counterparts. (Table 6.40).

**Local and Non-local Sources** There were no differences between local and non-local non-family named sources for those needs for which sufficient of both were chosen to permit meaningful comparison. Nor was an overall trend one way or the other discernible in analyses of specific needs. (Table 6.45).

**Kin** Kin were anticipated to contribute most to occasional child care, temporary constant child care and temporary accommodation and least to childrearer problems. Otherwise, their ratings for specific needs were high and very similar. (Table 6.46).

TABLE 6.45: CHILDREARERS' RATINGS OF NON-FAMILY NAMED SOURCES BY RESIDENTIAL LOCATION AND NEED

NEED	RESIDENTIAL LOCATION						DIFFERENCE eta <sup>2</sup>
	LOCAL			NON-LOCAL			
	$\mu$	$\sigma$	f	$\mu$	$\sigma$	f	
<b>CHILD CARE PROBLEMS</b>							
Prolonged: constant	8.44	1.48	25	8.49	1.89	28	0.03
occasional	8.54	1.60	39	9.44	0.78	9	0.06
Temporary: constant	8.46	1.78	34	9.06	1.68	15	0.03
occasional	8.76	1.34	39	8.50	1.81	7	0.00
<b>MATERIAL PROBLEMS</b>							
Incapacity: prolonged	8.56	1.80	14	7.88	2.05	35	0.03
temporary	7.64	1.68	25	7.90	1.91	22	0.64
Accommodation: temporary	8.64	1.83	31	8.97	1.85	23	0.01
Destitution: prolonged	8.91	1.50	9	8.59	2.14	28	0.00
temporary	8.44	1.77	14	8.46	2.17	34	0.00
<b>NOTES:</b> 1 With the exception of temporary occasional child care, differences between local and non-local sources at least one of which has a frequency of less than nine are not reported.							
2 Temporary occasional child care is reported because the other three child care problems are.							

The anticipated contributions of both local and non-local kin were very high for those needs where sufficient numbers permit meaningful discussion. Their contribution was lowest for childrearer problems. (Table 6.46).

Though need specific analyses revealed a slight tendency for respondents to rate local kin higher than non-local, the differences were only very slight (Tables 6.46 and 6.47).

**Friends** Friends' contributions were highest for household assistance and destitution. As with kin, they were clearly anticipated to contribute least to resolving childrearer problems and were also given a low rating for emotional difficulties. (Table 6.46).

TABLE 6.46: CHILDREARERS' RATINGS OF LOCAL AND NON-LOCAL NON-FAMILY KIN AND FRIENDS BY NEED

NEED	SOURCE TYPE																	
	LOCAL						NON-LOCAL						ALL KIN			ALL FRIENDS		
	KIN			FRIENDS			KIN			FRIENDS			$\mu$	$\sigma$	f	$\mu$	$\sigma$	f
	$\mu$	$\sigma$	f	$\mu$	$\sigma$	f	$\mu$	$\sigma$	f	$\mu$	$\sigma$	f	$\mu$	$\sigma$	f	$\mu$	$\sigma$	f
<b>SPECIALISED NEEDS</b>																		
Legal problems	7.28	2.22	4	5.40	0.00	1	9.19	0.76	7	7.86	2.10	8	8.49	1.66	11	7.59	2.13	9
<b>SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL</b>																		
Psychological problems	9.30	0.99	2	7.54	2.38	5	4.90	0.00	1	7.20	2.50	3	7.83	2.64	3	7.41	2.25	8
Emotional problems	8.13	1.01	3	6.55	1.73	4	8.56	1.76	7	8.15	2.19	4	8.43	1.53	10	5.70	5.94	8
Social integration problems	8.85	0.50	2	7.80	1.13	2	8.90	1.08	8	7.13	1.95	6	8.89	0.97	10	7.30	1.73	8
Childrearer problems	7.70	0.74	4	3.25	2.05	2	6.51	2.00	10	6.03	2.25	7	6.85	1.79	14	5.41	2.41	9
<b>CHILD CARE PROBLEMS</b>																		
Prolonged: constant	8.90	1.45	14	7.46	1.13	9	8.49	1.89	28	-	-	-	8.63	1.75	42	7.46	1.13	9
occasional	9.48	0.69	14	8.06	1.64	21	9.44	0.78	9	-	-	-	9.47	0.71	23	8.06	1.64	21
Temporary: constant	8.89	1.82	14	7.99	1.74	18	9.43	0.91	14	3.90	0.00	1	9.16	1.44	28	7.77	1.93	19
occasional	9.51	0.63	15	8.26	1.39	21	9.10	0.95	6	4.90	0.00	1	9.39	0.74	21	8.10	1.54	22
<b>MATERIAL PROBLEMS</b>																		
Incapacity: prolonged	9.24	0.84	10	7.60	2.54	3	8.09	1.90	33	4.35	0.92	2	8.40	1.77	43	6.30	2.57	5
temporary	8.56	1.14	11	6.91	1.71	14	8.05	1.93	20	6.50	0.99	2	8.23	1.69	31	6.86	1.62	16
Household: prolonged	8.52	2.02	11	8.99	1.56	15	7.80	3.11	2	-	-	-	8.41	2.07	13	8.99	1.56	15
temporary	8.69	1.60	12	8.66	1.81	17	9.55	0.64	2	-	-	-	8.81	1.51	14	8.66	1.81	17
Accommodation: permanent	9.45	0.65	4	5.70	5.94	2	7.18	3.30	6	-	-	-	8.09	2.75	10	5.70	5.94	2
temporary	9.16	1.49	16	8.29	1.94	14	8.98	1.96	20	8.90	1.15	3	9.06	1.74	36	8.40	1.81	17
Destitution: prolonged	9.28	0.93	6	8.17	2.36	3	8.46	2.24	25	9.63	0.12	3	8.62	2.06	31	8.90	1.70	6
temporary	9.20	1.33	7	7.69	1.93	7	8.46	2.18	31	8.50	2.43	3	8.59	2.06	38	8.90	1.70	10

TABLE 6.47: DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CHILDREARERS' RATINGS OF LOCAL AND NON-LOCAL NON-FAMILY KIN AND FRIENDS BY NEED

NEED	SOURCE COMPARISON		
	LOCAL KIN AND FRIENDS $\eta^2$	LOCAL AND NON-LOCAL KIN $\eta^2$	KIN AND FRIENDS $\eta^2$
<b>SPECIALISED NEEDS</b>			
Legal problems	-	-	0.06
<b>SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL NEEDS</b>			
Emotional problems	-	-	0.10
Social integration problems	-	-	0.28
Childrearer problems	-	-	0.12
<b>CHILD CARE PROBLEMS</b>			
Prolonged: constant	0.23	0.01	0.07
occasional	0.22	0.00	0.25
Temporary: constant	0.06	0.04	0.15
occasional	0.23	0.07	0.23
<b>MATERIAL PROBLEMS</b>			
Incapacity: prolonged	-	0.08	-
temporary	0.24	0.02	0.14
Household: prolonged	0.02	-	0.03
temporary	0.00	-	0.00
Accommodation: temporary	0.06	0.00	0.03
Destitution: prolonged	-	-	-
temporary	-	-	0.02
<b>NOTE:</b> Differences between source types at least one of which has a frequency of less than eight or not reported.			

The contribution of local friends was rated highest for household assistance and temporary accommodation, with ratings being similar for the other needs for which sufficient numbers were chosen to permit comment. Too few non-local friends were chosen for any single need to warrant comment or comparison with local friends. (Table 6.46).

**Kin Compared with Friends** Overall, the trend was for kin to be rated higher than friends for those needs for which sufficient numbers of each were chosen to permit meaningful comparison. Differences in favour of kin were especially apparent for emotional, social integration and childrearer problems, all child care situations except prolonged constant care and temporary incapacity. (Tables 6.46 and 6.47).

Locally, kin also tended to be rated higher than friends though, again, small numbers mean that comparisons are not possible for many individual needs. Differences in favour of kin were apparent for prolonged child care and temporary incapacity. (Tables 6.46 and 6.47).

Non-local kin and friends could not be compared because too few non-local friends were chosen for any single need.

## **CHILDREN**

### **Within-family**

Childrearsers were frequently chosen by children for four needs: education, psychological, emotional and social integration problems. Children chose mothers far more frequently than fathers or both parents for all these needs. Though too few fathers were chosen to permit meaningful comparison, the general trend was for children to rate mothers higher than fathers for all except psychological problems (Table 6.48). It should be remembered, however, that it was mostly mothers who completed the rating scales on behalf of their younger children, thereby possibly biasing results.

TABLE 6.48: CHILDREN'S RATINGS OF CHILDREARERS BY NEED

	CHILDREARER TYPE						ALL CHILD-REARERS	
	MALE		FEMALE		BOTH		$\mu$	f
	$\mu$	f	$\mu$	f	$\mu$	f		
<b>SPECIALISED NEEDS</b> Education	7.53	6	8.44	27	9.13	3	8.34	36
<b>SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL NEEDS</b>								
Psychological problems	8.83	4	8.78	53	8.63	23	8.74	80
Emotional problems	7.78	4	9.08	52	8.96	19	8.98	75
Social integration problems	6.94	8	9.31	45	9.04	24	8.98	77
<b>ALL NEEDS</b>	7.60	22	8.95	177	8.89	69	8.82	268

#### Non-family Sources

Sufficient numbers of non-family sources were chosen by children to warrant discussion only for personal unemployment, and education, psychological, emotional and social integration problems. The mean anticipated contribution of sources chosen to help with personal unemployment (4.65) was less than those reported for the other needs (7.31 to 8.77). Those chosen for education problems were rated lower (7.31) than those reported for psychological, emotional and social integration problems (7.88, 8.77 and 8.32 respectively).

42 children chose named sources for education problems, mostly parents, and 17 unnamed, all teachers and/or school principals. Named sources were anticipated to contribute more than unnamed toward problem resolution (8.28 and 6.85 respectively) ( $\eta^2=0.33$ ).

## DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TOWNS

Between-town differences were found for child care and unemployment as community issues and for personal health problems. For each of these Bushland childrearsers rated their sources' contributions higher than those in the other two towns. Capeville respondents rated their sources lower than those in Gulftown for personal health care and unemployment as a community issue. These results support the consistent trend for Bushland childrearsers to rate their sources higher than respondents in the other two towns. (Appendix 8, Table 1).

There were insufficient numbers to compare town ratings for self-reliance and non-family named sources by need.

Differences between towns in ratings of unnamed sources were apparent for child care, essential services and unemployment as community issues and for health and child development problems. For each of these, Bushland respondents rated their unnamed sources highest, although equally with Capeville respondents for child development. Gulftown and Capeville respondents evaluated their sources equally for child care and essential services, and Gulftown higher than Capeville for personal health problems and unemployment as a community issue. (Appendix 8, Table 2).

Respondents in the three towns also differed in their evaluation of within-family sources, though differences only held for childrens' selections of childrearsers. These differences were apparent for psychological, emotional and social integration problems ( $\eta^2=0.10$ ,  $0.14$  and  $0.10$  respectively). For each need, Bushland childrearsers were rated higher than their counterparts in the other two towns, and Capeville and Gulftown childrearsers more similarly.

**SOURCE RATINGS: SUMMARY**

Overall, respondents anticipated that their sources would have much to contribute to resolving their problems. Differences in ratings tended to be small.

Self-help was generally believed to contribute more than named or unnamed sources, and named sources more than unnamed whether they were local or not. Within-family sources were rated a little more consistently higher than unnamed and non-family named sources. These results held both across needs and for most individual needs.

The contributions of local and non-local unnamed sources were rated at about the same level, and the latter were rated the same regardless of how far away they were. These results held both across needs and for analyses of individual needs. Specific non-local unnamed sources were rated at about the same level as each other and other unnamed sources. However, Cape Shire Council sources located in Cooktown were rated lower than both the representative in Capeville and their Gulf and Bush Shire Council counterparts. The popular Member of Parliament was generally rated higher than the other three Members. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander services were rated at about the same level as other unnamed sources.

Analyses of specific needs revealed that for education problems, childrearsers rated boarding schools slightly higher than local educators; for child development educators were rated higher than health personnel; and for unemployment local employers were likely to be more successful in finding a job than the non-local Commonwealth Employment Service.

Within-family sources were given an extremely high rating relatively more frequently than unnamed and non-family named sources. This held for analyses both across

needs and for individual needs. Childrearsers rated their partners highly, males and females about equally. Children also rated their parents highly, mothers slightly higher than fathers.

Small numbers precluded many comparative analyses for each need and made it difficult to compare results across needs.

Childrearsers' ratings of unnamed sources varied according to need. They were anticipated to contribute most to the specialised needs (health, education and legal problems), least to the five community issues, and moderately to child care and material needs, child development and personal unemployment.

Childrearsers' non-family named sources were anticipated to contribute most to child care, material and social-emotional needs as well as personal health care. They were rated lowest for the five community issues and for personal unemployment.

Local and non-local non-family named sources were rated equally, though kin were rated a little higher than friends for most needs. Non-family named sources were rated lowest for childrearser problems whether they were kin or non-kin. Friends were rated highest for household assistance.

Children generally anticipated that their sources would contribute most to the social-emotional needs, least to personal unemployment, and moderately to education problems. They believed that named sources would contribute more to resolving education problems than would unnamed sources.

The only consistent between-town difference was a general tendency for Bushland respondents, including children, to be a little more optimistic than those in the other

two towns about their sources' potential contributions to helping them resolve their problems. This result held for a number of different kinds of sources.

### **CHILDBREARER CHARACTERISTICS**

Respondent characteristics discussed in this section can be considered in four groups: individual, family, social network and support network characteristics.

#### **CHARACTERISTICS NOT REPORTED**

##### **Individual Characteristics**

Respondent and family town are not reported because the population was too small to compare results of bivariate and multivariate analyses across towns.

Some variables are omitted because inspection of results revealed that they lacked discriminatory power. These are respondent and family education, respondent and family occupation, family size, respondent and family boarding school attendance, respondent and family absence and family absence pattern.

Others are not reported because of insufficient variance. These are respondent and family ethnicity, respondent and family mining occupation, family type, respondent and family boarding school location, respondent and family location, and transport and communication access.

The following are not reported because they were closely associated with other variables. Family residential permanence was very highly associated with respondent residential permanence whether measured as a trichotomous ( $\lambda=0.94$ ) or dichotomous ( $\phi=0.97$ ) variable. Similarly, family residential length was highly

correlated with respondent residential length ( $r=0.81$ ). Respondent rather than family measures are reported in both instances because they are more sensitive to individual differences.

Family employing organisation, whether measured as a trichotomous or dichotomous variable, was highly correlated with respondent employing organisation ( $\lambda=0.84$  and  $\phi=0.92$  respectively), as was respondent employment mode ( $\lambda=0.83$  and  $\phi=0.86$  respectively), and family employment mode measured as a dichotomous variable ( $\phi=0.79$ ). Of these, the most useful was respondent employing organisation because it distinguished between private entrepreneurs and public servants and recognised home managers. All public servants were employees by definition, and most respondents working in private enterprise ran their own businesses (only 4 of 31 were employees). Thus, respondent and family employment mode were mostly redundant.

### **Social and Support Network Characteristics**

Several social and support network characteristics are not reported because they proved to be trivial or otherwise peripheral to the aims of this investigation. These are rural network, rural supports and rural named support network; named/unnamed support network; network, support network and named support network distance; unnamed support network size; local intimates; local social, non-family named support network and non-family named support network living group residential length; and support network and non-family named and unnamed support network contribution.

Named support network kin is not reported because it was highly correlated with non-family named support network kin ( $r=0.91$ ). The latter is reported because virtually all childrearsers chose their partners for at least one need.

Named support network size is excluded because of its high correlation with non-family named support network size ( $r=0.98$ ). The latter is reported because virtually all childrearsers chose their partners for at least one need.

Non-family named support network density is not reported because it was highly correlated with named support network density ( $r=0.99$ ). The latter is reported because it is important to the concept of support network density whether sources within one's own family are on intimate terms with one's other intimates. For the same reasons, non-family network density is not reported because it was highly correlated with network density ( $r=0.97$ ).

Local supports is not reported because, by definition, it was related to local named and unnamed supports ( $r=0.63$  and  $r=0.79$  respectively). These made the overall measure redundant.

Social network size is not reported because of its high correlation with non-family network size ( $r=0.99$ ). The latter is reported because it was not related to family size and because virtually all childrearsers included all other members of their immediate families in their social networks.

Non-family network density is not reported because it was highly correlated with network density ( $r=0.97$ ). The latter is reported because it is important whether a person's other family members are on intimate terms with their other intimates.

Network kin is not reported because it was highly correlated with non-family network kin ( $r=0.94$ ). The latter is reported because virtually all respondents included other family members in their social networks and because it was not related to family size.

### Remaining Respondent Characteristics

Removing the foregoing variables from Table 5.18 leaves the respondent characteristics presented in Table 6.49. Positive results from analysing these are reported in the following discussion.

**TABLE 6.49: RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS REPORTED**

<b>INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS</b>
Family position
Gender
Age
Residential length
Residential permanence
Employing organisation
Self-reliance
<b>FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS</b>
Family life stage
Income
<b>SOCIAL NETWORK CHARACTERISTICS</b>
Local kin
Non-family size
Non-family kin
Local intimates
Density
<b>SUPPORT NETWORK CHARACTERISTICS</b>
Non-family named support network size
Named support network intimates
Non-family named support network kin
Local non-family named supports
Named support network density
Local unnamed supports

### Source Characteristics

As discussed in Chapter 5 a number of source characteristics presented in Appendix 2, Tables 3, 4 and 7 were excluded from analysis for various reasons. In addition, service location is not reported because it was closely associated with location. The latter is more useful given the size of the respondent population because it is dichotomous. Nor are administrative level, organisation type, government level, service area, welfare service area, essential service area, and Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander service area reported. This is because they have too many nominal values

which could not be collapsed for multivariate analyses and/or because analysing specific kinds of unnamed sources yielded more precise information than analysing unnamed sources according to abstract characteristics.

Results in this section are presented in Table 6.50.

Family income was not associated with any other variable investigated.

### **Gender**

Gender was associated with respondent employing organisation in that 29 of the 30 respondents not employed outside the home were women, and 29 of 46 women were not employed outside the home. Because of the former result and for easier reading, respondents not employed outside the home will be referred to as home managers.

### **Age**

Older childrearsers were in older families whether family life stage was measured as an ordinal or dichotomous variable. Private entrepreneurs and public servants were both a little older than home managers.

### **Family Life Stage**

Family life stage was treated both as an ordinal and a dichotomous variable. For the latter, families with preschool children only or preschool and primary school children ('younger families') were distinguished from those only with children older than preschool age ('older families'). Because of the small population, results for the dichotomous measure are reported most frequently, and those for the ordinal measure are reported only where they contribute additional information. The

TABLE 6.50: RELATIONSHIPS AMONG RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS: CHILDREARERS

VARIABLES		f	DIFFERENCE/ ASSOCIATION
<b>RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS</b>			
<b>Gender and Employing Organisation</b>			
Respondents not employed outside the home who were women	29 of 30	-	lambda = 0.43 (symmetric)
Women not employed outside the home	29 of 46	-	
<b>Age and Family Life Stage (Ordinal)</b>		84	rho = 0.78
<b>Age and Family Life Stage (Dichotomous)</b>		84	eta <sup>2</sup> = 0.49
Mean age of childrearsers in: younger families	μ = 29.8 yrs	46	
older families	μ = 40.9 yrs.	38	
<b>Age and Employing Organisation</b>		87	eta <sup>2</sup> = 0.10
Mean age of: private entrepreneurs	μ = 37.3 yrs.	31	eta <sup>2</sup> = 0.06 for private entreprene- urs and public servants only
public servants	μ = 36.5 yrs.	26	
home managers	μ = 31.8 yrs.	30	
<b>Family Life Stage (ordinal) and Residential Length</b>		84	rho = 0.40
<b>Family Life Stage (Dichotomous) and Residential Length</b>		82	eta <sup>2</sup> = 0.07
Mean residential length of childrearsers in: younger families	μ = 6.8	46	
older families	μ = 13.3 yrs.	38	
<b>Residential Length and Residential Permanence</b>		86	eta <sup>2</sup> = 0.13
Mean residential length of: permanent residents	μ = 15.0 yrs.	36	eta <sup>2</sup> = 0.15 for permanent and temporary residents only
more-or-less permanent residents	μ = 5.0 yrs.	28	
temporary residents	μ = 7.7 yrs.	22	
<b>Residential Permanence and Employing Organisation</b>		39	phi = 0.64 with both variables dichotomous
Temporary residents who were public servants	70.6%	12	
Permanent residents who were in private enterprise	90.9%	20	
More-or-less permanent residents in: public service	45.5%	10	
private enterprise	27.3%	6	
Home managers who were: temporary residents	37.9%	11	
permanent residents	41.4%	12	
more-or-less permanent residents	20.7%	6	
<b>Residential Permanence and Self-Reliance</b>		85	eta <sup>2</sup> = 0.10
Self-reliance of permanent residents	μ = 0.24	35	eta <sup>2</sup> = 0.09 for temporary and permanent residents only
more-or-less permanent residents	μ = 0.14	22	
temporary residents	μ = 0.14	28	

TABLE 6.50: RELATIONSHIPS AMONG RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS: CHILDREARERS DIFFERENCES (Continued)

VARIABLES		f	DIFFERENCE/ ASSOCIATION
<b>RESPONDENT AND SOCIAL NETWORK CHARACTERISTICS</b>			
Residential Length and Local Kin Mean residential length of respondents: with local kin without local kin		82	eta <sup>2</sup> = 0.30
	$\mu = 19.0\text{yrs.}$ $\mu = 5.1\text{yrs.}$	38 44	
Residential Length and Non-Family Network Kin		85	r = 0.32
<b>RESPONDENT AND SUPPORT NETWORK CHARACTERISTICS</b>			
Age and Local Unnamed Supports		88	r = -0.40
Family Life Stage (Ordinal) and Local Unnamed Supports		82	rho = -0.43
Family Life Stage (Dichotomous) and Local Unnamed Supports Mean percentage of unnamed sources living locally for: childrearsers in older families childrearsers in younger families		82	eta <sup>2</sup> = 0.17
	$\mu = 42.7\%$ $\mu = 61.3\%$	38 44	
Residential Length and Non-Family Named Support Network Kin		85	r = 0.44
Self-Reliance and Non-Family Named Support Network Size		89	r = -0.39
<b>SOCIAL NETWORK CHARACTERISTICS</b>			
Local Kin and Non-Family Network Kin Mean percentage of network made up of kin for: respondents with local kin respondents without local kin		85	eta <sup>2</sup> = 0.08
	$\mu = 71.9\%$ $\mu = 52.8\%$	31 54	
Local Kin and Local Intimates Mean percentage of intimates living locally for: respondents with local kin respondents without local kin		85	eta <sup>2</sup> = 0.10
	$\mu = 41.4\%$ $\mu = 23.3\%$	31 54	
Non-Family Network Kin and Non-Family Network Size		85	r = -0.32
Non-Family Network Kin and Network Density		85	r = 0.69
Non-Family Network Kin and Local Intimates		85	r = -0.39
Non-Family Network Size and Network Density		89	r = -0.62

TABLE 6.50: RELATIONSHIPS AMONG RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS: CHILDREARERS DIFFERENCES (Continued)

VARIABLES		f	DIFFERENCE/ ASSOCIATION
<b>SUPPORT NETWORK CHARACTERISTICS</b>			
Non-Family Named Support Network Kin and Named Support Network Intimates		85	$r = 0.44$
Non-Family Named Support Network Kin and Named Support Network Density		84	$r = 0.48$
Local Non-Family Named Supports and Non-Family Named Support Network Size		88	$r = -0.33$
<b>SOCIAL AND SUPPORT NETWORK CHARACTERISTICS</b>			
Local Kin and Non-Family Named Support Network Kin		85	$\eta^2 = 0.25$
Mean percentage of kin and named support networks of respondents: with local kin	$\mu = 83.4\%$	28	
without local kin	$\mu = 46.0\%$	57	
Local Kin and Named Support Network Density		87	$\eta^2 = 0.13$
Mean named support network density of respondents: with local kin	$\mu = 0.76$	30	
without local kin	$\mu = 0.50$	57	
Local Kin and Local Non-Family Named Supports		88	$\eta^2 = 0.10$
Mean percentage of local residents in non-family named support networks of respondents: with kin	$\mu = 72.2\%$	30	
without local kin	$\mu = 54.0\%$	58	
Non-family network kin and non-family named support network kin		81	$r = 0.38$
Local intimates and local non-family named supports		84	$r = 0.44$
Local intimates and named support network intimates		84	$r = 0.36$
Non-family network size and non-family named support network size		89	$r = 0.48$
Network density and named support network density		87	$r = 0.43$

distinction between younger and older families is based on previous research indicating its relevance to childrearer support networks (Richards, 1978; Harper and Richards, 1979; Richards and Salmon, 1983, p.5), on results reported earlier concerning the relative frequency with which childrearsers in local younger families were used for child care compared with material assistance, and on inspection of the data.

By both measures respondents in older families had lived locally for almost twice as long as those in younger families.

#### **Residential Length**

Permanent residents had lived locally for twice as long as those who were temporary and three times as long as those who were more-or-less permanent.

#### **Residential Permanence**

With both variables dichotomised most temporary residents were public servants and almost all permanent residents were working in private enterprise ( $\phi=0.64$ ). (The population was too small to partial out residential length). When the variables were trichotomised, more-or-less permanent residents were a little more likely to be public servants than working in private enterprise and home managers were equally likely to be temporary, permanent, or more-or-less permanent residents.

#### **Self-reliance**

Permanent residents were a little more self-reliant than either temporary or more-or-less permanent residents. (The population was too small to partial out residential length).

## RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RESPONDENT AND SOCIAL NETWORK CHARACTERISTICS

Results in this section are presented in Table 6.50.

Respondents with local kin had lived locally for almost four times as long as those without. Longer-term residents tended to have more kin in their non-family social networks ( $r=0.32$ ), though this was partly because they were more likely to have local kin ( $r=0.22$  for respondents with local kin and  $r=0.18$  for those without).

## RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RESPONDENT AND SUPPORT NETWORK CHARACTERISTICS

Results reported in this section are presented in Table 6.50.

Neither respondent gender, residential permanence, family life stage, employing organisation nor family income were associated with support network characteristics.

Younger respondents had relatively more of their unnamed supports in the local region. Similarly, those in younger families had more local than non-local unnamed sources in their support networks ( $\rho=-0.43$ ), though this was explained by age ( $\rho=-0.11$ ).

Longer-term residents had more non-family named support network kin, regardless of residential permanence (Table 6.51). However, some of this association was explained by whether they had local kin (Table 6.51): those with local kin were more likely than those without to be both longer-term residents and to have more non-family named support network kin.

**TABLE 6.51: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RESIDENTIAL LENGTH AND NON-FAMILY NAMED SUPPORT NETWORK KIN PARTIALISING OUT RESIDENTIAL PERMANENCE AND LOCAL KIN: CHILDREARERS**

VARIABLES	RELATIONSHIP r	f
RESIDENTIAL LENGTH AND NON-FAMILY NAMED SUPPORT NETWORK KIN	0.44	85
RESIDENTIAL PERMANENCE		
Permanent	0.45	31
More-or-less permanent	0.43	22
Temporary	0.25	28
LOCAL KIN		
With local kin	0.11	28
Without local kin	0.30	57

Respondents with smaller non-family named support networks were more self-reliant (Table 6.50) and this was robust for all other variables investigated (Appendix 9, Table 1). However, this may have been partly the result of definitional confounding in that self-reliance was measured as the proportion of self-reliance responses of all responses to the 26 needs.

#### RELATIONSHIPS AMONG SOCIAL NETWORK CHARACTERISTICS

Results reported in this section are presented in Table 6.50.

Respondents with local kin included slightly more kin in their social networks than those without and tended to have relatively more intimates living locally. Those with more network kin had smaller social networks ( $r=-0.32$ ), regardless of whether or not they had local kin ( $r=-0.43$  for those with local kin and  $r=-0.30$  for those without). They also had denser social networks ( $r=0.69$ ) regardless of whether they had local kin

( $r=0.68$  for those with local kin and  $r=0.66$  for those without). And they had relatively fewer intimates living locally ( $r=-0.39$ ), though this only held for respondents without local kin ( $r=-0.74$  compared with  $r=-0.16$  for those with local kin).

Respondents with smaller social networks had denser social networks ( $r=-0.62$ ), regardless of network kinship ( $r=-0.53$ ) or whether they had local kin ( $r=-0.61$  for those with local kin and  $r=-0.65$  for those without).

#### **RELATIONSHIPS AMONG SUPPORT NETWORK CHARACTERISTICS**

Respondents with more named support network kin also had more intimates in their named support networks which were also denser. The non-family named support networks of respondents with more local residents in them were smaller. (Table 6.50).

#### **RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SOCIAL AND SUPPORT NETWORK CHARACTERISTICS**

Most results reported in this section are presented in Table 6.50.

Respondents with local kin had almost twice as many kin in their non-family named support networks as those who did not and their named support networks were also denser. They also tended to include more local residents in their non-family named support networks. Those with more network kin had more support network kin ( $r=0.38$ ), though this was partly explained by local kinship ( $r=0.26$  for those with local kin and  $r=0.29$  for those without).

Respondents with more local intimates in their social networks also had more intimates and local residents in their non-family named support networks, these results holding for all other variables investigated (Appendix 9, Tables 2 and 3 respectively).

Respondents with larger networks also had larger named support networks and those with denser social networks also had denser named support networks.

## **SUMMARY**

Longer-term residents were more likely to be permanently based in the region and to have older families than more recent arrivals. They were also more likely to have local kin and, partly because of this, more kin in both their non-family social and named support networks.

Permanent residents were more self-reliant than temporary or more-or-less permanent residents. While private entrepreneurs tended to be permanent residents, public servants were more temporary, with home managers tending to be either. Home managers were virtually all women and tended to be a little younger than private entrepreneurs and public servants.

Younger childrearers were in younger families than older and had relatively fewer of their unnamed supports located locally. So, too, did respondents in younger families more generally, though this was explained by age.

Respondents with local kin had more kin in their social networks and more intimates living locally.

Regardless of whether they had local kin, respondents with more kin in their social networks also had smaller and denser social networks, and more intimates living locally. Whether they had local kin or not, respondents with denser networks also had smaller social networks.

The named support networks of respondents with more kin in them were denser and included more intimates.

Social and support network variables were generally closely interrelated. Respondents with local kin had more kin in their non-family named support networks which were also denser. They also had more named supports living locally. Regardless of whether they had local kin, respondents with more supports living locally had more intimates in their named support networks which were also smaller than those with fewer local supports. Residents with more kin in their social networks also had more kin in their named support networks, though this was partly because they were more likely to have local kin. Network and support network size were directly related, as were network and support network density, and the location of intimates and named supports.

#### **CHILDREARER AND SOURCE CHARACTERISTICS: ALL NEEDS**

Results of analysing relationships between the characteristics of children and the sources they chose are not reported because there was insufficient variance in the latter for results to be meaningful.

## **ANALYSES**

For the most part, relationships between respondent and source characteristics were analysed according to respondent-source links. Exceptions are noted in the following discussion. While respondents are referred to in the following discussion for the sake of readability, what is actually being discussed is 'respondents linked with particular kinds of sources'.

The small population meant that many multivariate analyses could not be conducted. These are reported only where they could be justified by numbers and where they contribute useful information.

## **NON-SOURCE, LOW CONTRIBUTION AND SELF-RELIANCE RESPONSES**

Analyses of non-source and low contribution responses were by links and needs. Respondent characteristics did not differentiate between those giving non-source or source responses. Nor were they associated with low ratings.

Relationships between self-reliance and other respondent characteristics were reported in the preceding section: permanent residents were more self-reliant than temporary and more-or-less permanent residents.

When respondents giving self-reliance responses were compared with those giving source responses, the only difference was due to definitions: self-reliant respondents were more likely to give self-reliance than source responses (0.31 and 0.16,  $\eta^2=0.15$ ).

## **LOCAL AND NON-LOCAL NAMED AND UNNAMED SOURCES**

Most results in this section are presented in Table 6.52.

Respondent characteristics did not distinguish between respondents choosing local named, local unnamed, non-local named and non-local unnamed sources.

Named sources were slightly more likely than unnamed to be chosen by respondents with larger named support networks, this holding for both local and non-local sources. These results were robust for other variables investigated. They were probably at least partly the result of confounding dependent and independent variables in that respondents who chose more named sources and fewer unnamed are likely to end up with more named sources in their support networks.

Non-local named sources were more likely than non-local unnamed sources to be chosen by respondents with relatively fewer local compared with non-local non-family named supports. This, too, was probably at least partly the result of confounding variables in that respondents who chose more non-local named than unnamed sources are likely to end up with relatively fewer local named sources in their non-family support networks.

## **UNNAMED SOURCES**

### **Local compared with Non-local Unnamed Sources**

Respondents with relatively more local than non-local sources in their unnamed support networks were more likely to choose them. This, too, was probably the result of definitional confounds.

TABLE 6.52: RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN CHILDREARER CHARACTERISTICS AND SOURCE SELECTION

CHILDREARER CHARACTERISTIC AND SOURCE SELECTION		f	TOTAL	ASSOCIATION
<b>LOCAL AND NON-LOCAL NAMED AND UNNAMED SOURCES</b>				
<b>Non-Family Named Support Network Size</b>				
Named sources	$\mu=5.4$	321	927	$\text{eta}^2 = 0.09$
Unnamed sources	$\mu=3.5$	606		
Local: Named sources	$\mu=5.2$	140	442	$\text{eta}^2 = 0.08$
Unnamed sources	$\mu=3.5$	302		
Non-local: Named sources	$\mu=5.6$	178	478	$\text{eta}^2 = 0.10$
Unnamed sources	$\mu=3.6$	300		
<b>Local Non-Family Named Supports</b>				
Non-local: Named sources	$\mu=42.5\%$	178	473	$\text{eta}^2 = 0.11$
Unnamed sources	$\mu=59.7\%$	295		
<b>UNNAMED SOURCES</b>				
<b>Local Unnamed Supports</b>				
Local unnamed sources	$\mu=57.9\%$	302	602	$\text{eta}^2 = 0.16$
Non-local unnamed sources	$\mu=42.6\%$	300		
<b>NON-FAMILY NAMED ADULT SOURCES</b>				
<b>Local Non-Family Named Supports</b>				
Local	$\mu=67.5\%$	136	311	$\text{eta}^2 = 0.28$
Non-local	$\mu=42.4\%$	175		
<b>Non-Family Named Support Network Kin</b>				
Kin	$\mu=70.3\%$	165	294	$\text{eta}^2 = 0.36$
Friends	$\mu=32.0\%$	129		
<b>Local Kin</b>				
Kin	$\mu=79.3\%$	173	303	$\text{phi} = 0.43$
Friends	$\mu=44.3\%$	130		
<b>Non-Family Network Kin</b>				
Kin	$\mu=67.6\%$	172	299	$\text{eta}^2 = 0.10$
Friends	$\mu=49.1\%$	127		
<b>Network Density</b>				
Kin	$\mu=0.63$	173	303	$\text{eta}^2 = 0.10$
Friends	$\mu=0.46$	130		
<b>Named Support Network Density</b>				
Kin	$\mu=0.62$	173	302	$\text{eta}^2 = 0.10$
Friends	$\mu=0.43$	129		

TABLE 6.52: RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN CHILDREARER CHARACTERISTICS AND SOURCE SELECTION (Continued)

CHILDREARER CHARACTERISTIC AND SOURCE SELECTION		f	TOTAL	ASSOCIATION
<b>LOCAL AND NON-LOCAL ADULT KIN AND FRIENDS</b>				
<b>RESPONDENTS WITH LOCAL KIN</b>				
<b>Local Intimates</b>				
Local kin	$\mu=44.9\%$	41	87	$\eta^2 = 0.22$
Non-local kin	$\mu=23.2\%$	46		
<b>Local Non-Family Named Supports</b>				
Local kin	$\mu=76.1\%$	41	87	$\eta^2 = 0.40$
Non-local kin	$\mu=45.7\%$	46		
<b>Non-Family Named Support Network Size</b>				
Local kin	$\mu=4.0$	41	87	$\eta^2 = 0.22$
Non-local kin	$\mu=6.5$	46		
<b>Residential Permanence</b>				
<i>(Percentage choosing local kin against local friends)</i>				$\eta^2 = 0.19$
Permanent residents	$\mu=84.0\%$	21	37	$\eta^2 = 0.23$ for permanent and temporary residents only
More-or-less permanent residents	$\mu=76.9\%$	10		
Temporary residents	$\mu=37.5\%$	6		
<b>Non-Family Named Support Network Kin</b>				
Local kin	$\mu=84.5\%$	40	56	$\eta^2 = 0.31$
Local friends	$\mu=54.0\%$	16		
<b>Non-Family Named Support Network Size</b>				
Local kin	$\mu=4.0$	41	58	$\eta^2 = 0.27$
Local friends	$\mu=7.1$	17		
<b>Named Support Network Density</b>				
Local kin	$\mu=0.78$	41	58	$\eta^2 = 0.19$
Local friends	$\mu=0.48$	17		
<b>Non-Family Network Size</b>				
Local kin	$\mu=9.7$	41	58	$\eta^2 = 0.15$
Local friends	$\mu=15.0$	17		

TABLE 6.52: RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN CHILDREARER CHARACTERISTICS AND SOURCE SELECTION (Continued)

CHILDREARER CHARACTERISTIC AND SOURCE SELECTION		f	TOTAL	ASSOCIATION
<b>LOCAL AND NON-LOCAL ADULT KIN AND FRIENDS (Continued)</b>				
<b>RESPONDENTS WITHOUT LOCAL KIN</b>				
<b>Local Friends in Non-Family Named Support Networks</b>				
Local friends	$\mu=58.2\%$	71	155	$\text{eta}^2 = 0.12$
Non-local kin	$\mu=46.6\%$	84		
<b>Local Friends in Non-Family Social Networks</b>				
Local friends	$\mu=65.0\%$	71	155	$\text{eta}^2 = 0.23$
Non-local kin	$\mu=42.0\%$	84		
<b>Non-Family Named Support Network Kin</b>				
Local friends	$\mu=28.0\%$	71	155	$\text{eta}^2 = 0.28$
Non-local kin	$\mu=60.1\%$	84		
<b>Local Friends in Non-Family Named Support Networks</b>				
Local friends	$\mu=65.0\%$	71	107	$\text{eta}^2 = 0.27$
Non-local friends	$\mu=37.3\%$	36		
<b>Non-Family Named Support Network Kin</b>				
Non-local kin	$\mu=60.1\%$	84	120	$\text{eta}^2 = 0.28$
Non-local friends	$\mu=24.9\%$	36		
<b>Non-Family Named Support Network Size</b>				
Non-local kin	$\mu=9.8$	84	120	$\text{eta}^2 = 0.15$
Non-local friends	$\mu=18.5$	36		

### **Specific Unnamed Sources**

Overall, respondents choosing the six most popular local unnamed sources were indistinguishable from those choosing others. These were the local hospitals, schools, employers, employees, local government and the Capeville Progress Association. This was also the case for the seven most popular kinds of non-local unnamed sources: the four Members of Parliament, one especially popular Member, private solicitors, the Department of Social Security, the Royal Flying Doctor Service, the Queensland Education Department, the Commonwealth Employment Service and various boarding schools.

Local government was chosen by the same kinds of respondents as other unnamed sources. However, this varied between towns. The Gulf and Bush Shire Councils were chosen by the same kinds of respondents in Gulftown and Bushland as other unnamed sources. Cape Shire sources, on the other hand, were more likely than other unnamed sources to be chosen by permanent residents (five of six compared with 49.6%), longer-term residents (13.8 years and 8.4 years), private entrepreneurs and home managers (all six compared with 67.2%), and respondents with older rather than younger families (five of six compared with 60.2%).

The ten respondents choosing the Capeville Progress Association, on the other hand, were distinguished from those choosing other unnamed sources only because they had relatively more kin in their non-family named support networks (70.4% and 41.1%).

Thus, it was the respondents choosing the distant Cape Shire Council who were different from those opting for local government in the other towns rather than those nominating the Capeville Progress Association.

## **WITHIN-FAMILY COMPARED WITH NON-FAMILY NAMED ADULT SOURCES**

Respondent characteristics did not distinguish between those choosing joint childrearsers or non-family adult named sources. This is inevitable given that only one respondent did not report both for at least one need.

### **NON-FAMILY NAMED ADULT SOURCES**

Most results reported in this section are presented in Table 6.52.

#### **Local compared with Non-local Sources**

Local non-family named sources were more likely than non-local to be chosen by respondents with more of their non-family named supports located locally. This probably resulted from confounding the two variables.

#### **Kin and Friends**

Kin were more likely to be chosen by respondents with relatively more kin in their non-family named support networks. This probably resulted from confounding the two variables. However, they were also more likely than friends to be chosen by respondents with local kin. This is similar to the result reported earlier that respondents with local kin tended to have more kin in their non-family named support networks. Kin were also more likely to be chosen by respondents with more kin in, and denser social networks. The latter relationship is probably a consequence of the former because, as presented in Table 6.50, social network kinship and density were strongly correlated ( $r=0.69$ ). Kin were also more likely to be chosen by respondents with denser non-family named support networks. This is probably a product of the

relationship between kin selection and non-family support network kinship: as presented in Table 6.50, support network kinship and density were related ( $r=0.48$ ).

### **Local and Non-local Kin and Friends**

By definition, only respondents with local kin could choose them. Almost all other non-family named supports chosen by respondents with local kin were non-local kin. Very few chose either local or non-local friends. Respondents without local kin mostly chose either non-local kin or local friends, though some also cited non-local friends.

### **Respondents with Local Kin**

**Local and Non-local Kin** Respondents with local kin were more likely to choose them than non-local kin when they also had more local intimates, more local non-family named supports, and smaller non-family named support networks. The small population meant that multivariate analyses could not be conducted. However, the three independent variables were intercorrelated for respondents with local kin ( $r=0.51$  for local intimates and local named supports,  $r=-0.33$  for local intimates and named support network size, and  $r=-0.70$  for local named supports and named support network size). It would seem, then, that respondents selecting local kin were more locally socially embedded, whether through kin and/or friends, and were more likely than others to draw their non-family named supports from the local area.

**Local Kin and Local Friends** Local friends were more likely than local kin to be chosen by respondents with fewer non-family named support network kin, and larger and sparser non-family named support networks. These three variables were intercorrelated for respondents with local kin (Appendix 9, Table 4). Support network kinship was probably the primary causal variable, though small numbers meant that this could not be assessed statistically. If so, then these relationships may have resulted from definitional confounding.

Local friends were also more likely to be chosen by respondents with larger non-family social networks. This was also strongly associated with the three support network variables (Appendix 9, Table 4).

### **Respondents without Local Kin**

**Local Friends and Non-local Kin** Amongst respondents without local kin, local friends were more likely than non-local kin to be chosen by those with relatively more local friends than non-local named sources in both their support and social networks. The association between local friend selection and the proportion of local friends in respondents' support networks probably resulted from confounding the two variables.

Local friends were also more likely to be chosen by respondents with relatively fewer non-family named support network kin, this being robust for social and support network location (Appendix 9, Table 5) as well as for other variables analysed.

Thus, respondents without local kin who preferred local friends to non-local kin appear to have been more closely connected with local friends than non-local kin and/or friends. This may also explain why they had fewer support network kin, though non-family named support network kinship and the relative frequency of selecting local friends were related by definition.

**Local and Non-local Friends** Local friends were more likely than non-local friends to be chosen by respondents with relatively more local friends than non-local sources in their non-family named support networks. The association probably resulted from confounding the two variables.

**Non-local Kin and Friends** Non-local kin were more likely than non-local friends to be chosen by respondents with relatively more non-family named support network

kin and smaller social networks. The first association probably resulted from confounding independent and dependent variables.

### **SUMMARY**

A number of the foregoing associations were at least partly the result of confounding independent and dependent variables. Disregarding these, a number of associations between respondent characteristics and source selection have been identified. The small population size meant that some multivariate analyses could not be conducted.

- 1 Respondents giving non-source responses or low evaluations to their supports were no different to others.
- 2 Permanent residents tended to be more self-reliant than their temporary and more-or-less permanent neighbours.
- 3 Overall, respondent characteristics did not distinguish between those choosing local or non-local, named or unnamed sources.
- 4 Respondents choosing each of the most commonly cited unnamed sources were no different from those choosing other unnamed sources.
- 5 While respondents choosing the Gulf and Bush Shire Councils and the Capeville Progress Association were no different to those choosing other unnamed sources, the very few Capeville residents who cited the Cape Shire Council were almost exclusively permanent, long-term residents who were private entrepreneurs.

- 6 Respondent characteristics did not distinguish between those choosing non-family sources or family sources. This is hardly surprising as almost all respondents chose both for at least one need.
- 7 Whether or not respondents had kin living locally clearly determined their relative preference for local or non-local, kin or friends.
- 8 Kin were more likely than friends to be chosen by respondents with local kin. They were also more likely to be chosen by those with more kin in their social networks and denser social networks, the latter relationship probably being the result of the former. Kin were also more likely to be chosen by respondents with denser named support networks, probably because these also tended to have more kin in their support networks.
- 9 Respondents with local kin tended to cite either local or non-local kin, though some chose local friends. Local kin were more likely than non-local kin to be chosen by respondents with relatively more intimates and named supports living locally, and smaller named support networks. These results may have resulted from these respondents being more socially embedded in local, rather than non-local, kin and/or friend networks than other respondents with local kin.
- 10 Among respondents with local kin, those with fewer kin in their social and named support networks were more likely to choose local friends than local kin. Their choice of local friends rather than kin may have been because they were more closely connected with local friend than local kin networks. They also had larger social and support networks and sparser named support networks, probably because they had relatively fewer kin in them.

- 11 Respondents without local kin tended to choose either local friends or non-local kin, though some non-local friends were also mentioned. Local friends were more likely than non-local kin to be chosen by respondents with relatively more local friends in their social networks, and with fewer kin in their support networks. This may indicate that they were more closely connected with local friends than non-local kin and/or friends.
- 12 Overall, respondents tended to select their non-family named supports from the social networks with which they were most intimately connected: local kin, local friends, non-local kin or non-local friends. As with several other results previously reported, respondent-source relationships appear to have been more important than distance in the selection of non-family named supports.

#### **CHILDREARER CHARACTERISTICS AND SOURCE SELECTION: SPECIFIC NEEDS**

Most results in this section are presented in Table 6.53.

#### **NON-SOURCE RESPONSES**

Respondents giving non-source responses were compared with those indicating sources or self-reliance. However, too few of the former were given to justify comparison by source characteristics for most needs.

#### **Community Issues**

**All** Respondent characteristics did not distinguish between those giving non-source or other responses for all of the community issues taken together.

TABLE 6.53: RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS AND CHILDREARERS' SOURCES BY NEED

SOURCE COMPARISON	NEED	PREDICTOR VARIABLES		f	DIFFERENCE/ ASSOCIATION	TOTALS		
NON-SOURCE COMPARED WITH SOURCE RESPONSES	COMMUNITY ISSUES Child Care	Self-reliance for: non-source responses source responses	$\mu=0.27$	27	$\text{eta}^2 = 0.14$	89		
			$\mu=0.15$	62				
	Unemployment	Percentage of private entrepreneurs giving non-source responses Percentage of public servants giving non-source responses Percentage of home managers giving non-source responses	$\mu=48.4\%$	15	$\text{phi} = 0.33$ $= 0.34$ for private entrepreneurs and public servants only.	87		
			$\mu=15.4\%$	4				
			$\mu=20.0\%$	6				
Non-family network size for: non-source responses source responses			$\mu=6.0$ $\mu=10.8$	27 62			$\text{eta}^2 = 0.09$	89
Non-family named support network size for: non-source responses source responses	$\mu=2.3$ $\mu=4.1$	27 62	$\text{eta}^2 = 0.11$	89				
SELF-RELIANCE COMPARED WITH SOURCE RESPONSES	CHILD CARE	Non-family named support network size of respondents reporting:	self-reliance other sources	$\mu=2.4$	22	$\text{eta}^2 = 0.09$	83	
				$\mu=4.2$	61			
			occasional	self-reliance other sources	$\mu=2.1$	23	$\text{eta}^2 = 0.17$	81
					$\mu=4.4$	58		
			Temporary: constant	self-reliance other sources	$\mu=2.2$	24	$\text{eta}^2 = 0.15$	82
$\mu=4.4$	58							
occasional	self-reliance other sources	$\mu=2.2$ $\mu=4.5$	25 56	$\text{eta}^2 = 0.41$	81			

TABLE 6.53: RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS AND CHILDREARERS' SOURCES BY NEED (Continued)

SOURCE COMPARISON	NEED	PREDICTOR VARIABLES		f	DIFFERENCE/ ASSOCIATION	TOTALS
	<b>CHILD CARE</b> Prolonged: occasional	Percentage reporting self-reliance: young families old families	15.2% 43.8%	7 14	phi = 0.31	76
	Temporary: constant	young families old families	17.8% 45.2%	8 14	phi = 0.30	76
	Temporary: occasional	young families old families	15.6% 51.6%	7 16	phi = 0.39	76
	<b>MATERIAL PROBLEMS</b> Accommodation: permanent	Mean age of respondents reporting: self-reliance other sources	$\mu=38.5$ $\mu=33.5$	28 47	$\eta^2 = 0.10$	75
<b>NAMED COMPARED WITH UNNAMED SOURCES</b>	<b>SPECIALISED NEEDS</b> Legal problems	Local non-family named supports of respondents reporting: named sources unnamed sources	$\mu=47.4\%$ $\mu=64.8\%$	26 59	$\eta^2 = 0.10$	85
		Local unnamed supports of respondents reporting: named sources unnamed sources	$\mu=64.8\%$ $\mu=48.4\%$	25 60	$\eta^2 = 0.11$ $\eta^2 = 0.33$	85

TABLE 6.53: RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS AND CHILDREARERS' SOURCES BY NEED(Continued)

SOURCE COMPARISON	NEED	PREDICTOR VARIABLES		f	DIFFERENCE/ ASSOCIATION	TOTALS
	SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS Child development	Percentage of respondents in younger families choosing named sources	59.0%	23	phi = 0.31	75
		Percentage of respondents in older families choosing named sources	27.8%	10		
		Local unnamed supports of respondents reporting: named sources unnamed sources	$\mu=62.5\%$ $\mu=46.2\%$	34 45	eta <sup>2</sup> = 0.13	79
POPULAR COMPARED WITH OTHER UNNAMED SOURCES	COMMUNITY ISSUES: All	Percentage reporting Members of Parliament: temporary residents more-or-less permanent residents permanent residents	43.2%	48	phi = 0.29 phi = 0.32 for temporary and permanent residents only.	306
			34.8%	24		227
			14.3%	18		
		Average age of Capeville respondents reporting: Capeville Progress Association Other unnamed sources	$\mu=31.3$ $\mu=38.8$	20 78	eta <sup>2</sup> = 0.15	98
		Percentage of Capeville respondents reporting Capeville Progress Association with local kin without local kin	41.9% 10.4%	13 7	phi=0.36	98
Non-family network kin of Capeville respondents reporting: Capeville Progress Association Other unnamed sources	$\mu=71.4\%$ $\mu=49.1\%$	20 71	eta <sup>2</sup> = 0.11	91		

TABLE 6.53: RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS AND CHILDREARERS' SOURCES BY NEED (Continued)

SOURCE COMPARISON	NEED	PREDICTOR VARIABLES		f	DIFFERENCE/ ASSOCIATION	TOTALS
	COMMUNITY ISSUES All (Continued)	Non-family named support network kin of Capeville respondents reporting: Capeville Progress Association Other unnamed sources	$\mu=80.2\%$ $\mu=39.4\%$	20 73	$\text{eta}^2 = 0.21$	93
		Education	Local unnamed supports of respondents reporting: local school other unnamed sources	$\mu=65.7\%$ $\mu=48.3\%$	21 50	$\text{eta}^2 = 0.14$
	Essential services	Percentage of temporary residents more-or-less permanent residents permanent residents reporting the popular Member of Parliament	39.1% 33.3% 26.9%	9 5 3	$\text{phi}=0.39$	17
		Local intimates of respondents reporting: local government other unnamed sources	$\mu=39.7\%$ $\mu=21.9\%$	31 36	$\text{eta}^2 = 0.10$	67
	Unemployment	Percentage of temporary residents more-or-less permanent residents permanent residents reporting Members of Parliament	$\mu=58.8\%$ $\mu=50.0\%$ $\mu=22.7\%$	10 6 5	$\text{phi} = 0.37$ $= 0.33$ for temporary and permanent residents only	21
		Local unnamed supports of respondents reporting: local government other unnamed sources	$\mu=65.5\%$ $\mu=46.6\%$	13 37	$\text{eta}^2 = 0.15$	

TABLE 6.53: RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS AND CHILDREARERS' SOURCES BY NEED (Continued)

SOURCE COMPARISON	NEED	PREDICTOR VARIABLES		f	DIFFERENCE/ ASSOCIATION	TOTALS			
EMPLOYEES COMPARED WITH OTHER POSITIVE SOURCES	MATERIAL NEEDS All	Local unnamed supports of respondents reporting: employees other unnamed sources	$\mu=43.2\%$ $\mu=70.6\%$	24 113	$\text{eta}^2 = 0.19$	137			
		Household: prolonged	Local intimates of respondents reporting: employees other sources	$\mu=8.6\%$ $\mu=34.7\%$			7 44	$\text{eta}^2 = 0.34$	51
			Network density of respondents reporting: employees other sources	$\mu=0.81$ $\mu=0.53$			9 42	$\text{eta}^2 = 0.16$	51
	temporary	Local intimates of respondents reporting: employees other sources	$\mu=10.7\%$ $\mu=35.9\%$	9 38	$\text{eta}^2 = 0.13$	47			
		Network density of respondents reporting: employees other sources	$\mu=0.72$ $\mu=0.53$	10 40	$\text{eta}^2 = 0.08$	50			
		Local non-family named supports of respondents reporting: employees other sources	$\mu=43.2\%$ $\mu=70.6\%$	10 40	$\text{eta}^2 = 0.19$	50			
LOCAL COMPARED WITH NON-LOCAL SOURCES	PERSONAL UNEMPLOYMENT	Percentage of respondents: with local kin without local kin reporting local sources reporting local sources	78.9% 46.7%	15 21	$\text{phi} = 0.30$	64			
		Local unnamed supports of respondents reporting: local sources non-local sources	$\mu=63.1\%$ $\mu=40.3\%$	35 28			$\text{eta}^2 = 0.26$	63	

**Child Care** Non-source responses were more likely to be given by more self-reliant respondents ( $\eta^2=0.14$ ), this holding for both younger and older families ( $\eta^2=0.23$  and  $\eta^2=0.15$  respectively).

**Unemployment** Non-source responses were more likely to be given by private entrepreneurs than public servants or home managers. All 12 'do nothing' responses for this need were given by private entrepreneurs. Non-source responses were also more likely to be given by respondents with smaller social and named support networks. These two variables were closely related with each other ( $r=0.48$  for all childrearsers), but neither were related with employing organisation.

#### **Child Care**

All of the 26 'not applicable' responses given for the four child care needs were given by childrearsers with middle to late adolescent children only who would not normally require child care assistance to look after their children.

#### **SELF-RELIANCE**

Respondent characteristics did not distinguish between those choosing self-reliance or external sources for personal unemployment or psychological problems, emotional assistance, social integration, prolonged or temporary household assistance, or prolonged or temporary incapacity.

#### **Child Care**

Self-reliance responses tended to be given by respondents with smaller non-family named support networks for each child care situation. This would have resulted from confounding the two variables. Self-reliance responses also tended to be given by respondents in older families for all except prolonged constant care. Clearly, having

older children meant that child care would only pose a major problem for the situation requiring more extensive assistance.

### **Material Needs**

**Accommodation: Permanent** Self-reliance responses tended to be given by older respondents, perhaps because they were more likely to have private resources such as alternative accommodation or house insurance.

### **NAMED OR UNNAMED SOURCES**

For most needs, too few named and unnamed sources were chosen by respondents to permit meaningful analysis of relationships between respondent and source characteristics. Analyses were conducted for all of the community issues taken together, for legal and child development problems, and for destitution. Of these, respondent characteristics did not distinguish between those choosing named or unnamed sources for all of the community issues, or for destitution.

### **Legal Problems**

Named sources were preferred by respondents with relatively fewer local compared with non-local non-family named supports and more local compared with non-local unnamed supports.

### **Child Development**

Relatively more childrearsers in younger than older families chose named sources for child development problems. These were also preferred by respondents with relatively more local unnamed supports, though this was partly explained by confounded variables and partly by family life stage (Appendix 7, Table 6). Perhaps parents of older children regarded the latter's social-emotional developmental problems as more serious or pressing than did those of younger children and,

because of this, felt it more important to seek help from professionals or other unnamed sources. It will be recalled that most named sources chosen for child development problems were joint childrearsers.

### **SPECIFIC UNNAMED SOURCES**

All comparisons in this section are between specified unnamed sources or source types and other unnamed sources.

#### **Community Issues**

No unnamed source was chosen with sufficient frequency for child care to justify analysis.

**All** Three specific kinds of sources were chosen fairly frequently for representation across a number of community issues: local government; Members of Parliament, including one popular Member; and the Capeville Progress Association. Respondent characteristics did not differentiate between respondents choosing either local government or the popular Member of Parliament and other unnamed sources.

Relatively fewer permanent residents chose Members of Parliament than temporary or more-or-less permanent residents.

The Capeville Progress Association was chosen by younger Capeville residents than other unnamed sources and by relatively more respondents with local kin. It was also more likely to be chosen by respondents with more kin in their social and non-family named support networks. While age was not related to the other variables, local kinship was correlated with social and support network kinship for Capeville childrearsers ( $r=0.50$  and  $0.54$  respectively) with local kinship probably being causally

prior. If so, then younger respondents and those with local kin were more likely than others to choose the Capeville Progress Association for the community issues taken together. From field observations, these were the kinds of residents involved in managing the organisation.

**Health** Only the popular M.P. was chosen with sufficient frequency for health issues to justify further analysis. Respondents choosing him were no different from those reporting other unnamed sources.

**Education** The only kind of source chosen with sufficient frequency for education issues to justify further analysis were the local schools. These were chosen more frequently than other unnamed sources by respondents with relatively more of their unnamed supports located locally. This probably resulted from some confounding of the two variables.

**Essential Services** The popular M.P. and local government were the most commonly chosen unnamed sources for representation concerning essential service issues. Relatively fewer permanent residents chose the former than temporary or more-or-less permanent residents. Local government was selected more often by respondents with more local intimates.

**Unemployment** Only M.Ps. taken together and local government were chosen with sufficient frequency for unemployment issues to justify further analysis.

As with other needs, relatively fewer permanent residents chose M.Ps. for unemployment issues than temporary or more-or-less permanent residents. Though numbers were small this also held for the popular Member. Local government, on the

other hand, was more likely to be chosen by respondents with relatively more local unnamed sources, probably because the variables were confounded.

### **Legal Assistance and Child Development**

Respondent characteristics did not distinguish between respondents choosing private solicitors from those choosing other sources for legal assistance, or between education or health sources for child development problems.

### **Child Care**

The only unnamed source chosen with any frequency for child care needs was employees, selected 20 times by six respondents across all situations. Five of these were private entrepreneurs and the other a public servant with substantial private investments who had a 'private entrepreneurial' perspective.

### **Material Needs**

**Private Resources and Welfare Organisations** Respondent characteristics did not distinguish between respondents choosing welfare organisations or reliance on their own private resources for the material needs taken together.

**Employers** Employers were chosen 17 times for these needs. None of these selections were by respondents with local kin or who had lived locally for more than 12 years. All selections were made by temporary residents and 15 by public servants. Clearly, those in employment, especially temporary public servants, were in a position to call on their employers for assistance.

**Employees** 16 of the 28 selections of employees were by respondents in families with an income of \$55,000 or more (57.2%), though this income bracket made up only 11.8% of all source selections for these needs. 26 were made by less self-reliant

respondents (with self-reliance dichotomised). Respondents choosing employees also tended to have fewer unnamed supports living locally. Employees, then, tended to be chosen by respondents who could afford to employ them and by those who tended not to rely on their own resources for coping with the material needs.

Employees were chosen with sufficient frequency to permit more specific analysis only for household assistance. Eight of the nine respondents choosing employees for prolonged household assistance did not have kin living locally, compared with 56.0% of the childrearsers citing a source. The seven of these for whom data were available also had relatively fewer intimates living locally, though this is probably best explained by the relationship between network location and local kinship (Table 6.50). The nine choosing employees also had denser social networks.

Similarly, eight of the 10 respondents choosing employees for temporary household assistance did not have kin living locally, compared with 54.0% of respondents choosing other sources. They also had relatively fewer intimates and non-family named supports living locally, and slightly denser social networks.

For household assistance, then, respondents lacking local kin who were nevertheless embedded in highly connected, mostly non-local, social networks tended to employ a local person rather than seek help from local friends.

**The Department of Social Security** The Department of Social Security was chosen with some frequency only for prolonged destitution. Respondents choosing it for this need were no different to those choosing other sources.

## **OTHER SOURCE COMPARISONS: PERSONAL UNEMPLOYMENT**

Respondents with local kin were more likely than those without to choose local rather than non-local sources for assistance with obtaining a job. These probably had stronger ties to the locality. Those choosing local sources also tended to have relatively more local than non-local unnamed supports in general. This probably resulted from confounding the two variables.

## **FAMILY OR NON-FAMILY NAMED SOURCES**

Respondents choosing joint childrearsers for help with social integration, emotional or childrearser problems or for material assistance were no different to those choosing other named sources.

## **NON-FAMILY NAMED SOURCES: CHILD CARE**

Results reported in this section are presented in Table 6.54.

Whether respondents had or did not have kin living locally clearly distinguished between those choosing local or non-local kin or non-kin for the four child care situations.

### **Respondents with Local Kin**

Overall, respondents with kin living locally clearly preferred kin for all four child care needs. Amongst these, the preference was for local kin, though some who also had non-local kin chose them, especially for constant care.

6.54: NUMBERS OF LOCAL AND NON-LOCAL KIN AND NON-KIN REPORTED BY CHILDREARERS WITH AND WITHOUT LOCAL KIN FOR CHILD CARE AND MATERIAL PROBLEMS

NEED	RESPONDENT/SOURCE TYPE											
	CHILDREARERS WITH LOCAL KIN				CHILDREARERS WITHOUT LOCAL KIN				ALL CHILDREARERS			
	Kin		Non-Kin		Kin		Non-Kin		Kin		Non-Kin	
	Local	Non-local	Local	Non-local	Non-local	Local	Non-local	Local	Non-local	Local	Non-local	
<b>CHILD CARE PROBLEMS</b>												
Prolonged: constant	14	8	1	-	21	10	-	14	29	11	-	
occasional	14	2	6	-	7	20	-	14	9	26	-	
Temporary: constant	14	5	2	-	10	18	1	14	15	20	1	
occasional	15	-	6	-	6	19	1	15	6	25	1	
<b>MATERIAL PROBLEMS</b>												
Incapacity: prolonged	10	6	2	-	28	2	2	10	34	4	2	
temporary	11	6	2	-	15	12	2	11	21	14	2	
Household: prolonged	12	-	2	-	2	13	-	12	2	15	-	
temporary	13	1	2	-	1	15	-	13	2	17	-	
Accommodation:												
permanent	4	3	-	-	4	3	-	4	7	3	-	
temporary	16	8	-	-	13	15	3	16	21	15	3	
Destitution: prolonged	6	4	-	2	22	3	1	6	26	3	3	
temporary	7	8	1	-	24	6	3	7	32	7	3	

Respondents with local kin who chose them for any child care need chose them for all four. The difference lay in the relative preference for non-local kin or local non-kin for various child care needs. Those choosing between non-local kin and local non-kin were more likely to choose the former for constant assistance (whether temporary or prolonged) and the latter for occasional care (whether temporary or prolonged).

#### **Respondents without Local Kin**

Respondents without local kin virtually always chose between non-local kin and local non-kin for the child care needs. Most chose non-local kin for prolonged constant child care and local non-kin for the other three needs. Still, though, even for prolonged occasional care, temporary constant care and temporary occasional care 7, 10 and 6 respectively would still call in non-local kin rather than request the assistance of local non-kin.

#### **MATERIAL NEEDS**

Results reported in this section are presented in Table 6.54.

Whether respondents had kin living locally differentiated between those choosing local and non-local kin and non-kin for the material needs.

#### **Respondents with Local Kin**

Almost all respondents with kin living locally chose them for household assistance, and most for incapacity and temporary accommodation. They chose local and non-local kin about equally for destitution and for permanent accommodation, though only seven chose non-family named sources for the latter. Very few chose non-kin, whether local or non-local for any of these needs.

**Respondents without Local Kin**

Respondents without kin living locally chose differently. They strongly preferred non-local kin for prolonged incapacity and destitution. They chose local non-kin almost invariably for household assistance. Approximately equal numbers chose non-local kin and local non-kin for temporary incapacity and accommodation, though only seven chose non-family named sources for permanent accommodation.

**SUMMARY**

The small population meant that many comparisons amongst respondents giving different kinds of responses could not be made. For the most part, neither could multivariate analyses be conducted. Finally, small numbers, the research design and the moderate minimum level of association or difference chosen for reporting results probably meant obtaining a few results purely by chance.

The following summarises the main results of the foregoing.

- 1 Almost all non-source responses, and all 'do nothing' responses for unemployment as a community issue were given by private entrepreneurs.
- 2 Childrearsers in older families tended to give the non-source, mostly 'not relevant', responses for child care as a community issue.
- 3 Childrearsers in older families did not find occasional or temporary constant child care to be a problem and, therefore, were more likely to be more self-reliant for these needs than those in younger families. However, many still sought help for prolonged constant care.

- 4 Respondents with smaller non-family named support networks were more likely than those with larger to rely on their own resources rather than seek external assistance for the four child care needs.
- 5 Older respondents were more likely than younger to be self-reliant for permanent accommodation, perhaps because they had more private resources.
- 6 For child development problems, childrearsers with older families were more likely than those in younger to consult unnamed sources, whereas those with younger families were happy to handle the problem jointly with their spouse. Perhaps respondents thought that child development problems of older children were more serious than those of younger.
- 7 Permanent residents were less likely than others to cite Members of Parliament, including the popular Member, for representation on community issues in general and unemployment and essential services in particular.
- 8 The Capeville Progress Association was cited most frequently by younger childrearsers and those with local kin. These respondents seemed to be the most socially (and materially) rooted in the locality and most involved in managing the organisation.
- 9 All employees chosen for child care assistance were cited by private entrepreneurs.
- 10 Employees were cited for the material needs by childrearsers who could afford them and who were not highly self-reliant.

- 11 Employees were chosen for household assistance by respondents without local kin, though they were embedded in quite close non-local social and support networks. Lacking local supports they preferred to employ someone rather than impose on local friends.
- 12 Respondents preferring to rely on their own private resources for the material needs were no different to those turning to welfare services for assistance.
- 13 Public servants who were temporary residents were the most likely to be in the fortunate position of being able to hand material problems over to their employers.
- 14 Childrearsers embedded in local kin networks and, because of this, with stronger local ties were more likely to seek employment through local sources than those without local social roots. By going to non-local sources, the latter were indicating that they and their families would leave town if unemployed.
- 15 Whether or not a respondent had kin living locally had a major effect on the options available for help with the child care and material needs.
- 16 For child care needs, respondents with local kin preferred kin, especially local. Where the demand on the source was greatest they gravitated toward their emotionally and relationally closest kin, whether these lived locally or not. Where the demand and resulting dependency was less and where local availability was a consideration, they seemed more prepared to seek help from local kin even though they may not have been as close to them.

- 17 Again for child care needs, respondents without local kin either chose non-local kin or local non-kin. As with their neighbours with kin living locally, they preferred non-local kin for situations where the demand on the source was greatest. For less demanding situations they were more willing to use local friends. Even for these, however, a significant number indicated that they would still rather bring in non-local kin than seek assistance from less intimate local non-kin.
  
- 18 Respondents with local kin were happy to seek help from them for household assistance, incapacity and temporary accommodation. Being locally accessible was probably important to being able to help with these needs. However, for the more embarrassing needs, those which made greater demands of sources, and those which placed the respondent in the greatest state of dependency - destitution and permanent accommodation - more respondents would go to their emotionally and relationally closest kin, even though these might be some distance away.
  
- 19 Respondents without local kin followed a similar pattern. They were content to seek assistance from local non-kin for household assistance, probably because local availability would be important and because the need was neither embarrassing nor particularly demanding of the source. However, for the most embarrassing situation, destitution, and a high demand/dependency need, prolonged incapacity, they were more concerned to seek help from non-local kin. As might be expected, for the moderate demand/dependency/embarassment needs, temporary incapacity and accommodation, about equal numbers chose each kind of source.

## CHILDREARER CHARACTERISTICS AND REASONS FOR SOURCE SELECTION

The association of respondent characteristics with reasons for selecting various kinds of sources was analysed. This was done by comparing respondents giving the reason in question with those giving other reasons.

There were only very isolated needs for which sufficient respondents gave the same reasons for choosing the same kind of source to justify analysis. No differences were revealed for these. Furthermore, there was insufficient variation to warrant analysis of reasons given by children for source selection according to respondent characteristics.

Most results in this section are presented in Table 6.55.

### ALL RESPONSES

Over all responses, respondent characteristics did not distinguish between respondents giving any particular reason from those giving others.

### NON-SOURCE RESPONSES

Non-source responses indicating preferred self-reliance as the main reason for the response were removed.

Respondent characteristics did not differentiate between respondents giving deliberate inaction or the respondent's possession of relevant resources as reasons for non-source responses and those giving other reasons.

TABLE 6.55: RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS AND MAIN REASONS FOR RESPONSES: CHILDREARERS

RESPONSE TYPE	MAIN REASON COMPARED WITH OTHER REASONS	CHILDREARER CHARACTERISTIC	f	DIFFERENCE/ASSOCIATION	ALL RESPONDENTS
NON-SOURCE RESPONSES	NEGATIVE REASONS	Percentage of temporary more-or-less permanent permanent residents citing reason	41.7% 10 17.1% 6 8.5% 25	phi = 0.40 = 0.40 for temporary and permanent residents only	41 35
	PREFERRED FAMILY RELIANCE	Mean self-reliance for childreearers citing preferred family reliance other reasons	μ=0.43 27 μ=0.28 199	eta <sup>2</sup> = 0.09	226
UNNAMED SOURCES Popular Member of Parliament	RELEVANCE AND CONFIDENCE	Percentage of men women citing reason.	47.9% 48 15.2% 33	phi = 0.34	81
		Mean self-reliance of childreearers citing: relevance and confidence other reasons	μ=0.03 28 μ=0.17 53	eta <sup>2</sup> = 0.30	81
		Non-family network kin of childreearers citing: relevance and confidence other reasons	μ=82.1% 23 μ=57.8% 52	eta <sup>2</sup> = 0.16	75
		Network density of childreearers citing: relevance and confidence other reasons	μ=0.78 28 μ=0.55 53	eta <sup>2</sup> = 0.14	81

TABLE 6.55: RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS AND MAIN REASONS FOR RESPONSES: CHILDREARERS (Continued)

RESPONSE TYPE	MAIN REASON COMPARED WITH OTHER REASONS	CHILDREARER CHARACTERISTIC	f	DIFFERENCE/ASSOCIATION	ALL RESPONDENTS
		Local unnamed supports of childrearsers citing: relevance and confidence other reasons	$\mu=38.0\%$ 28 $\mu=49.3\%$ 50	$\eta^2 = 0.09$	78
	RELEVANCE	Percentage of men women citing reason.	31.3% 48 63.6% 33	$\phi = 0.32$	81
		Mean self-reliance of childrearsers citing: relevance other reasons	$\mu=0.17$ 36 $\mu=0.08$ 45	$\eta^2 = 0.14$	81
		Percentage of childrearsers with local kin without local kin citing reason.	20.7% 52 57.7% 29	$\phi = 0.36$	81
		Network density of childrearsers citing: relevance other reasons	$\mu=0.51$ 36 $\mu=0.72$ 45	$\eta^2 = 0.13$	81
		Non-family named support network size of childrearsers citing: relevance other reasons	$\mu=2.8$ 36 $\mu=4.2$ 45	$\eta^2 = 0.11$	81

TABLE 6.55: RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS AND MAIN REASONS FOR RESPONSES: CHILDREARERS (Continued)

RESPONSE TYPE	MAIN REASON COMPARED WITH OTHER REASONS	CHILDREARER CHARACTERISTIC	f	DIFFERENCE/ASSOCIATION	ALL RESPONDENTS
NON-FAMILY ADULT KIN ALL	KIN PREFERENCE FOR MOST PROBLEMS	Percentage of: public servants private entrepreneurs home managers citing reason	48.5% 68 15.3% 118 11.6% 112	phi = 0.36 phi = 0.36 for public servants and private entrepreneurs only	298
		Mean self-reliance of childrearsers citing: kin preference for most problems other reasons	$\mu=0.19$ 66 $\mu=0.09$ 234	eta <sup>2</sup> = 0.12	300
		Percentage of childrearsers with local kin without local kin citing reason.	8.8% 130 39.2% 170	phi = 0.36	300
		Local intimates of childrearsers citing: kin preference for most problems other reasons	$\mu=13.8\%$ 66 $\mu=30.8\%$ 234	eta <sup>2</sup> = 0.09	300
	Non-family network size of childrearsers citing: kin preference for most problems other reasons	$\mu=5.4$ 66 $\mu=11.0$ 234	eta <sup>2</sup> = 0.14	300	
	CLOSE KIN NETWORK	Percentage of public servants private entrepreneurs home managers citing reason.	16.2% 68 69.5% 118 76.7% 114	phi = 0.33 phi = 0.35 for public servants and private entrepreneurs	300

TABLE 6.55: RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS AND MAIN REASONS FOR RESPONSES: CHILDREARERS (Continued)

RESPONSE TYPE	MAIN REASON COMPARED WITH OTHER REASONS	CHILDREARER CHARACTERISTIC	f	DIFFERENCE/ASSOCIATION	ALL RESPONDENTS
LOCAL		Percentage of childrearers with local kin without local kin citing reason	73.5% 130 41.5% 170	phi = 0.32	300
	KIN PREFERENCE FOR THIS PROBLEM	Non-family named support network kin for childrearers citing: kin preference for this problem other reasons	$\mu=40.6%$ 24 $\mu=76.8%$ 262	eta <sup>2</sup> = 0.17	286
	CLOSE KIN NETWORK	Percentage of temporary residents more-or-less permanent residents permanent residents citing reason.	85.7% 74 4.8% 21 83.8% 21	phi = 0.67 phi = 0.05 for temporary and permanent residents only	116
		Mean age of childrearers citing: close kin network other reasons	$\mu=28.8$ 81 $\mu=35.5$ 35	eta <sup>2</sup> = 0.12	116
		Percentage of public servants private entrepreneurs home managers citing reason.	0.0% 10 76.6% 77 75.9% 29	phi = 0.47 phi = 0.52 for public servants and private entrepreneurs only	116
Non-family named support network kin of childrearers citing: close kin network other reasons		$\mu=96.4%$ 79 $\mu=74.6%$ 35	eta <sup>2</sup> = 0.34	114	

TABLE 6.55: RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS AND MAIN REASONS FOR RESPONSES: CHILDREARERS (Continued)

RESPONSE TYPE	MAIN REASON COMPARED WITH OTHER REASONS	CHILDREARER CHARACTERISTIC	f	DIFFERENCE/ASSOCIATION	ALL RESPONDENTS
		Non-family network size of childrearsers citing: close kin network other reasons	$\mu=11.6$ 81 $\mu=7.0$ 35	$\eta^2 = 0.16$	116
	KIN PREFERENCE, AVAILABILITY, ACCESSIBILITY	Percentage of public servants private entrepreneurs home managers citing reason.	80.0% 10 14.3% 77 13.8% 29	$\phi = 0.51$ $\phi = 0.51$ for public servants and private entrepreneurs only	116
		Non-family named support network kin for childrearsers citing: kin preference, availability, accessibility other reasons	$\mu=74.9\%$ 23 $\mu=93.5\%$ 91	$\eta^2 = 0.18$	114
		Local non-family named supports for childrearsers citing: kin preference, availability, accessibility other reasons	$\mu=52.3\%$ 23 $\mu=81.2\%$ 93	$\eta^2 = 0.18$	116
NON-LOCAL	CLOSE KIN NETWORK	Percentage of childrearsers with local kin without local kin citing reason.	81.1% 53 41.5% 130	$\phi = 0.36$	183

TABLE 6.55: RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS AND MAIN REASONS FOR RESPONSES: CHILDREARERS (Continued)

RESPONSE TYPE	MAIN REASON COMPARED WITH OTHER REASONS	CHILDREARER CHARACTERISTIC	f	DIFFERENCE/ASSOCIATION	ALL RESPONDENTS
		Percentage of public servants private entrepreneurs home managers citing reason.	19.0% 58 56.1% 41 76.8% 82	phi = 0.50 phi = 0.39 for public servants and private entrepreneurs only.	181
		Mean self-reliance of childrearsers citing: close kin network other reasons	$\mu=0.09$ 97 $\mu=0.17$ 86	eta <sup>2</sup> = 0.11	183
	KIN PREFERENCE FOR MOST PROBLEMS	Percentage of public servants private entrepreneurs home managers citing reason.	53.4% 58 26.8% 41 12.2% 82	phi = 0.40 phi = 0.27 for public servants and private entrepreneurs only.	181
		Non-family named support network size for childrearsers citing: kin preference for most problems other reasons.	$\mu=2.8$ $\mu=4.6$	eta <sup>2</sup> = 0.14	183
		Mean self-reliance for childrearsers citing: kin preference for most problems other reasons.	$\mu=0.19$ 54 $\mu=0.11$ 129	eta <sup>2</sup> = 0.10	183
		Percentage of childrearsers with local kin without local kin citing reason.	5.7% 53 39.2% 130	phi = 0.33	183

TABLE 6.55: RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS AND MAIN REASONS FOR RESPONSES: CHILDCAREGIVERS (Continued)

RESPONSE TYPE	MAIN REASON COMPARED WITH OTHER REASONS	CHILDCAREGIVER CHARACTERISTIC	f	DIFFERENCE/ ASSOCIATION	ALL RESPONDENTS
		Local intimates of childcaregivers citing: kin preference for most problems other reasons.	$\mu=10.5\%$ 54 $\mu=21.4\%$ 129	$\eta^2 = 0.09$	183
		Non-family named support network size of childcaregivers citing: kin preference for most problems other reasons.	$\mu=5.1$ 54 $\mu=11.4$ 129	$\eta^2 = 0.16$	183
		Network density of childcaregivers citing: kin preference for most problems other reasons.	$\mu=0.71$ 54 $\mu=0.53$ 129	$\eta^2 = 0.11$	183
	KIN PREFERENCE FOR THIS NEED	Non-family named support network kin for childcaregivers citing: kin preference for this need other reasons.	$\mu=40.6\%$ 24 $\mu=63.7\%$ 147	$\eta^2 = 0.09$	171
		Non-family network size for childcaregivers citing: kin preference for this need other reasons.	$\mu=15.9$ 24 $\mu=8.6$ 147	$\eta^2 = 0.12$	171
		Network density for childcaregivers citing: kin preference for this need other reasons.	$\mu=0.36$ 24 $\mu=0.62$ 147	$\eta^2 = 0.12$	171

TABLE 6.55: RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS AND MAIN REASONS FOR RESPONSES: CHILDCAREGIVERS (Continued)

RESPONSE TYPE	MAIN REASON COMPARED WITH OTHER REASONS	CHILDCAREGIVER CHARACTERISTIC	f	DIFFERENCE/ASSOCIATION	ALL RESPONDENTS
ADULT FRIENDS LOCAL	LOCAL AVAILABILITY	Percentage of public servants private entrepreneurs home managers citing reason.	32.6% 46 2.4% 42 9.5% 74	phi = 0.34 phi = 0.39 for public servants and private entrepreneurs only.	162
		Percentage of temporary residents more-or-less permanent residents permanent residents citing reason.	20.6% 63 18.2% 55 0.0% 46	phi = 0.25 phi = 0.31 for temporary and permanent residents only.	164
		Non-family named support network density of childcaregivers citing: local availability other reasons.	$\mu=0.18$ 22 $\mu=0.45$ 133	eta <sup>2</sup> = 0.10	155
NON-LOCAL	RESPONDENT-SOURCE RELATIONSHIP	Percentage of temporary residents more-or-less permanent residents permanent residents citing reason.	50.0% 11 20.0% 25 54.5% 10	phi = 0.34 phi = 0.04 for temporary and permanent residents only.	46
		Non-family network kin of childcaregivers citing: respondent-source relationship other reasons.	$\mu=61.9\%$ 14 $\mu=40.5\%$ 37	eta <sup>2</sup> = 0.17	51

TABLE 6.55: RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS AND MAIN REASONS FOR RESPONSES: CHILDREARERS (Continued)

RESPONSE TYPE	MAIN REASON COMPARED WITH OTHER REASONS	CHILDREARER CHARACTERISTIC	f	DIFFERENCE/ASSOCIATION	ALL RESPONDENTS
		Non-family network size of childrearsers citing: respondent-source relationship other reasons.	$\mu=7.1\%$ 14 $\mu=12.9\%$ 37	$\text{eta}^2 = 0.14$	51
		Network density for childrearsers citing: respondent-source relationship other reasons.	$\mu=0.62$ 14 $\mu=0.43$ 37	$\text{eta}^2 = 0.15$	51
LOCAL ADULT NON-FAMILY NAMED SOURCES	GEOGRAPHIC REASONS	Non-family named support network kin of childrearsers citing: geographic reasons other reasons	$\mu=42.3\%$ 193 $\mu=66.4\%$ 797	$\text{eta}^2 = 0.10$	990
		Named support network density of childrearsers citing: geographic reasons other reasons	$\mu=0.42$ 193 $\mu=0.66$ 797	$\text{eta}^2 = 0.12$	990

Temporary residents were more likely to give negative reasons for non-source responses than permanent or more-or-less permanent residents. This result makes sense considering that most negative responses were given because the respondent believed that their preferred sources were inaccessible or that there were no local sources from whom they could seek help.

More self-reliant respondents tended to give preferred family reliance as the main reason for non-source responses. This is not surprising given the overlap between self-reliance and family-reliance as reasons for responses.

## **UNNAMED SOURCES**

### **All, Local and Non-local**

Respondent characteristics did not differentiate between respondents citing any given reason for selecting unnamed sources in general, local or non-local unnamed sources and those not giving the reason.

### **Specific Unnamed Sources: The Popular Member of Parliament**

The popular Member of Parliament was the only unnamed source for which respondent characteristics discriminated between those giving a particular reason for source selection and those giving others.

**Formal Relevance and Confidence** Longer-term residents were more likely to give formal relevance together with confidence in the popular Member as the reason for choosing him: 24 of the 28 times it was given it was by residents who had lived locally for 12 years or more. The other four times it was given by respondents with between 2 and 11 years residence. These groups made up 33.3% and 37.8% of all childrearsers respectively. Clearly, residents who had lived locally for longer periods

were more likely to have become more familiar with the Member and develop confidence in his abilities. Men were also more likely to give this reason than women, possibly because confidence in a representative was more important to them. This reason also tended to be given by less self-reliant respondents. Perhaps these people felt more dependent on the Member than more self-reliant individuals, though further research on this issue is needed.

Formal relevance and confidence in the source were also more likely to be given by respondents with more non-family social network kin and denser social networks. The former probably explained the latter, though small numbers did not permit multivariate analyses. Residential length might have explained the result for social network kin because the two variables were related (Table 6.50). Again, though, further analyses were prohibited by small numbers.

Finally, formal relevance and confidence in the source was also given more often by respondents with relatively fewer local unnamed sources. No obvious explanation can be suggested for this result.

**Formal Relevance** Formal relevance alone was more likely to be given by women, possibly because confidence in the source was less important to them. It was also more likely to be given by respondents without local kin, more self-reliant individuals, and by those with smaller non-family named support networks and sparser social networks. Again, obvious explanations for these results cannot be suggested.

#### **OTHER FAMILY MEMBERS**

Respondent characteristics did not distinguish between respondents citing any specific reason for choosing other family members and those giving other reasons.

## NON-FAMILY ADULT KIN

Results in this section refer only to kin selected because of kinship.

### All Kin

Several reasons were frequently given for choosing non-family kin: resources; general kin preference; a close kin network; kin preference for the particular problem at hand; and the availability and accessibility of kin. Respondent characteristics did not discriminate between respondents giving kin availability and accessibility from those giving other reasons for selecting kin.

**General Kin Preference** Non-family kin were more likely to be chosen because of general kin preference by public servants than private entrepreneurs or home-managers, and by more self-reliant individuals. The latter makes sense in that more self-reliant individuals may be less likely to belong to a particularly close and interdependent kin network.

General kin preference, rather than an especially close kin network, was also more likely to be given as the main reason by respondents without local kin and relatively fewer intimates living locally. While small numbers do not permit multivariate analyses, the two variables were related (Table 6.50). Maybe distance from kin and perceived closeness of the kin network were related although the direction of that relationship could conceivably be either way. Thus, living further away from kin may reduce the perceived closeness of one's kin network. On the other hand, people with less close kin networks may be more geographically mobile than those with closer networks and, consequently, are more likely to be living some distance from them. General kin preference was also more likely to be given as the main reason for selecting kin by respondents with smaller social networks.

**Close Kin Network** An especially close kin network was more likely to be given as the reason for choosing kin by respondents working in private enterprise and home-managers than by public servants, and by those with local kin. The former was robust for the latter, though small numbers did not permit controlling for employing organisation. These, of course, are the converse of the results reported in the preceding section.

**The Specific Problem** Kin were more likely to be chosen for the particular problem at hand by respondents with fewer support network kin. Perhaps these respondents were more selective in their use of kin rather than seeing them as the first choice for all or most personal and family problems.

#### **Local Kin**

Reasons most frequently given for choosing local kin were a close kin network and the availability and accessibility of kin.

**Close Kin Network** A close kin network was more likely to be cited as the main reason for choosing local kin by temporary and permanent residents compared with more-or-less permanent, and by younger respondents. As with kin selection in general, a close kin network was also more likely to be cited by private entrepreneurs and home managers compared with public servants.

Close kinship was also more likely to be given by childrearsers with more non-family named support network kin and by those with larger social networks. The former makes sense because respondents with a close local kin network would be more likely than others to choose them for assistance.

**Available Kin** The availability and accessibility of kin was more likely to be given as the main reason for selecting local kin by public servants compared with private entrepreneurs and home managers, respondents with relatively fewer non-family named support network kin and relatively fewer local non-family named supports. Probably, respondents without a close kin network would be less likely to choose local kin both in general and for this reason.

#### **Non-local Kin**

Reasons frequently cited for choosing non-local kin were a close kin network, general kin preference, kin preference for the particular problem at hand, and kin availability and accessibility. Respondent characteristics did not discriminate between respondents giving the last and those giving other reasons.

**Close Kin Network** A close kin network was more likely to be cited as the main reason for choosing non-local kin by respondents with local kin. This extends the similar result for local kin: a close local kin network seems to extend to include non-local kin. As with kin selection more generally and local kin selection, private entrepreneurs and home managers were also more likely to cite a close kin network than public servants. As with the other result, no obvious explanation can be offered. Less self-reliant respondents were also more likely to give this reason though, again, no explanation can be suggested.

**General Kin Preference** Non-local kin were chosen more often because of general kin preference by public servants than private entrepreneurs and home managers. This parallels results already reported. They were also chosen more often by respondents with smaller non-family named support networks and by more self-reliant individuals, though these two variables were confounded by definition. Why they should be related to this reason cannot be explained from the data available.

General kin preference was also more likely to be cited than other reasons by respondents without local kin. This supports earlier results concerning kin selection because of close kin networks: respondents with local kin appear to have had stronger kin networks than those without. General kin preference was also more likely to be cited by respondents with fewer local intimates. Though multivariate analyses could not be conducted because of small numbers, respondents without local kin were less likely to have local intimates (Table 6.50).

General kin preference was also more likely to be cited by respondents with smaller and denser social networks. Again, multivariate analyses could not be conducted. However, network density was moderately correlated with network size ( $r=-0.62$ ).

**This Problem** Non-local kin were more likely to be chosen for the particular problem at hand by respondents with fewer non-family named support network kin. As with kin more generally, perhaps respondents making relatively less use of kin were more selective with respect to the problem they used them for. This reason was also more likely to be given by respondents with larger and sparser social networks. Again, the association for network density was probably explained by that for network size.

## **ADULT FRIENDS**

Respondent characteristics did not distinguish respondents citing any given reason for choosing friends from those giving other reasons.

### **Local Friends**

Reasons cited most frequently for choosing local friends were local availability and accessibility, resources, and the respondent-source relationship. Respondent

characteristics did not distinguish respondents citing resources or their relationship with the source from those giving other reasons.

Local availability was more likely to be given as the main reason for choosing local friends by public servants than private entrepreneurs and home managers. It was also more likely to be given by temporary and more-or-less permanent residents than permanent. These two variables, and hence the results, were closely related (Table 6.50), though small numbers did not permit multivariate analyses.

Local availability was also more likely to be cited by respondents with sparser named support networks.

### **Non-local Friends**

Very few non-local friends were chosen. They were chosen mostly because of their resources and the respondent-source relationship. Respondent characteristics did not distinguish between respondents citing resources and those citing other reasons for their selection.

The respondent-source relationship was cited more frequently by temporary and permanent residents than more-or-less permanent. No obvious explanation can be presented for these results. It was also more likely to be given by those with more kin in their non-family social networks which were also smaller and denser. The last two relationships were probably products of the former given that the three independent variables were related (Table 6.50). Perhaps respondents with relatively fewer friends in their social networks (and more kin) tended to use friends with more discrimination, maybe for problems such as social-emotional difficulties where the nature of their relationship with the source would be important.

## **GEOGRAPHY AS A REASON**

### **All Local Sources**

Respondents citing geographic reasons for all responses or for choosing local unnamed sources did not differ from those choosing others.

### **Local Named Sources**

Geographic reasons were more likely to be cited for choosing local named sources by respondents with relatively fewer kin in their non-family named support networks. Geographic reasons were also more likely to be cited by those with sparser named support networks, this probably being a product of support network kinship. This may indicate that these people felt less able to call upon the assistance of non-family kin in general and, hence, were forced (or, on the other hand, were more free) to use local sources simply because they were available.

## **SUMMARY**

Plausible explanations can be offered for some of these results, but not for others. The latter are possibly the result of the method of analysis. Comparisons were of responses rather than respondents. This was the only way these analyses could be conducted because reasons attached to responses. However, it was possible for a small number of respondents to dominate the responses for any given source or source type. If they gave the same reason for selecting the same source for a number of needs it would be possible for their characteristics to dominate results for that reason and source type. Thus, although numbers may appear reasonably large, the number of respondents giving a reason for choosing a kind of source could be quite small.

For this reason this summary reports only those results for which plausible explanations can be offered and which parallel other results.

- 1 As might be expected, temporary residents were the most likely to give non-source responses because their preferred supports were inaccessible and/or because they believed they did not have any local sources they could approach for help with the given problem.
- 2 The popular Member of Parliament was chosen because of confidence in him mostly by men and longer-term residents. The latter would have had more personal experience of him than more recent arrivals and perhaps confidence in a representative was more important to men than women. Women were more likely to choose him simply because of his formal position.
- 3 Kin were chosen more often because of general kin preference by public servants; by more self-reliant respondents, perhaps because they had less close kin networks; and by respondents without local kin but fewer local intimates, perhaps because distance reduced the emotional closeness of their kin network.
- 4 A close kin network, on the other hand, was more likely to be cited by private entrepreneurs and home managers; and by respondents with fewer non-family named support network kin.
- 5 Local kin were more likely to be chosen because of a close kin network by private entrepreneurs and home managers; and by respondents with more kin in their non-family named support networks.

- 6 Local kin were more likely to be chosen because they were available by respondents with fewer non-family named support network kin and fewer local compared with non-local named supports. The result for support network kin is the converse of that reported for respondents giving a close kin network as the main reason for choosing local kin.
- 7 Non-local kin were most likely to be chosen because of close kinship ties by respondents with local kin. Perhaps close local kin networks extended to incorporate non-local kin as well. They were also more likely to be chosen by private entrepreneurs.
- 8 In contrast, public servants and those without local kin were more likely to cite general kin preference for choosing non-local kin.
- 9 Respondents with fewer non-family named support network kin tended to choose non-local kin for the particular problem at hand, indicating that they may have been more selective in their use of kin than those who included a wider range of kin in their support networks.
- 10 Local friends were most likely to be chosen simply because they were locally available by public servants and temporary and more-or-less permanent residents. These were probably less likely than their permanent, private entrepreneur neighbours to have developed close, enduring local friendships.
- 11 Non-local friends, on the other hand, were more likely to be chosen for relationship reasons by respondents with fewer non-kin who were intimates,

possibly indicating that they used friends, in this case non-local friends, selectively only for particular problems.

- 12 Respondents citing geographic reasons for selecting local named sources tended to have fewer non-family named support network kin. This may indicate that they felt less able to call upon the assistance of non-family kin in general and, hence, were forced (or were more free) to use local sources simply because they were available.

There were only very isolated needs for which sufficient respondents gave the same reason for choosing the same kind of source to justify analysis. No differences were revealed for these.

Finally, there was insufficient variation to warrant analysis of reasons given by children for source selection according to respondent characteristics.

## **CHILDREARER CHARACTERISTICS AND SOURCE RATINGS**

Most results reported in this section are presented in Table 6.56.

### **ALL RESPONSES AND ALL SOURCES**

Respondent characteristics were not generally associated with source ratings for self-reliance, or for all, local or non-local sources.

TABLE 6.56: CHILDREARER CHARACTERISTICS AND SOURCE RATINGS

SOURCE TYPE	RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTIC	VALUE	MEAN RATING $\mu$	f	DIFFERENCE/ ASSOCIATION	ALL RESPONDENTS f
LOCAL SCHOOL	RESIDENTIAL PERMANENCE	Temporary More-or-less permanent Permanent	6.56 7.71 6.02	25 20 26	$\eta^2 = 0.09$ = 0.01 for temporary and permanent residents only	71 51
	EMPLOYING ORGANISATION	Private enterprise Public service Home management	5.79 7.65 6.79	23 21 25	$\eta^2 = 0.11$ = 0.20 for private entrepreneurs and public servants only	69 44
LOCAL GOVERNMENT	LOCAL UNNAMED SUPPORTS	-	-	-	$r = 0.31$	68
CAPEVILLE PROGRESS ASSOCIATION	AGE	-	-	-	$r = -0.56$	20
	FAMILY LIFE STAGE	Younger families Older families	6.26 3.96	14 6	$\eta^2 = 0.27$	20
	RESIDENTIAL PERMANENCE	Temporary More-or-less permanent Permanent	3.66 4.28 6.70	5 4 11	$\eta^2 = 0.17$ = 0.08 for temporary and permanent residents only	20 16
	LOCAL KIN	With local kin Without local kin	6.05 4.34	13 7	$\eta^2 = 0.15$	20

TABLE 6.56: CHILDREARER CHARACTERISTICS AND SOURCE RATINGS (Continued)

SOURCE TYPE	RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTIC	VALUE	MEAN RATING $\mu$	f	DIFFERENCE/ ASSOCIATION	ALL RESPONDENTS f
	NON-FAMILY NAMED SUPPORT NETWORK KIN	-	-	-	$r = 0.44$	20
	NAMED SUPPORT NETWORK INTIMATES	-	-	-	$r = 0.48$	20
	LOCAL INTIMATES	-	-	-	$r = 0.62$	20
	LOCAL UNNAMED SUPPORTS	-	-	-	$r = 0.33$	20
	SELF-RELIANCE	-	-	-	$r = -0.50$	20
	LOCAL NON-FAMILY NAMED SUPPORTS	-	-	-	$r = -0.34$	20
	NON-FAMILY NAMED SUPPORT NETWORK SIZE	-	-	-	$r = 0.38$	20
LOCAL EMPLOYERS	GENDER	Men Women	8.94 7.55	14 10	$\eta^2 = 0.10$	24
	AGE	-	-	-	$r = 0.43$	24
	NON-FAMILY NAMED SUPPORT NETWORK KIN	-	-	-	$r = 0.44$	22

TABLE 6.56: CHILDREARER CHARACTERISTICS AND SOURCE RATINGS (Continued)

SOURCE TYPE	RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTIC	VALUE	MEAN RATING $\mu$	f	DIFFERENCE/ ASSOCIATION	ALL RESPONDENTS f
	NAMED SUPPORT NETWORK DENSITY	-	-		$r = 0.51$	23
LOCAL EMPLOYEES	EMPLOYING ORGANISATION	Private enterprise	6.08	31	$\eta^2 = 0.16$	42
		Public service	8.21	11		
		Home management	-	-		
	SELF-RELIANCE	-	-	-	$r = -0.33$	42
	NAMED SUPPORT NETWORK DENSITY	-	-	-	$r = 0.45$	42
NON-FAMILY NETWORK SIZE	-	-	-	$r = -0.31$	42	
	NETWORK DENSITY	-	-	-	$r = 0.59$	42
MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT	RESIDENTIAL PERMANENCE	Temporary	6.13	37	$\eta^2 = 0.10$ $= 0.08$ for temporary and permanent residents only	95
		More-or-less permanent	6.86	26		69
Permanent		4.07	18			
	SELF-RELIANCE	-	-	-	$r = 0.52$	96

TABLE 6.56: CHILDREARER CHARACTERISTICS AND SOURCE RATINGS (Continued)

SOURCE TYPE	RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTIC	VALUE	MEAN RATING $\mu$	f	DIFFERENCE/ ASSOCIATION	ALL RESPONDENTS f
	LOCAL KIN	With local kin Without local kin	8.11 4.94	30 66	r = 0.48	96
	NON-FAMILY NETWORK KIN	-	-	-	r = 0.43	90
	NON-FAMILY NETWORK SIZE	-	-	-	r = -0.31	96
	NETWORK DENSITY	-	-	-	r = 0.52	96
	NON-FAMILY NAMED SUPPORT NETWORK KIN	-	-	-	r = 0.39	93
	NAMED SUPPORT NETWORK DENSITY	-	-	-	r = 0.32	94
POPULAR MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT	LOCAL KIN	With local kin Without local kin	8.29 5.24	29 52	eta <sup>2</sup> = 0.23	81
	NON-FAMILY NETWORK KIN	-	-	-	r = 0.39	75

TABLE 6.56: CHILDREARER CHARACTERISTICS AND SOURCE RATINGS (Continued)

SOURCE TYPE	RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTIC	VALUE	MEAN RATING $\mu$	f	DIFFERENCE/ ASSOCIATION	ALL RESPONDENTS f
	NETWORK DENSITY	-	-	-	$r = 0.52$	81
	NON-FAMILY NAMED SUPPORT NETWORK KIN	-	-	-	$r = 0.41$	79
	NAMED SUPPORT NETWORK DENSITY	-	-		$r = 0.34$	81
JOINT CHILDREARERS	LOCAL KIN	With local kin Without local kin	9.31 8.00	60 157	$\eta^2 = 0.10$	217
	NON-FAMILY NAMED SUPPORT NETWORK KIN	-	-	-	$r = 0.43$	216
LOCAL ADULT KIN	NON-FAMILY NETWORK KIN	-	-	-	$r = 0.30$	125
	NON-FAMILY NETWORK SIZE	-	-	-	$r = -0.36$	125
	NETWORK DENSITY	-	-	-	$r = 0.44$	125
	NAMED SUPPORT NETWORK DENSITY	-	-	-	$r = 0.43$	125

TABLE 6.56: CHILDREARER CHARACTERISTICS AND SOURCE RATINGS (Continued)

SOURCE TYPE	RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTIC	VALUE	MEAN RATING $\mu$	f	DIFFERENCE/ ASSOCIATION	ALL RESPONDENTS f
NON-LOCAL ADULT FRIENDS	RESIDENTIAL PERMANENCE	Temporary More-or-less permanent Permanent	7.49 8.31 6.42	10 25 11	$\eta^2 = 0.15$ = 0.06 for temporary and permanent residents	46 21
	LOCAL KIN	With local kin Without local kin	9.18 7.03	12 41	$\eta^2 = 0.18$	53
	LOCAL INTIMATES	-	-	-	$r = 0.38$	51
	NON-FAMILY NAMED SUPPORT NETWORK KIN	-	-	r	$r = 0.37$	53
	NAMED SUPPORT NETWORK DENSITY	-	-	-	$r = 0.38$	53

## **UNNAMED SOURCES**

Respondent characteristics were not associated with source ratings for all, local or non-local unnamed sources.

### **Local Hospitals**

Respondent characteristics were not associated with ratings of local hospitals.

### **Local Schools**

Local schools were rated higher by more-or-less permanent residents than either temporary or permanent. Public servants also gave higher ratings to local schools than respondents working in private enterprise and home managers. Each association was independent of the other (Appendix 9, Table 7). There are no obvious explanations for these results.

### **Local Government**

Local government was given higher ratings by respondents with more local unnamed supports. Perhaps these people had more confidence in local unnamed sources more generally.

### **Capeville Progress Association**

A number of respondent characteristics were associated with ratings of the Capeville Progress Association. However, the small population meant that multivariate analyses could not be conducted and that results must be treated cautiously.

The Association was rated higher by younger childrearsers, those in younger families, and permanent residents. As noted earlier, younger permanent residents appear to have been those most directly involved in managing the organisation and so may have

rated it higher because they had direct access to it, because they were more aware of its functions and/or because they had some control over its activities. The Association was also rated higher by respondents with local kin, more non-family named support network kin, more intimates in their non-family named support networks, and more local intimates. These people were probably more rooted in the locality because of strong local kinship and perhaps other ties and, possibly because of this, were more likely to use their local residents' association. Furthermore, as we shall see throughout these results, respondents with strong local kinship networks appear to have rated a number of sources higher than those with weaker networks. This is possibly because of a general feeling of security that their needs would be met, whatever the source or nature of assistance.

Respondents with more local unnamed supports tended to give the Association a higher rating. This may reflect greater confidence in local unnamed sources (here the Association) as well as a stronger commitment to the locality.

Less self-reliant individuals also tended to give the organisation a higher rating, as did those with fewer local non-family named supports and larger non-family named support networks, though there is no apparent explanation for these results. Perhaps they are best accounted for as spurious and resulting from small numbers.

### **Local Employers**

Local employers were rated higher by men, probably because they were more confident of obtaining work than women. They were also rated higher by older respondents. There is no apparent explanation for this result.

Local employers were also rated higher by respondents with more non-family named support network kin and denser named support networks. The relationship with

support network kinship was explained by residential length while that with support network density was robust for both support network kinship and residential length (Appendix 9, Table 7). There is no apparent explanation as to why ratings of local employers should be associated with support network density.

### **Local Employees**

Local employees were rated higher by public servants than private entrepreneurs. None were chosen by home managers. Because most of them worked close to home and in flexible conditions, most private entrepreneurs electing to employ local people intended to contribute something themselves to managing the problem, whether it be looking after children, or taking care of domestic or business tasks. Public servants were more likely to simply leave the problem more-or-less entirely with the employee to manage. If so, then, other things being equal, employees would contribute more to managing the situations of public servants than private entrepreneurs.

Local employees were also rated higher by less self-reliant respondents. They were also given higher ratings by respondents with denser non-family named support networks, and smaller and denser social networks, each of these relationships being stronger for private entrepreneurs than public servants (Appendix 9, Table 7), though there is no apparent explanation as to why.

### **Members of Parliament**

These were rated lower by permanent than temporary or more-or-less permanent residents. The association was stronger when residential length was partialled out (Appendix 9, Table 7). This parallels earlier results showing that permanent residents were less likely to use the popular M.P. than others. They appear to have been less impressed with their State and Federal representatives generally.

More self-reliant individuals also rated M.Ps. higher. No apparent explanation can be offered for this.

M.Ps. were also rated higher by respondents with local kin, more non-family network kin, smaller and denser social networks, more non-family named support network kin and denser named support networks. The relationship with network kin only held for respondents without local kin (Appendix 9, Table 7). The relationship with network size was explained by network kinship, that with support network density by support network kinship and that with support network kinship by local kinship (Appendix 9, Table 7). This leaves local kinship, network kinship and non-family named support network kinship as the central variables. Thus, it would appear that respondents with stronger social ties in the region, through kin, had greater confidence in their Members of Parliament. This probably would have been developed through direct and/or indirect experience of their efforts.

#### **The Popular Member of Parliament**

Results for the popular M.P. were similar to those for all Members. He was rated higher by respondents with local kin, more non-family network kin, denser social networks, more non-family named support network kin and denser support networks. The association with support network kinship was explained by local kinship and that with named support network density partly by support network kinship (Appendix 9, Table 7). He too, then, appeared to be rated higher by respondents who were more strongly socially embedded, at least partly through kinship, in the locality.

## **NAMED ADULT SOURCES**

### **Joint Childrearsers**

Joint childrearsers were rated higher by respondents with local kin and more non-family named support network kin, both results being generally robust. When placed alongside results for unnamed supports, this may indicate that respondents with local kin who they felt able to approach for assistance, generally felt more secure about their needs being met and this carried over to ratings of their partners.

### **All and Non-local Non-family Named Sources**

Respondent characteristics were not associated with source ratings of either all or non-local non-family named sources.

### **Kin**

Respondent characteristics did not differentiate between evaluations of kin in general or of non-local kin.

**Local kin** were rated higher by respondents with more non-family network kin, smaller and denser social networks, and denser named support networks. The relationship with network density was partly explained by that with network size (Appendix 9, Table 7). These four respondent characteristics were highly interrelated for respondents with local kin (Appendix 9, Table 4). Having a small, kin dominated local intimate network may have resulted in these respondents feeling more secure about the help they would receive from local kin.

### **Friends**

Respondent characteristics were not associated with source evaluation either for all or local friends.

**Non-local friends** were rated higher by more-or-less permanent residents, though no explanation can be presented for this result.

They were also rated higher by respondents with local kin, more local intimates, more non-family named support network kin and denser support networks. The relationship with support network kinship was explained by local kinship (Appendix 9, Table 7). Again, we find that the existence of a strong local network encourages respondents to feel more generally secure about the support they would receive if they needed it, in this case even from non-local friends.

## SUMMARY

As with reasons for choosing sources, a number of spurious results were probably found. Only positive results for which reasonable explanations can be provided are reviewed here.

- 1 Local government was given higher ratings by respondents with relatively more local than non-local unnamed sources, perhaps indicating greater confidence in these.
- 2 The Capeville Progress Association was rated higher by the kinds of people involved in running it; and by those with stronger local ties through kinship and, perhaps, friendship.
- 3 Men were more confident than women of obtaining work through local employers.

- 4 Local employees were rated higher by public servants than private entrepreneurs perhaps because they would contribute more to resolving the problem vis-a-vis the respondent themselves.
- 5 Members of Parliament were given lower ratings by permanent residents, perhaps indicating greater disenchantment with these. However, they and the popular Member were rated higher by respondents with stronger local social ties.
- 6 Joint childrearsers, local kin and non-local friends, as well as other sources mentioned above, were all rated higher by respondents with stronger local kin ties.
- 7 Respondents with strong local social ties through kinship and, perhaps, also through non-kin networks appear to have felt more generally secure than those without in the knowledge that their needs would be met with the help of their supports.

Analysing relationships between childrearsers characteristics and source ratings by need was peripheral to the central purposes of this investigation.

#### **CHILDREN'S CHARACTERISTICS AND SOURCE RATINGS**

Younger children gave higher ratings than older for all their responses ( $r=-0.34$ ), to sources other than themselves ( $r=-0.35$ ), and to within-family sources ( $r=-0.33$ ), mostly their childrearsers. These results could reflect greater confidence of younger children in their supports and/or that problems of older children are more difficult to resolve

entirely. However, they could also simply reflect a possible tendency of childrearsers, especially their mothers, to give their younger children's sources, often themselves, higher ratings than older children gave theirs.

There was insufficient variation in the kinds of sources selected by children for specific needs to justify analysing source ratings by need.

## **WET SEASON DIFFERENCES IN SOURCE SELECTION AND REASONS FOR THEIR SELECTION**

### **RESPONDENTS**

Eight families left town before Wet season interviews were conducted. Together, these had 30 members, 15 childrearsers and 15 children. Compared to the Dry season population, these represented 17.8% of families and 16.1% of respondents, 16.9% of childrearsers and 15.5% of children. In all, then, 156 respondents, 73 childrearsers and 83 children, in 37 families, were interviewed in the Wet season. (See Table 5.2).

Only respondents who chose different sources in the Wet season because of seasonality are discussed.

### **CHILDREARERS**

#### **All Needs**

16 childrearsers changed their responses for 47 needs. This represented 21.6% of all respondents interviewed concerning the Wet season, but only 2.5% of all Wet season responses. Two respondents changed their responses for nine needs each, one for

five, three for four, and the rest for one or two needs each. So there was some concentration of changes amongst a small group of respondents. However, these respondents were indistinguishable from the rest of the population according to the respondent characteristics investigated.

As might be expected, 38 of the 47 changes (80.9%) were from non-local to local sources. 34 of these were from non-local kin or friends to joint childrearsers, local friends or self-reliance. 28 were from kin and six from friends; 14 to self-reliance, 12 to joint childrearsers, and eight to friends. Eight changes were from local sources to other local sources and one from a local to a non-local source. In all, 15 of the 47 changes were toward greater self-reliance and 14 toward seeking assistance from partners.

Reasons for changes depended on the need in question. 15 of the 47 were because the Dry source could not get to town during the Wet, and another 15 because the respondent could not get to their preferred source. Another five changes were because their Wet source was more accessible and available and five because either the respondent themselves or their partner was more available during the Wet than the Dry.

### **Specific Needs**

The 47 changes were spread over 18 needs. None were made for eight needs: health, education, child care and essential services as community issues; and health, education, child development and psychological problems.

Six respondents made changes for one need, four for six. The other changes were spread widely across needs. Only changes made by four or more respondents are discussed here.

**Child Care Needs** 13 respondents changed sources for the child care situations: six for constant prolonged care, four for constant temporary care, one for occasional prolonged care and two for occasional temporary care.

For constant prolonged child care, four respondents changed from their non-local mothers to either their partners, local friends or self-reliance because they could not bring their mothers to town. One man changed from local friends to self-reliance because his work was less demanding in the Wet season, and another from self-reliance to the local hostel because his work was more demanding.

For constant temporary child care, two respondents changed from non-local mothers to joint childrearsers or local friends because they could not bring the former to town during the Wet season, a woman because her husband was more available during the Wet and a man from self-reliance to the local hostel because he was less available.

**Incapacity** Four respondents changed their sources for temporary incapacity. Two changed from non-local mothers or mothers-in-law to self-reliance, or local friends or employees because their kin could not get to town. The other two were men who said they were more available during the Wet season.

**Household Assistance** Four respondents changed sources for temporary household assistance: two because either they or their partners were more available to do the work in the Wet season; one because their non-local friend could not get to town; and a publican from local employees to the Commonwealth Employment Service because there were fewer of the former available in the Wet season.

## **CHILDREN**

Only three children changed sources, all for psychological problems. Two adolescent girls changed from close friends at boarding school they chose for help with psychological problems because they were living at home for most of the Wet season. One chose her mother and the other two cousins who lived in the broad region, though still 200km distant. The third was a five year old girl who changed from her mother to her father for both psychological problems and emotional assistance because she was emotionally closer to him. He was inaccessible during most of the Dry season because he worked away from home.

## **SUMMARY**

The outstanding result here is that very few changes were made to sources because of seasonality. Overall, seasonality simply did not play a part in the anticipated support seeking of most of these residents.

Though one in five childrearsers interviewed about the Wet changed sources for one or more needs, none did so for many. Thus, changes were few and both respondent and need specific. Changes were concentrated amongst some adults, these being indistinguishable from the rest of the population. Four in five changes were from non-local to local sources, mostly from kin or very close friends to self-reliance, partners or local friends. Reasons for these tended to be need specific, though most were made because of inaccessibility of the non-local source during the Wet season.

Focussing on specific needs, three or more respondents made changes for emotional assistance and social integration, constant prolonged child care, temporary and

permanent incapacity, and temporary household assistance. These were all specific to the respondent, their personal situation, and the need in question.

Most changes were made for social-emotional problems and the child care and material needs. For social-emotional problems, most respondents changed from non-local kin or friends to self-reliance or partners because of inaccessibility of the former. Changes for child care were made mostly from non-local mothers and mothers-in-law to self-reliance, joint childrearsers or local friends because of inaccessibility of the former, though some were also made because the respondent themselves or their partner was more available during the Wet season. Changes made for the material needs, and reasons for these were similar to those for child care.

Three children made four changes to their sources, all for social-emotional needs.

By overwhelmingly choosing the same sources in the Dry and Wet season, respondents clearly indicated that seasonality was not a relevant factor in their anticipated support seeking behaviour. Because of this and because different source ratings in the Dry and Wet season could have resulted from a number of factors other than seasonality, between-season comparisons of source ratings were not made.